

The Arabs and Arabia on the Eve of Islam

Volume 3

Edited by
F.E. Peters



The Formation of the Classical Islamic World

THE FORMATION OF THE CLASSICAL ISLAMIC WORLD

General Editor: Lawrence I. Conrad

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1	Byzantium on the Eve of Islam	<i>Averil Cameron</i>
2	The Sasanian East on the Eve of Islam	<i>Shaul Shaked</i>
3	The Arabs and Arabia on the Eve of Islam	<i>Frank E. Peters</i>
4	The Life of Muḥammad	<i>Uri Rubin</i>
5	The Arab Conquests	<i>Fred M. Donner</i>
6	The Articulation of State Structures	<i>Fred M. Donner</i>
7	Problems of Political Cohesion	<i>R. Stephen Humphreys</i>
8	Arab-Byzantine Relations	<i>Michael Bonner</i>
9	The Turks in the Early Islamic World	<i>C.E. Bosworth</i>
10	Patterns of Everyday Life	<i>David Waines</i>
11	Agricultural Production and Pastoralism	<i>Michael G. Morony</i>
12	Manufacturing, Mining and Labour	<i>Michael G. Morony</i>
13	Trade, Exchange and the Market Place	<i>A.L. Udovitch</i>
14	Property and Consumption	<i>Baber Johansen</i>
15	Cities in the Islamic World	<i>Hugh Kennedy</i>
16	Nomads and the Desert	<i>Hugh Kennedy</i>
17	Society and the Individual	to be announced
18	Muslims and Others	<i>Albrecht Noth</i>
19	Christian Communal Life	<i>Sidney H. Griffith</i>
20	The Jewish Communities	<i>David Wasserstein</i>
21	Archaeology and Early Islam	<i>Donald Whitcomb</i>
22	Numismatics and Monetary History	<i>Michael Bates</i>
23	Art and Architecture	<i>Jonathan Bloom</i>
24	The Qur'ān: Style and Contents	<i>Andrew Rippin</i>
25	The Qur'ān: Text and Interpretation	<i>Andrew Rippin</i>
26	The Development of Ritual	<i>G.R. Hawting</i>
27	The Formation of Islamic Law	to be announced
28	The Development of <i>Ḥadīth</i>	<i>Harald Motzki</i>
29	Historiographical Traditions	<i>Lawrence I. Conrad</i>
30	Early Islamic Theology	<i>Josef van Ess</i>
31	Eschatology and Apocalyptic	<i>Wilferd Madelung</i>
32	Visions of Community	<i>Wadād al-Qāḍī</i>
33	Shī'ism	<i>Etan Kohlberg</i>
34	The Khawārij	<i>Ridwan al-Saiid</i>
35	The Emergence of Mysticism	<i>Bernd Radtke</i>
36	The Philological Tradition	<i>Ramzi Baalbaki</i>
37	Poetry and Poetics	<i>Suzanne Stetkevych</i>
38	Arabic Prose Literature	<i>Fedwa Malti-Douglas</i>
39	The Rise of Islamic Philosophy	<i>Everett Rowson</i>
40	The Rise of Arab-Islamic Medicine	<i>Lawrence I. Conrad</i>
41	The Exact Sciences	<i>Jamil Ragep</i>
42	Magic and Divination	<i>Emilie Savage-Smith</i>
43	Education and the Transmission of Knowledge	<i>Claude Gilliot</i>
44	The Islamic Manuscript Tradition	<i>Jan Just Witkam</i>
45	Islamic North Africa	<i>Elizabeth Savage</i>
46	The Formation of al-Andalus I	<i>Manuela Marín</i>
47	The Formation of al-Andalus II	<i>Maribel Fierro/Julio Samsó</i>

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	vii
General Editor's Preface	ix
Introduction	xi
1. The Nature of Arab Unity before Islam <i>G.E. von Grunebaum</i>	1
2. The Role of Nomads in the Near East in Late Antiquity (400–800 C.E.) <i>Fred M. Donner</i>	21
3. The Bedouinization of Arabia <i>Werner Caskel</i>	34
4. Trans-Arabian Routes of the Pre-Islamic Period <i>Daniel T. Potts</i>	45
5. Al-Hīra: Some Notes on its Relations with Arabia <i>M.J. Kister</i>	81
6. Pre-Islamic Bedouin Religion <i>Joseph Henninger</i>	109
7. Idol Worship in Pre-Islamic Medina (Yathrib) <i>Michael Lecker</i>	129
8. The Origin of the Jews of Yathrib <i>Moshe Gil</i>	145
9. Haram and Hawtah, the Sacred Enclave in Arabia <i>R.B. Serjeant</i>	167
10. Pre-Foundations of the Muslim Community in Mecca <i>Fazlur Rahman</i>	185

11.	Mecca before the Time of the Prophet—Attempt of an Anthropological Interpretation <i>Walter Dostal</i>	205
12.	The “Sacred Offices” of Mecca from Jāhiliyya to Islam <i>Gerald R. Hawting</i>	244
13.	<i>Ḥanīfiyya</i> and Ka‘ba: an Inquiry into the Arabian Pre-Islamic Background of <i>Dīn Ibrāhīm</i> <i>Uri Rubin</i>	267
14.	Pre-Islamic Monotheism in Arabia <i>Hamilton A.R. Gibb</i>	295
15.	Belief in a “High God” in Pre-Islamic Mecca <i>W. Montgomery Watt</i>	307
16.	The Ka‘ba: Aspects of its Ritual Functions and Position in Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Times <i>Uri Rubin</i>	313
17.	The Role Played by the Organization of the “Ḥums” in the Evolution of Political Ideas in Pre-Islamic Mecca <i>Ugo Fabietti</i>	348
18.	The Campaign of Ḥulubān: a New Light on the Expedition of Abraha <i>M.J. Kister</i>	357
	Index	369

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GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

Since the days of Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921), generally regarded as the founder of Islamic studies as a field of modern scholarship, the formative period in Islamic history has remained a prominent theme for research. In Goldziher's time it was possible for scholars to work with the whole of the field and practically all of its available sources, but more recently the increasing sophistication of scholarly methodologies, a broad diversification in research interests, and a phenomenal burgeoning of the catalogued and published source material available for study have combined to generate an increasing "compartmentalisation" of research into very specific areas, each with its own interests, priorities, agendas, methodologies, and controversies. While this has undoubtedly led to a deepening and broadening of our understanding in all of these areas, and hence is to be welcomed, it has also tended to isolate scholarship in one subject from research in other areas, and even more so from colleagues outside of Arab-Islamic studies, not to mention students and others seeking to familiarise themselves with a particular topic for the first time.

The Formation of the Classical Islamic World is a reference series that seeks to address this problem by making available a critical selection of the published research that has served to stimulate and define the way modern scholarship has come to understand the formative period of Islamic history, for these purposes taken to mean approximately AD 600–950. Each of the volumes in the series is edited by an expert on its subject, who has chosen a number of studies that taken together serve as a cogent introduction to the state of current knowledge on the topic, the issues and problems particular to it, and the range of scholarly opinion informing it. Articles originally published in languages other than English have been translated, and editors have provided critical introductions and select bibliographies for further reading.

A variety of criteria, varying by topic and in accordance with the judgments of the editors, have determined the contents of these volumes. In some cases an article has been included because it represents the best of current scholarship, the "cutting edge" work from which future research seems most likely to profit. Other articles—certainly no less valuable contributions—have been taken up for the skillful way in which they synthesise the state of scholarly knowledge. Yet others are older studies that—if in some ways now superseded—nevertheless merit attention for their illustration of thinking or conclusions that have long been important, or for the decisive stimulus

they have provided to scholarly discussion. Some volumes cover themes that have emerged fairly recently, and here it has been necessary to include articles from outside the period covered by the series, as illustrations of paradigms and methodologies that may prove useful as research develops. Chapters from single author monographs have been considered only in very exceptional cases, and a certain emphasis has been encouraged on important studies that are less readily available than others.

In the present state of the field of early Arab-Islamic studies, in which it is routine for heated controversy to rage over what scholars a generation ago would have regarded as matters of simple fact, it is clearly essential for a series such as this to convey some sense of the richness and variety of the approaches and perspectives represented in the available literature. An effort has thus been made to gain broad international participation in editorial capacities, and to secure the collaboration of colleagues representing differing points of view. Throughout the series, however, the range of possible options for inclusion has been very large, and it is of course impossible to accommodate all of the outstanding research that has served to advance a particular subject. A representative selection of such work does, however, appear in the bibliography compiled by the editor of each volume at the end of the introduction.

The interests and priorities of the editors, and indeed, of the General Editor, will doubtless be evident throughout. Hopefully, however, the various volumes will be found to achieve well-rounded and representative syntheses useful not as the definitive word on their subjects—if, in fact, one can speak of such a thing in the present state of research—but as introductions comprising well-considered points of departure for more detailed inquiry.

A series pursued on this scale is only feasible with the good will and cooperation of colleagues in many areas of expertise. The General Editor would like to express his gratitude to the volume editors for the investment of their time and talents in an age when work of this kind is grossly undervalued, to the translators who have taken such care with the articles entrusted to them, and to Dr John Smedley and his staff at Ashgate for their support, assistance and guidance throughout.

Lawrence I. Conrad

INTRODUCTION*

The Land and the People

The pre-Islamic history of Arabia begins and ends with a paradox. To begin with, the length and breadth of the land and the larger ethnic connections of its peoples were best known to outsiders, to the Greek and Roman mariners who sailed its coasts and the merchants and captains who probed the land's wealth. But those outsiders, despite their interest in Arabia, had never seen nor even heard of Mecca, the shrine city where Islam was born and whose pre-Islamic history occupies the attention of so many Muslim writers.

Greek information on Arabia stretches as far back as Herodotus and experience of the Arabs even further. But the information becomes appreciably thicker in the fourth century BC when Alexander incorporated the Near East into the Hellenic *oikoumenē*, and then when the Romans, from the northwest, attempted to pry their way into the peninsula itself in the first century AD,¹ and the Iranians from the northeast in the third. In AD 106 the Romans incorporated the former Nabataean Arab kingdom east of the Jordan into their empire as *Provincia Arabia*, whose southern border reached into the northern Ḥijāz, perhaps as far as Madā'in Ṣāliḥ or al-'Ulā.² In the fourth century the Romans were no longer so eager for the goods of Arabia, but they had a new motive for entering the peninsula and a new means of accomplishing it—Christianity. The eastern side of the Red Sea became Christian, and then the Yemen, and Christianity also spread among the Arab tribes in the northwestern and northeastern marches of Arabia. In AD 600 an observer might easily have predicted that within three or four decades the Arabs would be as Christian as the Celts or later the Slavs.

*I would like to thank Dr Lawrence I. Conrad for his valuable notes and comments on an earlier version of this Introduction.

¹At Augustus' initiative, under the command of Aelius Gallus, and described in detail in Strabo XVI.780–82.

²Glen W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 95–96, and cf. Irfan Shahid, *Rome and the Arabs: a Prolegomenon to the Study of Byzantium and the Arabs* (Washington, D.C., 1984), 20 n. 5, and *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1989), 476.

The greater part of this information is literary, chiefly Greco-Roman, but with important additions from Syriac sources, later Muslim historians,³ and even an occasional nugget from the Talmud. The archaeological exploration of Arabia, after promising beginnings, long languished,⁴ but in the late 1970s, with Saudi approval and direction, large scale archaeological surveys were undertaken,⁵ though there have been few full-scale excavations.⁶ The pace of archaeology has also quickened in eastern Arabia and in the Yemen.

There is no lack of material evidence for the Arabs from outside the peninsula. Even leaving aside the considerable remains of the Arab or Arab-Aramaic settlements like Petra, Palmyra and Hatra, there are a number of Christian-era Arabic inscriptions from along the western side of the great Syrian steppe that enable us to chart the growing presence of the Arabs in the sown lands of the Fertile Crescent. The earliest and most baffling of these inscriptions is that from the dated (AD 328) funerary monument of Imru' al-Qays on the eastern slopes of the Jebel Druze. It is difficult both to read and parse, but it seems to portray the dead *amīr* as the ruler of widespread Arab tribes and with a treaty relationship with either the Romans and the Sasanians—or with both.⁷

³Notable here is Theodor Nöldeke's *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (Leipzig, 1879; repr. Leiden, 1973), a magisterial annotated translation of the pre-Islamic passages of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*. A new critical annotated translation based on the copious materials that have become available since Nöldeke's time is currently being prepared by Zeev Rubin.

⁴A prominent exception was the work of Peter Parr and his colleagues: "Preliminary Survey of N.W. Arabia, 1968", *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London* 8-9 (1969), 193-242; *idem*, "Preliminary Survey of N.W. Arabia, 1969", *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London* 10 (1971), 23-61.

⁵See Abdullah H. Masry, "The Historic Legacy of Saudi Arabia", *Atlat* 1 (1977), 9-19 (with a bibliography of earlier work); R.McC. Adams, Peter J. Parr, Muhammad Ibrahim and Ali S. al-Mughannam, "Saudi Arabian Archaeological Reconnaissance—1976: Preliminary Report on the First Phase of the Comprehensive Archaeological Survey Program", *Atlat* 1 (1977), 21-40; Michael Gilmore *et al.* "Preliminary Report on the Northwestern and Northern Regions Survey", *Atlat* 6 (1982), 97-108. There is now a European counterpart in *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* (1990-), edited at Copenhagen by Daniel Potts.

⁶For a richly mined exception, see A.R. al-Ansary, *Qaryat al-Fau: a Portrait of Pre-Islamic Civilization in Saudi Arabia* (Riyadh, 1982).

⁷See Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, 138-47; Irfan Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1984), Chap. 1; and most recently Michael Zwettler, "Imru'alqays, Son of 'Amr: King of...?", in Mustansir Mir, ed., *Literary Heritage of Classical Islam: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of James A. Bellamy* (Princeton, 1993), 3-37.

This is evidence from the marches of Arabia. For life in the interior of the peninsula we must turn elsewhere, in the first instance to the remains of the pre-Islamic literary tradition among the Arabs.⁸ There are three chief forms pertinent here: the poetry of the pre-Islamic Arabs, which, if it tells us little of their history, is useful in reconstructing their society; the quasi-epic accounts of Bedouin encounters before Islam; and the carefully preserved Arab genealogies that stretch back into the remote past, but which, like all ancient genealogies, are only of restricted use in reconstructing history.⁹ With this material in hand, there have been a number of attempts, wide-ranging and sometimes very impressionistic, at writing the "history" of Arabia in the centuries immediately preceding the appearance of Islam.

The Arabs: a Nation of Tribes

In pre-Islamic days, as later, the population of the peninsula was overwhelmingly made up of the people we call Arabs.¹⁰ This is also how they were long known to their neighbors, though they called them a variety of other names too, including "Saracens" and "Ishmaelites"; both terms refer, the first fancifully,¹¹ the second only somewhat more realistically, to their supposed descent from Ishmael. The connection of the Arabs with the biblical story of Ishmael (Genesis 17:20, "I shall raise a great nation from him") was widespread in early Judaism and Christianity,¹² though it was apparently unknown to most of the Arabs of Arabia proper, and in particular to Muḥammad and his Meccan contemporaries.¹³ Indeed, the pre-Islamic

⁸The works of Caskel listed in the Bibliography should be noted here.

⁹See Joseph Henninger, "Altarabische Genealogie", *Anthropos* 61 (1966), 852-70; M.J. Kister and Martin Plessner, "Notes on Caskel's *Jamharat an-nasab*", *Oriens* 25-26 (1976), 48-68; reprinted in his *Religion and Society from Jāhiliyya to Islam* (Aldershot, 1990). On the complex and very uncertain relationship between Arab and biblical genealogies, F.V. Winnett, "The Arabian Genealogies in the Book of Genesis", in H.T. Frank and W.L. Reed, eds., *Essays in Honor of Herbert Gordon May* (New York, 1970), 171-96, and "Pre-Islamic Arabic Genealogies", in R.R. Wilson, ed., *Genealogy and History in the Biblical World* (New Haven, 1977), 129-32; also Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 334-44.

¹⁰In ancient times the southwest corner, roughly the modern Yemen, was home to a different society fashioned by a related but distinct people, the South Arabians, who had marked affinities of language with the peoples living across the Red Sea in ancient Abyssinia; see 42-48 below.

¹¹See also Shahid, *Rome and the Arabs*, 123-41.

¹²See particularly the sixth-century Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VI.38.1-13; and cf. Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 167-80.

¹³René Dagnorn, *La Geste d'Ishmael d'après l'ononastique et la tradition arabes*. (Paris, 1981), with an important introduction by Maxime Rodinson.

Arabs had little sense of their own identity as a single ethnic group, that is, as Arabs, though they shared a common culture (see von Grunebaum, Chapter 1).

The Arabs' self-identification before Islam was tribal, as a group descended from a reputed common ancestor.¹⁴ The descent may have been in many instances fictive, but the tribes themselves were real enough, and there is sufficient material in both contemporary and later sources to enable us to reconstruct pieces of the pre-Islamic history of some of these nomadic tribes of inner Arabia: the Bakr, Kinda, Judhām, Sulaym, Jurhum, 'Udhra, and even of some of the tribal groups on the settled fringes of the steppe.

The tribes of Arabia in both the pre-Islamic and Islamic eras have attracted the attention not only of historians but of anthropologists and political scientists, who see in them a stage en route or contributing to state formation,¹⁵ a topic of considerable interest in the development of Mecca and the Islamic umma.

THE NOMADIC LIFE

The pre-Islamic Arabs were both nomadic and sedentary: that is, they either followed their camel and sheep herds in the great annual transhumance arcs that stretched from central Arabia to the settled fringes of the Fertile Crescent, an annual event that caused disruption and not a little fear in the limitrophe settlements; or they lived in fixed settlements as farmers or traders. The normal evolution was generally from the nomadic into the sedentary life—the two ways of life were never entirely independent of each other—but there is evidence that in the third and again in the sixth centuries AD a number of previously sedentarized Arabs turned (or returned)

¹⁴Richard Tapper, "Anthropologists, Historians and Tribespeople on Tribe and State Formation in the Middle East", in Philip S. Khoury and Joseph Kostiner, eds., *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East* (Berkeley, 1990), 48–73, at 52: "Many anthropologists of the Middle East adopt the notion of a tribe as a descent group, the classical model of tribal society among Arabs and in the Middle East generally, conforming with Ibn Khaldūn's conception as well as with Emile Durkheim's notion of mechanical solidarity. Such a group may or may not be territorially distinct and politically united under a chief, but many modern proponents of this notion of tribe would deny the term to any group without a descent ideology. The criterion best fits Arab tribal society, where tribal genealogies are particularly extensive."

¹⁵Steven C. Caton, "Anthropological Theories of Tribe and State Formation in the Middle East: Ideology and the Semiotics of Power", in Philip S. Khoury and Joseph Kostiner, eds., *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East* (Berkeley, 1990), 74–108, gives theoretical overviews and reviews of work done (with a testing of segmentation theory in an Islamic context); see also Tapper, "Anthropologists".

to nomadism, with important effects on the entire region (see Donner and Caskel, Chapters 2 and 3).

The nomads were the subject of some curiosity to the sedentary observers in the late ancient world. In addition to scattered eyewitness remarks in historians such as Ammianus Marcellinus and Procopius, there were those who had a more privileged, more fearful, and at times more illuminating view of their comings and goings, for instance the monks who lived in or wandered across the wildernesses of Syria-Palestine.¹⁶

We need not rely only on the chance observations of the ancients, however. The nomadic pattern of life extends into the present century in the Near East, and in some instances in a form relatively untouched by the rapidly changing settlements around them. We have, then, through the observations and records of skilled modern traveler-ethnographers like Charles Doughty and Alois Musil, detailed insights into both the nomadic manner of life and the norms of the society generated by it.¹⁷

Nomadism has had a profound effect on Near Eastern history during the period under review (see Donner, in Chapter 2), and particularly upon the history of the Arabs, with whom it is so closely associated. It shaped the society in which most of the Arabs lived, and, in consequence, the norms and ideals which are summed up in the phrase "the *sunna* of the Arabs". Pre-Islamic Arab poetry is the richest vein of information on this latter,¹⁸ and it has long since been mined by a number of scholars, by none more deftly and impressively than Ignaz Goldziher and Henri Lammens.¹⁹

¹⁶See also Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 134–45, and J. Spenser Trimingham, *Christianity among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times* (London and New York, 1979), 251–56.

¹⁷For an evaluation of Doughty as an ethnographer, see Robert A. Fernea, "Arabia Deserta: the Ethnographic Text", in Stephen E. Tabachnick, ed., *Explorations in Doughty's Arabia Deserta* (Athens, GA and London, 1987), 201–22; and on Musil, see Michael E. Meeker, *Literature and Violence in North Arabia* (Cambridge, 1979). For another attempt to extract seventh-century understanding from more modern practices, see Serjeant, Chapter 9 below.

¹⁸Surveyed in *GAS*, II, 36–46, 228–45.

¹⁹Vendetta (*tha'r*), which Henri Lammens, in "Le caractère religieux du *thâr* ou vendetta chez les Arabes préislamites", in his *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'hégire* (Beirut, 1928), 181–236, construed as a religious obligation among the tribes, was one of the triggers of the so-called "sinful wars" (*hurûb al-fjâr*) in which Muḥammad may have been involved before his prophetic call; see Ella Landau-Tasseron, "The Sinful Wars: Religious, Social and Historical Aspects of *Hurûb al-fjâr*", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 8 (1986), 37–59, for the most recent study.

THE LARGER WORLD

In the centuries before Islam there took place, as has been noted, a gradual sedentarization of the nomadic Arabs into the settled lands around the Fertile Crescent. It was a slow and generally peaceful movement that provoked little notice in the chronicles of the times; we are aware of it chiefly from epigraphic evidence.²⁰ Where the Arabs did come to the attention of their neighbors, however, was in their role as principal, and occasionally even monopolistic, middlemen in the flow of eastern goods into Mediterranean markets; and when that trade declined, they proved to have their military uses to the Great Powers of late antiquity in the Middle East.

The Splendor and Decline of the Arabian Trade

The trade that aroused the consumer appetites of well-to-do Greeks and Romans and so the mercantile passions of Mediterranean entrepreneurs—and the occasional anxieties of the politicians—was a specialized one in luxury items native to the Yemen (incense and spices) and, by way of the Yemen, from India and beyond (precious metals and stones, dyes, silks and spices). It was a long and dangerous trip in either case, but the goods were small in bulk and, on arrival, could be resold for an enormous profit in the avid consumer markets of the Greek and Roman world.

Some goods came by sea from the east, but once in the Yemen they could be transported by sea or land to their destinations. By sea they were carried on ships up the Red Sea (Mare Erythraeum) to one of the Egyptian ports on the western shore or even to Clysma (Suez) at the head of the Gulf of Suez, or, less commonly, to the old Nabataean port of Leuke Kome in the northern Hijāz. This maritime traffic generated wealth for all concerned, but it produced as well an ever accumulating store of information—valuable information for the traders—on the peoples on either side of the Red Sea, and so, from the present perspective, on the Arabs of western and southern Arabia.²¹

Though the Arabs shared marginally in this maritime commerce, they were the mainstays of its overland alternative. Ever since the domestication of the camel and its subsequent use as a beast of burden,²² it became practical to carry goods along the sometimes rocky and always parched routes

²⁰Usefully summarized in Fergus Millar, *The Roman Near East, 31 BC-AD 337* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), 428–36.

²¹See particularly the first-century AD mariners' handbook translated and richly annotated by Lionel Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei* (Princeton, 1989).

²²Richard Bulliet, *The Camel and the Wheel*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1990), 57–86.

that led northward from the Yemen through the Arabian highlands to distribution points like Petra and Gaza (see Potts, Chapter 4). The Romans had the capital for such ventures and even the means of protecting some of the way stations, but for most of their extent the trade routes that criss-crossed western and central Arabia were under the control of the Arab tribes who dwelled along them.²³ They could play traders or predators as their interests dictated.

By the third Christian century, however, most of the evidence for the west Arabian overland trade has disappeared. The great "outer-Arab" trade emporia of Petra and Palmyra went into profound eclipse and there is only silence in our sources about overland trade from or through Arabia:²⁴ the "Araby the Blessed" of the early Roman Empire no longer seemed such in late antiquity. The disappearance of an Arabian transit trade may be charged in part to the economic collapse of the Yemen,²⁵ but it was due as well to the Sasanians' success in wresting control of the maritime traffic with the Farther East. By the beginning of the sixth century AD the Sasanians were dominant in the markets of Asia, and this with the noteworthy assistance of their Christian subjects, who were happy to combine commerce with the spread of the Nestorian church.²⁶ The goods that once came into the Red Sea—the old Roman customs station on the island of Iotabe at the mouth of the Aelanatic Gulf fell into Arab hands in the sixth century—now flowed into the Persian Gulf whence they were carried, through tightly controlled customs stations in Upper Mesopotamia,²⁷ into the Byzantine markets.

²³See also Israel Eph'al, *The Ancient Arabs: Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent, 9th-5th Centuries B.C.* (Jerusalem and Leiden, 1982), 14-16; Alois Musil, *Arabia Deserta* (New York, 1927), 514-30.

²⁴Historians have often assumed, but never much argued, the continued existence of such trade into the lifetime of Muhammad; for one such argument, however, based on revived building activity in Syria in the sixth century AD, see Roger Paret, "Les villes de Syrie du Sud et les routes commerciales d'Arabie à la fin du VI^e siècle", *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten Kongresses* (Munich, 1958), 438-44, and contra, F.E. Peters, "The Commerce of Mecca Before Islam", in Farhad Kazemi and R.D. McChesney, eds., *A Way Prepared: Essays... Richard Bayly Winder* (New York, 1988), 3-26.

²⁵See below, 42-43.

²⁶This is the evidence of both our chief literary source, the merchant travelogue of Cosmas Indicopleustes, as well as the archaeological materials, on which see D. Whitehouse and A. Williamson, "Sasanian Maritime Trade", *Iran* 11 (1973), 29-48.

²⁷In a treaty concluded in AD 540 between Byzantium and Persia, both sides attempted to regulate Arab encroachment on this trade, though not now as merchants but as steppe smugglers; see Irfan Kavar (Shahid), "The Arabs and the Peace Treaty of A.D. 561", *Arabica* 3 (1956), 181-213.

The Byzantines attempted to meet the challenge through a new channel, Christian missionary activity. With the conversion of the Roman emperor Constantine to Christianity the new faith was at last free to pursue, now with imperial approval and support, its aggressive missionary way not only within but far beyond the frontiers of the empire. One of the earliest of its successes outside the empire took place in Abyssinia, or as it then called, the kingdom of Axum. By the fourth century AD Axum was already a substantial commercial power in East Africa, and its Red Sea port of Adulis was an important emporium for the Indian trade. Even in our earliest reference to the place, in the mid-first century AD, when the *Periplus* was written, there was already a good deal of Roman commercial interest in Adulis and a perceptible degree of hellenization in court circles at Axum.

At about the same time there was another Christian initiative across the Red Sea, in the Yemen. Our source is the fifth-century AD Greek church historian Philostorgius, who reports that the head of this imperial mission was Theophilus, an "Indian", which in the parlance of the time might be anywhere around the Horn of Africa.²⁸ In the Yemen itself, however, there is no trace of Christianity in any of the inscriptions recovered, until the sixth century.²⁹ Philostorgius may have been right, but we have no way of confirming it—indeed, the pagan inscriptions of the fourth and fifth centuries in South Arabia implicitly deny it—and certainly not from the Arab tradition, which has an entirely different version of events.³⁰ Whatever the case, there were indisputably growing Christian communities on both the African and Arabian side of the narrow Red Sea straits in the sixth century, and the Byzantines did not hesitate to use them in an effort to displace the growing Sasanian presence in the trade with Asia.

The Great Phylarchates

Early on, perhaps as early as the time of Constantine, the Romans discovered that the Arabs who lived along the steppe line throughout Syria could be of some military use to the empire. The camel was already in use throughout

²⁸Philostorgius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* III.4; on Theophilus, see Franz Altheim and Ruth Stiehl, "Christliche Mission in Südarabien und Nubien, 1. Südarabien" in their *Die Araber in der alten Welt* (Berlin, 1964–69), IV, 306–19; Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*, 86–100.

²⁹Christopher Robin, "Judaisme et Christianisme en Arabie du Sud", *Arabian Studies* 10 (1980), 86.

³⁰Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1858–60), I.1, 21–22. See further below, 44–47.

the Near East as a beast of burden, but when fitted out with a serviceable saddle, as occurred generally in the first century BC, it could serve as a weapon of war as well. Spear-armed bedouin seated atop their fleet and low maintenance mounts made passably dangerous cavalymen, a bedouin military role that would recur in the building and protection of Near Eastern states.³¹ Arab units were incorporated into the Roman army,³² and in the fourth century AD the Romans (after this period often called Byzantines in modern scholarship) began to conclude formal treaties (*spondai, foedera*) with the leaders of various tribal groups, probably those already converted to Christianity, to serve where the needs of the empire dictated. That was merely a beginning. By the last quarter of the fifth century AD the old Roman strategy of defending the frontiers of the empire with regular troops and fixed fortifications had given way, particularly in the east, to other strategies. One of them was the recruitment of frontier militias (*limitanei*) or armed settlers who were subsidized to settle into, and defend, the agricultural areas bordering the steppe. Another, as just seen, was to engage in a formal treaty arrangement with the shaykhs of the bedouin tribes living on or just outside what were called the *limites*, the "frontier" between the desert and the sown.³³ It was the beginning of an association that lasted, in fits and starts, down to the Muslim conquest, and which represents the best documented and most intensely studied aspect of the history of the pre-Islamic Arabs.³⁴

In the decades around AD 500 the Byzantines appear to have concluded such treaties with a number of Arab tribes along the edge of the steppe zone in Syria and Palestine: the Tanūkh and Šāliḥ, the Kinda, a great confederation that stretched back deep into Arabia and the Ḥaḍramawt,

³¹Bulliet, *The Camel and the Wheel*, 87–110; and see the important study by Talal Asad, "The Bedouin as a Military Force: Notes on Some Aspects of Power Relations between Nomads and Sedentaries in Historical Perspective", in Cynthia Nelson, ed., *The Desert and the Sown: Nomads in the Wider Society* (Berkeley, 1973), 61–73.

³²Shahid, *Rome and the Arabs*, 52–63.

³³Philip Mayerson, "The Saracens and the Limes", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 262 (1986), 35–47; Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 477–480, on the "Inner" and "Outer Shield".

³⁴The project began with Theodor Nöldeke and is now in the process of receiving a kind of massive closure in the highly discursive "trilogy" of Irfan Shahid: *Rome and the Arabs* (Pompey to Diocletian); *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*; *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*; and most recently, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1995), I (vol. II will cover "cultural history, relations with Western Arabia and with the tribes of the Outer Shield, and frontier studies"). There is projected another volume beyond the trilogy, *Byzantium and Islam in the Seventh Century*; see Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, I, xvii–xviii.

and the Banū Ghassān.³⁵ The conditions are not described, nor are they likely to have been identical in each case, but they almost certainly included conversion to Christianity and, at this early stage, the payment of tribute to the Byzantine authorities. The tribute was not always forthcoming and so the relationship was a troubled one, at least until the Byzantines discovered, in their own weakness, a new use for their Arab federates.

What finally emerged in their dealings with the Banū Kinda and particularly with the Ghassānids was a new strategy in dealing with the Arab bedouin. In the last quarter of the fifth century AD the Byzantines could still exercise some control over their nomadic neighbors—neighbors may not be the exact term since the bedouins' seasonal grazing patterns carried them well into the settled agricultural areas every summer—and granted their favors to the bedouin only upon request. But in the early sixth century AD the Byzantine authorities were willing to concede a paramount status to one phylarch and his tribe. That recognition translated into honors, titles, gifts and perhaps most important, and certainly most expensive, an annual subsidy. The phylarch, for his part, was expected not only to "restrain his own barbarians", as one contemporary historian somewhat indelicately put it, but to guarantee, by whatever means were necessary, that the other bedouin would observe a similar restraint. By the sixth century the Byzantines and the rival Sasanians in Iraq and Iran were each using Arab seconds both to defend their own borders and to threaten the other.

Byzantium's Arab seconds, the Kinda and eventually the Ghassānids, appear to have had no permanent center, and their camp was where their chief was. The tribal headquarters of the Banū Lakhm, on the other hand, who performed the same function for the Sasanians on the eastern side of the great Syrian steppe, had become fixed in a settlement called "the camp", in Arabic al-Ḥīra, on the edge of the steppe near the Euphrates. The greatest of the Persians' Lakhmid phylarchs was al-Mundhir, the relentless shaykh who bedeviled the affairs of Byzantium in the east for three decades. Indeed, it was the success of al-Mundhir, Procopius tells us, that inspired Justinian to promote his own Ghassānid vassal Arethas (al-Ḥārith) to an extended phylarchate, and to bestow upon him the grandiose title of "king".³⁶

³⁵ Many of Shahid's (earlier: Kavar) preliminary studies on the Ghassānids have been incorporated into the later volumes of his trilogy, but they are also available in a reprint collection: *Byzantium and the Semitic Orient before the Rise of Islam* (London, 1988). On the Kinda, see also Michael Lecker, "The Conversion of Ḥimyar to Judaism and the Jewish Banū Hadl of Medina", *Die Welt des Orients* 26 (1995), 129–36.

³⁶ *Wars* I.17.46; Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, I, 95–130.

Al-Ḥārith does not immediately concern us here, but in what was clearly a related move, his brother Abū Karib received their father Jabala's old territory of Palestina Tertia, as well as parts of the northern Ḥijāz, and even the island of Iotabe which his father Jabala had seized and been forced to disgorge some 30 years before. According to Procopius, who could scarcely conceal his disdain for the bargain, Justinian was to some extent moved by the fact that Abū Karib had formally ceded to the empire some quite worthless real estate called "the Palm Grove", where, as Procopius noted, "absolutely nothing is produced except palms". The emperor owned but could scarcely control it "since a land completely destitute of human beings, and extremely parched, lies between, extending for a distance of ten days journey".³⁷ As Shahid has pointed out, the gift extended imperial authority, at least nominally, farther into the northern Ḥijāz than it had been since the second century,³⁸ though it is difficult to understand how it might have been exercised in the face of a total absence of Byzantine garrisons, troops or officials.

Procopius may have been telling us something more, as much by his silence as by his curt dismissal of the appointment. Abū Karib's jurisdiction would have lain directly across what was once a major crossroads in the caravan trade coming up from the south and would later serve the same purpose for the *hajj* caravans to and from Mecca. And yet there is no mention in Procopius, who was interested in commercial questions, nor in any other source, of overland trade activity in that area.

Procopius next attempts to inform the reader where Abū Karib's territory was located and gives in effect a survey of the entire coast of western Arabia as it was known in the mid-sixth century AD.³⁹ What is chiefly remarkable about this survey is that in Procopius' knowledge of Arabia, and presumably in that of his contemporaries too, there is a gap which corresponds exactly with the supposed sphere of influence of Mecca. There is no word of the elusive "Makoraba" mentioned by Ptolemy,⁴⁰ and neither mention nor even space for the Quraysh, who are as invisible as Mecca itself in subsequent Byzantine reports of the region.

The treaty arrangements between Constantinople and the Arab tribes of

³⁷Procopius, *Wars*, I.19.9–13; cf. N. Pilgulewskaja (Pigulevskaya), *Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien. Aus der Geschichte des byzantinischen Handels mit dem Orient vom 4. bis 6. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1969), 261–62.

³⁸*Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, I, 124–30.

³⁹Procopius, *Wars*, I.19.8–16.

⁴⁰See below, n. 78.

the Syrian and north Arabian steppe continued, with mixed results, until the last quarter of the sixth century AD. Though well suited to raiding, the bedouin did not always acquit themselves well in fixed battle, and they were, moreover, difficult to control in times of peace. Procopius' account of the Ghassānids is filled with scarcely veiled accusations of bad faith and treachery on the part of the empire's Arab clients, but it was probably their involvement in the fierce ecclesiastical disputes of the sixth century that finally brought down the Banū Ghassān.⁴¹ The formula proposed to define orthodoxy at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 may have made precisely that definition, but it also effected a deep breach between the emperor with his theologians, who sanctioned the formula, and most of his subjects in the Near East, who defiantly opposed it in the name of what came to be called Monophysitism.

Prominent and active among the Monophysites was al-Mundhir, the paramount shaykh of the Banū Ghassān during the reign of the emperor Tiberius II (r. 578–82) and whose loyalty eventually became suspect. In 581 he was arrested and deported to Sicily.⁴² Almost immediately the 80-year-old Ghassānid confederation began to disintegrate. Most of the regular Byzantine forces were mobilized along the Persian frontier in Mesopotamia, and so when the Arab tribes along the "inner frontier" exploded in insurrection, there was little protection for the smaller settlements and farmsteads through Syria and Palestine, even as far as the Mediterranean coast. Al-Mundhir's regalia were stored in what appears to have been the principal Ghassānid arms depot at Bostra, and even in this heavily fortified place the Byzantines were forced to surrender and yield to Arab demands.⁴³

Tiberius himself died in 582 and was succeeded by the Caesar Maurice (r. 582–602). In 584 the new emperor and the new Ghassānid emir al-Nu'mān met and Maurice declared his willingness to recall al-Mundhir, but only on condition that al-Nu'mān campaigned with the Byzantine forces against the Persians and that he accepted the theological formula of Chalcedon.

⁴¹Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, I, 922–38.

⁴²John of Ephesus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, III.40. Neither ancient nor modern historians are certain of the accuracy of the charge; cf. Paul Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam*, I *Byzance et l'Orient sous les successeurs de Justinien: L'empereur Maurice* (Paris, 1951), 252–54; W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement: Chapters in the History of the Church in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1972), 329–30.

⁴³John of Ephesus, *HE*, III, 42; Evagrius, *Historia ecclesiastica* VI.2. The effects of these widespread Arab raids throughout Syria, Palestine and Sinai are reflected in the stories of monks collected by John Moschus (d. 634) in his *Spiritual Meadow* (nos. 155, 99 and 133); cf. Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam*, I, 261–63.

The phylarch refused, and he too was arrested and sent to join his father in exile in Sicily. Maurice then changed the Arab policy that had been followed in Byzantium since the time of Justinian. In place of a single unified phylarchate under a Ghassānid emir, he divided his Arab federates into fifteen smaller phylarchates, and so, sums up the Monophysite historian John of Ephesus, “the kingdom of the Christian Arabs ended because of the perversity of the Romans (Byzantines) and heresy (that is, imperially sanctioned Chalcedonianism) began to increase among the Arabs”.⁴⁴ This was, as Theodor Nöldeke remarked, “not a new arrangement, but anarchy”.⁴⁵

We must assume that Maurice’s piecemeal phylarchate operated throughout the last years of the sixth century and into the seventh. Destructive wars between Byzantium and Iran resumed under Phocas (r. 602–10) and his successor Heraclius (r. 610–41)—so at the time of Muḥammad’s adult life—and ravaged all Byzantium’s eastern provinces from Mesopotamia to Sinai and Egypt. Though they were restored to the Byzantine payroll and played some part in the Byzantine defense of Palestine against both the Persians in 614 and the Muslims in the 630s,⁴⁶ the Ghassānids never regained the position they had in the second half of the sixth century. The later Greek sources say little of them, and the modern historian is left to deal with the Arab poets like Ḥassān ibn Thābit and chroniclers like al-Ṭabarī,⁴⁷ whose information is quite different from that provided by a Malalas or a Procopius. The last we hear of these defensive alliances is a rather off-hand remark by the historian Theophanes, who, after describing the Muslim raid into Transjordan in 629, adds that it was in this same year that the emperor Heraclius discontinued the stipends he was paying to certain of his Arab wardens of the frontier,⁴⁸ an act whose consequences carry us forward to the Islamic era.

⁴⁴ John of Ephesus, *HE*, III, 56; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. and trans. J.-B. Chabot (Paris, 1899–24), II, 372.

⁴⁵ Theodor Nöldeke, *Die ghassānischen Fürsten aus dem Hause Gafna’s*, (Berlin, 1887), 33.

⁴⁶ Nöldeke, *Ghassānischen Fürsten*, 33–45; Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, I, 634–41, 648–51; the evidence is not entirely convincing. On the Arab looting of Byzantine settlements in those disturbed times, see Robert Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule: a Historical and Archeological Study* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1995), 31–33.

⁴⁷ The Arab sources will be treated at length in the second volume of Shahid’s *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*.

⁴⁸ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), 335–36. The context is uncertain; see Philip Mayerson, “The First Muslim Attacks on Southern Palestine”, *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 95 (1964), 165.

Away to the east, the shah Khusraw was also well aware of the value of his Lakhmid client allies who could be launched like missiles at the Byzantines across the Syrian steppe, and shortly after 531, according to al-Ṭabarī, he made their shaykh, al-Mundhir, king of 'Umān, Baḥrayn, al-Yamāma and the neighboring parts of Arabia as far as the town of al-Ṭā'if in the Ḥijāz.⁴⁹ Whatever the truth of this assertion, al-Mundhir was certainly exercising sovereignty over the tribal confederation of the Ma'add in central Arabia toward the middle of the century, when Abraha sent out an expedition from the Yemen against him.⁵⁰

In the end, Khusraw II, like his Byzantine contemporaries, replaced a centralized dynastic phylarchate with an "agent" in al-Ḥīra, in the person of the new and unknown Iyās ibn Qabiṣa, while other shaykhs were given fiefs in the border lands. The new system was soon tested, since sometime about 610 the steppe tribes revolted against Khusraw II. He sent out Iyās to confront them, and with him there were Persian garrison troops from the Sasanian frontier forts. The outcome was the famous battle of Dhū Qār, a modest watering-hole whose exact location is unknown, but whose notoriety in the Arab chronicles stems from the fact that it marked the first occasion when the tribes of Arabia met and defeated the forces of the shah, a grave portent of things to come.

We do not know as much about the shah's dealings with his Arabs as we do of the parallel arrangement on the western, Byzantine side of the steppe, but it is fairly certain from the Arab traditions (explored by Kister in Chapter 5) that the relationship between the shah, his Lakhmid vassals, the bedouin of the steppe and the settled peoples of the Ḥijāz and the Tihāma was grounded in both profit and force. The shah, as the final sovereign, granted to his Lakhmid "agents" the right to collect taxes from their clients, a right that was exercised either by further tax-farming or, in the end, by the imposition of force. The troops available to the Lakhmids for these exercises are variously described in the sources, but they were apparently a very mixed bag of Lakhmid family cohorts, levies from the population of al-Ḥīra, hostages, outlaws, and Persian regulars.

The control exercised by the shah through his vassals ranged widely

⁴⁹ Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. M.J. de Goeje *et al.* (Leiden, 1879—1901), I, 958; cf. Sidney Smith, "Events in Arabia in the Sixth Century A.D.", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 16 (1954), 442. On the career of al-Mundhir see Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 170–71 n. 1.

⁵⁰ Described in the South Arabian inscription Ry 506; = Gonzague Ryckmans, "Inscriptions sud-arabes", *Le Muséon* 66 (1953), 275–84). Cf. Smith, "Events in Arabia", 435.

indeed. The Tanūkh were settled as far north as al-Anbār in northern Mesopotamia, and south of al-Ḥīra the Lakhmids controlled eastern Arabia as far as Baḥrayn, and this even after their loss of al-Ḥīra, though then with the shared jurisdiction of a Sasanian marzban or military governor. They reached into the Ḥijāz as well, where for a spell the Jewish tribes at Medina levied taxes for the Lakhmids, who were collecting them, doubtless, in the name of the shah.⁵¹ By the mid-sixth century, then, the Sasanians were in firm control of much of the eastern and central areas of eastern Arabia through the intermediacy of their vassal Lakhmids—the Persians were as little capable as the Byzantines of maintaining a permanent presence on the steppe—but a half century later that control was showing signs of disintegration. The Lakhmids were gone, replaced in the Persians' service by less potent and less reliable local shaykhs, and even the foothold in the prized Yemen which the Sasanians then gained turned out to be more troublesome, and far less valuable, than had been first imagined.

THE RELIGION OF THE ARABS

Conversion to Christianity was, as we have seen, one of the essential ties that bound Arab federates to their Byzantine patrons. But Christianity spread beyond those formal political bonds into the larger world of the Syrian and Arabian tribes.

Arab Christianity

Though there is abundant material on the subject,⁵² we suffer some of the same disabilities in trying to understand the introduction, spread and practice of Christianity among the Arabs as we do in studying the phylarchates: our sources are principally literary ones from the high Hellenic tradition, both secular and ecclesiastical. The first dwell chiefly on the political relations between the empire and its *foederati*. But even here it is clear, as

⁵¹Franz Altheim and Ruth Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike* (Frankfurt, 1957), 149-51; Kister, Chapter 5 below.

⁵²Enough, at any rate, to produce four monographs (listed in the Bibliography) on the subject: François Nau, *Les Arabes chrétiens de Mésopotamie et de Syrie du VIIe au VIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1933); Henri Charles, *Le Christianisme des arabes nomades sur le limes et dans le désert syro-mésopotamien aux alentours de l'Hégire* (Paris, 1936); René Aigrain, art. "Arabie", in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, III (Paris, 1924), 1158-1339; Trimmingham, *Christianity Among the Arabs*. Compare, on a smaller scale, Richard Bell, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment* (London, 1926), 1-32; Tor Andrae, *Les origines de l'Islam et le Christianisme* (Paris, 1955), both of whom put that Christian environment in the proximate context of the origins of Islam.

has already been noted, that religion, more specifically conversion to Christianity from the indigenous polytheism, had a major role to play, first as a condition for entering into a treaty relationship with the Roman state, and then in the fierce sectarian strife that followed upon the Council of Chalcedon in AD 451 and continued throughout the sixth and well into the seventh century. But the ecclesiastical writers—notably Theodoret and Cyril of Scythopolis⁵³—provide some sense of what, other than politics, attracted the tribes to Christianity, to wit, the example of Christian holy men already living in remote outposts where they were accessible to the nomads,⁵⁴ even at a great distance, and the miracles that they and others could still perform in the name of Christ.⁵⁵

To these attractions we must certainly add what Henri Charles called “the heterodox (that is, the anti-Chalcedonians) and their missionary zeal”.⁵⁶ The Ghassānids were indeed energetic in their defense of Monophysitism, but did a Monophysite bishop like Theodore actually proselytize deep into the Hījāz? Irfan Shahid has tried to track that Monophysite “zeal” into Arabia itself, but as he himself concedes, the argument rests almost entirely on inference,⁵⁷ or wishful thinking.⁵⁸ And while much of our evidence does, in fact, point to strong Monophysite influences among the nomadic and semi-nomadic Arab tribes in the sixth century, the Nestorian church of Iraq had its own Arab proselytes,⁵⁹ particularly the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra.⁶⁰

Though we can chart certain events in its history, describing the substance and practice of Arab Christianity is a far more difficult matter. That

⁵³On these authors see Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 148–66, 181–206.

⁵⁴On Symeon Stylites, the most famous of the nomadic magnets, see Paul Peeters, *Orient et Byzance: le tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine* (Brussels, 1950), 93–136.

⁵⁵So Henri Charles, *Le Christianisme des arabes nomades sur le limes et dans le désert syro-mésopotamien aux alentours de l'Hégire* (Paris, 1936), 29–50.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 52–54.

⁵⁷Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 355–60; *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, I, 850–53. See the more guarded assessments in Charles, *Christianisme*, 85–94; Trimmingham, *Christianity*, 243–79.

⁵⁸Louis Cheikho's early twentieth-century mirage of an extensive body of pre-Islamic Christian Arab poetry dissipated almost as soon as it appeared; see Camille Hechaimé, *Louis Cheikho et son livre "Le Christianisme et la littérature chrétienne en Arabie avant l'Islam"* (Beirut, 1967).

⁵⁹François Nau, *Les Arabes chrétiens de Mésopotamie et de Syrie du VIIe au VIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1933), 36–94; Charles, *Christianisme*, 55–84; Trimmingham, *Christianity*, 125–77.

⁶⁰Trimingham, *Christianity*, 188–202; see also Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*, 353–57.

the Christian Arabs constituted a kind of "church"⁶¹ is evident from the bishops consecrated for their use at the Palestinian *parembolē* ("camp") or working among the Monophysite Ghassānids. These included a certain Theodore, whose episcopal seat was apparently the principal Ghassānid encampment at Jabiya south of Damascus. Monasticism was particularly cultivated among them, and many of its more popular reflexes, such as the veneration of holy men and of relics, are attested. What we do not know much about is the actual Christian Arab cultus, an ignorance hinged on substantial doubts as to whether there was in existence an Arabic translation of the New Testament, with the inevitable corollary that the language of worship and piety may not have been Arabic, but Syriac or Christian Aramaic.⁶²

We are, in consequence, ill-informed about the character of the Christianity beyond the immediate borderlands of the great empires, and so, to be more precise, of the milieu from which Islam emerged. That there were some Christians at Mecca can scarcely be doubted,⁶³ and the Qur'ān, and hence Muḥammad, know about the Gospel, Jesus, Mary, churches, monks and monasteries. However, the Qur'ān's version of Christianity is a notorious hybrid and ill conforms with any existing model.⁶⁴

The Pagus

The religious beliefs and practices of the Arabs who were not Christians are as widely distributed and as broadly diverse as the Arab diaspora itself. Leaving aside the relatively richly documented cult and piety of the

⁶¹So the concluding remarks in Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 520–28: "The Arab Church".

⁶²The matter is still very much in dispute. Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 422–29, 449–50, has marshalled the (circumstantial) arguments for a pre-Islamic Arabic translation of the New Testament, and Sidney H. Griffith, "The Gospel in Arabic: an Inquiry into its Appearance in the First Abbasid Century", *Oriens Christianus* 69 (1985), 126–67, those against it.

⁶³Christians in the Hijāz: Trimmingham, *Christianity*, 258–59. The evidence for Mecca, all of it literary, has been collected by Henri Lammens, *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'hégire* (Beirut, 1928), 1–50; see also Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 390–92. Cf. M.J. Kister, "On Strangers and Allies in Mecca", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 13 (1990), 150: "There was probably also a Christian enclave in Mecca, but no explicit information to this effect occurs in the sources". On the existence of a transient Jewish population at Mecca, see Lammens, *op. cit.*, 51–99.

⁶⁴W. Montgomery Watt, "The Christianity Criticized in the Qur'ān", *The Muslim World* 57 (1967), 197–201; J. Bowman, "The Debt of Islam to Monophysite Christianity", in E.C.B. MacLaurin, ed., *Essays in Honour of G.W. Thatcher* (Sydney, 1967), 201–40, among others, have attempted, quite unsuccessfully, to take its measure.

Aramaicized—and Hellenized—Arabs who worshipped at Petra and Palmyra, some of the evidence for the other Arabs is localized in an area like the Ḥawrān, for example, where nomads and sedentaries were in regular contact, and the epigraphic and other archaeological evidence allow for a detailed and nuanced portrait of religious practices.⁶⁵ For nomadic religion, on the other hand, the evidence, which is almost exclusively literary, is diffuse and often impressionistic, and treatments of it have been painted in broader strokes.

Since the nineteenth century the religion of the Arab bedouin has attracted the attention of scholars interested in broader issues, and particularly for the light it might shed on the religion of the Hebrews, those other nomadic Semites. This was the motive for the classic study by the Old Testament scholar Julius Wellhausen, as it was for that of the anthropologist W. Robertson Smith. A number of others have followed in both their steps, from the historical and the anthropological or sociological perspective,⁶⁶ though no longer with an eye solely to the Hebrew tradition (see Henninger, Chapter 6).

Muḥammad's immediate milieu at Mecca was, it is clear, neither Christian nor Jewish,⁶⁷ but *paganus*, a word in vogue among the Christians of late antiquity to describe those who were not monotheists and who worshipped idols. They were the denizens of the rural outback, the *pagus*, which from the vantage of Alexandria, Antioch or Seleucia-Ctesiphon would certainly describe the Ḥijāz. Islam was as scornful as Christianity of such people and their practices—their era in Arabia was known as the *jāhiliyya*, an age of barbarism or ignorance—but enough evidence survived that scorn to enable us to reconstruct the Arab paganism in Muḥammad's immediate vicinity in a fairly satisfactory way. Our chief debt is to Hishām ibn al-Kalbī (d. AD 821), a South Arabian antiquarian whose *Book of Idols* provides a panorama of the pre-Islamic Arab pantheon and the cultus associated with it.⁶⁸ Given the absence of any conclusive archaeological evidence for Ḥijāzī piety,⁶⁹ it

⁶⁵ Masterfully drawn by Dominique Sourdel, *Les cultes du Ḥaurān à l'époque romaine* (Paris, 1952).

⁶⁶ Chelhod's works attempt to locate Arab religious practices in a wider context and to trace their continuity into Islam.

⁶⁷ See n. 63 above, and below, 36–38.

⁶⁸ *GAS*, I, 268–71, for the author and editions.

⁶⁹ A not terribly convincing attempt to extrapolate from Negev evidence to Meccan origins has been made by Yehuda D. Nevo, "Towards a Prehistory of Islam", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 17 (1994), 108–41, and with Judith Koren, "The Origins of the Muslim Descriptions of the Jāhili Meccan Sanctuary", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 49 (1990), 23–44.

remains one of the principal sources for the reconstruction of pre-Islamic Meccan paganism. Wellhausen made extensive use of Ibn al-Kalbī's work, but Henri Lammens cast his net far wider, into the large body of preserved pre-Islamic Arab poetry and the results are laid out in two important studies of the religious environment of the Ḥijāz.⁷⁰

Finally there is the delicate possibility of reconstructing Arab paganism from the Qur'ān's own strictures against it; delicate because the Qur'ān's position was that some at least of the religious practices current in Mecca preserved the original Abrahamic legacy of monotheism and thus should continue to be observed in the new dispensation.⁷¹ Montgomery Watt has passed most of the available evidence under review, and he and other scholars have naturally concentrated on the pre-Islamic versions of Allāh, and on the considerably more mysterious "daughters of Allāh" who also figure in the Qur'ān.⁷²

An Oasis Settlement

The religious practices of Mecca revolved around or, perhaps better, were generally incorporated into the rituals connected with its central shrines. Yathrib, later renamed Medina, 275 miles to the north, was a very different kind of place,⁷³ a self-sufficient oasis with a cash crop (dates) and a mixed permanent population of pagans and Jews. The best over-all treatments of the place remain those of Julius Wellhausen (1889) and A.J. Wensinck (1908, now updated), though there is by now enough new source material and new approaches to make a fresh study desirable. One such new approach is that undertaken by Michael Lecker on the geography and demography of the settlement.⁷⁴ The demography is particularly important since it was tribal strife within the oasis that led to the invitation for Muḥammad to migrate to

⁷⁰Henri Lammens, "Les sanctuaires pré-islamites dans l'Arabie occidentale", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 11 (1926), 39–173, and "Le culte des bétyles et les processions religieuses chez les Arabes préislamites", in his *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'hégire* (Beirut, 1928), 100–80.

⁷¹See further below, 41–42.

⁷²W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad's Mecca: History in the Qur'ān* (Edinburgh, 1988).

⁷³So too was al-Ṭā'if, an agricultural town east of Mecca, and some notion of the religious practices current there appears from Muḥammad's negotiations with them in early Islamic days; see M.J. Kister, "Some Reports Concerning Ṭā'if", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 1 (1979), 61–91; Henri Lammens, *La cité arabe de Ṭā'if à la veille de l'Hégire* [= *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 8 (1922), 115–327] (Beirut, 1922).

⁷⁴*Muslims, Jews, and Pagans: Studies in Early Islamic Medina* (Leiden, 1995); see also xii–xiv on the literary sources, all from the Islamic era.

the Yathrib in 622. There is now a detailed study of the two principal Arab tribes, the Aws and the Khazraj,⁷⁵ but the origins of the Jews there—they too are represented as tribes—and the quality of their Jewishness are still the subject of discussion (see Gil in Chapter 8).⁷⁶ But a Jewish presence in the oases north of Yathrib up through the Wādī l-Qurā is now better attested, as is the relatively powerful position of Jews within the Yathrib settlement, and their links with the Quraysh in Mecca.⁷⁷

Pre-Islamic Mecca

Some of the religious practices of Muḥammad's native place have been noted in the more general context of pre-Islamic Arab religion; here we look more closely at the town in all its aspects—social, economic, and religious—elements that are closely linked in the case of Mecca.

HOW AND WHAT DO WE KNOW OF PRE-ISLAMIC MECCA?

All our literary sources on Mecca are Islamic—no pre-Islamic author, not even the best-informed, seems to have heard of it⁷⁸—though the Qur'ān itself, which we are fairly certain began to unfold there, mentions the town by name only once, and that in the Medinan Sūrat al-Faḥ (48), v. 24.⁷⁹ All the medieval biographers of the Prophet offer, of course, more or less trustworthy details about Muḥammad's native city in the days before Islam, but the bulk of our information comes from the city's relatively few medieval

⁷⁵Isaac Hasson, "Contributions à l'étude des Aws et des Khazraj", *Arabica* 36 (1989), 1–35.

⁷⁶In addition, see I. Ben-Zvi, "Les origines de l'établissement des tribus d'Israel en Arabie", *Le Muséon* 74 (1961), 143–90; Gordon Newby, *A History of the Jews of Arabia from Ancient Times to Their Eclipse under Islam* (Columbia, SC, 1988); and particularly Lecker, *Muslims, Jews and Pagans*, 10–11, where Jewish power in the oasis is attested.

⁷⁷See also Trimmingham, *Christianity*, 249–50; Michael Lecker, "A Note on Early Marriage Links Between Qurashīs and Jewish Women", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 10 (1987), 17–39.

⁷⁸It was once thought that the Arabian "Makoraba" reported in Ptolemy's *Geography* (VI.7.32) might be Mecca, but as Patricia Crone has pointed out in her *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (Princeton, 1987), 134–38, neither that identification nor the parsing of Pliny's (*Natural History* 6.150) *Dabanegoris regio* as *dhū Banī Quraysh* has much to recommend it except wishful thinking.

⁷⁹On this anomaly, Patricia Crone and Michael Cook, *Hagarism: the Making of the Islamic World* (Cambridge, 1977), 21–22.

chroniclers:⁸⁰ al-Azraqī (d. AD 837),⁸¹ al-Fākihī (ca. 885),⁸² then, after a long gap, al-Fāsī (1373–1429),⁸³ Ibn Fahd,⁸⁴ the Ottoman historian and long-time Meccan academic Quṭb al-Dīn (d. 1582),⁸⁵ and Ibn Zāhira (d. 1552).⁸⁶ The Prophet's traditions about Mecca were collected by Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭabarī (1218–95).⁸⁷

All the medieval Muslim reports on Mecca are bathed in the glow of its being the birthplace of Islam and further distorted by the conviction that, from the time of Ishmael's settlement there down to the proclamation of Islam, Mecca was in the hands of infidels, including Muḥammad's own ancestors, the tribe of Quraysh. But Mecca is not the only town in Arabia to have risen from obscurity to prominence, and just as the modern Ruwāla, as mentioned above, have been used to cast light on early bedouin, so the rise of the Jabal Shammar town of Ḥā'il in north-central Arabia might usefully serve as (a very partial) analogue to the early development of Mecca,⁸⁸ particularly

⁸⁰ Mecca's later historians are browsed in *GAL*, II, 220–24; SII, 220–24. Their more recent publication history is briefly sketched in Hamad al-Jasir, "Manuscripts in the History of Makkah and Madinah", in John Cooper, ed., *The Significance of Islamic Manuscripts: Proceedings of the Inaugural Conference of Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation* (London, 1992), 107–13. Al-Jasir notes the publication in Mecca of al-Fahd ibn 'Umar ibn Muḥammad (1409–80), *Ithāf al-warā' bi-akhbār Umm al-Qurā*, but I cannot find this item.

⁸¹ *GAS*, I, 344; *GAL*, I, 143. *Akhbār Makka*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1858; repr. Hildesheim, 1981; = *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, I). Wüstenfeld's edition has now been superseded by a newer one based on additional Mss. by Rushdī Malḥas (Mecca, 1965); cf. Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 333.

⁸² *GAS*, I, 346; *GAL*, I, 143–44. *Ta'rikh Makka*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, (Leipzig, 1859; repr. Hildesheim, 1981; *Chroniken*, II: *Auszüge aus al-Fākihī*). The surviving parts of Fākihī's *Akhbār Makka* have been twice published in Mecca by 'Abd al-Malik ibn Dubayshī, in 1986–88 and 1994.

⁸³ *Shifā' al-gharām bi-akhbār al-balad al-ḥarām*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (= *Chroniken*, II); republished in Cairo (1956) and Beirut (1985). His *Al-'Iqd al-thamīn fī ta'rikh al-balad al-amīn* was published by Fu'ād Sayyid in Cairo (1965), and *Al-Muqni' min akhbār al-mulūk wa-l-khulafā' wa-wulāt Makka* in Beirut (1986).

⁸⁴ *Ghāyat al-marām bi-akhbār salṭanat al-balad al-ḥarām*, ed. Muḥammad Shaltūṭ in two volumes (Mecca, 1988).

⁸⁵ *Kitāb al-i'lām bi a'lām bayt allāh al-ḥarām*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1857; repr. Hildesheim, 1981; = *Chroniken*, III). For biographical information see the introduction, vii–viii and 211–12 of Wüstenfeld's edition.

⁸⁶ *Al-Jāmi' al-talīf fī faḍl Makka wa-ahlīhā wa-binā' al-bayt al-sharīf* (Cairo, 1938).

⁸⁷ *Al-Qirā li-qāṣid Umm al-Qurā*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā (Cairo, 1970). For an attempt to construct such scattered reports into a city history, see Lammens, *La cité arabe de Tā'if*.

⁸⁸ The European nineteenth- and early twentieth-century descriptions of Ḥā'il and its fortunes have been collected in Philip Ward, ed., *Hā'il: Oasis City of Saudi Arabia* (Cambridge, 1983), and imaginatively utilized in Ugo Fabietti, "Hail", in *La conservazione delle*

in its relationships with the surrounding bedouin.

THE ORGANIZATION OF A SHRINE CITY

For all its resemblances to the earlier Mecca, Ḥā'il was a very secular place, while the Ḥijāz town was, from the time we know of it, a shrine city—it is still an open question whether the shrine created the settlement or vice versa—and its development was to a large extent a function of that fact, as it still is today.

Muslim accounts purporting to describe Mecca as it was in the days before Muḥammad's call focus their attention on three areas. First is what might be called institutional Mecca, where the reports in question describe the various municipal offices whereby Mecca was governed; these are analyzed by G.R. Hawting (Chapter 12).⁸⁹ The offices are "municipal" only by courtesy, however, since they are chiefly connected with the supervision of Mecca's shrine complex rather than with the town as a whole. Save for the *dār al-nadwa*, where the magnates of Mecca met, and the shadowy *malā* or council, we have little idea of how Mecca was actually governed.⁹⁰ Further, for all the emphasis on them in the chroniclers, these alleged organs of government are all but invisible in the biographies of Muḥammad, where the running of the city is in the hands of informal gatherings of Mecca's most powerful clans. There can be no doubt, however, that the various rights and privileges connected with the shrine—its wardenship and the control of food and drink for pilgrims—are authentic and ancient; many of them persisted as coveted emoluments into Islamic times.

More ubiquitous in our sources, though preserved in a far more diffuse and discursive fashion, are observations about the social (and deeply political) relationships which underlay the town's organization. The town was exactly that, an urban conglomerate, but it was for all that no less tribal in its outlook and its manner of conducting its affairs.⁹¹ The tribal Quraysh were the masters of the settlement,⁹² but they suffered their own internal

città storiche nell'Europa e nell'area mediterranea. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Bologna, 1982), 147-60.

⁸⁹The earlier account by Muhammad Hamidullah, "The City-State of Mecca", *Islamic Culture* 12 (1938), 253-66, is purely descriptive.

⁹⁰Henri Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire* [= *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 9 (1924), 96-439] (Beirut, 1924), 62-81, 168-71.

⁹¹Watt, *Muhammad's Mecca*, 15-25.

⁹²Lammens, *La Mecque*, 158-77.

divisions from the outset,⁹³ divisions that escalated into continuous power (or perhaps class)⁹⁴ struggles between the principal clans and came to a head in the formation of powerful alliances like that of the *muṭayyabūn* and the *aḥlāf*.⁹⁵ The condition has been closely analyzed since it represents the social and perhaps even the moral dynamic from which Islam was born.⁹⁶

Though a tribal society, Mecca was also a socially open one. The rulers of Mecca welcomed individuals and small groups of immigrants from among its tribal neighbors like the Tamīm. They were tied to single or to groups of Meccans either through formal alliance (*ḥilf*) or by marriages with Meccan women,⁹⁷ and often rose to positions of power and influence in the town. With larger tribal groups like the Thaḳīf of al-Ṭā'if, the Quraysh attempted to arrive at similar agreements of accord.⁹⁸

While the tribal lines are the most distinct in the sources, Mecca's pre-Islamic population was a mixed and varied lot. Note has already been taken of the presence of tribal outsiders and of Jews and Christians among the population,⁹⁹ but what is still the matter of some debate is the presence

⁹³M.J. Kister, "Some Reports Concerning Mecca from Jāhiliyya to Islam", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 15 (1972), 81-83; Mahmood Ibrahim, "Social and Economic Conditions in Pre-Islamic Mecca", *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 14 (1982), 350-52.

⁹⁴One class that was not an apparent part of the struggle but is attracting growing attention is that of women. On pre-Islamic Arab women generally, see Nabia Abbott, "Women and the State on the Eve of Islam", *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 58 (1941), 259-84; and on those of Mecca in particular, see Gertrude H. Stern *Marriage in Early Islam* (London, 1939); Fatima Mernissi, *Behind the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in Modern Muslim Society*, rev. ed. (Bloomington, 1987); Leila Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate* (New Haven, 1992); Barbara Freyer Stowasser, *Women in the Qur'ān: Traditions and Interpretation* (New York, 1994).

⁹⁵Ibrahim, "Social and Economic Conditions", 351-53; Kister, "Some Reports Concerning Mecca", 81-84; *idem*, "On Strangers and Allies in Mecca", 144-48 and n. 51.

⁹⁶So, professedly, by Eric Wolf and more famously by W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford, 1953), 16-29; on this "secular" approach to the origins of Islam, see in particular the critique in G.H. Bousquet, "Un explication marxiste de l'Islam par un ecclésiastique épiscopalien", *Hesperis* 41 (1954), 231-47, directed at Watt but applicable to what has by now become a standard diagnosis of Mecca's pre-Islamic ills, and the reaction of Joseph Chelhod, *Introduction à la sociologie de l'Islam: De l'animisme à la universalisme* (Paris, 1958), Appendix 1, 189-95.

⁹⁷Kister, "On Strangers and Allies", 123-25, for Khadīja's marriage to a *ḥalīf*. Lecker, "Early Marriage Links", studies the interesting cases of marriages to Jewish women from Khaybar and Medina, including some by Muḥammad's ancestors.

⁹⁸Kister, "On Strangers and Allies", 142-44; cf. Muhammad Hamidullah, *Le Prophète de l'Islam I. Sa vie*. (Paris, 1959), 279-360, and Kister, "Some Reports Concerning Tā'if".

⁹⁹See n. 63 above.

and function in Mecca of a group called the *aḥābīsh*. These appear, on the face of it, to have been Abyssinians from across the Red Sea, Christians most likely, and possibly part of a merchant colony. Henri Lammens, who investigated the reports on the group, thought he found something different, an Abyssinian mercenary force that served as the Quraysh's military arm.¹⁰⁰ Lammens' intent was undoubtedly to deprecate the valor of the Quraysh, and Montgomery Watt and Muhammad Hamidullah both took exception to the identification, though Watt conceded "there is something mysterious about them". Toufic Fahd reopened the discussion in 1989 and found for Lammens: the *aḥābīsh* of pre-Islamic Mecca were indeed Abyssinian mercenaries.¹⁰¹

THE TRADE OF MECCA

Religion was unmistakably the business of Mecca, in the sense that without its shrine the prospects of that ill-favored settlement¹⁰² would have been exiguous indeed. But with its shrine centered around the Ka'ba and embracing a variety of local deities, Mecca, our sources insist, was a prosperous, even a rich place.¹⁰³ The town, it is imagined, now by modern historians, was the commercial heir to those earlier caravan cities, Petra and Palmyra, or perhaps a landlocked prototype of Venice. Indeed, it was the economic development of the town that determined its social and political evolution.¹⁰⁴ The evidence is chiefly from later Muslim sources, but the Qur'ān too seems to support such a construct: its unmistakable commercial terminology shows a familiarity with trade; the condemnation of usury and of the "heaping up

¹⁰⁰ Henri Lammens, "Les 'Aḥābīsh' et l'organisation militaire de la Mecque au siècle de l'hégire" in his *L'Arabie occidentale*, 237–94.

¹⁰¹ Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 154–57; Hamidullah, *Le Prophète*, 183–86; Toufic Fahd, "Rapports de la Mekke préislamique avec l'Abyssinie: le cas des *aḥābīsh*", in idem, ed., *L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 24–27 juin 1987* (Leiden, 1989), 539–48.

¹⁰² Lammens, *La Mecque*, 110–15; F.E. Peters, *Mecca: a Literary History of the Muslim Holy Land* (Princeton, 1994), 21–24.

¹⁰³ The most detailed description of the international trade of Mecca and the consequent enrichment of the Quraysh is in Lammens, *La Mecque*, 212–332, and most economic analyses of Mecca, including Wolf's and Watt's, go back to that base.

¹⁰⁴ Robert Simon, *Meccan Trade and Islam: Problems of Origin and Structure*, (Budapest, 1989); cf. Armand Arbel, "L'incidence de l'activité commerciale de la Mekke sur son développement urbain", in *Dalla Tribu allo Stato. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Atti del Convegno Internazionale sul Thema: Dalla Tribu allo Stato (1961)* (Rome, 1962), 124: "Le plan du travail nous semble imposé par l'hypothèse fondamentale qui fait du phénomène économique le prémisses déterminant le phénomène social."

of gold and silver” would appear to be addressed to a greedy mercantilism;¹⁰⁵ and finally, one *sūra* seems actually to describe that mercantilism.

In 1956 Harris Birkeland published a ground-breaking study on the evolution (and manipulation) of Qur’ānic exegesis. Two of his examples are the *sūras* called “The Elephant” (105) and “Quraysh” (106),¹⁰⁶ which are discrete *sūras* in the now standard editions of the Qur’ān. Some medieval Muslim exegetes, however, and most modern scholars are more inclined to accept them as a single unit. The opening of “Quraysh” with a dangling conjunction, for example, is particularly problematic on both philological and syntactical grounds, a difficulty that disappears if it is seamlessly joined to “The Elephant”. The issue is important. The *sūra*, as it turns out, is the point of departure for all subsequent stories of not only how the Quraysh conducted their trade—through *ilāf*—but when—winter and summer caravans—and, by inference, where, to the Yemen in the south and Gaza in the north.

The *ilāf* of *Sūrat Quraysh* (106), v. 1, have been often—and uniformly—construed.¹⁰⁷ They were the trade pacts made by Muḥammad’s great-grandfather Hāshim with the bedouin tribes along the western Arabian trade routes, that enabled the Quraysh to undertake their immensely profitable caravan trade from the Yemen to Mediterranean emporia like Gaza.¹⁰⁸ The newly initiated trade had another benign effect: the same Meccan caravans that carried luxury goods northward returned filled with foodstuffs for the chronically hungry and thirsty Mecca.¹⁰⁹

There is more than one problem with this. The more plausible interpretations of *Sūrat Quraysh* (106), the apparent *fons et origo* of tales of Meccan trade:

1. make it unlikely that *ilāf* means trade pacts;
2. indicate that the event referred to is probably the successful turning back of a Yemeni–Abyssinian attack upon the town in Muḥammad’s grandfather’s day (on which, see below). Thus, if there was any change

¹⁰⁵ *Sūrat al-Baqara* (2), vs. 275–76; *Sūrat al-Tawba* (9), v. 34. Cf. Abel, “L’incidence”, 135; Watt, *Muhammad’s Mecca*, 41–44.

¹⁰⁶ Harris Birkeland, *The Lord Guideth: Studies on Primitive Islam* (Oslo, 1956), 100–30.

¹⁰⁷ See, amongst others, M.J. Kister, “Mecca and Tamīm”, *Journal of the Social and Economic History of the Orient* 8 (1965), 116–31.

¹⁰⁸ Kister, “Some Reports Concerning Mecca”, 61–62, 76–78.

¹⁰⁹ So, among others, Fred McGraw Donner, “Mecca’s Food Supply and Muḥammad’s Boycott”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 20 (1977), 249–66, who traces the capitulation of Mecca to Muhammad in 630 to the Prophet’s tightening hand on this supply pipeline.

in the fortunes of the Quraysh, it probably dated from that era and that event and not from anything Hāshim did in the preceding generation.

3. point out that the “winter and summer journey” of v. 2 may refer to any number of things, including pilgrimages to the Quraysh-controlled shrine of Mecca.

The quality and quantity of the trade of pre-Islamic Mecca is still an open question. But Mecca of that era bore no resemblance to the earlier caravan cities of the second and first century BC, and neither the Mediterranean consumers nor the eastern producers of luxury items were accessible to the Quraysh. Finally, Patricia Crone’s re-reading of the Arabic sources on Meccan trade has yielded results quite different from those of Lammens: there was no notable trade in Mecca—none at least of the type imagined by modern scholars—and the Quraysh show no signs of being traders.¹¹⁰

The Religion of Mecca

The best attested part of the religious life of the Arabs of western Arabia has to do with pilgrimages to the various shrines there. The emphasis carries us back to the earliest history of Mecca, where the “offices” fought over and then enjoyed by the chief families among the Quraysh had to do with control over one or another aspect of the pilgrimage to the Meccan Ka‘ba. There was profit as well as prestige in these offices,¹¹¹ and here if anywhere lies the kernel of truth about the commercial successes of the Quraysh and the renown of Mecca. Mecca had a shrine. There were others to be sure, possibly in the city and certainly in the vicinity;¹¹² but whatever fortune

¹¹⁰Patricia Crone, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (Princeton, 1987). See R.B. Serjeant’s critique, “Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam: Misconceptions and Flawed Polemics”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 110 (1990), 472–86 (he concedes that Qurashī trade has been inflated by Western scholarship); and Crone’s rejoinder, “Serjeant and Meccan Trade”, *Arabica* 39 (1992), 216–40.

¹¹¹M.J. Kister “Mecca and the Tribes of Arabia: Some Notes on Their Relations”, in Moshe Sharon, ed., *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon* (Jerusalem and Leiden, 1986), 33–34, on some of the taxes exacted from pilgrims. The struggle over the shrine offices before Islam strongly suggests that it was the pilgrims who paid for their food and drink, and that the Quraysh, or some Quraysh, had a monopoly on providing them.

¹¹²Henri Lammens, “Les sanctuaires pré-islamites dans l’Arabie occidentale”, *Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph* 11 (1926), 39–173, has gathered and analyzed the considerable evidence for such shrines, and see Kister, “Mecca and the Tribes of Arabia”, 42–45, for the attempt on the part of the Banū Murra to set up a competitive shrine, as Muḥammad himself may have had in mind for Medina.

the Quraysh possessed came from the cult around the Ka'ba. This was not what Muslims later called the *hajj*, whose ceremonies unfolded well outside Mecca, but rather the *'umra*, the "Lesser Pilgrimage", as the Muslims later called it. The *'umra* was a spring festival (the *hajj* took place in the fall), in that era when the Arabs still "intercalated" or made seasonal adjustments in their calendar,¹¹³ and included the adoption of ritually pure clothing and lifestyle, the performance of sacrifices at prescribed places, and ritual processions around the Ka'ba shrine and between the sacred high places of al-Ṣafā and Marwa.¹¹⁴

The only other pilgrimage rituals we know of are those connected with the *hajj*, outside Mecca. There was sacrifice at a place called Minā and "standings" and "runnings" at Muzdalifa and 'Arafāt, the latter a high place eleven miles distant from Mecca. These are only fragments of ritual; the larger religious contexts in which they originally occurred have been removed or forgotten, and in their place we have transparently artificial connections with Abraham and Ishmael. What is most curious, however, is that these extra-urban rites had little or nothing to do with Mecca or the Quraysh and yet became the centerpiece of Muslim ritual, while the Quraysh-directed and Mecca-centered *'umra* was relegated to the status of the "Lesser Pilgrimage", which might or might not be made at the pilgrim's pleasure.¹¹⁵

Many of the pilgrimages of pre-Islamic Arabia had fairs attached to them. The bedouin could approach the shrines and holy places under a "truce of God" which temporarily suspended the laws of vendetta and blood feud and thus allowed dangerously combustible nomadic elements to mingle for purposes of worship and commerce and entertainment.¹¹⁶ There appears not to have been any fair connected with Mecca: the close confines of the town may have been too dangerous a place for the hostilely jostling nomads, whereas all the other reported fair sites were deserted places where the bedouin could camp at a safe distance from one another.¹¹⁷ It is somewhere in this com-

¹¹³ See also Crone, *Meccan Trade*, 173-77.

¹¹⁴ On the *'umra* see Joseph Chelhod, *Le sacrifice chez les Arabes* (Paris, 1955), 148-67.

¹¹⁵ F.E. Peters, *The Hajj: the Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places* (Princeton, 1994), 57-59.

¹¹⁶ These truces took place during the last two months of one year—the *hajj* took place in the latter of those, Dhū l-Ḥijja—and the first month of the year following, the season of fall in the then intercalated calendar of the Arabs, and well as in the springtime seventh month of Rajab, when the *'umra* occurred. On the variety of activities at the annual fairs, see Chelhod, *Sacrifice*, 145-50.

¹¹⁷ See also Crone, *Meccan Trade*, 170-72; Peters, *The Hajj*, 34-35. These sites were so little settled that soon those Muslims who could remember their names could no longer

plex of not always coherent evidence that we must locate the prosperity of the Quraysh, as v. 4 of *Sūrat Quraysh* invites us to think,¹¹⁸ and possibly their later opposition to Muḥammad's preaching. From when we first hear of them, there are high-born and low-born Quraysh living in distinct quarters in Mecca town, or perhaps, if their sedentarization had gone far enough, simply sorted into the more urban categories of rich Quraysh and poor Quraysh.

THE SHRINE AND ITS DEVOTEES

The origins of the Meccan sanctuary (*ḥaram*) and of the Ka'ba, the building that stood in its midst, are lost to us.¹¹⁹ Muslim sources, taking their cue from the *Qur'ān*, traced it back to Abraham and Ishmael, who reportedly (*Sūrat al-Baqara* (2), vv. 125–27) prayed there and built the Ka'ba. Modern scholarship is unwilling to look to Abraham, but the case has been made that there were Jewish influences at work on the shrine before Islam,¹²⁰ or at very least some shared proto-Semitic elements.¹²¹ Another line of inquiry has led into other, though considerably later, Arab parallels, notably from South Arabia (see Serjeant, Chapter 9) and North Africa.¹²²

As Rubin notes (Chapter 13), the original Ka'ba—or at least the structure of Muḥammad's youth—was a rude, perhaps circular, enclosure without a roof; as described it was hardly “cube-like” (as the term Ka'ba implies),

say exactly where they were located. On a recent attempt to locate one of them, Ḥubāsha, see Lecker, “A Note on Early Marriage Links”, 45 n. 45.

¹¹⁸So Uri Rubin, “The *ilāf* of Quraysh”, *Arabica* 31 (1984), 173. The same theme is underlined in *Sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ* (28), v. 57: “Have We not established for them a secure sanctuary, to which are brought as tribute fruits of all kinds, a sustaining provision from Us?”

¹¹⁹The traditional accounts of the shrine down to its expropriation by Muḥammad are summarized in Peters, *The Hajj*, 3–59.

¹²⁰William A. Graham, “Islam in the Mirror of Ritual”, in Richard G. Hovannisian and Speros Vryonis, eds., *Islam's Understanding of Itself* (Malibu, 1983), 54–55; G.R. Hawting, “The Origins of the Islamic Sanctuary at Mecca”, in G.H.A. Juynboll, ed., *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society* (Carbondale, 1982), esp. 27–28: “It seems that the Muslim sanctuary at Mecca is the result of a sort of compromise between a pre-existing pagan sanctuary and sanctuary ideas which had developed first in a Jewish milieu. I envisage that Muslim sanctuary ideas originated first in a Jewish matrix, as did Islam itself. . . .”

¹²¹Julius Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 3rd ed. (Berlin, 1897), 68–101 (“Mekka, der Hagg und die Messen”).

¹²²See also Ugo Fabietti, “Nomadi, santuari e città in Medio Oriente”, in Francesco Remotti, Pietro Scarduelli and Ugo Fabietti, eds., *Centri, Ritualità, Potere. Significati antropologici dello spazio* (Bologna, 1989), 189–90.

though the Muslim sources remember no other name. Nor had any of them seen the original: the Ka'ba, whatever it was called, was extensively rebuilt sometime late in the sixth century, a project in which Muḥammad reportedly took part.¹²³

The Qur'ān gives an impressionistic overview of how the gods of pagan Mecca were worshipped. The chief liturgy was doubtless sacrifice, of both animals and cereals,¹²⁴ and the rites—a common one was divination—were performed at the Ka'ba and a number of other places in the vicinity, notably at the spring of Zamzam.¹²⁵ Pilgrimage to Mecca by the surrounding tribes was a popular—and seasonal—practice,¹²⁶ and, as Rubin points out, included ritual processions or circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) around the Ka'ba and a similar rite between the two hills of al-Ṣafā and Marwa just next to the Ka'ba sanctuary. There was prayer in the pagan era, but it is characterized in the Qur'ān as “whistling and clapping of hands”.¹²⁷ One form of prayer has been preserved. When Muslim pilgrims approach the sanctuary on pilgrimage, they cry out again and again a formulaic salutation beginning: “We are here, O Allāh, we are here.” This so-called *talbiya*, like most else connected with the pilgrimage, antedates Islam, and later authors have preserved a number of such formulae which give some rough idea of a salutational liturgy.¹²⁸

Another devotion practiced among the pre-Islamic Arabs was a kind of spiritual retreat, a solitary resort to a shrine in the hope of finding favor with its god. It is referred to obliquely in Sūrat al-Baqara (2), v. 187: “Be at your

¹²³ Also Kister, “Mecca and the Tribes of Arabia”, 53–58.

¹²⁴ Sūrat al-An'ām (6), v. 136; Sūrat al-Naḥl (16), v. 56; and see Henninger, Chapter 6 below, 12–13. Some animals were, however, the special property of the god. They were exempt from work, subject to special regulations—mentioned obscurely in Sūrat al-Mā'ida (5), v. 103; Sūrat al-An'ām (6), vs. 139, 144–45—and kept in taboo pasturage area (*ḥimā*).

¹²⁵ See Rubin, Chapter 13, 106. Many of the sources report the presence of both “pits” and “stones” (*anṣāb*) in the Meccan sanctuary. The latter might refer to idols, but both are more likely connected with blood sacrifices both in and around the Ka'ba: see Hawting, “The Origins of the Islamic Sanctuary at Mecca”, 25–47; and cf. Toufic Fahd, *Le Panthéon de l'Arabie central à la veille de l'Hégire* (Paris, 1955), 39–40. On the pre-Islamic Zamzam and its connection with the “treasury” of the Ka'ba, see G.R. Hawting, “The Disappearance and Reappearance of Zamzam and the ‘Well of the Ka'ba’”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 43 (1980), 44–54.

¹²⁶ M.J. Kister, “‘Rajab is the Month of God’: a Study of the Persistence of an Early Tradition”, *Israel Oriental Studies* 1 (1971), 191–92.

¹²⁷ Sūrat al-Anfāl (8), v. 35.

¹²⁸ M.J. Kister, “*Labbayka, Allahumma, Labbayka...* On a Monotheist Aspect of a Jāhiliyya Practice”, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 2 (1980), 47–49.

devotions in the shrines", where it is connected with fasting.¹²⁹ We know that some Meccans, among them Muḥammad, practiced a kind of incubation by sleeping in the *ḥijr*,¹³⁰ the space between one of the faces of the Ka'ba and a nearby semicircular wall.¹³¹ And the Prophet used to go, too, into a kind of period retreat at (a shine on?) Mount Ḥirā' outside Mecca.

The association called the *ḥums* stands at the intersection of the political, religious and commercial strains present in pre-Islamic Mecca (see Fabietti, Chapter 17; also Dostal, Chapter 11).¹³² It was based not on kinship but on "religion" (*dīn*), and included the Meccan Quraysh, who were the primary partners, and tribes extending in various directions from Mecca.¹³³ They were bound together by their observance of the sacred months and certain pilgrimage rituals, many of them quite different from the received Muslim *hajj* practices.¹³⁴ The *ḥums* members thus became *muḥrimūn*, in a purified or taboo state, as opposed to other impure (*muḥillūn*) tribesmen.¹³⁵ The tribal members further pledged to defend the sanctity of Mecca and the position of the Quraysh as the (sacred?) wardens of its shrine. Where kinship failed—in the strife among Quṣayy's descendants over control of the Ka'ba offices, for example—the *ḥums* provided an effective alternative for the protection of Mecca, its shrine, and the Quraysh.

The Arab tradition agrees that the *ḥums* agreement came into existence after Abraha's attack on Mecca.¹³⁶ It was the Quraysh's successful resistance to this assault (see below)—perhaps through divine intervention, described in Sūrat al-Fīl (105)—that gave the town's shrine its convincing éclat and led the *ḥums* associates to recognize it and its customs. It was then, perhaps, in the wake of Abraha's attack and the formation of the *ḥums* association that prosperity came to Mecca and its ruling elite in the form of guaranteed secure pilgrimages—the "winter and summer journeys" of Sūrat Quraysh

¹²⁹K. Wagtendonk, *Fasting in the Koran* (Leiden, 1968), 70-76, 112-17, who analyzes the other occurrences of the same word in the Qur'ān.

¹³⁰Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, I.1, 91 (Abd al-Muttalib), 264 (Muḥammad).

¹³¹Peters, *The Hajj*, 15-16.

¹³²Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 85. The *ḥums* was reintroduced into modern discourse about pre-Islamic Mecca by Chelhod, *Introduction*, 116-17; and particularly by Kister, "Mecca and Tamim", 135-43. Cf. also Kister's "Some Reports Concerning Mecca", 75-76; Fabietti, "Nomadi", 213-16.

¹³³Kister, "Mecca and Tamīm", 134.

¹³⁴*Ibid.*, 136 n. 1, 138-39; cf. Rubin, "The Ka'ba", 123-26; Kister, "Mecca and the Tribes of Arabia", 33-36. There were other bonds as well; for the Quraysh "marriage strategy" regarding the *ḥums*, see Fabietti, "Nomadi", 215 n. 91.

¹³⁵Kister, "Mecca and Tamīm", 141-45; Fabietti, "Nomadi", 212-13, 216-17.

¹³⁶Kister, "Some Reports Concerning Mecca", 75-76.

(106), v. 2—and not the supposed commercial “pacts” (*ilāf*) of an earlier day. Mecca’s prosperity would not come from a non-existent international trade, but from pilgrims to Mecca’s generously idoled shrine and the fairs in its vicinity.¹³⁷

Ḥanīfiya AND THE “RELIGION OF ABRAHAM”

The historian of pre-Islamic Mecca is confronted with two seemingly conflicting traditions. The first is Qur’ānic: that under divine impulse (solely) Muḥammad was restoring the “religion of Abraham” (Sūrat al-Ḥajj (22), v. 78), beliefs and practices present at Mecca from its patriarchal beginnings and still in Muḥammad’s day operative in *some* of the pilgrimage rituals, but not, apparently, realized in the lives of any of the Prophet’s contemporaries. The second is the widespread and persistent tradition that there were in Mecca during Muḥammad’s lifetime certain individuals who were monotheists, who pursued what they called the “religion of Abraham”, and who are called in our Muslim sources *ḥunafā’* (sing. *ḥanīf*). The latter word is Qur’ānic. Abraham, for example, is described as both a *muslim* and a *ḥanīf* (Sūrat Āl ‘Imrān (3), v. 67); and if the first term means a worshipper of the one true God, the latter would appear to be, in some sense, a synonym.¹³⁸ Philology is not much help: *ḥanīf* is a loan-word in Arabic, and many scholars see a connection with Syriac *ḥanpō*, a word which means, somewhat disconcertingly, a pagan.¹³⁹

Whatever its exact Qur’ānic meaning, there is no suggestion in the Qur’ān that there were any *ḥanīfs* in Mecca other than those converted by Muḥammad’s own preaching. But the biographical tradition is quite insistent that they did exist, and there is no obvious need to invent such individuals to validate Muḥammad’s monotheistic message, particularly when many of those so identified did not end by embracing Islam. Unlike the *ḥums*, which was obviously an institution or formal association with discernible practices and beliefs, the *ḥanīfs* that we know of were individuals

¹³⁷Most authors still attempt to integrate the *ilāf* of “Quraysh”, still understood as Hāshim’s commercial arrangements with Mecca’s tribal neighbors, with the *ḥums* phenomenon; see, for example, Kister, “Mecca and Tamīm”, 134: “One may find some connection between the *ilāf* discussed above and the *ḥums*. . . . The *ilāf* were intended for tribes who did not respect the sacred months, or—although performing the pilgrimage—were in the sphere of influence of the client kingdoms [of Byzantium or Persia].”

¹³⁸See also W. Montgomery Watt, art. “*Ḥanīf*” in *EI*², III (Leiden, 1971), 165a–166b; Trimmingham, *Christianity*, 259–63.

¹³⁹Arthur Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur’ān* (Baroda, 1938), 112–15; Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 13–17.

with no apparent ties to one another, though in that society they must surely have been aware of their shared monotheism. Was Muḥammad himself just such a *ḥanīf*, and was *ḥanīfiya*, if we may collectivize what was not a collective,¹⁴⁰ the “religion of Abraham” announced in the Qur’ān? It would appear not: Watt has concluded that the subsequent Muslim use of the term derives from—and hence is not independent of—the Qur’ān.¹⁴¹

But the word aside, what of the reports of Meccan monotheists which are such a staple of the biographical tradition? It is possible that they too were invented, but the details in the reports are sufficiently varied, yet equally sufficiently consistent, that they have some claim to authenticity in a time and a place where source skepticism is endemic. But we know that Allāh was indeed the “High God” of Mecca (see Watt, Chapter 15),¹⁴² the same God worshipped by the Jews and Christians, and that Abrahamic traditions were testified to in Mecca at least to the extent that the Qur’ān’s references to such were intelligible to the first auditors of Muḥammad’s revelations. Fazlur Rahman went further: there was a strain of messianism already present in Mecca when the Prophet began his mission.¹⁴³ Subsequent research has done nothing to lessen the conviction that there was religious as well as social and economic ferment at work in pre-Islamic Mecca.

The World Discovers Mecca: Abraha

The history of the Ḥijāz, almost from the time that Aelius Gallus marched through it in the first century AD or Greek merchantmen coasted it in the second, down till the appearance of the Qur’ān in the seventh, is, as we have seen, chiefly an exercise in the critical evaluation of much later, often conflicting and even contradictory Arab stories of Islam’s homeland before Islam. South Arabia, on the other hand, the Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt, is quite different. In antiquity, wealthy and literate societies there left abundant evidence of their presence, and in the sixth century AD South Arabia is illuminated by a confluence of Greek, Syriac and Ethiopic sources which we can, however tentatively, connect for the first time with our Muslim accounts.

By the fourth century the commercial heyday of the Yemen, the “Happy Arabia” of an earlier age, was past, and the difference may be measured precisely by comparing the data available in the second-century *Periplus*

¹⁴⁰Though one early Muslim scholar reported reading *ḥanīfiya* in place of *islām* in Sūrat Āl ‘Imrān (3), v. 19.

¹⁴¹So Watt, “*Ḥanīf*”, 166; cf. Rubin, Chapter 13 below, 85 n. 1.

¹⁴²See also Watt’s “The Qur’ān and Belief in a ‘High God’”, *Der Islam* 56 (1979), 205–11.

¹⁴³Below, Chapter 10, 7.

of the Erythrean Sea with that in the sixth-century *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes. In the latter it is the African and not the South Arabian coast that is now the "incense-bearing land",¹⁴⁴ while the Arabian side of the narrow Red Sea straits is only the scene of a struggle for entrepot harbors on the route to India. And that struggle, which was principally between Byzantium and Iran, with the South Arabians as pawns, provoked a series of invasions and local wars rendered particularly nasty by the religious fanaticism that had seized the region.

From as far back as there are South Arabian inscriptions with religious content, the religion of the region was polytheistic; various deities were called upon by name or simply addressed as "all the gods and goddesses". Of those named, many are familiar from the larger world of the Semitic peoples, while others are somewhat more uncertain figures. What does appear to be a consistent trait, however, is that the deity was the lord of a shrine that served as a cult center and was used by a number of different tribes united by their common veneration of the god, a practice not very different from what occurred later at the shrine of the lord of Mecca. And, as at Mecca, pilgrimage to one or other of the cult shrines was a normal and popular function of the religious life in South Arabia.¹⁴⁵

The crux of the study of South Arabian religion is the replacement of the normal formulae in the fourth and fifth centuries AD by inscriptions with a very different and apparently monotheistic terminology.¹⁴⁶ There is now a supreme god, perhaps a unique God, who is generally called "the Merciful" (*Rahmanān*) and is further characterized as "lord of the heaven" or "lord of heaven and earth".¹⁴⁷ A number of explanations have been offered for this so-called "Rahmanism". One is that "Rahmanism" in South Arabia may be identical with the *hanīfiya* already noted in Mecca, or that the inscriptions are either Jewish or Judaizing, or perhaps even Christian, though they lack the explicit identifying formulae of the unmistakably Jewish or Christian inscriptions.

With the discovery of new material, however, some of the mystery has been removed. Most of the monotheistic inscriptions, particularly the royal

¹⁴⁴ Cosmas, *Christian Topography*, I, 48-49.

¹⁴⁵ A.F.L. Beeston, "The Religions of Pre-Islamic Yemen", in Joseph Chelhod, ed., *L'Arabie du Sud: histoire et civilisation*, I: *Le peuple yemenite et ses racines* (Paris, 1984), 260-61.

¹⁴⁶ The body of these inscriptions, 29 in all, are studied in Christopher Robin, "Judaisme et christianisme en Arabie du Sud", *Arabian Studies* 10 (1980), 89-95.

¹⁴⁷ *Al-Rahmān* is one of the most common epithets applied to God in the Qur'ān.

ones bearing the name of the king, are in fact Jewish. Further, it is possible to conclude that the royal house of Ḥimyar, and likely most of the nobility, was Jewish from at least the time of Malkīkarib to that of Sharb al-Ya‘fur in the mid-fifth century.¹⁴⁸

Christianity allegedly came to the Yemen, as we have seen, through missionary activity in the fourth century, and it appears to have been thriving in the sixth, with centers at Ṣan‘ā’ and Najrān.¹⁴⁹ How did Judaism reach South Arabia? A Christian source professed to know, but that particular section is not preserved.¹⁵⁰ The later Muslim ones say that in the course of an expedition to the north, a Yemeni king named Abū Karib was converted by two rabbis of Medina. The tale is openly apologetic: on the way back to the Yemen the rabbis authenticate the Meccan shrine as genuinely Abrahamic. Once back in the Yemen, the Ḥimyarites follow the example of their king and embrace Judaism.¹⁵¹

Abū Karib, still according to the Muslim sources, was succeeded by his son Ḥassān and then, after a brief interregnum, by Ḥassān’s nephew, Dhū Nuwās,¹⁵² the same ruler who gained notoriety by launching a persecution of the Ḥimyarite Christians and so triggering a second Abyssinian invasion of the Yemen. The first invasion had been launched from Adulis, the Abyssinian port on the Red Sea, sometime about 518,¹⁵³ almost certainly at the urging of the Byzantine emperor Justin.¹⁵⁴ The expedition was successful,¹⁵⁵ and

¹⁴⁸Robin, “Judaisme”, 93–94.

¹⁴⁹For literary references to the wall mosaics in the churches of Ṣan‘ā’ and Najrān, see G.R.D. King, “Some Christian Wall Mosaics in Pre-Islamic Arabia”, *Arabian Studies* 10 (1980), 37–43.

¹⁵⁰Chapter II of the *Book of the Himyarites*—the heading is preserved but not the text—is an “account telling of the Ḥimyarites, who they are and whence they first received Judaism”; see Axel Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites: Fragments of a Hitherto Unknown Syriac Work* (Lund, 1924), ci = 3b.

¹⁵¹Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, I.1, 12–15.

¹⁵²*Ibid.*, I.1, 14. Epigraphical sources in Gonzague Ryckmans, “Inscriptions sud-arabes”, *Le Muséon* 66 (1953), 287–308; commentary by Jacques Ryckmans, *ibid.*, 330–39. Dhū Nuwās was possibly the son of Abū Karib; see M.R. Al-Assouad, art. “Dhū Nuwās”, *EI* 2, II (Leiden, 1965), 244, and, for some of the complexities of the question, Franz Altheim and Ruth Stiehl, “Dhū Nuwās”, Chap. 5 in their *Die Araber in der alten Welt* (Berlin, 1964–69), V.1, esp. 305–15, 350–91.

¹⁵³The preparations were witnessed by Cosmas, *Christian Topography*, II, 101C.

¹⁵⁴Irfan Kavar (Shahid), “The Arabs and the Peace Treaty of A.D. 561”, *Arabica* 3 (1956), 186–89; Crone, *Meccan Trade*, 47.

¹⁵⁵Moberg, *Book of the Himyarites*, ci, where the heading of the lost Chapter V reads “Account telling of the first coming of HYWN’ and the Abyssinians”. This is presumably the expedition Cosmas saw being prepared in Adulis in 518. When it actually arrived or

though the Abyssinians returned home, they left behind an Abyssinian king to rule in South Arabia. At his death, however, he was replaced either by the former king or a new local ruler, who was Jewish. This must have been Dhū Nuwās, the Yūsuf al-As‘ar of his own inscriptions, and inevitably referred to as Masrūq throughout the Christian sources.

Once in power, Dhū Nuwās quickly turned on the local Christian population, possibly because his father had incurred enormous debts to them.¹⁵⁶ The chronology is uncertain,¹⁵⁷ but Dhū Nuwās' pogrom may have begun in 523,¹⁵⁸ first against the Abyssinian "colonists" at Zafar.¹⁵⁹ Dhū Nuwās next turned to Najrān, which was inhabited not by Abyssinian colonists but by indigenous Christians. The *Book of the Himyarites* describes what followed. Some of the people were lured out and killed, the rest threatened with ruin and then confronted with a choice of renunciation of their faith or death. Most chose death.¹⁶⁰

The *Book of the Himyarites* leaves no doubt that this was a religious persecution—and the later Muslim sources agree¹⁶¹—and though neither they nor the Acts of the various martyrs of Najrān pay much attention to it, it is equally obvious that there was a political struggle going on as well: a civil war for power in the land of Ḥimyar, in which one faction, that represented by Dhū Nuwās, happened to be Jewish, and the other, in numbers if not in inspiration, Christian; and a larger struggle in which the local Christians

who "HYWN" was there is no way of telling. The expedition was a success according to the heading of Chapter VI, though in what way we are not told, and the troops returned to Abyssinia (Chapter VII).

¹⁵⁶Moberg, *Book of the Himyarites*, cxxxiii = 43b; cf. Nina Pigulevskaya, "Les rapports sociaux à Najran au début du VI siècle de l'ère chrétien", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 3 (1960), 113–30; 4 (1961), 1–14 (cf. *Byzanz*, 272–308) and Eleanor Doumato, "Hearing Other Voices: Christian Women and the Coming of Islam", *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 23 (1991), 177–99, for an analysis of the socio-economic data on the Christian community from two very different perspectives.

¹⁵⁷As is much else in the blizzard of incongruent data we possess for three or four decades of the sixth century AD in South Arabia. Sidney Smith tried to pick a way amidst the confusion, but many problems of chronology and individual identification remain; see also Altheim and Stiehl, "Dhū Nuwās", and Irfan Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najrān* (Brussels, 1971), 235–41.

¹⁵⁸Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najrān*, 235–42, suggests AD 518.

¹⁵⁹Moberg, *Book of the Himyarites*, cv = 7a; it is also described in Ry 508, ll. 2–4; = Ryckmans, "Inscriptions", 296–97; cf. A.F.L. Beeston, "Judaism and Christianity in Pre-Islamic Yemen", in Joseph Chelhod, ed., *L'Arabie du Sud: histoire et civilisation*, 1. *Le peuple yemenite et ses racines* (Paris, 1984), 272–73.

¹⁶⁰Moberg, *Book of the Himyarites*, cvi–cix = 8a–13a.

¹⁶¹Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, I.1, 24–26.

could count on the support of the Christian kingdom of Axum across the Red Sea and the more distant Christian Roman Empire, while Dhū Nuwās and his supporters would naturally be cast into alliance with the Persians.¹⁶²

The news of what had occurred at Najrān spread rapidly across the Christian *oikoumene*, to the camp of the Christian Banū Lakhm at al-Ḥīra near the Euphrates, to the negus or king of Abyssinia across the straits in Axum, and even, according to the later Muslim account of Ibn Ishāq, to the Christian emperor at Constantinople, who prompted the negus to send 70,000 troops to the Yemen.¹⁶³ The Abyssinian army was under the command of a certain Aryāt and among its number was Abraha al-Ashram, "Split Face". According to the *Book of the Himyarites*, however, which is poorly preserved in this section, the instigation to action was not a letter from Constantinople but, more plausibly, the arrival at the court of the negus Kaleb of a refugee from Najrān by the name of Umayya.¹⁶⁴ The negus—also called Ella Asbeha and Hellestheaios in our polyglot sources—dispatched the army described by Ibn Ishāq into action across the straits in the Yemen. It was met on the beaches by Dhū Nuwās and his men. The Yemeni ruler was slain and the Abyssinians were once again in control of the Yemen.¹⁶⁵

The negus then placed on the throne a Yemeni Christian (called Sumyafa' locally, Aryāt in the Muslim historians,¹⁶⁶ and Esimiphaios in Procopius) to rule the Yemen in his stead.¹⁶⁷ And with a task. According to Procopius, the Abyssinian client-state in the Yemen was directed by Justinian to wrest the silk trade from Persian hands and sell directly to the Romans.¹⁶⁸ The effect of this directive is unknown, but it was soon rendered moot. "Disorderly elements" among the Abyssinians in the Yemen deposed Sumyafa' and set

¹⁶²So, among others, Moberg, *Book of the Himyarites*, xxiv, lv-lvi; cf. the account of events in Beeston, "Judaism and Christianity", 274, 276: "It seems to me unlikely that this should have been pure religious fanaticism, except possibly on the part of Yūsuf himself. But the support for his policy which he received from the magnates of the realm is more likely, I suggest, to have been prompted by xenophobic reaction against a possible extension of the influence of the Byzantine empire into the southern Red Sea area..."

¹⁶³Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, I.1, 26.

¹⁶⁴So the headings of the lost Chapters XXXIX and XL in Moberg, civ.

¹⁶⁵Moberg, cxxxiv-cxxxv = 45b-46a.

¹⁶⁶Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 190 n. 3.

¹⁶⁷Sidney Smith, "Events in Arabia", 432-33; one likely chronological scheme—South Arabian historiography is replete with chronological schemes—would put the Abyssinian invasion in 525 and the reign of Aryāt/Sumyafa' in the interval between 525 and 533, when Abraha's revolt would have occurred.

¹⁶⁸Procopius, *Wars* I.20.9-12; on the Byzantine diplomatic offensive in this era, Pigulewskaja, *Byzanz*, 251-55.

up in his place a certain Abraha, a Christian, the former slave of a Byzantine in Adulis, where he had managed the latter's business ventures. The negus tried to remove Abraha by force, but to no avail. In the end Abraha was recognized as Abyssinia's new client ruler in the Yemen.¹⁶⁹

Here at last in Abraha our contemporary South Arabian, Greek and Syriac sources meet and touch the later Muslim ones (Kister, Chapter 18).¹⁷⁰ What we know for certain about Abraha was that he put down an insurrection by Aryāṭ's sons sometime between 540 and 550, and somewhat later received delegations from Abyssinia, Iran, al-Ḥīra and two Arab phylarchs. Then, possibly in 552,¹⁷¹ Abraha led an expedition of Kinda and allies against a Ma'add federation at Taraba 60 miles east of al-Ṭā'if.¹⁷² This has been identified as Abraha's (half-hearted) response to Justinian's urging to launch a diversion against the Sasanians,¹⁷³ but it has also been claimed as identical with what the Muslim historiographical tradition remembered as "the War of the Elephant".¹⁷⁴ This was nothing less than an attack on Mecca, allusively recalled in the *Sūrat al-Fīl* (105) and thereafter identified as an assault by Abraha and the Abyssinians of the Yemen against the Meccan Ka'ba.¹⁷⁵ It was also remembered as the birth year of the Prophet and

¹⁶⁹Procopius, *Wars* I.20.2-8.

¹⁷⁰South Arabian: Ma'rib dam inscription in *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, IV, 451; cf. Pigulewskaja, *Byzanz*, 258-64; and Smith, "Events in Arabia", 437-41; Ry 506 expeditionary text in G. Ryckmans, "Inscriptions", 278; commentary by J. Ryckmans, *ibid.*, 339-42; Gonzaque Ryckmans, *Les religions arabes préislamiques* (Louvain, 1951), 239-45, 320-25; cf. A.F.L. Beeston, "Notes on the Muraighān Inscription", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 16 (1954), 389-92; Greek: Pigulewskaja, *Byzanz*, 255-71; Muslim: Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 197-219; and cf. A.F.L. Beeston, art. "Abraha", *EI*², I (Leiden, 1960), 102-103.

¹⁷¹The date preferred by Beeston, "Notes on the Muraighān Inscription", 289-92; M.J. Kister, "The Campaign of Ḥulubān: a New Light on the Expedition of Abraha", *Le Muséon* 78 (1965), 427-28; Lawrence I. Conrad, "Abraha and Muḥammad: Some Observations Apropos of Chronology and Literary Topoi in the Early Arabic Historical Tradition", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 50 (1987), 237. Cf. Franz Altheim and Ruth Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike* (Frankfurt, 1957), 145-48, for an earlier date (547).

¹⁷²The inscription Ry 506 was sited, however, at Marayghān, far to the east of the *Darb al-Fīl* or "Way of the Elephant" that Muslim authorities identified as the route followed by Abraha from the Yemen to Mecca: Jacques Ryckmans in G. Ryckmans, "Inscriptions", 339.

¹⁷³Procopius, *Wars* I.30.13; Jacques Ryckmans in G. Ryckmans, "Inscriptions", 341-42; Pigulewskaja, *Byzanz*, 265.

¹⁷⁴Conrad, "Abraha", 227-28; on the Muslim tradition, Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 201-19.

¹⁷⁵See the variety of possible motives alleged by the Muslim tradition in Kister, "Some

traditionally dated to 570, a date that can no longer be sustained either for Abraha's attack or Muḥammad's birthdate.¹⁷⁶

Abraha ruled the Yemen until his death and was followed by his two sons Yaksūm and Masrūq.¹⁷⁷ The rule of the Abyssinian occupiers eventually became intolerable to the local Ḥimyarite aristocracy, and during the reign of Masruq one of them, Sayf ibn Dhī Yazan, sought help in both Constantinople and, through the good offices of the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra,¹⁷⁸ at the court of the shah. Sayf died while awaiting a response from the shah, but his son Ma'dī-karib appears to have had better luck with Khusraw I.¹⁷⁹ An army was assembled from 800 prisoners from Persian jails and embarked under the command of an elderly warrior, Vahrīz.¹⁸⁰ Masruq was forcibly removed (in 575) and Vahrīz returned to Iraq, but not before explaining to Ma'dī-karib his responsibility as the Sasanians' tax-collector.¹⁸¹ Ma'dī-karib lasted no more than two years, when he was deposed by a local Abyssinian insurrection. Khusraw had once again to send out Vahrīz, who this time remained as the shah's viceroy.¹⁸² What followed is somewhat difficult to discern. Al-Ṭabarī says that Vahrīz's son and grandson ruled the Yemen after him, but at least one of them was styled *marzbān*, which suggests that the Yemen was organized as a Sasanian frontier province and supervised by a possibly hereditary Persian military governor.¹⁸³

Reports Concerning Mecca", 63–76—including an economic one in Kister, Chapter 18 below, 429–30—and characterized by him (71) as "contradictory and the picture they give is blurred".

¹⁷⁶ The arguments are laid out in detail in Conrad, "Abraha"; cf. Henri Lammens, "L'âge de Mahomet et la chronologie de la *Sīra*", *Journal Asiatique*, 10e Serie, 17 (1911), 209–50; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 204 n. 2.

¹⁷⁷ Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 219–20, 228–28.

¹⁷⁸ Ibn Ishāq identifies the Lakhmid as al-Nu'man ibn al-Mundhir, but he did not succeed until 582. The prince in question is probably 'Amr ibn al-Mundhir: *ibid.*, 227 n. 1.

¹⁷⁹ Al-Ṭabarī has two versions of these events, one from Ibn Ishāq (*ibid.*, I.1, 219–27) and a second from Ibn Hishām (*ibid.*, I.1, 236).

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 223 n. 2; Pigulewskaja, *Byzanz*, 269.

¹⁸¹ Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 226–27.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 236–37; Pigulewskaja, *Byzanz*, 270–71. On the Sasanian era in the Yemen: Whitehouse and Williamson, "Sasanian Maritime Trade", 44; Crone, *Meccan Trade*, 48–49.

¹⁸³ Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 237, 263–64, 349–51; Arthur Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sasanides*, 2nd ed. (Copenhagen, 1944), 373 n. 5. On the *marzbān*, Pigulewskaja, *Byzanz*, 271.

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Neither the harsh environment of Arabia nor the nomadic lifestyle that developed in it are much encouraging to the making or preservation of historical records, material or literary, but when all the available bits and pieces are added up, the sum of our knowledge of Arabia and the Arabs before Islam is not inconsiderable. It does not suit our needs, however. Arabia is not some remote archipelago on the edge of human consciousness, and though anthropologists have mined its data for their own traditional ethnographic ends, the main thrust of interest in that place and the people who dwelled there is that this is the material and human matrix out of which emerged one of the defining movements of civilization, Islam. It is from that perspective that we do not know nearly enough, or, to be more precise, nearly enough of what we need to know, about Arabia or the Arabs on the eve of Islam. We know too much of the Yemen and too little of Mecca; too much on the Ghassānids and too little on the Quraysh; more about Greek and Roman designs on Arabia at the beginning of the Christian era than about the circumstances in which God worked in the beginning of the Muslim era. Archeology is sparse, access is often denied, and the literary sources on this matter are late and increasingly thought to be unreliable. This chapter on Arabia still remains to be written.

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THE NATURE OF ARAB UNITY BEFORE ISLAM

G.E. von Grunebaum

WHAT sense of unity did pervade the Arabs before Islam was clearly not based on affiliation with one or more distinct states or political structures outside of which an Arab would find himself in the diaspora or the *irredenta*. No political structure ever came close to unite even a majority of those who, by common consent, were considered Arabs. The inclusiveness of the concept varied. Certain limitations were generally accepted, others would differ as between the nomad and the settler on the fringes of the Peninsula and, on occasion, as between different tribes or tribal groups. No unambiguous geographical delimitation would take the place of the political. While securely based on territory, Arab society was not territorially defined. The area held without question by Arab groups would expand or shrink in accordance with political circumstances in the border countries, acculturative processes and the shifting lines of nomad and sedentary societies, which latter would, in the Northern and Eastern frontier lands, tend to become de-arabized, at least in the sentiment of the neighboring Bedouin.

The Northern Arabs then constituted a *Kulturnation* rather than a *Staatsnation* (to use the terminology developed by Friedrich Meinecke) ¹. Such Arab states as did exist were dependencies of large political structures; in fact, they owed their existence to foreign initiative. This is as true of the Ghassānid ² and the Lakhmid principalities, to which the sources will frequently refer as the

1. *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* (first published in 1907; 6th ed.; Munich and Berlin, 1922), ch. 1, pp. 1-22.

2. And its predecessor, the principality of the Ḍaḡā'ima, who were Yemenites of Quḏā'a, holding sway ca. 370-500; cf. C. A. NALLINO, *Ebrei e cristiani nell'Arabia preislamica, Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti* (Rome, 1939-1948), III, 87-156, at p. 133; on their political position, cf. G. OLINDER, *The Kings of Kinda of the Family of Ākil al-Murār* (Lund and Leipzig, 1927), pp. 43, 45, and I. A. KAWAR, *The Last Days of Salīḥ, Arabica*, V (1958), 145-158, who shows that since 502 the Salīḥ, or Ḍaḡā'ima, are part of the Gassānid structure. On the wanderings of Southern peoples to the North and the Center of the Peninsula cf. also B. MORITZ, *Der Sinaihult in heidnischer Zeit, Abh. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl., N. F. XVI/2* (1916), 49-53 (51ff. on Ḍaḡ'am).

“Arabs of the Romans’ and “the Arabs of the Persians”¹ as for the shorter-lived “kingdom” of the Kinda in Central Arabia that came into being as a shield for the Yemen and disappeared in the wake of its suzerain’s collapse².

The urban settlements of Mecca, Ṭā’if and Yaṭrib which, in their several ways, enjoyed an independent political life, harbored but a small segment of the Arab population, and far from inspiring a sense of Arab identity as centered on themselves, they subscribed to a concept of the ideal Arab which set them somewhat apart as societies not entirely true to the Bedouin-patterned norm.

It is easy to see that *Staatsnation* and *Kulturnation* are not necessarily opposing concepts. Athens was a *Staatsnation*, but the Athenian at the same time the member of the *Kulturnation* of the Hellenes. Hellenic kinship and “identity” were based, to follow Herodotus³, on community of blood, language and religion; a unified *Staatsnation* never did arise in Greece, many of the individual *Staatsnationen* proved unstable; but the Hellenic *Kulturnation* remained unaffected by those political shifts. Although the sentiment of “Arabism” was primarily and overwhelmingly located in the tribes, their ephemeral alliances and perpetual skirmishes do not appear to have curtailed this sense of identity; precisely as the incessant internecine warfare between the Greek states left their Hellenic identity untouched. Whether, as has been claimed, the

1. Ṭayyāyē d’ Pursāyē; Ṭayyāyē d’ Bēl Rhūmāyē; e.g. in JOSHUA THE STYLITE, *Chronicle* (completed in 506/7), ed. trans. W. WRIGHT (Cambridge, 1882) p. 54 (p. 45 of trans.).

2. The Kingdom of Yemen came to its end in 525, the rule of the Kinda between 528 and the early 530’s; cf. OLINDER, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

3. viii, 144. Herodotus has the Athenians reassure the Spartans worried that they might conclude a separate agreement with the Persians: “. . . there is our Hellenism, our being of the same stock and the same speech, our common shrines of the gods and rituals, our similar customs. Should the Athenians become traitors to all this, it would indeed not be well”; trans. M. I. FINLEY, *The Ancient Greeks and Their Nation: The Sociological Problem*, *The British Journal of Sociology*, V (1954), 252-264, at p. 256. For the problem cf. H. STRASBURGER, *Der Einzelne und die Gemeinschaft im Denken der Griechen*, *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXXVII (1954), 227-248, at p. 228, and the exposition by H. SCHAEFER, *Staatsform und Politik. Untersuchungen zur griechischen Geschichte des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1932), p. 145, where this formulation is offered: “Der *nomos* als ‘Brauch, Sitte’ war eine alle Griechen untereinander verbindende Norm, die von ihnen in gleicher Weise befolgt wurde. . . . Sie stand über und vor jedem Staat. . . . Der beste Beleg dafür ist der Gedanke des Panhellenentums, der am *nomos* im Sinn von ‘Brauch’ und ‘Sitte’ seinen stärksten Rückhalt hatte, ja dessen notwendige Voraussetzung er war.”

THE NATURE OF ARAB UNITY

7

Arab sense of identity was stronger than that of the Hellenistic Greeks¹, need not be decided. The parallel stands, and the attitude has persisted into the modern age. As late as November, 1916, T. E. Lawrence writes of the Ḥiǧāzīs: "... their idea of nationality is the independence of tribes and parishes and their idea of national union is episodic, combined resistance to an intruder"².

If it is true that "culture is a unity insofar as it is tied to a bounded social structure"³ this structure cannot, in pre-Islamic Arabia, be identified with the individual tribe or other political unit, in spite of the fact that the culture of Northern and North Central Arabia was far from uniform, but rather with the elusive larger community of the *Kulturnation*. The community was, as will be seen, more securely felt than named—the adjective "Arabic" is reliably traceable only in the Koran⁴ and the "Arab" is almost excluded from poetry (but not infrequently admitted to prose)⁵. Indeed, the sources almost forcibly mislead one into underrating the reality of the idea that the pre-Islamic Arabs constituted a unity. Yet it must not be forgotten that within a very few years Muḥammad and Islam transformed the Arab *Kulturnation* into a *Staatsnation*. In fact, with a certain overextension of the terms, the whole history of the Arabs after Islam can be briefly sketched by saying that after having enjoyed the status of a *Staatsnation* with almost unparalleled effectiveness for rather more than a century, they gradually reverted to being a *Kulturnation* from which during the last hundred years they have been in the process of growing again into a *Staatsnation*, at the present moment maintaining a balance between the two principles of cohesion which has its

1. ŠUBḤĪ WAḤĪDA, *Ušūl al-mas'ala al-miṣriyya* (Cairo, 1950), pp. 17-18.

2. *Secret Dispatches from Arabia* (London, 1939), p. 39, quoted by E. KEDOURIE, *The Destruction of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1956), p. 102. Already IBN QAIS AR-RUQAYYĀT (d. after 704), *Dīwān*, ed. N. RHODOKANAKIS (Vienna, 1902), 39.9-10, knows of the brittleness of the newly-won political unity and looks back longingly to the days when "our whole people, *qaum*" was united and not endangered by the anti-Quraish tendencies of the *qabā'il*; on the passage cf. H. LAMMENS, *Le Berceau de l'Islam* (Rome, 1914), p. 168.

3. M. FORTES, *The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups*, *American Anthropologist*, LV (1953), 17-41, at. p. 22.

4. Cf. O. A. FARRUKH, *Das Bild des Frühislam in der arabischen Dichtung von der Ḥiǧra bis zum Tode des Kalifen 'Umar*, Diss. Erlangen (Leipzig, 1937), p. 128.

5. So, e.g., W. MONTGOMERY WATT, *Muhammad at Medina* (Oxford, 1956), pp. 142-43.

analogues in certain phases of German and Italian history, analogues which can be followed further to note the past ability of the group to achieve cultural self-realization outside, or in the absence of, a definite and unified political organism, and its sudden unwillingness to be satisfied with cultural self-realization alone.

In emphasizing the location of the "Arabs" under consideration in Northern and Central Arabia, the intention was not only to describe but to prevent a misunderstanding which genealogical terminology and political conditions of the first Islamic centuries are apt to induce. When the Northern Arab of the Ġāhiliyya feels distinct from the Arab of the South, this sentiment reflects an actual differentiation in habitat, language, religion, and perhaps race. This is true despite the frequent displacement of the nomads from the North to the South and vice versa and its consequences in producing a certain homogeneity of nomadic cults¹. There is a keenly felt cultural *apartheid*: in the South, city-based political organisms with "their" Arabs, or Bedouins, subservient to the urban centers or at any rate, during periods of normalcy, relegated to a secondary role; in the North, the independence of the tribes practically untouched by the cities and the paramountcy of Bedouin ideals uncontested. Migration northward of Southern tribes or tribal splinter groups is, however, frequent; one may wonder whether it is due to any cultural and political superiority that all three state-like structures on Northern soil were ruled by immigrants from the Yemen. The origin of the pre-Islamic immigrant to the North remained known and reflected in the genealogical constructs intended to put order in the tribal universe and to justify the shifting alliances and conflicts; but those "Southerners" became fully accepted members of the "Northern" world. The notorious antagonism between the Northern and the Southern Arabs, Qais and Kalb, Muḍar and Qaḥṭān, which sapped the strength of the Arab rulers throughout the Muslim empire occurred within the "Northern" area of pre-Islamic history and cultural integration².

1. On which R. DUSSAUD, *La Pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam* (Paris, 1955), pp. 126-127, insists. For lines written toward the end of the seventh century contrasting the 'whiteness' of the Northern with the darkness of the Southern Arabs cf. H. RITTER, *Die Geheimnisse der Wortkunst* (Wiesbaden, 1959), p. 160, n. 133.

2. The analogy, most recently suggested by R. CHARLES, *L'Âme musulmane* (Paris, 1958), p. 179, between the all-embracing and thorough-going split within the Arab community of the Umayyad Age and the bilateral

THE NATURE OF ARAB UNITY

9

The "Northern" Arabs as a separate cultural world with increasing psychological autonomy reconstruct their past in a very revealing manner. Needless to say, it is not historical accuracy that is significant in this context but the self-view which the construction attempts to extrapolate. The inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula are divided in *bā'ida* and *bāqiya*, those who have disappeared and those who have survived. The *bā'ida* which, in the Arab consciousness, may be equated with the original populations are generally considered Yemenites. The *bāqiya*, in turn, are divided in *'āriba*, the pure Arabs or more precisely, those who from the beginning were speakers of pure Arabic, and *muta'arriba*, the Arabized, that is those who adopted the language of the *'āriba*. The *'āriba* are identified with the Southern Arabs, the *muta'arriba* with the Northern Arabs who penetrated into the Peninsula in mythical times and acquired the (linguistic) identity of the earlier inhabitants. Thus the North Arabian cultural "universe" in all its pride and self-sufficiency is not autochthonous, its civilization, as represented by the language, derivative, yet at the time when these ideas crystallized, to its carriers the "Arab" world *par excellence*. Little wonder that we meet on occasion with a classification better adapted to the psychological constellation of the declining Ġāhiliyya which designates the Yemenites as *muta'arriba* and arrogates original Arabism for the Northerners¹.

The acculturative power of the Northern Bedouin seems to have been fairly strong; his attraction to others went hand in hand with some permeability to foreign influences; in the long run, however,

organization of Berber and large sections of modern Arab society or societies in two *leff* or *şuff*, and the like, does not seem quite to the point, at least insofar as the political effects are concerned; these are perhaps better illustrated by a comparison with the Catholic and Protestant states in the German *Reich* of the seventeenth century. The best study of the great rift between the Qais and the Kalb is still I. GOLDZIEHER, *Muhammedanische Studien* (Halle/S, 1888-1890), I, 78-100. To what extent the alleged psychological differences between North and South are generalizations of the kind that any polemics among large groups will foster or actually do have a basis in reality will remain a matter for conjecture; the contemporaries, at any rate, attributed to the Southern Arabs a finesse, *riqqa* or *suhūla*, to which the Northern Arabs opposed their *huşūna* or *ğalz*, toughness; the connection between this *riqqa* and the so-called 'Uđrite love was also made in Umayyad days; cf. GOLDZIEHER, *op. cit.*, p. 86, and (in 1910/11) NALLINO as quoted in M. GUIDI, *Storia e cultura degli arabi fino alla morte di Maometto* (Florence, 1951), p. 102 n. 1.

1. For convenience cf. the summary presentation in GUIDI, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61, 71-82.

the "Arab" character tended to prevail—even before the establishment of Arab-Muslim rule gave Arabization the prestige of political and social advantage. The dominance of the "Northern" type of Arabism led naturally to the *musta'riba* of the (early) Islamic age becoming assimilated, in language and, to some extent, culture pattern, into the "Northern" tradition¹.

As always and everywhere the development of a self-conscious national or cultural identity is spurred by a sense of separateness from contiguous groups. The racial pride of the Arab does not seem to have suffered by the realization of his political and civilizational backwardness in comparison with his Greek and Persian speaking neighbors. A certain hardening of "national" hostility against the *ahmar*² seems traceable during the last generations before the Arab irruption into Persian-held Mesopotamia³, reciprocated and probably anticipated by Persian contempt⁴. The Persianization of a section of the Banū 'Iḡl in Baḥrain was more than offset by the Arabization of Persians in the Yemen; it must, however, be stressed that this acculturation occurred outside the Northern area and that, as far as we can see, no Persian group was, before Islam, assimilated into the Northern Arab orbit.

Expressed in psychological terms, a *Kulturnation* is kept together by common expectations, associations and tooling; community of language and religion (though not of denomination) is, in most cases, a required concomitant or precondition. Transferred to the realm of institutions this sharing of dispositions or attitudes means, for example, a shared outlook on the ideal model or models of

1. The term *musta'rib* has been correctly interpreted by R. BLACHÈRE, *Regards sur l'"Acculturation" des arabo-musulmans jusque vers 40/661, Arabica*, III (1957), 249-250, as "ralliant l'arabisme" rather than "arabisé". The Ismā'īlite Arabs, descendants of Ismā'īl and a Ğurhumite woman, are *al-'Arab al-musta'riba* or *al-muta'arriba* because Ismā'īl whose native tongue was Hebrew became Arabicized in language and mores; cf. M. GRÜNBAUM, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde* (Leiden, 1893), pp. 105-106 (following Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Aṣṣr and Abū'l-Fidā'). The paramount importance in this *isti'rab* of linguistic assimilation is reflected in a number of *ḥadīṭ* expressing the idea that "he who speaks Arabic is an Arab"; cf. GOLDZIEHER, *op. cit.*, I, 116-117.

2. For *ahmar* as color designation cf. K. VOLLERS, *Über Rassenfarben in der arabischen Literatur, Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari* (Palermo, 1910), I, 88.

3. GOLDZIEHER, *op. cit.*, I, 103.

4. Cf. the passage quoted by 'A. A. DAHḤUDĀ, *Amṭāl va-ḥikam* (Tehran, n.d.), p. 1701²⁻¹⁰

THE NATURE OF ARAB UNITY

II

political organization complete with prejudice against the deviant structure—in the case of the overwhelming majority, Bedouin and city-dwellers alike, an aversion to kingship which persisted despite the unmistakable fact that only under an approximation to monarchic rule did the tribes become effective on the larger political stage. The mixed reaction to strong leaders such as Zuhair b. Ḡaḏīma¹ or Kulaib, whose political aspirations were relatively modest but who were decried as *rabb* or tyrant, is to be noted².

To have lorded it over others remained an inalienable glory; yet to resist political concentration and the "arrogance" of a strong leader, and to break out from under the yoke of a *malik*, is equally glorious and more in tune with the general tenor of Bedouin life, atomistic, libertarian, devoid of larger purpose, and much in need of that heightening of its petty irrelevancies by which the poets lent it dignity. The Bedouin shared the political model: the smallish, close-knit yet brittle tribe as the autonomous center; the *sayyid*, "spokesman" and leader, effective through the assumption of responsibilities, hence prestige and influence rather than circumscribed prerogatives; and that peculiar blend of extreme individualism and as extreme submergence of the individual in the collective on whose standing or "honor", *ird*, and cohesiveness his own safety and rank in the comity of tribes depends. But beyond the "model", the aims and techniques of community living too were shared; and so were the gestures punctuating the political

1. ABŪ 'L-FARAĀĀ AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ, *Kitāb al-aḡānī* (Būlāq, 1285), X, 12; cf. W. CASKEL, *Aijām al-ʿArab. Studien zur altarabischen Epik, Islamica*, III/5 (1930), 1-99, p. 28.

2. *Aḡānī*, IV, 140; quoted by CASKEL, *ibid.*, p. 27 n. 5; there Kulaib's aims are characterized as the determination of the wanderings of his people, the arrogating of the right to dispose of its pasture grounds, hunting grounds and wells. In another study, *Die einheimischen Quellen zur Geschichte Nord-Arabiens vor dem Islam, Islamica*, III (1927), 331-341, at pp. 335-336, Caskel points out that the description of sixth-century leaders as "potentates" or "tyrants" who hold sway over whole "Völkerschaften" is due to a literary pattern and not a reflection of the realities of the time. The title *malik* appears to have been confined to Kinda, Ghassān and Lakhm (cf. G. JACOB, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, 2nd ed.; Berlin, 1897, p. 224); but the Jewish Medinese poet Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf addresses the Quraish after Badr as *mulūk al-ʿArab*; cf. WĀQIDĪ, *Maḡāzī*, ed. A. VON KREMER (Calcutta, 1856), p. 115, quoted by H. LAMMENS, *La Mecque à la veille de l'hégire* (Beirut, 1924), p. 211 and *ibid.*, n. 3; cf. also WĀQIDĪ, *op. cit.*, p. 185. MUḤAMMAD B. ḤABĪB (d. 860), *Kitāb al-muḥabbar*, ed. I. LICHTENSTÄDTER (Ḥaidarābād, 1942), pp. 246-263, lists the *ḡarrārūn* among the Arabs, i.e. those chiefs who had command of a thousand men.

life of the units. Everywhere within that ill-defined and yet so clearly delimited area of North Arabian civilization the stranger would be at home and even the outcast assured of his socio-political role. Everywhere, the interdependence of nomad and settler was lived as a series of intermittent conflicts and stigmatized by the same fear and mutual contempt.

The Arab, by etymology and cultural convention, was the Bedouin¹, and for centuries to come, the settled would tend to maintain their connection with the masters of the steppe and indulge in a subservience to Bedouin ideals which from genuine participation degenerated to a romanticism with features characteristic of the myth of the "noble savage". The cohesiveness of the tribal world was strengthened by its rivalries and conflicts. Victory and defeat, grandeur and misery had meaning only within the charmed circle of disorganized communion. The competitive element in intertribal life, the boasting matches of various kinds, *mufāhara* and *munāfara*, *muḥābala* and *mu'āqara*², must be rated of supreme importance in instilling meaning into the quest for subsistence and survival and in unifying the countless groups that were roving an immense country by marking their submission to a body of outside opinion. It was this outside opinion in which a hierarchic stratification of the tribes was anchored; however unsatisfactory the place of a given tribe in this scale it indicated and guaranteed the group's "belonging"; to struggle against an offensive rating, to maintain a position of pride—both would confirm that the group considered itself part of the North Arabian "universe" and regulated its conduct with reference to it.

The model provided for a good deal of flexibility. The supersession of an original local unity by the assumption of a genealogical unity would function as the instrument of registration and stabilization of change. Although it is true that tribal genealogies would serve to legitimize (modifications of) the *status quo* and constitute an aid to the collective memory, the extent to which they mirror actual fact—at least in terms of past tribal history, break-ups of larger, agglomeration of smaller units, alliances and wanderings—

1. For bibliographical references cf. J. HENNINGER, *La société bédouine ancienne*, in F. GABRIELI (ed.), *L'antica società beduina* (Rome, 1959), pp. 69-93, and in the same volume, pp. 53-68, the study by M. HÖFNER, *Die Beduinen in den vorislamischen arabischen Inschriften* (esp. pp. 59ff.).

2. Cf. GOLDZIEHER, *op. cit.*, I, 54-60, for *mufāhara*; J. CHELHOD, *Le Sacrifice chez les arabes* (Paris, 1955), pp. 194-196, for *muḥābala* and *mu'āqara*.

THE NATURE OF ARAB UNITY

13

is not to be underestimated ¹. Besides, some of the larger, that is to say supertribal units such as Muḍar, Rabī'a, Quḍā'a, and on a higher classificatory level, Ma'add, appear to have had at various times a definite reality and hence a power of political motivation for the Northern Arabs ².

The Kinda "kingdom" fell because with the elimination of the Yemen as an independent political agent it ceased to fill a locally accepted function. Only shared objectives can result in voluntary submergence in a larger whole. The origin of the Tanūḥ on the lower Euphrates through common settlement of splinter groups from various Arab tribes '*alā l-tawāzur wa l-tanāsur*' ³ and, with greater significance for universal history, the settlement of Mecca by several sections of the Fihr, themselves a part of the Kināna, are cases in point. A further example is the expansion of Quraiš influence from the Meccan sanctuary through widening acceptance of the religious structure for which the Quraiš stood, although this process may illustrate the development of a "national" consciousness rather than of tribal amalgamation ⁴.

The somewhat checkered character of the linguistic map of Arabia has been realized for a long time. In fact, the Arab lexicographers, while seeking in the desert the vocabulary and the phraseology of the purest Arabic, were at the same time aware of the far from negligible differences between the speech of the several tribes and tribal groups. The mutual understandability of a number of those dialects was clearly restricted. It has been suggested that the distinction between the speech of the sedentary and the nomads was less marked in pre-Islamic times than it is today ⁵; yet it must have constituted a barrier of sorts. In any event, serious obstacles to ready communication appear to have obtained between the Meccan townsmen and the Bedouins ⁶. The degree of differentiation varied, the dialect of the Kalb on Byzantine territory, for instance, deviated more profoundly than that of the Rabī'a on the Euphrates

1. TH. NÖLDEKE, review of W. R. SMITH, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, ZDMG, XL (1886), 148-187, at pp. 179-182.

2. This in slight modification of NALLINO's position, *Scritti*, III, 75-76. NÖLDEKE, *loc. cit.*, pp. 177-179, points out that poets and genealogists are for the most part in agreement on tribal descent sequences.

3. Cf. GOLDZIHER, *op. cit.*, I, 66; NÖLDEKE, *op. cit.*, p. 183; and often.

4. On the process cf., e.g., CHELHOD, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-125.

5. Cf. J. LECERF, *Notes sur la famille dans le monde arabe et islamique*, *Arabica*, III (1956), 31-60, at p. 37.

6. Cf. C. RABIN, *Ancient West Arabian* (London, 1951), p. 24 n. 10.

from the "spoken standard language" of the interior of the Peninsula—if one may put forward such an abstraction¹. It has been argued rather convincingly that "the real linguistic unit of the bedouin Arab was the *hayy*, the group of families living together, often in closer contact with similar groups belonging to other tribes than with the rest of its own tribe". There is consequently "no definite proof that the tribe did constitute a linguistic unit. With regard to the large geographical units, it is often certain that linguistic boundaries ran across them"².

To emphasize the evidence for intense linguistic fragmentation is to emphasize its failure to destroy the reality and the consciousness of that community which kept the Northern Arabs together as an acknowledged culture group. Parallels may be indicated for the persistence of a *Kulturnation* in the face of linguistic diversity among its members. What (ideological) unity exists among the Turkish peoples is not impeded by limited mutual intelligibility. Relative scarcity of contact prevents the realization of diversity from corroding a sense of oneness. The absence of a written standard language in the "outlying" regions helps to keep linguistic separateness below the threshold. Is it too much to claim that it was the decision of the Dutch to use their speech as a *Schriftsprache* which made their crystallization as a nation distinct from their German neighbors irrevocable?

In Northern Arabia, the development of two *lingue franche* would appear to have secured communication and cohesion. The one primarily serving the needs of oral communication, everyday contact, the life of commerce and, possibly, the realm of prose, was the "city" language of the Ḥiǧāzene centers³; the other, a stylized, "abstracted" version of North Central Bedouin idioms, the language of prestige, or more concretely, the language of poetry. An examination of the vocabulary of pre-Islamic poetry would lead one to identify perhaps half a dozen centers or schools which tended to become submerged in an "all-Arab" tradition whose lexical resources were built up by a pooling of those of the several schools⁴. This tendency to develop a literary language by absorption and

1. Cf. NÖLDEKE *apud* LAMMENS, *Berceau*, p. 320 n. 2.

2. RABIN, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

3. Cf. LECERF, *loc. cit.*

4. Cf. G. E. VON GRUNEBaum, *Zur Chronologie der früh-arabischen Dichtung*, *Orientalia*, n.s., VIII (1939), 328-345.

THE NATURE OF ARAB UNITY

15

accumulation contributed to its ready acceptability. It must, however, not be overlooked that a certain selectivity was at work whose motivation it is not easy to trace—I am referring, for instance, to the prejudice against *Iyādī* diction which, to me, seems more difficult to account for than the hesitation to receive the several urban *ḫatois* ¹.

The nature of our sources imposes caution when it comes to generalizations about religion and law. Yet it appears defensible to remark on the comparative absence of supranatural sanctions for the upholding of the *sunna*, ancestral custom, among the pre-Islamic Arabs. There is no evidence that, for example, the spirits of the dead would avenge a breach of custom or that the gods demand atonement for the infringement of what to the Arab, in contradistinction to many if not most comparable groups, is an essentially secular set of regulations. Secular, yes; but for this no less compelling. The *dīn al-ʿArab*, the ways of the Arabs, are the basis, and perhaps the content of their *ʿird*, or honor; conversely, it is the commitment to this *ʿird* which makes the *dīn* or the *sunna* of the Arabs a living thing.

There are no uniform religious beliefs, but the religious concepts of the tribes are of one kind, provided of course the group has not been effectively touched by Jewish or Christian ideology. A polytheism whose gods lack coordinating construction into a pantheon but who expect similar ritual practices from their believers; faithful who are little concerned with their fate after death but anxious to win the support of supranatural forces by sacrifice and sacral action; some concepts like destiny or (creative) power that attain to tractability by personalization as a divinity; a perception of the world as densely populated with demoniacal beings—the approach behind this cluster of ideas was shared, shared also the complex of oath, *devotio*, *ḫaram* and *treuga Dei*, and shared as well, at least toward the end of the period, a certain tepidity toward the spiritual rationale of the tenaciously maintained “ways of the fathers”.

Honor, as the “*Gesamtbesitz an Rechtsgütern*” ², or its elements,

1. Such as, e.g., that of the *ʿibād* of al-Ḥīra; the standard reference is ABŪ L-ʿALĀʾ AL-MAʿARRĪ, *Risālat al-Ġufrān*, ed. BINT AL-ŠĀṬĪʾ (2nd ed.; Cairo, 1950), p. 193 ^u (for ʿAdī b. Zaid).

2. The phrase is E. GRÄF's, *Das Rechtswesen der heutigen Beduinen* (Waldorf-Hessen, n.d. [1952], p. 11; cf. also B. FARÈS, *L'Honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam* (Paris, 1932), p. 43.

constituted, it has been said, a system of laws¹. This is correct if one has in mind what the Greeks would call the *ágraphos nómos*, the unwritten law, a concept incidentally, which, in Greece, began by comprising the customs of the ritual sphere to extend more and more into segments of life less obviously connected with religion². A similar secularization of the *nómos* has already taken place at the time when the *sunna* of the Arabs becomes tangible for us. Yet it must be recognized that an institution like the *la'r, talio*, which is one of the cornerstones of the *dīn al-'Arab*, has kept some religious characteristics³ and that the family and hence the ancestors were throughout the culture area the object of a veritable cult⁴.

The recognition of the regulatory force of the ancestral *sunna* is not accompanied by uniformity of its content. Thus the typology of marriage or the structure of the family, as between patrilineal and matrilineal, will vary, sufficiently at times to create obstacles to an otherwise desired group amalgamation⁵. Tribes may for "hierarchic" or other reasons refuse marital alliance to others. But the divisive effect of structural variation is outweighed by the unifying force of the acceptance of a mandatory *sunna*; even that arrogance that is apt to disrupt intertribal relations will cement "Arab" unity as stemming from an outlook which positions all "Arabs" within one and the same social universe. A shared set of ideal human types, a shared attitude toward the role of the individual within and vis-à-vis society, and a shared apprehension of the human condition—they shall be mentioned only as additional ties as they have been discussed elsewhere at some length by others as well as myself⁶. The separateness of the towns within the North

1. FARÈS, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

2. Cf. V. EHRENBERG, *Die Rechtsidee im frühen Griechentum* (Leipzig 1921), p. 117.

3. Cf. CHELHOD, *Sacrifice*, pp. 101-104.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 101; cf. the critique of this attitude in the Koran 2 : 199; 31 : 21; 43 : 22-23.

5. Cf. W. M. WATT's remarks on the matrilineal tendencies in Medinese society and its consequences, *op. cit.*, pp. 378ff., and J. HENNINGER, *Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens und seiner Randgebiete* (Leiden, 1943), pp. 143-157. Polyandry (with brothers) as a prevalent custom belongs in the realm of the myth; cf. the conclusive evidence mustered by J. Henninger, *Polyandrie im vorislamischen Arabien*, *Anthropos*, II (1954) 314-322.

6. Cf. G. E. VON GRUNEBaum, *Kritik und Dichtkunst* (Wiesbaden, 1955), pp. 1-6. For the *šaiḥ*, the *sayyid*, the *ḥakam*, the *kāhin* cf. NALLINO, *Scritti*, III, 64-71; CHELHOD, *Introduction à la sociologie de l'Islam* (Paris, 1958), pp. 53ff.; E. BRÄUNLICH, *Beiträge zur Gesellschaftsordnung der arabischen Beduinenstämme*, *Islamica*, VI (1934), 68-111, 182-229; etc. etc..

THE NATURE OF ARAB UNITY

17

Arabian culture orbit is due not least to the imperfect participation of the city-dweller in the unspoken axiomatics of Bedouin thinking and feeling¹.

Yet it was the city-dwellers who made possible that relative unification of North Central Arabia as an economic area which, in turn, contributed in no mean measure to gathering the tribal units into a *Kulturnation*. The caravans connecting the extreme South of the Peninsula with Syria and Egypt or the Red Sea with Iraq required urban and oasis settlements as relay points if they were not actually based on them. Mecca, in particular, stood out as both entrepôt and terminal point for the overland trade. The interest which Arab writers of the Islamic period evince in the *aswāq*, or markets, of the Arabs reflects their realization that intertribal gathering-places such as 'Ukāz had played a powerful part in nurturing a "national consciousness" among the Northern Arabs. An even more powerful factor was the similarity of the economic situation with which most tribes had to contend. For variations between camel nomadism, donkey nomadism, and *Kleinvieh*-nomadism notwithstanding, and in spite of an occasional special preoccupation such as the beekeeping of the Hudail, the economic activities of the tribes and hence, in large measure, the rhythm of their life were basically the same. This goes for the peaceable routine as well as for the *ġazw*, the armed raid, the only means of the Bedouin to redress a desperate economic situation, and the protection fees levelled against caravans passing or being guided through tribal territory. Shared experiences and shared problems do not necessarily level out discordant attitudes; in the case of the North Arabian tribes, however, the contact and one might almost say, the constant cooperation which the maintenance of pasture grounds and even the upholding of the reciprocal rules of the *ġazw* required, conditioned the members of the unorganized tribal universe to accept and activate a common identification. The common lore of the camel breeders, the common lore of the palmgrowers, the common ethics of the raiders constituting or enforcing as they did significant areas of common laws and common mores would—if the multiracial world of the Central Asian nomads may serve in evidence—not have sufficed to establish the Northern Arabs as a *Kulturnation*; but in conjunction with the other elements already

1. For the mocking attitude of the Bedouin toward the organization of Mecca cf. LAMMENS, *Berceau*, p. 252 n. 4, who is following Ġāhiz.

ascertained, economic uniformity revealed itself as a cohesive force. This is true despite its short-range effect of continually pitting the tribes against one another in their desperate competition for control of an unyielding environment.

It cannot be underscored too strongly that it was the town-dwellers who inculcated the sense of Arab solidarity in the Bedouins, but that the "nationalistic" ideal which they promoted was a Bedouin notion¹. Bedouin ideals prevail in pre-Islamic poetry and, interestingly enough, in literary criticism under Islam². It was to be the townsfolk who organized the Arabs under Islam but the cultural prejudices or predilections of the Bedouin persisted remarkably long, unchecked by contempt for the *ġafā'*, the coarseness, of their nomadic carriers³. To this day, poetry among the Peninsular Arabs is often composed in archaic dialects; what is more, the settler still uses frequently Bedouin language when he breaks into verse⁴. By declaring poetry the "archive" of the Arabs, the educated Muslim accepted the pre-Islamic tradition as a source and a standard; the indispensability of this poetry as a tool for grammarians and exegetes together with Arab pride of their outstanding cultural achievement safeguarded its authority within a fundamentally anti-Bedouin society. Muḥammad was apprehensive of the pagan associations of this poetry, and, more concretely, of the disruptive power of the lampoon, *hiġā'*; he was no doubt right in his appraisal of its dangers. At the same time, however, it was this very kind of poetry and its counterpart, the *madīḥ*, or panegyric, which drew its effectiveness from the *Gemeingefühl* it presupposed and main-

1. The relative political strength of the two groups seems to have varied. In Muḥammad's time the towns were in the ascendant; today, that is, before the sedentarization policies and the policing of the desert by the Sa'ūdī government took effect, the situation was reversed. R. MONTAGNE, *REI*, 1932, 61, stated that: „D'une manière générale, l'influence exercée par les tribus pastorales sur les habitants des cités et des villages est plus marquée que celle des citadins sur les bédouins. Dans la plupart des états arabes de l'intérieur de la péninsule, la force militaire est dominée par les tribus et le prestige n'appartient qu'aux pasteurs de chamcaux, mais toutes les constructions politiques de quelque importance se sont toujours appuyées sur les villes qui sont, à la fois, des centres commerciaux et économiques, religieux et politiques”.

2. On these points cf. LAMMENS, *La Cité arabe de Tāif à la veille de l'hégive* (Beirut, 1922) pp. 10 (-11), 144-159; on pp. 154-156, the parallel situation in music is discussed.

3. Some references in LAMMENS, *La Mecque*, p. 318.

4. Cf. RABIN, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

THE NATURE OF ARAB UNITY

19

tained. For insult or praise—do they not presuppose the “Arabs” as an audience to be meaningful?

Incontestably, it was Islam that transformed the Northern Arabs into a *Staatsnation*. There were, however, incidents within recent memory of Muḥammad’s followers which in retrospect could and did acquire a “national” connotation. Reading the description of the victory of the Banū Bakr over the Persians and their Arab allies at Ḍū Qār (ca. A.D. 611) ¹ one does not feel confronted by a war between nations, a war of national liberation, or a “national” war ². It is nevertheless unmistakable that not only the Banū Bakr but the Arabs as a whole came to be affected by the realization that the strength of the Persians was beginning to fail and that they—and not a particular tribe—might now find a means to despoil or settle on their own in the Mesopotamian plains. That it was only Islam that provided the structure for an enterprise of this magnitude is *inter alia* due to the fact that pre-Islamic political ideas could not be overcome through an inherent dialectics but had to be depreciated by means of a truly comprehensive principle of organization promulgated by higher authority. Where the *malik* failed, the prophet and his *ḥalīfa* succeeded. What is true for “foreign policy” is true for the enforcement of rules regulating inter-Arab relationships; only Islam could hope to render effective the application of the principle that no Arab should be enslaved by another ³. That the persistence of Bedouin attitudes which from the point of view of the Islamic Empire were obsolete because unfunctional and disruptive could not be prevented by Islam is one of the main reasons why the Empire slipped away so soon from its Arab founders. The intensification of tribal tensions after the conquests is, in fact, remarkable ⁴.

1. *Naqā'id*, ed. A. A. BEVAN (Leiden, 1905-1912), pp. 638-648.

2. Cf. also the analysis of events in E. BRÄUNLICH, *Bistām b. Qais, ein vorislamischer Beduinenfürst* (Leipzig, 1923), 30-34, which leads to the same conclusion.

3. Cf. the story in *Aḡānī*, XI, 79-80.

4. Tribal identifications are met with in poetry as late as Mutanabbī and Abū l-ʿAlā' al-Maʿarrī; cf. NALLINO, *Scritti*, III, 75.—The concept of the *badawī* or *bādī* was, incidentally, not confined to Arabic speaking Bedouin; it denoted, or at least it came to denote, the pursuance of a certain way of life. Thus MASʿŪDĪ, *Murūğ*, ed. BARBIER DE MEYNARD and PAVET DE COURTEILLE, III, 223, 239, speaks of “the Bedouin of the Arabs and other peoples”, with reference to Turks, Kurds, Bega and “Maghribis”; cf. JACOB, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32. In similar fashion, H. VON WISSMANN states that the camel nomad,

It casts an unexpected light on the nature of the Arab community before Islam that the use of the term 'arab was peculiarly restricted. You would address yourself to the Arabs or more precisely employ "the Arabs" as the point of reference or the demarcation of the sphere of human and political relevance, but you would not identify yourself as an Arab. Imru' al-Qais (d. ca. 540) praises his father not as the best of the Arabs but as *ḥair Ma'add*, the best of Ma'add¹. A precious stallion might "belong to a man of the Arabs", *li-rağul min al-'Arab*², an individual be described as a *şu'lūk min şa'ālik al-'Arab*, "one of the tramps of the Arabs"³, a tribe defined as "the Quraiş of the Arabs"⁴, yet the individual remained a Bakrī, a Huḍalī or a Quraişī whose group would then belong to Muḍar or Ma'add, but not to Ismā'il or any other genealogical hero representing "the Arabs" in their entirety.

Political reality and effectiveness in pre-Islamic times thinned out rather quickly as the unit broadened by reference to a more remote ancestor, although on occasion, the outsider might believe in the political compactness of the Μαδδηνοί, the Ma'add⁵. In this connection it should be recorded that in pre-Islamic days Ma'add was not, as it later came to be, confined to denote the Northern Arabs⁶.

It has been observed above that the name 'arab is practically unrepresented in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry⁷. It begins to be used in the work of the Prophet's "court poets"⁸ and occurs quite freely

'arab, after the "invention" of the *ğazw*, the mounted attack with camel and horse, became the *badw*, an event which he places in the third century A.D.; cf. his study "Bauer, Nomade und Stadt im islamischen Orient", in R. PARET (ed.), *Die Welt des Islam und die Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, 1962), pp. 22-63, at p. 32.

1. Ed. AHLWARDT (London, 1870), XLIV 3.

2. *Ağāni*, XI, 88¹⁰.

3. *Ağāni*, XII, 26⁵; XII, 49²⁶⁻²⁷.

4. Cf. IBN HIŞĀM, *Sira*, ed. F. WÜSTENFELD (Göttingen, 1858-1860), pp. 128, 129; trans. A. GUILLAUME, *The Life of Muhammad* (London, etc., 1955), pp. 87-89.

5. Cf. Procopius, *De bello Persico* i. 20, 9, where we read that the Ὀμηρίται were to make the exiled Καλοσ chief of the Μαδδηνοί and to invade Persian territory together with him. OLINDER, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-116, and CASHEL, *Einheimische Quellen*, pp. 338-339, identify this Qais correctly with Qais b. Salama b. al-Hāriṭ, a cousin of the great Imru' al-Qais.

6. GOLDZIEHER, *op. cit.*, I, 90.

7. IMRU' AL-QAIS (ed. AHLWARDT), App. XVIII 15 is spurious; cf., e.g., JACOB, *op. cit.*, p. 31. Exceptions, e.g. *Naqā'id*, pp. 456⁹, 645², where the Arabs are contrasted with the Persians in a poem glorifying the day of Dū Qār.

8. Cf. FARRUKH, *op. cit.*, pp. 128ff.

in poetical texts of the Umayyad age to designate "the Arab nation"¹. On the other hand, the name 'arab appears frequently in pre-Islamic prose—a fact which has not as yet been clearly noted. The contexts in which it comes to the lips of the narrators are typically these:

(1) Characterization of groups (tribes) or individuals; e.g., "The Tamim are the coarsest and most violent of the Arabs", *ağlaz al-'Arab wa-ağsā-hā*²; or individuals are grouped together for a particular quality but with reference to the entire Arab community: *hamqā l-'Arab* (following a section each on the *hamqā*, the foolish people, of Qurais and Taqif), *duhāl al-'Arab*, the brilliant among the Arabs, and so forth³.

(2) (More frequently) the Arabs engage in a permanent or temporary practice; e.g. "the Arabs were in the habit of alighting at Zubair b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāšim"⁴, „the Arabs used to refer difficult cases to 'Āmir b. Zariḥ"⁵; "the Arabs used the name Fartanā for any slave-girl"⁶; "the Arabs in the Ğāhiliyya thought that an owl would rise from the head of a slain man"⁷.

(3) The Arabs render judgment on a person, a poem, and the like; e.g. "the Arabs consider al-Afwah al-'Audī one of their *hukamā*"⁸; "the Arabs consider excellent a certain ode by the *muḥadram* Suwaid b. Abī Kāhil"⁹.

(4) A saying becomes current or a proverb among the Arabs¹⁰.

(5) The Arabs as the supreme court of moral judgment; e.g. "if any Arab knows what I have done . . ."¹¹; "the Arabs do not do this and consider it infamous"¹²; "(In this event) the Arabs would revile you"¹³; fear of the talk of the Arabs is used as motivation in the *ayyām* tales¹⁴. This attitude was to persist; cf., e.g., the lines:

1. Cf. E. GRÄF, *Probleme der Todesstrafe im Islam*, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, LIX (1957), 83-122, at p. 107 n. 63a.

2. *Naqā'id*, p. 98¹⁸; quoted by LAMMENS, *Tāif*, p. 190 n. 6.

3. IBN ḤABĪB, *op. cit.*, pp. 379-381, 184.

4. E.g., *Ağānī*, XI, 134⁶; similar, the passage *ibid.*, XII, 150²³.

5. IBN HIŠĀM, *op. cit.*, p. 58; GUILLAUME, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

6. *Naqā'id*, pp. 63¹⁸-64¹.

7. *Naqā'id*, p. 82⁸.

8. *Ağānī*, XI, 44¹⁰.

9. *Ibid.*, 171¹⁸.

10. Countless instances; e.g. *Ağānī*, XII, 77^{11-78¹}.

11. E.g., *ibid.*, 127¹².

12. *Ibid.*, 156¹⁴⁻¹⁵.

13. *Naqā'id*, p. 20¹⁸; similar, *ibid.*, 92²⁰. 14. Cf. CASKEL, *Ajām*, pp. 53-54.

“You are like a donkey—your skin does not smart
from the touch, *mass*, of the tongues of the Arabs!”¹

Sometimes lists of morally commendable people are given, such as “those who kept their pledged faith among the Arabs”².

(6) The Arabs sharing institutions, remarkable personalities of various types, nobility, and so forth. Ġailān b. Salama, a contemporary of the Prophet, exhorts to “respect the noble families of the Arabs for they are the ladders to honor”³. The “šaiḥly families”, *buyūlāt*, tended to recognize each other’s social rank and thus formed a “transtribal” aristocracy—one more connecting link among the Arabs⁴. Material on the pre-Islamic Arabs was organized under pertinent headings by Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (d. 860), doubtless in continuation of earlier usage⁵.

(7) Indication of a common history; e.g. the passage, *Aġānī*, XI, 157⁷: “No battle-day was seen more hurtful and more snarling in the mourning it caused” among the Arabs.

The examples could be multiplied but the range of meaning allowed the term ‘*arab*’ would not be found increased. The Arabs emerge as the largest yet but vaguely defined group sharing historical and political memories and, more importantly, as the public before which the individual and the tribe must make good as before a court in permanent session. The “Arabs”, a concept of hazily perceived geographical and human borders, are the audience or the

1. AL-MUBARRAD *apud* IBN ABĪ ‘AUN, *Kitāb al-lašbihāt*, ed. M. ‘ABDUL MU‘ĪD KHĀN (London, 1950), p. 382¹³.

2. IBN ḤABĪB, *op. cit.*, pp. 348-355.

3. *Aġānī*, XII, 47³⁰.

4. For the custom of contemporary shaikhly families to go outside the tribe for marriage alliances with houses of the same rank cf. HENNINGER, *Familie*, p. 53. For contrast cf. E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD’s observation that among the Nuer a man is an “aristocrat” only in the tribe in which his clan is dominant but not in any other *apud* M. FORTES and EVANS-PRITCHARD (eds.), *African Political Systems* (London, 1940), p. 287. Already J. WELLHAUSEN, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern, Nachrichten von der kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1893, 431-481, p. 437 n. 2, has pointed out that exogamy was more frequent among the noble and the rich, and has spoken, p. 439, of the circle of noble houses in different tribal groups who consider each other *ebenbürtig* and will intermarry. Generally speaking, endogamy is preferable in a system like that of the Bedouin as it will prevent divided loyalties in the children. On intermarriage between Bedouin and *fallāḥīn* and the survival of the memory of Bedouin descent among certain *fallāḥīn* cf. HENNINGER, *Familie*, pp. 51-52.

5. Cf., e.g., *op. cit.*, pp. 132 (*ḥukkām al-‘Arab*) and 181-183 (*a‘immat al-‘Arab*).

THE NATURE OF ARAB UNITY

23

group within which the individual and the lesser groupings "make sense", within whose compass life is meaningful and worth living. Unlike most *Staatsnationen* and unlike also the Muslim community, the pre-Islamic Arabs did not dispose of elaborate myths as a rationale of cohesiveness; no philosophy of history, to use a highly anachronistic term, allowed the component elements to find themselves securely placed within the larger unit; the genealogical constructs are frail, the memories of tribal encounters spotty. And yet, the "Arabs" existed as a regulatory, ever-present public, an orientation point, stable in spite of its elusiveness, a concept not to be strictly defined though sufficiently precise to allow the growth of a sense of "national" character. "A Bedouin said of a certain woman", we read it is true in the work of a writer astraddle the tenth and eleventh centuries, "She is by God of pure Arab tongue, and her heart is even more Arab than her tongue" ¹

ADDENDA

As a parallel from a different area the Maya may be referred to. With the exception of the period from 1194 to 1441 when there existed a fairly inclusive Maya state the unity of the Maya was purely (linguistic and) cultural; politically they lived in independent city states that would, on occasion, form loosely structured alliances. Cf., e.g., W. Krickeberg in *Die Religionen des alten Amerika* by Krickeberg, H. Trimborn et al. (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 63 n. 63.

1. TAUHĪDĪ (d. 1023), *al-Raṣā'ir wal-dahā'ir*, ed. A. AMĪN and A. ṢAQR (Cairo, 1953), p. 34^o: *inna-hā wallāhi 'arabiyyat al-lisān wa-qalbu-hā a'rab minhā*.



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THE ROLE OF NOMADS IN THE NEAR
EAST IN LATE ANTIQUITY
(400–800 C.E.)

Fred M. Donner

Nomads were an essential feature of life in the Near East in Late Antiquity and have remained so since. They interacted continuously with the settled population of the region and were one of the prime reasons that the history and society of the Near East differed markedly from those of contemporary Europe. Europe, after all, has never (at least in historic times) supported a significant population of nomads—by which I mean indigenous people who undertook regular, cyclical migrations in order to pursue pastoralism. We must distinguish this kind of pattern from massive “folk migrations” (*Völkerwanderungen*). Europe had such folk migrations, to be sure, but these represented either the intrusion of alien peoples onto the European scene (e.g., the Avars or Magyars), or the movement of an essentially settled European people from one part of Europe to another in search of new areas of settlement (e.g., the Visigoths, Vikings, or Normans). In all such instances, however, the migration, though drawn out over years, was fundamentally a single operation and resulted in the definitive settlement of the migrants into a new abode, where they led the settled life of village farmers or townsmen, with fixed habitations.

The Near East also had its share of “intrusive” migrations of alien groups and of internal movements of populations. Among the former, the thirteenth-century invasions of the Mongols, or even more the incursions of the Turks from the eleventh century onward, come most readily to mind. Among the latter, the clearest example is probably the movement of Arabians, many of them townspeople or oasis villagers, from the Yemen, the Hijaz, and other parts of the peninsula, to new settlements in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Iran in the course of the Islamic conquest movement of the seventh century.

As important as such mass migrations have been in Near Eastern history, however, they are not the object of my present concern. I wish instead to as-

sess the role of indigenous nomadic pastoralists in settled society in the Near East. Before doing so, however, it is appropriate to describe, in very simplistic terms, some of the main forms of nomadic pastoralism found in the region from about the third century B.C.E. on.

Three main varieties of Near Eastern nomadic pastoralism can be identified. The first, sometimes called "transhumance," is found in mountainous regions such as the Zagros and Anatolia. The pastoralists of these regions, who herd primarily sheep and goats, move between low-lying winter pastures in the plains or foothills and high summer pastures in the mountains. These main pasturing areas are fixed and reserved; that is, a particular pastoral group normally returns to the same summer and winter pastures year after year, and other pastoral groups may use them only with their permission, or by exerting superior force. For one reason or another, these summer and winter pastures are agriculturally marginal—for example, the winter pastures may be too hot and arid in summer, and too difficult to irrigate, to permit cultivation, while the summer pastures may be sufficiently cold that the growing season is shorter than needed for successful cultivation. Both the summer and winter pastures are fairly extensive, and because of their low agricultural utility, they tend to be essentially unpopulated, except when the pastoralists themselves are present. The routes followed by the nomadic pastoralists in moving from summer to winter pastures and back are usually well defined; they are frequently dotted with villages, and the pastoralists, in their predictable passages back and forth, establish customary agreements with the villagers about such matters as grazing privileges, trade, social contacts, and so on.

The second general variety of nomadic life is found where a large river valley or otherwise well-watered district adjoins an extensive tract of arid or otherwise agriculturally marginal land. Pastoralists in such settings can keep sheep and goats, which they graze in the arid tract during the winter and spring, when the seasonal rains "make the desert bloom" with short-lived herbage. As the pasture fails with the coming of summer they drive their livestock closer to, and ultimately into, the better-watered river valley, where water and fodder for their flocks are always available. The arid district is normally unpopulated, and the pastoralists may disperse very widely in it while exploiting its spring grasses; in the riverain district, on the other hand, the ready availability of fodder and water permits the nomads and their flocks to come together in large concentrations. Moreover, the riverain district is likely to be filled with villages, and the pastoralists must keep their flocks well under control during the long summers to prevent them from ruining the villagers' crops. The pastoralists' fairly long stay among the villagers results in very intimate social ties between the two groups. Indeed, the two sometimes become virtually one social group, part of which stays in the village year round and part of which takes the flocks into the steppe in the proper season. Such

Donner/The Role of Nomads in the Near East

75

arrangements are found mainly along the Tigris and Euphrates rivers and their tributaries in parts of northern Syria and Iraq, along the agricultural fringe of the steppe in inland Syria from Aleppo south to the Gulf of Aqaba, and in other areas that are agriculturally marginal but still fairly close to some permanent source of water.

The third variety of nomadism in the Near East is really a further refinement of the second, involving the herding primarily of camels (the dromedary or one-humped variety) rather than sheep and goats. In comparison with sheep and goats, camels are much faster, can go much longer without watering, and can eat much-less-desirable fodder plants; they can also live entirely without water if succulent herbage is available and can carry loads far exceeding that of the donkey, horse, or ox. These qualities of the camel freed camel pastoralists to undertake much longer annual migrations, to penetrate much-more-arid areas in search of pasture, and to stay "in the field" for a much greater part of the year than sheep and goat herders, whose movements are quite narrowly restricted by their animals' needs. In some areas, camel pastoralists may roam from one seasonal pasture to another in a well-established pattern for almost the whole year and may have very little contact with settled communities. Much more frequent, however, is a pattern in which the camel-herding groups spend several of the driest months of summer at an oasis, along a river, or elsewhere where permanent water can be found—usually in the company of other pastoral groups and some villagers. Such nomadic patterns are best attested in the Arabian and Syrian deserts, in the Eastern and Western Deserts of Egypt, and in the Sahara.

The three basic patterns just described are, of course, grossly oversimplified "ideal types," and variations and hybrid forms abound; above all, these simplified models tend to obscure that "nomadic" and "sedentary" ways of life are really but the opposite ends of a spectrum of ways of life, with many groups falling somewhere in between. Nonetheless, these models do, I think, reflect some of the essential characteristics of Near Eastern nomadic life. These include the rhythmic, even predictable nature of the nomads' movement in response to seasonal changes in pasture; their lack of a permanent, fixed habitation, and their having regular contact with settled people, especially villagers, in the course of their annual migratory cycle. Two additional points need to be emphasized, however. The first is that nomads have always been a minority of the population of the Near East; this is not particularly surprising, since their goal of exploiting tracts of land too poor to support any concentrated population requires them to be spread exceedingly thinly, albeit over vast areas, for much of the year. The second is that nomads, despite their relatively small numbers, have exercised a profound influence on the evolution of Near Eastern society. Indeed, it is not going too far to say that the presence of nomads in the Near East was one of the decisive factors that made life and

history in the Near East evolve so differently from in Europe—at least in the period from about the third century B.C.E. until recent times.

This paradox of the nomads' limited numbers but disproportionately profound impact can best be appreciated by looking, very quickly, at some of the ways in which nomads have interacted with settled society in the Near East. It will soon become evident that many aspects of this interaction remain poorly known, and as a consequence we shall, in many cases, have to be satisfied for the present with questions raised rather than answers given. My further comments, moreover, are restricted mainly to the interaction of nomads and settled people in the Arabian Peninsula and Fertile Crescent. The rather different ecological conditions facing the nomads in mountainous regions (Iran, Anatolia), or in North Africa have generated patterns of interaction that are different in some ways from those in Arabia and the Fertile Crescent, although some similarities and parallels can doubtless be found as well.

ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The economic interaction of nomads with their settled neighbors has long been acknowledged, but the importance of such interactions has not always been fully appreciated. The older, one-sided view of nomad-sedentary relations as constituting an endless struggle between "the desert and the sown" has more recently given way to one stressing the economic interdependence of nomads and settled people. It is recognized that nomadic and seminomadic pastoralists depend on village communities for most agricultural staples (grain, dates, etc.) as well as for numerous manufactured items essential to their life in the desert—weapons, cooking utensils, clothing, tent material, and other indispensable items. In turn, the nomads provide the villagers with livestock—sheep and goats for food, camels and horses for hauling and riding—as well as with a limited range of products of animal origin, such as hides, wool, hair, and milk products. In some instances, the nomads effectively "own" lands which peasants work as sharecroppers. The nomads may also undertake important transport functions on which depend the survival of peasant communities, and even of larger towns; it was often with the nomads' camels and under the nomads' protection that urban manufactures or imports were borne from one town to another, or that a village's crops were taken to market. The ability of nomads to pass, under appropriate conditions, through inhospitable areas, and the necessity of securing their protection or acquiescence in entering certain tribes' territories, made their cooperation fundamentally important to the opening of certain resources, such as mines, that happened to be located there. Needless to say, the nomads benefited greatly from these transport functions, which brought payment in cash and goods to participating *shaykhs* and their followers. In many areas, it was only with the

Donner/The Role of Nomads in the Near East

77

cooperation of nomadic pastoralists that long-distance and even much local trade could be pursued.

These are some well-known aspects of this symbiosis, which was sufficiently important that neither group—nomad or sedentary—could probably have existed in the absence of the other without a radical transformation in its way of life. What needs greater emphasis, however, is that this interdependence influenced the lives of settled people (particularly villagers) just as greatly as it did the lives of nomads. It has long been clear that the nomad could not survive without the villager and townsman, but the economic impact of nomads on villagers and townspeople may go far beyond the few aspects noted in the preceding paragraph. Unfortunately, these influences must remain for the moment hypothetical, because so little of the essential spadework that might verify them has been done. We can, however, formulate a few of them at least as questions that merit closer examination in future research.

The role of nomads in providing transportation has been noted already, but several aspects of this function seem hardly to have been explored. Did it influence significantly the location or distribution of villages in certain areas and in relation to certain market centers? Did the limitations or advantages of the forms of transport used influence the kinds of products villages produced? Did these influences, if they existed, take regular enough form to permit us to generalize about them?

Similarly, the possible impact of nomadic groups on market structures has not been sufficiently explored. To what extent did the nomad's production of some things (livestock, etc.) but not others (manufactured goods, some agricultural products) shape the economic life of villages? Did the nomads provide a sufficient market for certain types of goods (e.g., tents) to enable some (many?) villages to specialize in the production of those goods? Did the specialization of nomads in stock raising cause villagers to pursue other aspects of agricultural life in a more specialized way by freeing them of the need to tend flocks?

In other respects, too, the presence of nomads may have had profound effects on the agrarian evolution of the region under study. We know that the agricultural evolution of Europe was influenced significantly by fertility of land, and that the latter was greatly affected by the manuring rate (amount and kind of manure per unit area per annum). Was the fertility of agricultural land in the Near East adversely affected, viewed over the long term in comparison with Europe, because nomads herded livestock in areas distant from farm settlements for much of the year? Did this factor or the rather rigid timing of the nomads' migratory cycle, which in many agricultural districts fixed the season when the nomads' flocks would arrive to graze on the stubble left after harvest, hinder technological changes that might have transformed agricultural relationships, such as the shift from two-field to three-field rotation that

was undertaken in Europe? In making these comparisons it is not my intent to suggest that the European patterns were "better," of course, but to show that other agricultural arrangements than those that prevailed in the Near East (e.g., a more fully mixed farming regime, or a different annual agricultural cycle) are theoretically conceivable but may have been thwarted in their development by the exigencies of the nomadic cycle.

Finally, we might ask whether the periodic raids launched by nomadic groups on agricultural settlements might not have had repercussions far more serious than the obvious disruption of agriculture on the local level that they caused. For example, might these raids, by periodically ruining marginally productive peasants, have contributed to sharecropping arrangements by furthering the consolidation of agricultural plots in the hands of larger landowners after the raiders had withdrawn? Might the nomads' penchant for taxing certain areas have had a similar effect in a less sensational manner? Did the raiding pattern significantly increase the risk of investing in agricultural land and consequently force more investment into other sectors of the economy (commerce, crafts) than might otherwise have been the case?

In short, there are numerous possible economic relationships between nomads and their settled neighbors that remain to be explored on the basis of a careful study of both historical records and more-recent ethnographic data.

SOCIETY AND CULTURE

In turning our attention to the social and cultural dimensions of the nomads' impact on Near Eastern society, it is perhaps appropriate to begin by reminding ourselves of what seems to be virtually a natural law—or is at least as close to a natural law as one can come in the human sciences: that the social isolation of a group generates social and cultural conservatism, or put the other way round, that continuous contact of one group with others tends to engender social and cultural change as the community comes to terms with "alien" social and cultural practices. What I wish to propose here is that nomadic groups, despite their almost constant movement and their periodic contact with "outsiders," tended to be socially and culturally isolated.

As good settled people, we may find it a bit hard to accept the idea that these "people on the move" could really be called isolated, and it is true that many nomadic groups had social contact with other communities (whether settled people or other nomads) that were, geographically at least, far more wide-ranging than those experienced by many sedentary people, particularly villagers. Villagers, after all, frequently spent their whole lives and died within a few miles of their birthplace, whereas some nomads undertook annual migrations between summer and winter pastures that were hundreds of miles apart. But in this calculus of contact versus isolation, the mere geo-

graphical range of these contacts is of less significance than their timing or rhythm; and here a great difference between the social interactions of settled peoples and those of nomads becomes apparent. Villagers in particular, and even townsmen, may be largely limited to contact with outsiders from nearby regions—the next village or town—and only occasionally meet a truly alien traveler from a wholly different region or country; but this kind of contact continues on an almost daily basis among settled communities, and through it, new ideas and customs can trickle into the community almost unnoticed as they are handed on from one neighboring settlement to another. Nomads are subject to the same kind of cultural “infiltration” during the months they spend in close proximity to settled communities or living among them; but unlike their sedentary neighbors, nomads also spend part of the year—maybe the greater part of it, in some cases—in search of pasture, in a setting that for those months not only isolates them from almost all contact with outsiders but also places them in the sole companionship of others like themselves, in small groups among whom long familiarity and the exigencies of life reinforce their time-honored values and customary ways of doing things. Although there is no way to prove it, we can assert that the “desert” phase of the nomads’ annual cycle may have had a kind of culturally purifying effect by which the various cultural and social “contaminations” to which individuals had succumbed during their sojourns amid settled society were annually diluted or forgotten or cast off, and the old values reaffirmed.

The implications of this social and cultural isolation are, it seems to me, quite far-reaching. On the one hand, it helped make nomads culturally conservative, that is, slow to change their ways; on the other hand, it gave them a far greater impact on settled society and culture than their numbers would lead us to expect, because their cultural conservatism meant that in their relations with settled communities they were continually reemphasizing the same values and customs. In exploring this proposition, I would like to select two instances in which we may suspect both that nomads showed themselves to be culturally conservative, and that this conservatism translated into a significant influence on social or cultural practices of the Near East as a whole.

The first involves the problem of language diffusion, in particular the diffusion of Arabic at the expense of other vernaculars. The survival of archaic linguistic usages among nomads—at least among Arabic-speaking ones—is quite well known, but we must yet consider the degree to which this linguistic conservatism influenced language usage in the Near East as a whole. Arabic first came to prominence in the aftermath of the Islamic conquests of the seventh century, of course, when it emerged as the official language of the new state, partly because the ruling elite of that state was of Arabian origin and had Arabic as its mother tongue. But Arabic had been quite widely used before the conquests, at least in parts of Iraq and Syria, as well as in the Eastern Desert

of Egypt; and concentrating on the apparent relationship between the rise of Islam and the spread of Arabic obscures other strands of evidence that are perhaps just as meaningful in understanding how, and why, Arabic spread.

Many factors, obviously, contributed to the spread of Arabic in some areas and to its failure to spread in others. They included not only the use of Arabic as the language of administration and literary culture, but also the relative weight of immigration in certain regions (usually applicable only to a very small area, e.g., the environs of Merv, where a small island of Arabic speakers survives to this day, surrounded by speakers of various Iranian and Turkish languages). Another very important variable, however, was the presence or absence of Arabic-speaking nomads in a given region. The eventual Arabization of much of the Fertile Crescent—particularly of the settled communities there—was, I think, made possible partly by the presence of Arabic-speaking nomads in this area long before the rise of Islam. An expansion of these Arabic-speaking nomads into Iran, on the other hand, was obstructed both by the terrain, which did not suit the migratory patterns of Arabic-speaking nomads, and by the presence of other nomadic groups, already adjusted to this terrain, who spoke various Iranian languages; not surprisingly, then, Arabic for the most part never supplanted various Iranian languages on the Iranian plateau, despite long centuries of Arab rule and long use of Arabic as an administrative and cultural (especially religious) language.

My second example in the realm of social and cultural phenomena involves that institution called “the tribe”—which, in the Near East, can be described as a unit of social solidarity defined along lines of real or supposed kinship in the male line, and embracing as well some rather distinctive social practices, such as parallel cousin marriage. The “tribal ideal” is most closely followed among isolated social groups, particularly nomadic groups, and tends to be diluted in towns and cities, where many nonkin affiliations assume great social importance and to some extent counterbalance kin-based “tribal” ties.

It is perhaps not particularly surprising that nomads should adhere so closely to the “tribal” approach to social organization; for this basis of social organization satisfies especially well some of the social and other needs of people pursuing nomadic pastoralism. These include (1) the need for effective protection of small, isolated groups against aggression by others in areas outside the effective control of any state, (2) the need to establish more or less predictable social relationships with groups besides one’s own (small) tenting group, (3) the need to maintain one’s access to specific pastoral resources (grazing grounds, wells, etc.) and other localities visited during the migratory cycle by establishing the claim in the name of a corporate entity, (4) the need to preserve the stability of the pastoral group through different seasons in order to assure proper maintenance of the herds, and (5) the need to maintain the stability of the camping unit from year to year/cycle to cycle, despite peri-

Donner/The Role of Nomads in the Near East

81

odic changes in membership due to death, birth, marriage in or out, and so on, so that the economic basis of life for the individual continues.

Similar needs are felt by peasants and others, of course, but because of the spatial fixity of the individual peasant and of the people around him, it is possible for him to establish relations with others that meet these needs without recourse to kin-based arrangements, and this doubtless contributes to the breakdown of "tribal" institutions in settled regions. But nomads almost always have "tribal" ties to settled people; that is, nomadic pastoralists will consider themselves to be members of a "tribe" that also includes some settled people, usually in localities with which the nomads of the tribe have periodic contact. This naturally generates considerable cooperation among nomads and sedentary members of a given tribe; there is even considerable movement back and forth from settled to nomadic life by individuals within a tribe in response to pressures affecting the prosperity of the pastoral or agricultural economy—what is usually called "sedentarization" or "desedentarization." Thus part of the settled population is intimately involved in the nomads' social world—which is "tribally" organized. We must ask, I think, whether the "tribal" social order would be nearly as prominent in the Near East without the presence of nomads, who maintain this "tribal" order in a relatively pure form and reinforce it in the course of their continuing interactions with settled communities.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

The kinds of nomadic influence on Near Eastern society that we have examined so far have tended to operate toward the base of the social pyramid, even though they sometimes had far-reaching repercussions. It is clear, however, that nomadic groups sometimes exercised a powerful influence also on the organization of political power in the Near East in a more direct way, and it is to this theme that I would now like to turn our attention.

I will begin by drawing a distinction between what can be called *zones of state power* and *zones of nomadic power*. The Fertile Crescent and South Arabia are regions whose ecological conditions have historically permitted the rise of highly centralized, hierarchical, and bureaucratized political structures ("states") based on an agricultural tax base. Northern and central Arabia, on the one hand, because of their vast extent, difficulty of access, and meager resources, have generally lain outside state control, and in them successive confederations of pastoral nomads were, from about the third century B.C.E. onward, able to establish their control over local settlements.

Within the zone of nomadic power, the political life of towns and villages was shaped in its essentials by the vicissitudes of power among the nomadic population. In some cases, towns or villages were simply subjugated by

nomads and forced to pay taxes. In others, a town was ruled by a leading family that kept its position by maintaining a network of alliances with local nomadic groups who served as agents of the family's influence in exchange for economic or other benefits. In some cases, a nomadic group might "capture" a town and establish its own leaders as the town's ruling family—a family that ruled partly by utilizing its close ties to its erstwhile nomadic followers. Examples of this process abound from Late Antiquity (Palmyra, Hatra, Edessa) right up to modern times.

In the zone of state power, of course, we might expect that relationships between nomadic groups and local power structures would be somewhat different, because the nomads living in the state zone could not be autonomous foci of power but instead fell under the surveillance and the taxing power of the state. Clearly the state prevented nomads from controlling settled communities directly, or at least seriously limited the character and extent of that control (although it seems that states often allowed nomads to work out among themselves power relationships with other nomadic groups). The states of the region under consideration have generally taken it to be of high priority to prevent nomads from raiding, "capturing," or taxing towns within their territory.

Where the two zones adjoined one another, there arose an intense competition between the neighboring state and the nomadic confederation, each trying to wrest from the other the exclusive power to tax the villages or to exploit the pastures of the border district. A powerful state could hold the nomads at bay by direct military action, or by establishing ties of alliance with other, more manageable nomads in the intermediate zone. It could thus push its control and influence into the desert and so secure in the intermediate zone the stable political conditions needed for fruitful agriculture and effective tax collection. When a state's power deteriorated, on the other hand, nomadic confederations could extend their influence or power from the desert into the intermediate zone. Sometimes this took the form of quick raids to carry off booty; at other times, the nomads might seize towns and reduce them to tributary status or coax settled people and other pastoral groups away from their support for the faltering state and into alliance with them. (We can note in passing that the fullest historical extension of the "state zone" at the expense of autonomous nomadic tribes occurred during the early Islamic period. This was no accident, for the leadership of the Islamic state, which sprang up unexpectedly in Medina, in the middle of an area frequently dominated by nomads, realized most acutely the challenge that independent nomads posed to their power and made concerted efforts to keep the Arabian tribesmen who formed the bulk of their armies firmly under the state's control.)

Even within the zone of state power, however, nomadic groups have been able to shape many aspects of the local power structure of towns and villages. In some cases, this influence was direct, a result of the instability of the border

dividing the zone of state power from the zone of nomadic power—that is, the zone of state power shrank and expanded over time, so that a particular town could fall under state control for a certain period and fall within the zone of nomadic power at other times. Depending on the degree of “shrinkage” of the state zone, the relative strength of the nomadic groups and of the town, and other factors, the nomads might raid the town or extort short-term payments from it, or they might enter into longer-term relations with it—whether by “capturing” it and establishing a dynasty of their own there, or by entering into alliances with the town’s leading families. In the latter cases in particular, it is clear that the nomads could come to exercise considerable political influence, if not direct control, over the political life of the settlement, and that this influence could remain operative even after the settlement had once again been absorbed into a revitalized and newly expanding state zone.

In indirect ways, too, the presence of nomads often had a decisive impact on the power structure of towns and villages in the state zone. The continuous processes of sedentarization of nomads and desedentarization of settled people meant that most settlements had residents who belonged to tribes the majorities of which were nomadic, and such settled tribesmen kept in close touch with their nomadic kinsmen, who could lend important support in personal or political conflicts, regardless of the position of the settled tribesmen in the town. Furthermore, even urban families with no direct kinship links to one of the nomadic groups in the vicinity might nevertheless establish ties of alliance or mutual support with certain nomads.

An examination of examples of these kinds of interactions between nomadic and settled people—mostly from the early Islamic period, the sources for which provide us with considerable information on this theme—makes it clear that we cannot hope to understand the politics of many towns or cities without reference to the tribes in the vicinity of the city, their alliances, relative strength, and relations to urban factions. Whether such relationships applied in all places must remain open to question—it is, for example, hard to imagine that they had much direct impact in a place like ‘Abbasid Baghdad. We would expect, of course, that such relationships would be more important in smaller towns and villages rather than in larger ones, where presumably the organs of state control (e.g., garrisons) would be stronger and the nomads’ influence over local urban politics correspondingly less. Unfortunately, it is only the politics of the larger towns that our sources tend to describe, and then only in summary fashion. The smaller towns, where nomads may in fact have been overwhelmingly the dominant factor in the local power structure, are seldom described by our sources at all.

In conclusion, there is reason to believe that the role of nomads in the social, cultural, economic, and political life of the Near East during the period under examination was more far-reaching than commonly supposed. This observa-

tion applies, I think, to the centuries preceding the Islamic conquest as much as it does to those following it. We should perhaps add here a word of reservation, if not of caution, however: nomads cannot be expected to have influenced *every* aspect of life in the Near East. Architecture, for example, is a realm in which there is little to be anticipated by way of direct nomadic influence, since nomads have no true architectural tradition—after all, nothing could be more useless to a nomad, who must keep his culture portable, than a fixed habitation! Nevertheless, their influence was of profound importance to many aspects of life, as I have tried to show. If our picture of these influences is still in many ways incomplete or uncertain, this is partly because our sources for this subject, having been written by settled people with little understanding of and less sympathy for nomads, seldom provide us with the kind of detailed information we need to delineate more clearly the history of these relationships; instead, our sources are content to note, on occasion, the unwelcome incursion of the “Sarakēnoi,” “Ṭayyāyē,” “A‘rāb,” and so on, giving us no sense of who exactly they were, whence they had come, why they had been set in motion, or whither they vanished after withdrawing from the pages of our chronicles. Viewed in the broad context of social relations in the Near East, however, the importance of these evasive figures—intruders in our sources, perhaps, but nonetheless an integral part of the societies that produced those sources—can hardly be doubted.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The present essay provides only a rough outline of a vast topic. In view of its general nature, I have made no effort to provide detailed references for specific points; but for those readers who wish to explore the subject further I have here included a bibliographical orientation to guide them to a few selected references that may be of assistance.

From the vast bibliography on nomads and nomadism in the Near East, the following selections can serve as an introduction and cover some of the points raised in the foregoing essay, which determines the order in which the items are listed below. On the Mongols, see Bertold Spuler, *The Mongols in History* (New York: Praeger, 1971), which provides a brief, clear overview of the expansion of Mongol power and their intrusion into many areas, including the Near East. On the Turks, see Claude Cahen, “The Turkish Invasions: The Selchūkids,” in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, vol. 1 (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 135–76. On the Islamic conquests, for a general survey of their overall scope, see C. H. Becker, “The Expansion of the Saracens,” *Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. H. M. Gwatkin et al., vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1913), chaps. 11–12; a much more detailed examination of the first stages of the conquest, with special attention to the role of

THE BEDOUINIZATION OF ARABIA

Werner Caskel

FOR THE PURPOSE of this lecture, the mere definition of the term "Bedouins" as "wandering tribes of shepherds, camel breeders of the deserts and steppes, cattle breeders of the mountains," would not be sufficient, since I do not propose to deal with the Bedouins in general but with a definite social situation in northern Arabia in which the Bedouin form of society and ideology prevailed. This was the situation in the sixth and the beginning of the seventh centuries. It must be contrasted with the pre-Bedouinized condition of Arabia, and, finally, the reasons for this thoroughgoing change must be examined.

The conditions of water and pastures in the various seasons force the Bedouin to live according to a definite cycle of migrations. In the spring they move to extensive pastures, where the animals need no water wells, and in autumn (if there is no rainfall) and in winter to the oases; for the Bedouin economy is not self-contained but presupposes an economy of oases. The same conditions force the Bedouin in spring (and possibly in autumn) to split up into small units of fifteen to twenty tents, while the other seasons permit a larger concentration. However, the need for security also forces these small units to remain within a distance of a few hours from one another in the spring, so that they can meet a hostile raid with a strength of about five hundred tents.

This natural association of the Bedouins cuts across their socio-political organization, the tribal system. This depends on real or fictitious blood relationship; for individuals or units can enter into a tribe by an alliance founded on an oath, at first as "clients," until in the course of time they are completely absorbed into the tribe. The ties of blood relationship are connected with the so-called "blood revenge," or *talio*, and its substitute, the blood money (paid in cattle). For, in contrast to Islamic law, not only the murderer but every member of his blood community is subject to *talio*, and the blood money is also to be paid by his blood relatives,

The Bedouinization of Arabia

37

as is also the case in oldest Islamic law. The interference of natural association with the tribal system shows in the fact that only the smallest units, which constantly migrate and camp together, and the next larger group, i.e., the clans and their branches, form solidary groups. Since the raids usually take place in spring, the *talio* extends mostly only to the branches, a fact which explains the origin of the *ḥamsa* customary with the modern Bedouins. On the other hand, the raising of blood money, especially at the conclusion of peace, may extend further and include the tribe. The solidarity does not go further than the clans, as evidenced by the frequent "fratricidal wars," which are, however, looked upon as an outrage. Any combinations beyond the tribe and such groups as, e.g., Ghaṭafān and Tamim, wrongly called "tribes" by us and the later Arabs, are fictitious formations, as are the intermediate stages between them and the tribes. Most of these are geographical units, though not distinctly delineated, a fact to be explained by the continuous process of tribal formation. These imaginary units used to be real tribes in the past, which grew by displacing and absorbing weaker ones.

In this tribal organism there was no official leader, let alone a hierarchy. A leader can acquire a position of any official character only by being appointed to, or confirmed in, his office by a non-Bedouin power; otherwise he is only *primus inter pares*. His authority is usually inherited, but it is sometimes won by his own efforts. Even in the former case, however, it depends either on military prowess or on his ability to contribute toward peace by paying the blood debts. Only such a chieftain is able to offer effective protection in all cases. Frequently he creates, thereby, warlike conflicts for his community, which, incidentally, rarely includes more than a branch or section of a so-called "tribe."

An ideological superstructure has been erected on this base of natural and politico-social conditions. This comprises, first, poetry, which is either *l'art pour l'art* or bound up with the interests of the tribes and the poets. This poetry is intertribal, its language is distinguished from classical Arabic essentially by the fact that diptota and triptota are not yet strictly distinguished. Secondly, it includes a prose literature, which, interspersed with verses and speeches, describes heroic deeds in war and peace and tells legends of the ancestors and of the tribal migrations. The language of this prose is likewise not too distinct from classical Arabic.

This tribal organization and its ideological superstructure are

found not only with the Bedouins but also with the settled Arabs, though slightly changed by differing natural conditions. This is due to the fact that all oases, except those in the northwest, were in the possession either of settled divisions of nomadic tribes or of settled tribes.

Public opinion was the supreme judge of both Bedouins and settled people: ". . . for we fear the gossip among the Arabs, 'arab.'" An expression of this consciousness of unity was a cult common to most tribes, the pilgrimage to 'Arafa and, connected with it, the fair at 'Ukâz, an intertribal meeting place. Even before Islam, the Arabs felt as one people, if not as one nation. This unity is due to Mecca and the Bedouins.

To compare this Bedouin Arabia to a non-Bedouin one, we have to go back as far as A.D. 100. We will then get the following picture: In the northwest, the kingdom of the Nabataeans stretched as far as some kilometers south of Ḥigra/Egra/al-Ḥijr, including Taimâ in the east. Then followed the kingdom of Liḥyân, at that time only a city-state restricted to Dedân and its surroundings. Further a number of similar structures² extended to the frontiers of the south Arabian kingdom of Saba' and Dû Raidân (of the Sabaeans and Homerites/Ḥimyarites, respectively) and, finally, the kingdom of Ḥaḍramawt. In the east were the two city-states of Gerrha, present-day Hufhûf, and Ḥaṭṭ/Qaṭif. In the district of the northern frontier, Palmyra, and in the northeast the petty principalities of the league of the Arsakides extended to Charakene. All these territories were connected by caravan roads, which, in addition to the incense road and its eastern counterpart, passed right through the peninsula. Several more settlements which were more than mere caravan stations lay on these roads. On the route from Najrân to Gerrha, the predecessor of present-day Qarya³ was situated in the south and that of ancient Arabian Ḥajr⁴ in the north. On the road from Gerrha to lower Mesopotamia was a settlement near the well of Ṭâj.⁵ Finally, in the Jabal Shammar, the northern mountain

² "Monumentum Adulitanum," in *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, ed. E. O. Winstedt (Cambridge, 1909), pp. 75 f.: ". . . the kings . . . between Leuke Kome [at the mouth of the W. al-Ḥamḍ] and the frontiers of the Sabaeans"; cf., for an earlier period, Strabo's report of the campaign of Aelius Gallus.

³ See Philby in *Geographical Journal* (London), CXIII (1949), 90 ff.; for the inscriptions see Ryckmans in *Muséon*, Vol. LXII (1949).

⁴ For the early Arabian antiquities there, see Hamdânî, *Jazirat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller (Leiden, 1889-91), pp. 140 f.

⁵ For inscriptions: *CJH*, 984, 985; *Muséon*, L (1937), 240 (Ryckmans).

The Bedouinization of Arabia

39

range of Arabia, was a center attested several times in the "thamûdenic" inscriptions of the second period (beginning about the middle of the first century B.C.) by the *nisba Rahawî* and once by the name of the god Il-Rahaw.⁶ Later it was called "Arrhe" by Ptolemy, and its inhabitants were called "Arreni" by Pliny.

There were further nomads, the shepherds near the cities, and others with a larger range of migration, for instance, between al-Mukattaba-Laqaṭ, southeast and southwest of Taimâ, respectively. The "thamûdenic" inscriptions do not refer to any tribal organization. Occasionally booty is mentioned; on the whole, the milieu seems to have been much more peaceful than in later times. These nomads were able to write and to draw and were filled with genuine religiosity; but these gifts were remnants of ancient civilizations. The oldest representatives of "thamûdenic" script come from Taimâ, younger ones from Tebûk. The drawings were influenced by the reliefs of the Minaean colony of Dedân and probably also by those of other cultural centers. Though the religious expressions are original, their gods and rites were borrowed from the city dwellers, a relationship which is exactly the opposite of what prevailed in later, "Bedouinized" Arabia.

Searching for the causes of this radical change, we have to ask, above all, when, how, and why the old order collapsed. We have to ask, further, whether the germs of the new order were hidden in the old—for somehow every later culture is based on an earlier one. Finally, we have to find out where the really new factors originated.

In A.D. 106 the northern part of the Nabataean kingdom was incorporated into the Roman Empire. The effect of this was not felt immediately, because Roman influence for some decades reached out from the Roman into the free zone. Witness the temple of Ram⁷—*Iram dât al-'imâd*, the columns of which are still standing—the temple erected by the Thamûd between the end of 166 and the beginning of 169 in honor of the emperors Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Verus in their capital (present-day G/Rawwâfa),⁸ as well as Greek inscriptions by soldiers on the road as far as 10 kilometers from Dedân.⁹ The last lihyânic inscription¹⁰

⁶ Van den Branden, *Les Inscriptions thamoudéennes* (Louvain, 1950), pp. 102, 147, 287, 344, 356.

⁷ Savignac and Horsfield, in *Revue biblique*, XLIX (Paris, 1935), 245-78.

⁸ See Musil, *The Northern Hêğdz* (New York, 1926), pp. 258, 291.

⁹ Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, Vol. II, Nos. 644-49.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 71.

dates from the time immediately after that, which has, up to now, like many others, been misinterpreted; I beg to read it to you: " 'Anaza bin Aus bin Tunil bin 'Abd, Dû Âl [i.e., from the gens] Hâni'-Hunkat took Nauf hâ-Ulur prisoner in al-Hijr in . . . the year when the evildoers were caught. Therefore, the assembly of the people has intrusted him for three years with the protection of the road" (and, naturally, paid him for it).

Notice the signs of decline. There was no longer a kingdom, as indicated by the fact that the era of Bosra formerly used in Dedân is no longer in use. The date is given in the Bedouin manner instead. The *hafîr* who is responsible for the safety of the road comes from Tebûk, for it is only there and in eastern Arabia (which cannot be considered in this context) that the gens is indicated by Dû Âl. The long genealogy is also somewhat Bedouin in character.

Then follows a Nabataean graffito¹¹ from the caravan road leading from Petra via Sinai to Egypt with double dating: ". . . in the year of the eparchy [i.e., 189] in which the 'Arabâyê [i.e., the Arab nomads] devastated the country."

If the loss of one link in the chain of border countries had such an effect, the secession of several, namely, of the petty states in Mesopotamia in 227 and of Palmyra in 273, must have had still graver consequences. A similar effect may be ascribed to the regression in material culture in southern Arabia, which began earlier as a consequence of the collapse of Ma'in and Qatabân and which, *ca.* 300, was consummated in the realms of Saba', Dû Raidân, Hadramawt, and Yamanat, though the decline was slowed by the coexistence of several dynasties at the time of the Hamdanides in spite of internal crises and the interference of the Abyssinians. By way of explanation, I may add that in no ancient classic or oriental community outside southern Arabia did there exist such a close connection between "cult," state, and economy. Thus the destruction of the "state," of necessity, had more severe repercussions there than anywhere else.

As a result of the dropping-out and the collapse of the border states, the caravan roads and, with them, the settlements in the interior began to be deserted. The impoverishment of the ancient world was a contributing factor. Let us not deceive ourselves. The trade which the Quraish carried, somewhat later—one caravan a year to the north and one to the south and some maritime commerce with Abyssinia—cannot be called international trade. There

¹¹ Euting, *Sinaitische Inschriften* (Berlin, 1891), No. 463.

The Bedouinization of Arabia

41

never was a regular connection with 'Irâq, nor was there any between 'Irâq and southern Arabia.

What became of the population of the border towns? The lihyânic traders from Dedân seem to have settled in Hira.¹² Elsewhere, the majority took to the nomad life. Such a process occasionally happened earlier as well. In a lihyânic graffito¹³ from the first century A.D. a man who, judging by his name, must have been a descendant of the Minaean colonists, presents himself "with his 'arab [nomads or half-nomads] and their property." This is the oldest proof of the penetration of this term from the north, where it had always been current, into Arabia proper. In the third century the 'arab(ân) and a'râb also appear in southern Arabia, and later the kings add to their titles mentioned above "and their a'râb." The transition of part of the population from settled life to nomadism is comprehensible by the decline of the southern Arabian economy referred to above. The striking penetration of the term into the south may possibly be connected with the migration of tribes from 'Asîr, the axis for the Arabian migration movements, to southern Arabia and 'Omân.

In postulating, at the beginning of this section, that the germ of this new order in Arabia would be found in the old, I was not referring to the obvious fact that Bedouin life presupposes nomadism. I was rather thinking of the strange parallelism between the objects of "thamûdenic" drawings and inscriptions and the motifs of later Arabic poetry: camels, horses, ibexes, antelopes, gazelles, hyenas, wolves, dogs, bees, presented in the former in writing and pictures, in the latter described in words of poetry. One might comment that these were taken from their natural surroundings. But, in either case, only part of the milieu is represented, and it is, besides, by no means self-evident that the poet would describe his own environment. Rather, it could be maintained that there was a magic meaning in a drawing representing an ibex with the hunter's statement written underneath that it was his. Nonetheless, the parallelism remains unimpaired. One may also wonder whether the shy words of love in those inscriptions may not be an early indication of the *nasîb* of the later *qasîda*¹⁴ (the "amatory prelude" of the Arabic "ode").

Now let us discuss the really new facts. I mentioned earlier that

¹² Caskeel, *Das altarabische Königreich Lihjan* (Krefeld, 1950), p. 19.

¹³ Jaussen and Savignac, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, No. 302.

¹⁴ F. Altheim in *Soziologie und Leben*, ed. C. Brinkmann (Tübingen, 1952), p. 183.

the "thamûdenic" inscriptions do not offer any evidence for the tribal organization of the nomads mentioned in them. Classical authors, however, especially Ptolemy, mention a number of groups in Arabia, but without any indication that these groups were tribes. On the contrary, even late Arabian tradition knows that the Tanûḥ, one of these groups, which, soon afterward, migrated to the Euphrates region, were not a tribe but a people. Besides, they were under the sovereignty of a king, which is contrary to tribal organization, as described above. The same is true of the Nizâr in the en-Nemâra inscription and the Asad, closely related to the Tanûḥ, who are known through Ptolemy, through the en-Nemâra inscription,¹⁵ from Byzantine sources, and through Arabian tradition. Therefore, tribal organization did not rise in Arabia proper. In the northwest, however, the inscriptions of the Şafâh, east of Damascus, show a genuine Bedouin or half-Bedouin milieu: tribes, subtribes, long genealogies, no official leader, blood revenge, raids, and wars. Because of the constant insecurity in the Syrian desert, caused by the periodic immigration from the south, Bedouin life developed earlier in the north than in Arabia proper, where circumstances necessitated it only later. Among the many things introduced from the north were included weapons. While the weapons of the human figures in the "thamûdenic" drawings resemble those of the Arabs in Assyrian reliefs, the Bedouins of the sixth and seventh centuries wore, if they could afford it, a coat of mail and a helmet and carried lances. This equipment was borrowed from the mailed knights of the Sassanians and Byzantines. The Bedouins had the opportunity of learning the use of these weapons as mercenaries of the kings of Ḥîra and later of the Ghassanids.

Lastly, the new language: ancient Arabic differs from the early Arabic dialects partly in its morphology, which follows that of southern Arabia, partly by the many sandhi-forms. It was the language of poets and orators and less bound to script than the dialects. (As regards syntax, the liḥyânitic is amazingly close to that of ancient Arabic. We know very little about the other dialects in this respect—except for safatenic—because the inscriptions are too short.) In addition, there is an external characteristic, the article *al*. Formerly it was known only in proper names of the Nabataean-Palmyrian orbit. Then a liḥyânic inscription appeared from al-Ḥijr,¹⁶ in which the relative pronoun 'allati was written

¹⁵ Asadain = Asad and Tanûḥ.

¹⁶ Jaussen and Savignac, Vol. II, No. 384.

The Bedouinization of Arabia

43

with an *alif*, i.e., was pronounced, according to the orthography of all early Arabic inscriptions, with glottal stop. This inscription dates from the first half of the second century. Finally, in the earliest lihyânic inscription of *ca.* 170, which I quoted above, the article *al* occurs twice but in the sandhi-form in the words

هفرد لجليل and بالحجر . The next example is a Nabataean inscription

from al-Ḥijr¹⁷ of the year 267, in which occur many Arabic

words and once the article, in the connection في الحجر , i.e., with

glottal stop. Then follows the inscription of an-Nemâra, in 328, whose language approaches ancient Arabic more than those mentioned so far, but with regard to the article is undecided between glottal stop and sandhi.

Where did this new language originate? It is improbable that the Nabataeans should have preserved their original Arabic dialect without change throughout the many centuries of coexistence with their literary language, Aramaic. May one suggest the Thamûd? Or neighbors from Ḥijr and Dedân in the west? The so-called "thamûdenic" inscriptions found in their country were not composed by them but by men from the caravans. The above-mentioned temple inscription is a Greek-Nabataean bilingual.

Nabataean culture, which survived the collapse of the empire for a long time, spread together with the new language in Nabataean script. In the Ḥijâz its representatives were mostly Jews. Two Nabataean inscriptions from Dedân¹⁸ shortly after 300 are the oldest witnesses to that. One, unfortunately, is badly damaged; the other has only one Arabic word. This need not seem strange, for its author tried to write correct Nabataean. These are the beginnings of the Jewish population which later occupied all the oases in the northwest, including Medinah. In the form of their writing, both inscriptions, as well as the one from al-Ḥijr of the year 267, are close to Kufic. The new language seems to have traveled toward the east through the kings of Ḥira; for the dynasty of the Lakhmids came from an-Nemâra on the frontier between the sphere of Nabataean culture and Şafâh. This is the reason why

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, No. 17.

¹⁸ *Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Vol. II, No. 333; Jaussen and Savignac, Vol. II, No. 386.

the second Lakhmid asked to be buried there. Ḥīra, in turn, was the political capital of the later Bedouins.

The inscription of an-Nemâra begins: "This is the tomb stele of Mar' al-Qais, son of 'Amr, the king of all Arabs." The terms "Arabia" and "Arabs" for its inhabitants were, as you know, coined by the Greeks. In this inscription the latter appears for the first time in this sense used by an Arab. In this term "all Arabs," there is hidden a claim which, centuries later, was fulfilled by Bedouins and eventually by Muḥammad.

Discussion

In the discussion Mr. Littmann once more emphasized the long genealogies typical of Bedouins (see above, pp. 40 and 42). In his travels in northern Abyssinia he found the impossibility of their being invented confirmed over and over again. Many times he met children at play reciting the names of their ancestors. Any child who knew only those of his grandfather and great-grandfather was held inferior to those children who were able to enumerate their ancestors to the tenth generation or more.

Mr. Caskel emphatically denied a southern Arabian origin to the people speaking "thamûdic" dialects. The forthcoming publication of 9,000 graffiti found recently by Ryckmans will shed light on their distribution as far as the borders of southern Arabia. Mr. Littmann pointed to a number of linguistic peculiarities shown by the inscriptions originating from the territory of Midyan and found again only in Middle Arabic; e.g., the appearance of *ṭ* for *t*, *t* for *ṭ*, and *s* for *d*. Among the inscriptions found by Ryckmans is one said to refer to the Jewish king *Ḍû Nuwâs* and another to the Abyssinian governor *Abraha*.

Mr. Caskel elaborated on his conception of the origin of the "High" Arabic language. The kingdom of Kinda certainly contributed a good deal toward the creation of a uniform "High" Arabic; yet Nallino goes too far in his attempt to derive classical Arabic from the language of the Kinda, when he reasons that only a political structure like their kingdom was able to introduce a common language—a "king's Arabic," so to speak.

Mr. Ritter stated that either opinion, that of the lecturer and Nallino's, is contrary to the general opinion (Noeldeke, Guidi), according to which classical Arabic developed from an intertribal language of poetry.

Mr. Paret added that the views on the diffusion of the language

The Bedouinization of Arabia

45

expressed by the lecturer also contradict the customary theory (for the Indo-Germanic group of languages), in so far as such a process cannot be presumed to have occurred without migrations of peoples.

In this connection the old problem of whether the Koran was recited with or without *i'râb* (inflexional endings) in the Prophet's time was discussed. Mr. Ritter thought it possible for social and religious reformers to have used the language of the masses. It was decided to resume discussion of this topic at the twelfth congress of German Orientalists in Bonn (July, 1952).

Mr. Caskel said that in Arabia and in the "Fertile Crescent" the processes of de-Bedouinization and re-Bedouinization can be traced fairly exactly. In Transjordan these processes can even be proved by archeological evidence.

Mr. Spuler stated that, outside the Arabian Peninsula, similar processes cannot be found in Asia. In the ninth century the Uigur, who had been living in an urban civilization, were driven toward the southwest by Kirghiz tribes and were forced to adopt the way of life of the oases; this cannot be called a process of nomadization.

Mr. von Grunebaum added that it was strange that the Arabs, to this day, had not achieved unity again after their Bedouinization, though in ancient times they were organized into kingdoms (see above, p. 40). Mr. Caskel replied that a certain measure of anarchy is inherent in the Bedouins. As Emir Chékib Arslan once said: "Les Arabes, ces anarchistes innés." In this regard, the Arab nomads and the Arabs generally are in sharp contrast to the Turkish nomads and the Turks in general, with their almost "Prussian" discipline. The Mongols, too, were forced to unite their small groups only by Genghis Khan (Spuler). With the Arabs, the groups which formed a solid community were much smaller (see above, p. 36) (Caskel). The kingdom of the Kinda can hardly be regarded as an archaic relapse but is rather comparable to the very loose structure of the kingdoms of the Ghassanids and the Lakhmids (Mr. Caskel in answer to a question of Mr. von Grunebaum's).

Mr. von Grunebaum asked: How can we explain the adoption, by the cities, of the ancient Bedouin ideals that were alien to their civilization?

Mr. Caskel answered that the inhabitants of these cities were themselves settled Bedouins, as is shown by their constitutions. The urban settlements existing from ages past were partly occupied by Bedouins in the course of the Bedouinization and the collapse

of the border states (see above, p. 40–41). These ideals were, therefore, not at all alien to the inhabitants of the towns but very familiar from time immemorial.

Mr. Littmann added that nowadays none or very few of these ancient Bedouin ideals can be found, on account of the advance of technology.

When Chaim Rabin's book, *Ancient West-Arabian: A Study of the Dialects of the Western Highlands of Arabia in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries A.D.* (London, 1951), was mentioned in the discussion, Mr. Caskel remarked that Rabin had collected the material industriously and carefully but did not proceed critically enough in its evaluation. Sometimes he reversed the likely interpretation by considering many dialect forms as deformations of classical Arabic forms instead of as continuations of early Arabic (lihyânic-“thamûdenic”) ones. His geographical division is not convincing either. It is impossible to regard the south Arabic dialects as west Arabic. Early north Arabic was the first to penetrate into the orbit of ancient south Arabic, so that at the beginning of Islam a mixture of languages is found there, as is evidenced by several anecdotes. A similar situation prevailed in Ḥadramawt and 'Omân, which, together with Yemen, comprised three-quarters of all Arabs.

TRANS-ARABIAN ROUTES OF THE PRE-ISLAMIC PERIOD

Daniel T. Potts

The subject of this communication is so vast in both time and space that it would be impossible to do more than sketch out its main features in anything short of a monograph. The term «pre-Islamic», of course, suggests millennia of past history, yet we cannot say much about this subject until we reach the first millennium B.C. Thus, this study will concern itself with the approximately 1400 year long period from the earliest Neo-Assyrian conflicts with the Arabs, through the Sasanian period. For various reasons, however, southeastern Arabia, *i.e.* the Oman peninsula, and southwestern Arabia, embracing Yemen, Aden, and Hadhramaut, have not been treated in a substantive way. In order to supplement that which is not dealt with in the main body of the text, however, a number of appendices have been prepared. These include:

- *Appendix A*: an annotated list of routes in Central, Northeastern, Northwestern, and Southeastern Arabia, as well as routes linking these areas with Iraq, Syria, Palestine, and Yemen. This is by no means exhaustive, but it does provide a basis for further work. The routes themselves are taken from a variety of travel reports (see bibliography). Because the basic topography and hydrology of Arabia has not changed significantly in the last two to three thousand years, travel accounts from the 19th and early 20th century provide invaluable information on non-motorized travel possibilities in Arabia, whether by individuals, small parties, caravans, or armies, in all periods. It is only by integrating these kinds of itineraries with more ancient historical accounts that the study of many of the problems of historical geography which are of interest for us can be advanced beyond the realm of mere speculation.
- *Appendix B*: an enumeration of Pliny, *NH* VI, 157-59, which has been construed by H. von Wissmann as a pair of itineraries through Arabia, the first running from Al Jawf in the north as far as the region of Ṣan 'ā', the second extending from Qaryat al-Fau to southern Iraq.
- *Appendix C*: an annotated list of eleven routes postulated by A. Sprenger in 1875 on the basis of Ptolemy's map of Arabia.
- *Appendix D*: a slightly different arrangement of the routes identified by Sprenger which has been put together to emphasize different parts of the same itineraries.
- *Appendix E*: information on travel by camel, with details of speed, duration of marches, distances coverable in a day, etc.

On Routes, Ancient and Modern

Having worked on the problem of pre-Islamic routes in the Arabian peninsula off and on for several years, I must emphasize that the application of the information collected here to specific historical cases is not without serious problems. While there are many well-known, *logical* routes, the existence of which can be demonstrated through time, there are obviously also many circumstances which militate against their use in particular situations. Factors such as security and danger of raiding parties, the incidence of rain, the time of year, the type and purpose of the journey, all influence what exact route will have been taken when a party moved from point *A* to point *B*. This makes it nearly impossible to determine exactly which route was taken in an historical case, unless the itinerary is specified, and even then, the toponyms mentioned may no longer be identifiable. A few examples suffice to illustrate the points just made.

First, let us consider the problem of the *existence* of routes. Al-'Uqayr, opposite Bahrain, was formerly the principal port for all of Naǧd. Through it all goods from Jabal Shammar,

Qasim, and Yamama, having passed through Hofuf, were exported to Basra, Bushire, Bahrain, Muscat or India. The distance between al-'Uqayr and al-Hofuf is only 64 km, but there was no one « route » or road along this stretch, despite the fact that more than 600 camel- and donkey-loads a week passed this way in the early 20th century. J.B. Mackie, who made the journey in 1922, noted that, while « the route is much frequented and well trodden by the feet of the large caravans which supply the needs of Central Arabia... even so, owing to (the) action of the wind, it is by no means easy to follow the track in places, for but a few hours suffice to obliterate entirely the track of even a large caravan » (Mackie 1922 : 192).

Water is often thought to determine the course of a route. Between Qatif and Kuwait there are, of course, many wells, although these are by no means distributed over a straight course between the two points. Depending on the type of party travelling, the wells will be used at greater or lesser intervals. A raiding party moving quickly on good *delul*, or riding camels, can cover more ground more quickly, moving more directly, and thus stop at fewer wells, than a caravan heavily laden with merchandise. The distance between Qatif and Kuwait as the crow flies is only 368 km, but the length of a journey for a caravan stopping at wells was brought up to 480 km (Lorimer 1908 : 672).

On the other hand, it is wrong to assume that caravans cannot follow courses where there are no or only a few wells. In the winter, heavy rains cause pools of water, known as *khabra*, to form between sand dunes, and these can provide more than enough water for a caravan when they are plentiful. Moreover, wells are known to attract bandits and raiding parties, and it may be in the interest of the travellers to avoid them. When Gertrude Bell went to Ha'il in the winter of 1913-14, « the party zigzagged from *khabra* to *khabra*, not keeping on one course, as travellers do between wells whose position is fixed and known », thereby avoiding « the dangerous proximity of wells, which too often are the rendezvous of raiding parties » (Hogarth 1927 : 6-7). Nor is this a recent phenomenon. The 6th century poet Aus b. Hagar from the tribe Tamim, a contemporary of the Lakhmid king Amr b. Hind whose travels took him throughout northern Arabia and Iraq (Brockelmann 1943 : 18), wrote of the fear of approaching a well (Thilo 1958 : 92). Nor are *khabras* the only alternative water source to wells in Arabia. Most travellers have remarked on the availability of small quantities of water at depths of only a meter or less which can be found in many parts of the peninsula (Bräunlich 1925 : 55).

Yet we cannot project an historical situation onto another. For all the talk of raiding both in Tabari's history of the Arabs in the time of the Sasanians, and in the works of the pre-Islamic Arab poets, one can only be astounded by the report of P.W. Harrison, a doctor who attended Abdul 'Aziz Ibn Sa'ud in the 1920's, on the dispatch of a caravan from Hofuf to Riyadh under the guidance of only one man, which transported « tens of thousands of rupees at a time, a journey of six to ten days through the empty and unguarded desert » (Harrison 1924 : 166). Security on the road is not constant but ever changing. Moreover the tribal jurisdictions over certain territories frequently mentioned in the works of pre-Islamic poets are perfectly mirrored by Raswan in his account of the *dirahs* of the north Arabian tribes in the 1930's (Raswan 1930 : 494ff). These, too, influenced security and itineraries.

We must not, therefore, think of Arabia as a wasteland crossed by several well-watered routes which had to be taken. Rather the impression gained after reading a portion of the voluminous literature on travel in Arabia during the past two centuries is that of a checkerboard on which it is nearly always possible to reach any given point desired via an infinite number of routes, depending on the circumstances of the journey. With these caveats in mind, let us turn now to some concrete historical cases.

The Neo-Assyrian Period

To begin with, let us remember that it is Arabia and not the Arabs that concerns us here. The distinction between the two is important if we are to keep within the stated geographical limits of this paper, for there is a profound geographical difference between Assyria's first contacts with the Arabs, and her infrequent incursions into Arabia. The Arabs, first attested in the mid-ninth century during the reign of Šalmaneser II (c. 854 B.C.), were not met in

Arabia proper, but rather in Syria, on the borders of the territorial state of Damascus. It was here that caravan routes (Winckler 1905 : 65, 71) from all directions converged. Discussing this period, H. Winckler wrote : « Damaskus als Knotenpunkt der Karawanenstrassen ist die wichtigste grosse Stadt an der Grenze der Steppe und deshalb zu allen Zeiten der Ausgangspunkt des Verkehrs mit den Völkern der syrischen Steppe und Arabiens » (Winckler 1905 : 71). This situation was to remain largely unchanged throughout pre-Islamic and indeed Islamic history. In 732, however, the simmering conflict between Assyria and the Arabs of the north Arabian desert and Syrian steppe was brought one step closer to eruption through Šalmaneser III's conquest and occupation of Damascus and Palestine. As Winckler wrote over eighty years ago : « Durch die Besetzung von Damaskus [733] und Palästina gerät Assyrien in unmittelbare Berührung mit den nordarabischen Staaten, welche wegen ihrer Handelsinteressen sich den Zutritt zu den Endstationen der Karawanenstrassen freihalten müssen » (Winckler 1905 : 71).

The story of the Arabian campaigns of subsequent Assyrian monarchs is, of course, well-known (cf. Rosmarin 1932, Irvine 1973, Eph'al 1982). What interests us most here is the actual penetration of Arabia by Assyrian armies, more specifically how that was achieved and by what routes?

Tiglath-Pileser III defeated Samsi, queen of the Arabs, at Mt. Saqurri, which I. Eph'al locates « possibly on the border of the Hauran region (Jebel a-Druz) ». As for her subsequent flight, he writes, « it stands to reason that she fled to Wadi Sirhan » (Eph'al 1982 : 85), although the only justification for such an assumption is, in my opinion, the experience of some of Tiglath-Pileser's successors, specifically Sennacherib and Esharaddon. Several of the Nimrud letters assigned to the period of Tiglath-Pileser's reign following his conquest of Damascus may also be of interest here. ND 2644 (Saggs 1955 : 142-143) is a letter from the king mentioning Assyrian « checkpoints in the desert » (Eph'al 1982 : 94), which contains a reference to the delivery of camels to an Assyrian commander (*turtānu*), probably as tribute (Eph'al 1982 : 97). ND 2437 (Saggs 1955 : 139-140) mentions « ten fortified villages in the desert », as well as « sentry posts ». All of these events took place in the Syrian desert bordering Assyria, however, and there is no indication in any of our sources that Tiglath-Pileser was ever any further south than southernmost Transjordan or Palestine (Eph'al 1982 : 90).

Much the same can be said of Sargon II. Sargon's stated suppression of « the distant Arabs dwelling in the desert » is more rhetorical than real. It is unlikely that he ever campaigned in Arabia, since the Arabs are mentioned so briefly in his Annals, and there is no reference to any booty taken (Eph'al 1982 : 105). Had he actually reached Arabia, it is likely that Sargon would not have been modest in recording the event.

Eph'al has recently discussed ABL 88 (Eph'al 1982 : 116), in which an Arab raid on Sippar is mentioned, and he suggests that Arab penetration may have proceeded via a western route from Al Jawf through the Wadi Sirhan into western Babylonia, by which he is probably thinking of the middle Euphrates, or via an eastern route leading from Medina to Ha'il and Kufa, i.e. roughly in the track of the Darb Zubayda, into central and southern Babylonia. I do not think that either possibility is a productive speculation, since Zadok has shown that, onomastically at least, Arab names occur throughout Neo-Assyrian through Hellenistic cuneiform sources (Zadok 1981), and Arab penetration was a constant phenomenon. It took the form of a slow flood, not an isolable stream.

With Sennacherib we come to the first concrete historical instance of any real interest. In 689 B.C., according to VA 3310 [= VS I 77, rev. 22-27 = Luckenbill, Sennacherib, 89-93], Sennacherib attacked the camp of Te'elhunu, queen of the Arabs, at an unknown spot, and subsequently pursued her to Adummatu. Adummatu has long been identified with Biblical Duma, Pliny's Domat/ha, Ptolemy's Duma/etha, Syriac Dumat Ġandal, Arabic Dumat al-Ġandal, known in more recent parlance simply as Al Jawf, « the depression » (Musil 1927 : 531-553). It is logical to suppose that Sennacherib advanced on Adummatu via the Wadi Sirhan. Traditionnally, this has been the route used by the main Trans-Jordanian tribes who frequent the area during winter and spring, and move up to the Damascus area in summer (Anon 1927 : 131-133). On the other hand, the Wadi Sirhan can be entered from the west

by four wadis, the wadis Ba'ir, Gharra, Hasa, and Hedrej, the traditional home of a number of tribes that range eastward into Wadi Sirhan and westward as far as the Gulf of Aqaba, and it was in this way that Al Jawf was visited, starting in Ma'an, by both Wallin (in 1845) and Palgrave (in 1862), although Butler stated in 1909 that this route was only used by Bedouins and not by caravans due to the lack of wells (Butler 1909: 535). In the case of Sennacherib, it would seem most likely that he approached Al Jawf from Damascus, marching down the 496 km long Wadi Sirhan, just as Huber in 1878, the Blunts in 1879, Euting in 1883, and Nolde in 1893, did. While this was not exactly a short hop for Sennacherib and his army, there is a continuous line of wells from Azraq through Kaf down the entire length of the Wadi Sirhan.

As for Adummatu, it is hardly surprising that an Arab enemy encountered by the Assyrians in the environs of Damascus would seek refuge here. In more recent times the main trade of Al Jawf has been with Syria and Palestine via the Wadi Sirhan (Leachman 1914: 504), and it has been used as a springboard from which attacks could be launched on the Damascus region (Anon 1927: 131). Al Jawf does not belong to north-central Arabia, however, but to the southern limit of the Syrian Hamid (Butler 1909: 517). As Hogarth once noted, «on geographical and historical grounds Jauf does not naturally belong to any one who lives on the south of the Nafud, neither to the Amirs of Hail or to those of Riyadh» (Holt 1923: 270). Ibn Sa'ud's conquest of the oasis c. 1926 was aimed at providing a staging point for attacks on the Rwala further north (Anon 1927: 131). Thus, if Adummatu is considered in this light, one could well maintain that the Assyrians *never* entered Arabia proper.

A different reconstruction of this episode was proposed in 1927 by A. Musil, who suggested that Te'elhunu may have been in league with Babylonia against Assyria, conducting raids in Central Babylonia from the Euphrates valley, and that Sennacherib therefore approached Adummatu from the East, crossing the desert-steppe known as Al-Widyan, as Butler and Aylmer did in 1907. Al Jawf lies 584 km southwest of Baghdad, and between Nağaf and Al Jawf there has been, in more recent times, a direct line of communication and wells (Butler 1909: 535).

Hogarth, too, has discussed the route between Al Jawf and the Euphrates valley via the Wadi Ar'ar (Holt 1923: 270). But Leachman, who covered this ground, was doubtful of the importance of a Al Jawf-Nağaf route in antiquity (Leachman 1914: 504), and it is certainly true that the Nağaf-Ha'il route, forming part of the Darb Zubayda, has generally been more important in history. More to the point, however, it is doubtful whether travel across this expanse would have been possible for an Assyrian army using horses. All of the travellers who have made this journey have travelled by camel, and this would seem to be a necessity. As the Assyrian army did not regularly employ camels (see below), I am inclined to rule out the possibility that they could have approached Adummatu, whether from Assyria or Babylonia, from the east.

This applies, further, in the case of Tabūa, an Arab girl who grew up at Sennacherib's palace in Nineveh and was returned to her native country as «Queen of the Arabs» by Esarhaddon (Eph'al 1982: 123). The Annals of Sennacherib, written in 676 B.C., record the return of Ta-bu-u-a along with the images of the Arab gods to Dumah, following a request made by Hazael, king of the Arabs, who journeyed to Nineveh. In my view both the journey of Hazael and Tabūa followed the arc running from Nineveh to Damascus and the Wadi Sirhan, and did not cut across Al Widyan. I would also locate the campaign against Bāzu in Esarhaddon's 5th year, i.e. 675 B.C. in the same geographical province.

The campaigns of Assurbanipal against the Arabs can be ignored here, as these took place exclusively in the Syrian desert (Weippert 1973-74: 61-66). ABL 260 mentions the attack of a caravan (*alaktu*) leaving the territory of the Nabataeans, while ABL 262 may refer to reprisals taken by Nabū-šum-lišir against the Arabs. But as Winckler noted, speaking of the Arab uprisings against Assurbanipal, «die Aribi fallen in Palästina und Syrien ein und werden durch Züge niedergeworfen, welche von Damaskus ausgehen» (Winckler 1905: 72).

One final document from the reign of Assurbanipal which should be mentioned is a fragmentary letter in Aramaic from Aššur (Lidzbarski 1917: 193-202; Donner and Röllig

1964 : n° 233), in which we learn that two officers of the Assyrian king serving in Bit-Amukkani, southern Babylonia, pursued four individuals and caught them in « *Hafiru* in the desert ». Lidzbarski suggested that this toponym was to be identified with the station mentioned by Yaqut as the first on the Basra-Mecca pilgrim route outside of Basra (Lidzbarski 1917 : 197). Another possibility, however, is Hafr al-Batn in northeastern Saudi Arabia. This was the fifth station on the Basra-Mecca route (Sprenger 1875 : 116), and is surely more appropriate to describe as being « in the desert » than the first town out of Basra. If the Aššur letter indeed refers to Hafr, then we have the earliest attestation of the second great wadi which gives access to northern Arabia along with the Wadi Sirhan, namely the Wadi al-Batn.

The Neo-Babylonian Period

We can ignore Nebuchadnezzar's campaign against the Arabs in his 6th year, as this, following his campaign in Hatti-land, took place almost certainly in Syria (Eph'al 1982 : 17). We come thus to the reign of Nabonidus and his famous stay in northwestern Arabia. The so-called Nabonidus Chronicle confirms that he went to Tayma after campaigning in Harran, Lebanon and then Adummu/Edom, so that « to reach that city the Babylonian army struck across the Lebanon to the route down the east of the Jordan still used as the pilgrim route » (Smith 1924 : 77 ; cf. Eph'al 1982 : 188), probably marching via Ma'an and Tabuk. Unfortunately, the course of two related journeys is less easy to chart. In 1920, R.P. Dougherty published a text (1920 : n° 134) from Nabonidus' 10th year, in which a man commissioned to take food from Uruk to mat-Te-ma-a, was convicted for returning to Uruk with the food and selling it there. Three years later, Dougherty published a text (1923 : n° 294) mentioning a donkey and flour given to a man sent in Nabonidus' 5th year to mat-Te-ma-a. There has occasionally been suspicion that this toponym is not the same as the city of Tayma in northwestern Arabia, but this appears highly unlikely. If it is accepted, one must ask how such a journey was accomplished. Unfortunately, here we can only speculate. It seems unthinkable that a lone man could or would set off across the desert, either via what was later to become the Darb Zubayda, travelling via Ha'il around the southwestern rim of the Nefud, or across Al Widyan and Al Jawf, approaching Tayma from the north. An analogy to this long journey from Babylonia to northwestern Arabia, however, is provided by W.S. Blunt, who noted in 1879 that « all the corn consumed at Jof [Jawf] is brought from the Euphrates by Sherarat and other Bedouins who take dates in exchange » (Blunt 1880 : 84). Obviously, travel such as this was done by camel caravan, but this account at least demonstrates that the overland transport of foodstuffs from the Euphrates to an oasis in the northern Nefud was practicable, and as such, journeys from Uruk to Tayma become perhaps more comprehensible.

The Achaemenian/Macedonian/Seleucid/Earlier Nabataean Period

We come now to a period fraught with geographical problems. Let us consider some of these in turn. To begin with, there is the longstanding issue of a trans-Arabian route linking up with Egypt. Strabo, *Geog.* XVI, 4, 2, (=768), writes « but I return to Eratosthenes, who next sets forth his opinions concerning Arabia. He says concerning the northerly, or desert, part of Arabia... that from the City of Heroes [Heröonpolis], which forms a recess of the Arabian Gulf near the Nile, the distance in the direction of the Petra of the Nabataeans to Babylon is five thousand six hundred stadia, the whole of the journey being in the direction of the summer sunrise and through the adjacent countries of the Arabian tribes, I mean the Nabataeans and the Chaulotaeans and the Agraeans ». Discussing this passage, B. Moritz (1923 : 30-31, n. 7) cited two cases known to him in which such a route may have been used :

– c. 360 B.C., the 30th Dynasty Egyptian king Tachos, while on a campaign in Palestine, was forced to court the dynast of the Achaemenian emperor Artaxerxes II, when his son Nektabenos II proclaimed himself king and received the support of the army and the king of Sparta, Agesilaos ; Diodorus, 15, 92, says he took the route « through Arabia » ;

– c. 311 B.C., Ptolemy I sent troops to Babylon to help Seleukos I ; Arrian, *Indika* 43, says they made a forced march on camelback through « a waterless and desolate land ».

Neither statement is particularly specific. The stages of al-Muqaddasi's Amman-Kufa route (Sprenger 1875 : § 220) demonstrate that such a traverse, via Azraq and Qoraqir, could be made. He gives the distance as slightly more than 10 marches, but these are *delul* marches, some of which are very long, c. 18 hours, and in one case we are even told that a march was done «day and night». Another analogy can be drawn with the Roman road from Bostra to Babylonia, known to the Arabs as *Racyf*, the «plastered», which ran south of al-Muqaddasi's route, from Bostra to Adra, Korake-Qoraqir at which the road from Philadelphia-Amman joined it; then Obaira-Wobayr, Banacha or Tauba, and onto the Euphrates. Berthelot (1937 : 7) has identified a similar route between Uruk and Bostra on Ptolemy's map of Arabia.

Interest in such a route was sparked in 1909 when D. Carruthers found a ruined caravanserai at Ba'ir, northeast of Ma'an, which he took to be an ancient stop on the Egyptian-Babylonian route (Carruthers 1910 : 243). He attributed the decline of this route to the «decay of Babylonia and the dessication of Northern Arabia». Contemporary commentators signalled the great importance of this discovery, which was particularly timely given the plans which were then being considered for the construction of a Suez-Basra railway along the 30th parallel (Bütler 1909 : 535 ; cf. on railway feasibility, Holt 1923 and discussion). Thus, Col. Maunsell wrote (Carruthers 1910 : 247) : «The discovery of the ruined Khan on a route between Maan and Jauf is of great geographical interest, as it proves the existence of a communication on the shortest line between Egypt and Baghdad. Such a communication may well be restored by rail in the future». Sir Aurel Stein spoke of «what evidently looks like a route from Egypt towards the Persian Gulf» (Carruthers 1910 : 248).

Subsequently, enthusiasm waned as its antiquity was challenged. T.E. Lawrence visited the site several times during the war and considered it Ghassanid, while Gertrude Bell pronounced it to be early Islamic (Hogarth 1927 : 6). Leachman very much doubted whether such a route ever existed in antiquity : «Considering the question as to whether the Wadi el Kher forms a route between the great central oasis of Jauf and Nejef on the Euphrates in continuation of a route from Maan on the Hejaz railway, the whole forming part of the ancient trade route between Egypt and Mesopotamia, it appears that at present there is no definite caravan route, used as such, between Jauf and Nejef, as the only people travelling between the two places would seem to be single camel-riders, or *ageyl*» (Leachman 1914 : 504).

I will speak only briefly here about two of the other main routes, Gerrha-Petra and Gerrha-Hadhramaut, and reserve most of my remarks for the following section on the Parthian period, in which Ptolemy's map of Arabia will be discussed. Sprenger (1875 : 171-172, § 275) wrote : «Die Route von Gerra über Gorda und Dumetha nach Syrien lässt sich in Ptolemaeus' Karte deutlich verfolgen. Wallin aber bemerkt : Between Syria and the eastern parts of Negd there is in our times no direct communication that I know of; but a route, leading from Der'iyé (nicht weit von Manfuha = Biayanna) through Alkasim, Gebel Shammar, and Alġawf (Duma), would form a circuit, no one would make, if not forced by very urgent reasons. Es scheint, dass solche urgent reasons (Stammverbindungen?) vorhanden waren, als das Material für Ptolemaeus' Karte erhoben wurde». Contrary to Sprenger, I can see no reasons why caravans from Gerrha would have gone anywhere near Dumatha-Al Jawf. Assuming that they followed a route between al-Hasa, Dariya, Qasim (Anayza-Burayda) and Ha'il, it would certainly make more sense, in view of the fact that their ultimate goal was Gaza or Petra, for them to have proceeded around the Nafud, via Jaharan and Tayma, to Tabuk and Ma'an, rather than across it to Dumatha.

As for the caravans travelling between Gerrha and the Hadhramaut, Strabo, *Geog.* XVI, 4, 3, says that «the Gerrhaeans arrive at Chatramotitis in forty days» without giving any indication of the route taken. On the basis of a survey carried out in 1978 in the Wadi Dawasir, Layla-Aflaj, and Kharg oases, I have always believed that the route implied was that which ran from Shabwa through Marib, Naġran, Qaryat al-Fau, Sulayyil, Aflaj and Kharg. Hogarth, writing in 1908 (1908 : 551) considered the exploration of this route to be the «biggest feat left for a traveller to perform in Arabia – perhaps in all Asia». Nine years later, it had been done by Philby (Philby 1920a), but Hogarth (1921 : 334-337), in reviewing Philby's journey of 1917-18, expressed disappointment at the apparently small scale of caravan

traffic along this route at that time (Massignou 1923: 208-210, reviews the journey as published in *The Heart of Arabia*). Nevertheless, Philby (1949: 90) interpreted Qaryat al-Fau as «evidence of Sabaeen penetration into the interior of Arabia, presumably for the protection of trade routes and communications with the eastern settlements (Bahrain and Hadhramaut)», calling it (Philby 1950: 211) «a lonely outpost of Sheban civilization on a caravan route leading to the Persian Gulf coast». W. Caskel, too, assumed (1953: *30*) the existence of a Naḡran-Gerrha route via Qarya, Haḡar and Thag.

In 1979, however, W.C. Brice suggested that the Gerrhaeans did not go through the Layla-Fau-Naḡran route, but rather around the Rub al-Khali through Oman. This revived an old suggestion by Sprenger, based on his study of Ptolemy's map of Arabia, as we shall see below, but if von Wissmann's analysis of Pliny, *NH* VI, 157-159 is correct, it can hardly be supported any longer.

Another consideration to be borne in mind, however, is that most of the extant manuscripts of Strabo's *Geography* actually say that the «Gabaioi», not the «Gerrhaeoi» reach Chatramotitis in 40 days. Although the emendation «Gerrhaeoi» has gone virtually unquestioned since it was first proposed by the great Belgian scholar I. Casaubon (1559-1614), Jomard had questioned it as early as 1839 (1839: 377), and more recently A.F.L. Beeston has suggested that Strabo's Gabaioi are the same as Pliny's Gebbanites who, together with the Aelanites, controlled «the whole route of the west-coast trade, from Aelana to Shabwa» (Beeston 1979: 8). The question is surely worthy of further investigation.

We turn briefly now to northwestern Arabia. Coins of the 3rd century B.C. found at Oboda/Avdāt on the Petra-Gaza road suggest that this road was probably in use at this date (Bowersock 1971: 221), as one would suspect in view of the testimony of the Zenon papyri. Moreover, the route from Aqaba to Petra and west to Gaza is indicated by a whole series of *birkas*, forts and settlements (Negev 1961: 123; 1966: 89).

The Parthian/Roman/Later Nabataean Periods

Pliny *NH* VI, 157-159, was extensively analysed by von Wissmann in several articles (e.g. von Wissmann 1968a: 1286-87; 1968b: 1322 ff), where he showed quite convincingly that what was once thought of as a more or less random list of Arabian toponyms and ethnic names is, in reality, a pair of itineraries. The first twenty-eight represent the so-called «Incense route», running in this case from Oppida Domatha-Duma to the area of Sana'a; the second set of nineteen represents a return route beginning at Qaryat al-Fau, which runs through Kharg, Hofuf and Gerrha to southern Babylonia. On the basis of various internal references, von Wissmann dated these itineraries to just prior to the expedition of Aelius Gallus, or roughly 50-25 B.C. *Appendix B* contains an itemized breakdown of the relevant passage in Pliny, showing the localizations proposed by von Wissmann. As I have noted already, von Wissmann's interpretation of the second route, combined with the distribution of ceramic indices gathered during the survey of southern Naḡd in 1978, suggests to me that the scepticism of scholars such as Sprenger and Brice concerning the use of the Naḡran-Hofuf route in antiquity, is insupportable (cf. Potts 1983, and Sprenger 1891: 370ff for al-Hamdani and Ibn Hurdadbih on the Naḡran-Basra route). The presence of Parthian pottery as well as coins from the area of Thaj at Qaryat al-Fau, and Fau-type sherds at Ayn Jawan, most probably reflects the use of this route, just as the presence of north Arabian names in the area of Naḡran around 200 A.D. does as well (Müller 1978: 155).

We turn now to Ptolemy's map of Arabia. As is well known, Ptolemy's catalogue of toponyms is organized according to latitudes, i.e. all toponyms in a given area, in this case Arabia, are listed together which fall on the same degree north of the equator. It is assumed, however, that Ptolemy had itineraries at his disposal, and it is further assumed that his enumeration of place-names was not merely a sterile academic exercise, but rather a basis from which to draft actual maps. The maps of Arabia which began appearing in Europe in the 15th century following the invention of the printing press did not contain any indications of routes. A. Sprenger's radical and now standard treatment of Ptolemy's geography of Arabia, however, was based explicitly on the postulation of a number of trans-Arabian routes, most

of which were attested in the works of the classical Arab geographers, such as al-Hamdani, al-Muqaddasi, Ibn Hurdadbih, and Yaqut; in the accounts of Europeans explorers, such as Sadleir, Wallin, Guarmani, Burton, Palgrave, and Pelly; or which existed in his own day, generally as parts of the principal pilgrim routes to Mecca.

Sprenger and other commentators often comment on the ease with which these routes can be « recognized » once all of the toponyms have been plotted. Thus, Berthelot believed that some of Ptolemy's positions described a route down Wadi al-Batn leading from Babylonia to Kuwait and on to the area of Anayza and Burayda. I have the feeling that one « sees » these routes only if one is looking for them, and that, in general, they are anything but transparent. As A. Berthelot wrote more than fifty years ago (Berthelot 1937: 9-10), « ce n'est pas ici le lieu de reprendre le grand travail où Sprenger a tenté d'identifier la généralité des positions de l'Arabie en les répartissant sur des itinéraires. Nous en avons dit assez pour montrer les erreurs fondamentales qui ont vicié cet ouvrage; il serait à refaire avec la collaboration d'un arabisant ». In *Appendix C* I have extracted those routes of most concern here, ignoring only the shorter ones which are located exclusively in southern Arabia. The routes which are of interest are as follows.

An « *Incense Route* » from *Petra to Hadhramaut*, which may be broken up into three stages:

- 1a: a westerly route corresponding in the main with the route used by pilgrims coming from Egypt; the first part of which runs between Petra and Egra-Mada'in Salih;
- 1b: an easterly route, corresponding in the main with the route used by pilgrims coming from Damascus, again between Petra and Mada'in Salih;
- 2: a parallel route, from Philadelphia-Amman to Egra which, in its upper section, formed part of the Roman road from Bostra to Babylonia;
- 3: a third route from the north, this time connecting Palmyra with Egra; it was no longer in use by the beginning of the Islamic era, but is « indicated clearly » by Ptolemy, according to Sprenger; no identifications are offered by Sprenger for the stages Barathena to Artemita as these fall outside the bounds of Arabia Felix;
- 4: the mid-section of the Incense Route, constituting a westerly itinerary from Egra to Mecca via Madina; this corresponds to the « Marwa » road, described by al-Muqaddasi, and favored by pilgrims in the early days of Islam;
- 5: an easterly alternative over the same stretch of ground between Egra and Mecca, corresponding to what al-Hamdani called the « Nağd route », favored by pilgrims coming from Syria « for the last few hundred years » according to Sprenger;
- 6: the continuation of this Incense Route, between Mecca and Shabwa; most of the stages here are identified on analogy with the pilgrim route leading from Yemen to Mecca.

Next we have a route from *Mecca to Spasinou Charax*. Sprenger assumed that this route probably follow the Mecca-Basra route, known from al-Muqaddasi, as far as al-Qasim; from here he suggested that it curved more to the east, arriving in Kuwait, rather than heading straight up the Wadi al-Batn. This is considered impassable without the wells known to have been dug in the Islamic era, an incorrect assumption in view of the abundance of ground water here at shallow depths.

This is followed by the route from *Mecca to Ha'il*. Sprenger refers to it as the route from Karna to Arre, but as Karna was only a village one station north of Mecca, it seems more appropriate to call it the Mecca-Ha'il route. Although Sprenger was of the opinion that this route did not continue on to Babylonia, his reconstruction of it precisely follows the Darb Zubayda (Sprenger 1875: 176, §287).

We come again to the route linking *Gerrha and Petra*. Sprenger based his identifications of the first part of the route on Sadleir's 1819 journey across Arabia. As mentioned above, I am baffled as to why Sprenger proposed that this route ran from Ha'il to Jubba, and across the great Nefud to Dumaitha, an unlikely course when Petra and Gaza were the ultimate goals. Nor has Sprenger given us the stages on the route beyond Dumaitha, although he says that the rest of the journey is clear in Ptolemy, referring only to his § 219-220 which, however, would go via Obraca and Corace (and if we look at the map as he has drawn it, this still does not get us to Petra).

Finally, we come to the route from *Gerrha to the frankincense region*. Discounting the use of the Nagran-Basra route in antiquity, Sprenger suggested an unlikely, almost impossible route from al-Hasa to Yabrin, across the sand and sabkha of what is now western Abu Dhabi, to the interior of Oman, stopping at Nizwa or Rustaq, and down the length of the sultanate of Dhofar. I consider this, frankly, out of the question. As Hogarth reports, the Dutch official Van den Berg, stationed in Java in 1885, interviewed numerous colonists from Yemen and Hadhramaut, and discovered that «travellers overland from Yemen to Oman» never followed a route such as that proposed by Sprenger in reverse, but rather made «a long *détour* into south Nejd and thence cut across to Bireima in about fifteen stages, of which eleven are waterless» (Hogarth 1908: 550-551). If such is the case, I can hardly imagine that Sprenger's Gerrha-Babylonia route was ever used as he reconstructs it.

We may mention in passing here the paper read by W.C. Brice in Riyadh in 1979 at the *2nd International Symposium on Studies in the History of Arabia* concerning trade routes and Ptolemy's map, which is nothing but a repeat in English of Sprenger's Yemen to Petra, Dhofar to Gerrha, and Gerrha to Dumaitha routes.

We turn briefly now to northwestern Arabia. Nabataean settlements extend roughly as far south as Egra-Mada'in Salih, and thus it would appear that the Nabataeans controlled the incense route roughly from Dedan/al-Ula northwards. Nabataean remains at Ba'ir (Bowersock 1971: 242), Ithra, Al Jawf, and Sakaka suggest a Nabataean presence in the Wadi Sirhan as well, and it was N. Glueck's view that the Wadi Sirhan constituted an important route for the Nabataeans. The isolated finds of Nabataean pottery at sites such as Failaka, Thaj, and Qaryat al-Fau can do no more than suggest the routes by which these goods may have travelled.

A. Negev (Bowersock 1971: 225, 228) suggests that the stretch of road, from Petra to Gaza via Moyet 'Awad, Mezad Neqarot, 'Avdat and Eluza had lost a great deal of its importance by the 1st century A.D., when goods from southern Arabia began going directly to Egypt, by-passing Nabataea, via Leukos Limen to Coptos and up to Alexandria. As Bowersock has noted (1979:3), «the diminished role of Petra seems to have been due, in large measure, to the enfeeblement of the old overland trade route after the discovery of the commercial utility of the monsoons. Trade that formerly passed northward through Petra to Gaza was going more and more to the Egyptian coast and thence north to the Mediterranean. Inland traffic became concentrated on the Wadi Sirhan, which provided an efficient route for conveying goods from the ports on the east coast of the Arabian peninsula as well as from the south».

This last statement is supported by a number of facts, outlined by G.W. Bowersock in his paper «Nabataeans and Romans in the Wadi Sirhan». They include a dedication in Latin by a centurion of the *legio III Cyrenaica* stationed at Dumaitha-Al Jawf; as well as a set of sites like Ithra at the head of the Wadi Sirhan, where cohorts of the same legion were stationed, of which Bowersock has written: «It could scarcely be clearer that a special effort was made to protect the whole region at the head of the Wadi Sirhan and below Bostra» (Bowersock 1976: 223). In this regard it should be remembered that the capital of Arabia Provincia was Bostra/Bosra; here was the governor's seat as well as the legionary headquarters, situated in a direct line northwest of the Wadi Sirhan, making access to the Arabian interior easy. Thus, Bowersock writes: «The Wadi Sirhan... communicated directly with the environs of Bostra and explains, in part, the growing pre-eminence of that city - from which links with Damascus were well established».

The Sasanian Period

The last four centuries before Islam are full of incidental records of travel in Arabia over great distances, but virtually none of these records, with the exception of certain fragments of pre-Islamic poetry, contain anything remotely resembling an itinerary. We are thus forced to bear in mind the patterns of both the preceding and succeeding periods, but there is very little hope of charting any routes very precisely.

The poetry of pre-Islamic Arabia provides some basic information on travel during this period. References to riding camels are abundant (Thilo 1958: 25, 36, 65, 85); the camel

herds of the Lakhmid king Nu'man III were sometimes pastured in the Wadi al-Batn (Thilo 1958 : 45). There are also many allusions to the use of horses by tribes engaged in raiding, suffering under the weight of booty, kept under sun-roofs to protect them, and being forced over rocky ground (Thilo 1958 : 37, 113, 42 ; Moritz 1923 ; Shahid 1955 : 211). I have already mentioned a few references to the clear demarcation of tribal territories (Thilo 1958 : 28, 35, 60), and we hear of the Arab's intimate familiarity with the land, such that a landmark can be identified even at midnight (Thilo 1958 : 101). A crossing of Arabia from southwest to northeast is mentioned in a verse of Muzahim al-Uqaili (Thilo 1958 : 99), while, in the opposite direction, we hear of a man who keeps his family in Syria but his quarters in Yabrin (Thilo 1958 : 114). Al-A'sa, the Christian poet who died c. 629, tells us, in a verse cited by al-Hamdani, that he travelled the world to earn money as a minstrel, visiting Oman, Emessa, Jerusalem ; the land of the Nabataeans (settled Arabs), the land of the Persians, Naḡran and the land of the Himyarites (Sprenger 1891 : 392-393). All of this simply serves to illustrate the enormity of travel in Arabia during this period, travel which cannot be reduced to a few main routes.

There are, of course, certain diplomatic and military missions which invite study. Some of the obvious ones which spring to mind are the Himyaritic embassy to Seleucia and Ktesiphon sent by Šammar Yuhariš (Müller 1974) ; the campaign of Imru al-Qays as far south as Naḡran, commemorated in the Namara inscription (Bellamy 1985 : 47-48 for bibliography) ; Shapur's Arabian campaign, in which he reached Medina (Nöldeke 1879 : 56) ; the embassy sent by Dhu Nawas to Mundhir at Ramla in 524, said to be 10 days' journey to the southeast of al-Hira (Shahid 1964) ; or the famous campaign of Ḥulubān, in 547 A.D., recorded in Ry 506 (Kister 1965a : 425ff, cf. 1972 : 67). But while we can suggest the Naḡran-Basra route as that followed by the two diplomatic embassies, and perhaps the Sana'ā-Mecca pilgrim road for the campaign of Ḥulubān, we are at a loss to identify the routes used in the other cases.

Trans-Arabian caravan trade during this period is, of course, another factor to be considered. Tabari tells us of a caravan in the time of Khusrau II sent from Yemen to al-Hira (Levi della Vida 1929 : 645 ; Nöldeke 1879 : 256ff) which probably followed the Naḡran-Basra route discussed already. « Travelling merchants from Darin », on Tarut, are mentioned in a verse of the poet al-A'ša (Thilo 1958 : 39), and Imru al-Qays makes a comparison with horses coming home laden with wares from Ḡuwaytha, in the Hofuf oasis (Thilo 1958 : 48). There were, of course, many such famous markets in pre-Islamic Arabia, and no doubt a wide range of routes leading to them. These included the markets of Haḡar and Mušaqqar, controlled by Tamim, in the east (Kister 1965b : 130,156) ; Dibba and Sohar in the southeast (Shoufani 1970 : 61ff, 77-78) ; and among the most important, the market of Mecca in the west (Kister 1972 : 61ff, 77-78). The Basran poet al-Ḡahiz (d. 869) wrote in his tract entitled « A Reply to the Christians », that « the Arabs (Kuraysh) traded with Syria ; they sent their merchants to the emperors of Byzantium, and conducted two yearly caravans [cf. *Koran*, Sura 106], in winter to Yemen, and in summer in the direction of Syria... They also travelled to Ethiopia... They did not, however, come in contact with Chosroes, and he in turn did not have intercourse with them » (Finkel 1927 : 325).

This last point is important, and I. Shahid has, in part, attributed the rise of Mecca in the 6th century to the successful diversion of caravans to it from Oman and al-Bahrayn, formerly intended for Mesopotamia, with the concomitant and gradual abandonment of the Gulf route for the West Arabian route (Shahid 1957 : 184, 191-192). Shahid has pointed to five factors responsible for the shift at this time. First, the intensification of hostilities between Byzantium and Sasanian Persia ; the intensification of hostilities between the Ghassanids and the Lakhmids, making the caravan trade in the eastern corridor unsafe ; the entry of the Abyssinians on the world scene, competing with Persian merchants, particularly in the silk trade ; the fall of the Himyarite state at the hands of the Abyssinians, enabling Mecca to exert more control over the western incense route ; and fifth, the evasion of Byzantine and Sasanian import and export controls. Shahid suggests that three routes, Mecca-Basra via the Wadi al-Batn ; Yemen-Mecca via the old incense route ; and Abyssinia-Mecca across the Red Sea, were responsible for Mecca's growth.

Conclusions

We have seen that, dark though the picture may be, certain features stand out as we examine the period between Assyrian domination and the rise of Islam. During the Neo-Assyrian period, the dominance of Damascus, and the importance of Adummatu, combined to make the Wadi Sirhan an important locus of movement. A lone letter from the time of Assurbanipal may reflect movement down the Wadi al-Batn as well.

In the Neo-Babylonian era, Nabonidus' initial campaign against Tayma must be seen in conjunction with a march from Harran, down the east side of the Jordan River, and along the future bed of the Higaz railway, via Ma'an and Tabuk. Thereafter, it is an open question how communications were maintained with Babylonia.

When we come to the Hellenistic era, two main arteries crossed the peninsula, the so-called Gerrha-Petra route and the Shabwa-Gerrha route. At the same time, it must be considered certain that an incense route up the western side of the peninsula was in use; whether its control and/or diversion lay behind the expedition of Ptolemy II against Arabia, and his installation of the Lihyanite kings, as Tarn suggested sixty years ago, is still uncertain (Tarn 1929: 9-25).

In the Sasanian period, travel can hardly be compartmentalized, as all indications are that constant movement throughout the entire peninsula took place. Nevertheless, if the reconstruction of Shahid is admitted, we see the renewal of the prominence of the western route via Mecca.

It is hardly likely, however, that the majority of these routes were not always in use to some extent. Nor should we think that those routes, which we have come to identify as « pilgrim » routes, are exclusively of Islamic origin. In all probability these had connected the outlying areas of civilization, whether in Babylonia, Palmyra, or Nabataea, with points south, from an early date.

Addendum: Only after the proofs of this article had been corrected did I become aware of the following two relevant articles: M. SPEIDEL, « The Roman Road to Dumata (Jawf in Saudi Arabia) and the Frontier Strategy of *Praetensione Colligare* », *Historia*, 36/2, 1987: 213-221; and P. HÖGEMANN, « Über eine Notiz bei Strabo (XVI, 4, 2) zur Klärung des Rückweges des Kambyzes-Heeres aus Ägypten 522 v. Chr. », *Strabone: Contributi allo studio della personalità et dell'opera*, vol. II, Perugia, 1986: 161-169.

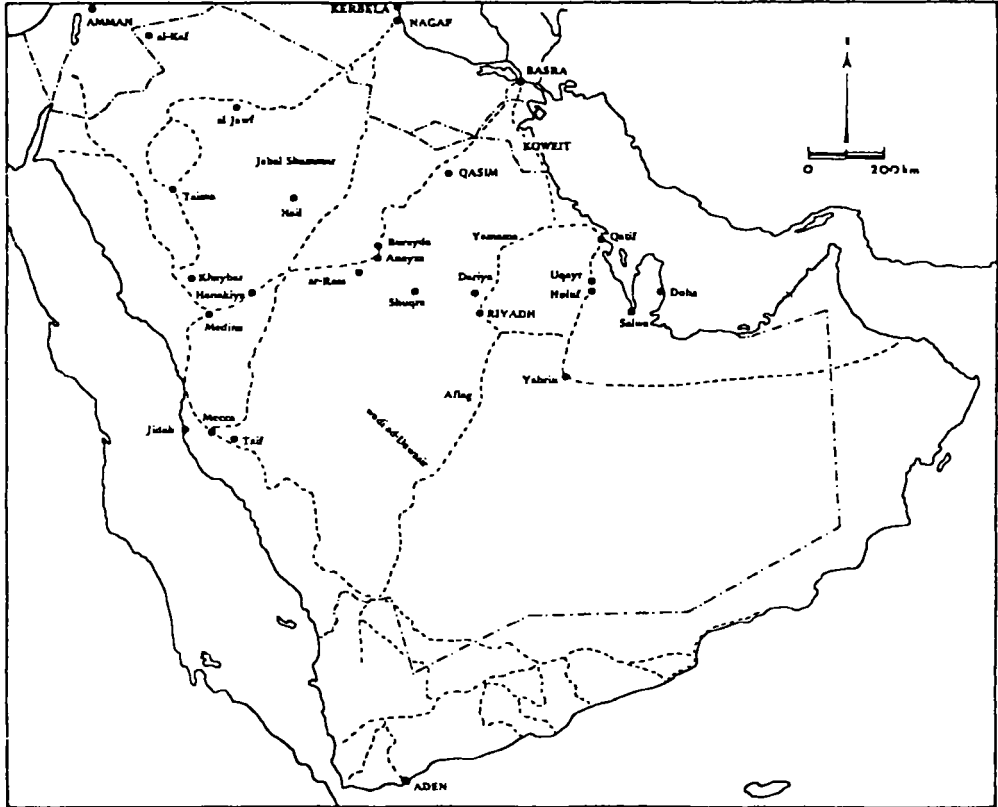


Fig. 1. Main Transarabian routes.

APPENDIX A

OVERVIEW OF ROUTES AND ITINERARIES

In view of the large number of routes given below, it has not been possible to prepare individual maps for each one. As most of the toponyms can be found on any reasonably detailed map of Arabia, however, and as it is expected that the informations gathered here will be of interest only to specialists, it has not been considered necessary to supplement the information given with a set of maps. Wherever there may be confusion due to the orthography of a name as given in the older literature, the modern form, taken from the *Geographic Map of the Arabian Peninsula*, compiled by the U.S. Geological Survey and the Arabian American Oil Company for the Deputy Ministry for Mineral Resources, Jiddah 1984, or one of the older regional geographic maps at my disposal, has been given. Where alternative

TRANSARABIAN ROUTES

139

routes are attested in the literature, these have been listed in the order of their publication. In view of the vastness of the geographical literature on Arabia, no claims to completeness can be made for an appendix of this sort, but it is hoped that most of the important, and some of the less well-known routes are represented, and that this hand-list may be of some use to scholars interested in the historical geography of the region. As will be obvious from the start, these itineraries are drawn exclusively from European travel and administrative sources. No attempt has been made to include routes preserved by the classical Arab and Persian geographers, for which see Sprenger 1864 : 108-157.

I. ROUTES IN CENTRAL ARABIA

- a. Anayza - Burayda
- b. Anayza - Riyadh
- c. Anayza - Yamama
- d. Burayda - Dakala
- e. Burayda - Ar Rass
- f. Burayda - Riyadh
- g. Hail - Anayza/ Burayda
- h. Hail - Hanakiya
- i. Hail - Ar Rass
- j. Riyadh - Danya
- k. Riyadh - Shuqra
- l. Shuqra - Anayza

II. ROUTES LINKING CENTRAL ARABIA AND IRAQ

- a. Hail - Nağaf
- b. Yamama - Basra

III. ROUTES LINKING CENTRAL AND NORTHEASTERN ARABIA

- a. Burayda - Hofuf
- b. Kuwait - Burayda
- c. Kuwait - Qasim
- d. Kuwait - Riyadh
- e. Riyadh - Hofuf
- f. Yabrin - Aflağ
- g. Yamama - Uqayr

IV. ROUTES LINKING CENTRAL AND NORTHWESTERN ARABIA

- a. Hail - Jawf
- b. Hail - Tayma
- c. Kaf - Hail
- d. Khaybar - Hail

V. ROUTES LINKING CENTRAL AND WESTERN ARABIA

- a. Anayza - Mecca
- b. Anayza - Medina
- c. Riyadh - Jiddah
- d. Riyadh - Taif

VI. ROUTES IN NORTHEASTERN ARABIA

- a. Hofuf - Doha
- b. Hofuf - Kuwait
- c. Hofuf - Qatif
- d. Hofuf - Uqayr
- e. Hofuf - Yabrin
- f. Qatif - Kuwait
- g. Qatif - Uqayr
- h. Uqayr - Salwa

VII. ROUTES LINKING NORTHEASTERN ARABIA AND IRAQ

- a. Basra - Kuwait

VIII. ROUTES LINKING NORTHEASTERN AND SOUTHWESTERN ARABIA

- a. Wadi Dawasir - Hofuf

IX. ROUTES LINKING NORTHWESTERN ARABIA AND IRAQ

- a. Jawf - Kerbela/Nağaf
- b. Nağaf/Kerbela - Jabal Shammar

X. ROUTES LINKING NORTHWESTERN ARABIA AND SYRO-PALESTINE

- a. Amman - Jawf
- b. Damascus/Baghdad road - Jawf
- c. Moab - Tayma
- d. Petra - Jawf
- e. Medina - Syria

XI. ROUTES IN SOUTHEASTERN ARABIA

- a. Abu Dhabi - Buraimi
- b. Al Ashkharah - Matrah
- c. Batinah - Dahirah
- d. Batinah - Oman
- e. Buraimi - Sohar
- f. Buraimi - Muscat
- g. Burkah - J. Akhdar
- h. Burkah - Rustaq
- i. Daghmar - Matrah
- j. Izki - Burkah
- k. Khaburah - Buraimi
- l. Khaburah - Ibri
- m. Khor Jaramah - Ja'alan
- n. Khor Jaramah - Sur
- o. Masna'ah - Dank
- p. Matrah - Oman
- q. Matrah - Quryat
- r. Ras Al Khaimah - Buraimi
- s. Saham - Yanqul
- t. Saih Hatat - W. Tayin
- u. Sharjah - Buraimi
- v. Sur - Ja'alan
- w. Sur - Sib
- x. Suwaiq - Dank
- y. Suwaiq - Ibri
- z. Suwaiq - Rustaq
- aa. W. Samail - Sharqiyah
- bb. W. Samail - W. Tayin
- cc. W. Tayin - Daghmar
- dd. W. Tayin - Sharqiyah
- ee. Yanqul - Ibri

XII. ROUTES LINKING SOUTHEASTERN AND NORTHEASTERN ARABIA

- a. Buraimi - Hofuf

I. Routes in Central Arabia

Ia. ANAYZA TO BURAYDA

Source: Dame 1924: 359

Summary: 6 hours through branch of Wadi Ar-Rumma; cf. Wetzstein below on Burayda to Anayza

BURAYDA TO ANAYZA

Source: Wetzstein 1865: 419-420, distances given in hours.

Summary: Burayda, Sabah (1), Sabkha Muwatta (1-2) forming border between areas of Burayda and Anayza, Chadar (1), Wadi el-Gemah (2), Wadi abu 'Ali/el-Wadi (2), Anayza; Wetzstein's guide Hamed said that if one left on a *delul*-camel early on the morning, one arrived at Anayza c. 4 p.m., time of the afternoon prayer.

Ib. ANAYZA TO RIYADH

Source: Lorimer 1908: 1336, based on Sadleir 1866.

Summary: averaging 3.5 mi./5.6 km. per hour, distances given in miles from Anayza to Mudhnib (25 mi.), Murabba' (15), 'Uniyat (25), 'Ayun as-Sirr (30), Shaqrah (30), Tharmidah (20), 'Awainidh (20), Haisiyah (20), 'Ayainah (20); cf. a variant given by Doughty 1888: 396 from an informant, each stage representing one caravan day: Mudhnib, 'Ain as-Suwaina, Faidha, Barrud, Shaqrah, Tharmidah, Rghabah, Thadiq, Haraimlah, Sidus, 'Ayainah.

Ic. ANAYZA TO YAMAMA

Source: Wetzstein 1865: 457-462, distances given in hours, cf. Anayza to Riyadh, above.

Summary: Anayza, Mudneb « Al Midhnb » (4), Ijun es-Soena (5), Sakra « Shaqrah » (14), Usekir (11), Megma'a (10), Dorama « Durma » (10), Termada (10), Ojena (3), Der'ia « Ad Dir'iyah » (4), Riad « Ar Riyad » (3), Menfuha (11), Sumeka (4), Charg « Al Kharj » (4), Halwa (12), Hota « Al Hawtah for the district » (4), Harik « Al Hariq » (6); from here one can continue south on the Tariq ar Radrad: « Auf dieser Strasse gelangt man nach der Stadt Aflag im Lande des Ibn Mugettel, auch ist sie der Weg nach Sana ä in Jemen für die Bewohner von Hasa, Wesm und Kasim und für Jedermann vollkommen sicher, doch muss man sich für die 4 bis 5 tägige Wüstenreise zwischen den östlichen und westlichen Gebirgen mit einem Führer vom Stamme der Dawasir und mit Wasser versehen ».

Id. BURAYDA TO DAKALA IN NORTHERN YEMEN

Source: Wetzstein 1865: 418-419, distances given in hours.

Summary: Burayda, Zulfa « Az Zilfi » (8), Horemila (8), Kasab « Al Qasab » (4), Dakala (3).

Ie. BURAYDA TO AR RASS

Source: Wetzstein 1865: 420-421, distances given in hours.

Summary: Burayda, Chabb (2), Humr (1), Bukeria « Al Bukayriya » (2), Hilalia (3), Chabra « Al Khabra » (3), Riad (4), Rass « Ar Rass » (3); this journey can be done in one day by a rider on a good *delul*.

If. BURAYDA TO RIYADH

Source: Lorimer 1908: 1337, based on Palgrave 1866: 324, Lorimer reconstructs Palgrave's stages in hours.

Summary: Burayda, Rodbat-ar-Rubai' (8 hrs), Wasit (17), Zilfi (4), Ghat (8), Majma' (10), Tuwaim (10), Thadiq (12), Haraimlah (12), Sidus (4); supplementary to the Anayza-Riyadh route, more circuitous and longer; cf. Pelly 1866: 44-46 on this route.

Source: Raunkiaer 1912: 85.

Summary: Zilfi, Medj'mah, Tueim, Tuweik, Sedus, Riyadh, same route as Palgrave below, with Zilfi and Majmah most important stops; journey took 6 days for 6 camels and 4 men travelling light.

Source: Leachman 1914: 512.

Summary: via Aufizie « Al 'Awsajiyah? », el Mudhnib « Al Midhnb », Murabba « Al Murrabba' », Ayun « Al 'Uyun », Shakra « Shaqra », (formerly supplied many horses to India, hence found use of Indian currency and weights here), Tharmida, Ayane, Malga, Dariya, Riyadh; because of Ibn Saud's permission, Leachman wrote: « I therefore had a chance of travelling from Boreida by the direct route to Riadh through Shagra in Woshm, which has been traversed once only by Captain Sadleir, an officer from India, nearly a hundred years ago ».

Ig. HAIL TO BURAYDA/ANAYZA

Source: Wetzstein 1865: 412-414, distances given in hours.

Summary: Hail, Seba'an « As Sab'an » (12), Taba « Tabah » (5), Fed « Fayd » (6), Kahafa « Al

Kahfah» (6), Kuara «Al Quwarah» (5), Sikka «Ash Shuqqah?» (3), Simas (3), Burayda (3); most of the toponyms known to Wallin and Guarmani.

Source: Palgrave 1866: 218-270.

Summary: via Jabal Salmah, Faid, Kahafah, Qusaibah, Quwarah, 'Ayun.

Source: Lorimer 1908: 1334, cf. Doughty 1888: 311-314, 329-337.

Summary: Hail, 'Adwah (27 mi.), Faid (24), Kahaifah (32), Quwarah (28), 'Ayun (24), Buraidah (26), Anayza (12); one of the chief lines of internal communication linking the capital of Jabal Shammar with the main towns of Qasim, total distance from Hail to Anayza c. 175 m./280 km.

1h. HAIL TO HANAKIYA

Source: Wetzstein 1865: 416, distances given in hours.

Summary: same as Hail to Ar Rass, see below, up to Mustajiddah, then Subrumia (5), 'Arga «Bi'r 'Arja» (8), up the Wadi 'Arga (28) to Hanakia; total distance c. 60 hours, coverable in 4 long *delul* day-marches.

ii. HAIL TO AR RASS

Source: Wetzstein 1865: 414-416, distances given in hours.

Summary: Hail to Kafar «Qufar» (4), Rauda (10?), Mustagidda «Mustajiddah» (5), Mekhul «Al Makhul» (3), Odem (4), Semira (5?), Subeh (6), Ar Rass (6).

1j. RIYADH TO DARYIA

Source: Dame 1924: 356.

Summary: no details, about 4 hours ride.

1k. RIYADH TO SHUKRA

Source: Dame 1924: 356.

Summary: no details, 5 days ride.

II. SHUKRA TO ANAYZA

Source: Dame 1924: 356

Summary: no details, 4 days ride.

II. Routes linking Central Arabia and Iraq

11a. HAIL TO NAĞAF

Source: Blunt 1880: 91-92, 1881: 33-100

Summary: returned to Iraq via the Darb Zubayda.

Source: Leachman 1911: 265-272, noting the existence of three common routes from Hail to Nagaf and on to Baghdad.

Summary: the westernmost route or *Darb al Ghazal*, taken by Wallin in 1848; this was the longest and least frequented, name no longer current in 1911 (1911: 266); Lorimer 1908: 1331 gives the stages of the Darb Ghazal in hours as follows: Jadhamiyah (5), Bir Taiyim (8.75), 'Atwa (13), Hamatiyah (11), Hazil (23.5), Majamir (17.5), Samit (18), Qasr-ar-Ruhaimi (12.25), Nagaf (12); total length was 340 mi./544 km., and rate of travel was c. 3 mi./4.8 km. per hour, cf. Darb Samawa below, from Huber 1885: 124-125, which starts at Samawa and goes via wells at Linah; central route or *Darb Zubayda*, taken by the Blunts in 1879 and Huber in 1881 (1885: 104-125); and the eastern one or *Darb as Salman*, which splits off from the Darb Zubayda and later rejoins it, running through the wells of Linah; for the reverse route, Nagaf to Hail, Lorimer 1908: 1324, based on native information obtained by J.C. Gaskin, gives the following itinerary in hours and sometimes miles: Nagaf, 'Ain as-Saiyid (6 hr./26 mi./41.6 km.), Hammam (9 hr./60.8 km.), Shabaikah (7 hr./51.2 km.), Waqsaah (4.5 hr./30.4 km.), etc.; note that this was going quite fast according to the informant, at rates of 6.75-7.3 km./hr.; cf. Finster 1978 with refs. for al-Hamdani, Ibn Rustah, Ibn Hurdadbih, al-Yaqubi, Yaqut, Ibn Gubayr, Musil on the stations as far as the Iraq-Saudi Arabia border.

Source: Hogarth 1927: 13-14, reporting on Gertrude Bell's 1914 return to Iraq from Hail.

Summary: took a route parallel to the Darb Zubayda through the Nafud via wells of Hiyaniya and Loqa, before rejoining the Darb Zubayda; left Hail on March 9th (?), could have reached Nagaf by the 22nd but for unnecessary delays.

11b. HAĞAR AL-YAMAMA TO BASRA

Source: Wetzstein 1865/ 476-477, but I have been unable to locate all the places names; distances given in days.

Summary: Hagr, Chidrima, Sal (1), Sulema (1), Mar'a (3), Dat Gisl (1), Usei (1), Nibag (1) on the Basra-Qasim route.

III. Routes linking Central and Northeastern Arabia

IIIa. BURAYDA TO HOFUF

Source: Dame 1924 : 360-361.

Summary: 18 days total, via Zilfi-Al Majma'ah, cf. Ritter 1971-72 : 73, on the Burayda-Zilfi road; note that Leachman 1914 : 511 wrote: «The inhabitants of Boreida as well as those of Anaize are remarkable for their business proclivities, and much trade is carried on with the coast towns of the Persian Gulf and with the surrounding Bedouin tribes».

IIIb. KUWAIT TO BURAYDA

Source: Raunkiaer 1912 : 85.

Summary: 19 days Kuwait to Zilfi, 2 days Zilfi to Burayda in a 100 camel strong merchant caravan.

Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1320, based on information obtained by J.C. Gaskin.

Summary: various routes between Kuwait and Hafr al-Batn, distances given in miles: e.g. Kuwait, Jahrah (20 mi./32 km.), Umm al-'Amarah (25 mi./40 km.), unnamed stop (25 mi./40 km.), Riq'a'i (37 mi./59.2 km.), Qasr Ballal (36 mi./57.6 km.), Hafr (25 mi./40 km.), total c. 168 mi./268.8 km.; for Knox's journey in reverse, see Lorimer 1908 : 1072; for the continuation of the journey beyond Hafr, Lorimer 1908 : 1320, gives Gaskin's information from native informants in hours as follows: Hafr, Matrubah (11.5), Umm al-Fahud (11), Thamani (4), Taiyib Ism (12), Jibbah (7), 'Ain Ibn Fahaid (14.5), Tarfiyah (8), Buraydah (5).

IIIc. KUWAIT (BASRA) TO QASIM

Source: Lorimer 1908 : 282, 598, 360.

Summary: following the Wadi al-Batn to Hafr al-Batn, which marks the approximate boundary between Kuwait and Jabal Shammar; at the point where the route crosses the Dahna, it is only two ordinary marches wide, consisting of 7 great sand ridges separated by plains.

IIId. KUWAIT TO RIYADH

Source: Pelly 1866 : Appendix III with distances given in hours.

Summary: the route followed by Pelly is as follows: Kuwait, Malah (7.5), Legcet «Al Lugit» (4.75), Wafrah «Al Wafra'» (8), Dela-al-Chebreet (10), Wariyah «Wari'ah» (9.5), Tenaysat «Ruhayyat Kunaysat» (10.25), Mehariyat «Al Muhayyirat» (10), Gharah «Jabal Gharra'» (10.25), Eraij-ad-Dehool (10.25), Owtat «Umm al Hawshat?», this is actually north of Jabal Gharra'» (8.75), Shawiyah «Shawyah» (?), Ghailanah (?), Eraij-Bentan «'Irq Banban» (?), Sedoos (?), Malgah (?), Riyadh (?); a second route recorded by Pelly ran as follows: Malah (7.5), Legcet (4.75), Wafrah (8), Lehabah (18), Dayjanee «Dulay' Dughayyim» (24), Sedoos «Sudus» (10), Esferrat (4), Horaymelah «Huraymila» (4), Ayenah (8), Malgah (3), and Riyadh (3); note that Huraymila is in fact north of Sudus, so that Pelly has here either confused the itinerary or been misinformed.

IIIe. RIYADH TO HOFUF

Source: Palgrave 1864, 1866.

Summary: see under Hofuf-Riyadh (Lorimer 1908) below.

Source: Pelly 1866 : Appendix IV.

Summary: a route taken by Pelly ran from Riyadh to El Daghem «Jabal or Khashm Ad Dughm», Vetaitan, Howmah, Braysah, Orbayth, El Jowd, Ferooy, El Gheramel, to El Ahsa, no times or distances given; a second, southerly route is noted, with distances in hours: Riyadh, El Daghem «Jabal or Khashm Ad Dughm» (10), Makhyat «Maraghah?» (8), Saad (12), Dahneh «Ad Dahna'» (10), Oracij (10), Rowat Baythah (6), Orbaythah (3), Rowthat Henay «Al Hunayy» (3), Feroog «Na'lat Al Faruq» (10), El Ahsa (10).

Source: Raunkiaer 1912 : 85.

Summary: a ten day march following a fairly straight route which ran between those taken by Palgrave in 1863 and Pelly in 1865, through Adjafieh, Scha'abe, Tlaaiah, and Mahil to Hofuf.

Source: Leachman 1914 : 519.

Summary: only one set of wells in the entire c. 200 mi./320 km. stretch; took two days crossing gravelly desert, and a cliff called Urma; in the cliff are wells, of which Abu Jifan is best known (on ARAMCO map); in one day from Urma the Dahna is crossed; then a well at Wadi Faruk; on 8th day entered Hofuf; Leachman 1914 : 520 noted: «most of the trade of eastern Nejd passes through here on its way to the gulf».

HOFUF TO RIYADH

Source: Sadleir 1866 : 73-80.

Summary: Hofuf, Heweberat (5 mi.), Oomerrubeeah, Remah, Sumama, Ul-Begah, Aoomuh, Gah-ul-Bubban, Munfooh, Riyadh and Dariya.

Source: Lorimer 1908: 673.

Summary: either head northwest via wells of Judah, or south for wells of 'Awasiah; these «exceedingly divergent routes are said to unite at Sa'ad near Abu Jifan»; Lorimer 1908: 1314-15, gives following stages in hours according to the informant who described the route to J. C. Gaskin, Political Assistant: Hofuf, Faruq «Al Faruq» (10), Rijm-ash-Shawaiir (21), Abu Jifan (13), Tarabi «'Ubayd at Turabi» (6), Miyahiyah (8), Riyadh (6), from here route continues on to Mecca; Lorimer 1908: 1319 put travel time at c. 6 days, which is not much slower than Dame did it in 1933 in an automobile, see below; Lorimer 1908: 360 noted: «The southern Dahanah is also crossed in two average marches by the route between Riyadh and Hofuf... In crossing it here from the west, steep ascents are first encountered, alternating with nearly perpendicular descents down which camels slide bodily»; Palgrave travelled this way in reverse in 1862, as did Pelly in 1865, but neither followed this exact route; Sadleir in 1819 took a slight variant on his route from Hofuf to Dariya.

Source: Dame 1924: 362.

Summary: a 5 day ride from Hofuf to Riyadh.

Source: Dame 1933: 165.

Summary: a traditional caravan route goes via Abu Jifan; in 1933 it took 24 driving hours in a car to do the 300 miles between Hofuf and Riyadh, averaging just under 12.5 mph.

Source: Philby 1920b: 451.

Summary: past hill of Uthmaniyya «Jabal al Uthmaniyah», across Wadi Faruq, across the Dahna, over the Arma plateau, Jubail slope, and the Wadi Sulaiy to the foot of the Tuwaiq escarpment.

III. YABRIN TO AFLAJ

Source: Philby 1933: 9

Summary: from Maqainama, c. 70 mi. due south of Yabrin, it is 4 days to Aflaj with a well called Jabaliya halfway, following «well-marked camel tracks leading west to the Aflaj», and also putatively east a route led «to Bir Fadhil and possibly beyond to ancient Majann (?)» which «encouraged me to think that I was on one of the old trade routes connecting south and east Arabia with the northern and western marts such as Mecca and Petra»; al Majann is the coastal region just southeast of Qatar, pronounced Mayann or Magann by the Arabs of today», and associated by Philby and Cheesman with ancient Magan; for the route from Yabrin to Sulayil, Philby noted: «but it must be remembered to their credit that the route on which we were embarking had, as our guides assured us, never been attempted before, even by the raiding parties of the Badawin.»

IIIg. HAGAR AL-YAMAMA TO UQAYR

Source: Wetzstein 1865: 475.

Summary: via Hofuf, names of stations not given.

IV. Routes Linking Central and Northwestern Arabia

IVa. HAIL TO AL JAWF

Source: Wetzstein 1865: 412, distances given in hours.

Summary: Hail to Lakita, Hamed, Negm (4), Baka (7), Gubba «Jubba» (10); two days of 8-10 hours march to Sakik «Ash Shaiq» wells; Al Jawf (12), also called the Syrian road, *Darb es-Sam*; travelled by Wallin in 1854: 58ff, but as he rode a lame camel, his distances are incorrect.

IVb. HAIL TO TAYMA

Source: Wetzstein 1865: 416-418, distances in hours; cf. journey made by Wallin in 1848.

Summary: Hail to the foot of the Aga «Jabal Aja» and pass of Mokak «Mawqaq» (3); town of Mokak (9); up Wadi Guda/Gauta (24); well of 'Aneza to Tayma (30); makes a bow around the Nafud, so that the distance between Hail and Tayma is reckoned at over 70 hours; the reverse journey from Tayma to Hail is described by Wallin 1850: 334-335; Doughty 1888: 566-584; Huber 1884: 104-111 and 1891: 234-316, 493-550; and for part of the way Guarmani 1865: 490-496; cf. Rosen 1865: 210ff; and Lorimer 1908: 1345.

IVc. KAF TO HAIL

Source: Lorimer 1908: 1332.

Summary: an important route linking the Mediterranean basin with Central Arabia; it consists of two portions, Kaf to al-Jawf, and al-Jawf to Hail; Kaf to al-Jawf is a distance of c. 160 mi./256 km., all stages but the last run through the Wadi Sirhan, with 3 or 4 parallel and intersecting routes to choose from and differing watering possibilities; al-Jawf to Hail, is a distance of c. 280 mi./248 km., all of which lies in the great Nefud except for the first few miles out of al-Jawf and the last 25 mi. before Hail; Nolde 1895: 16-28, followed a route via Qarah and

TRANSARABIAN ROUTES

145

Haiyaniyah; otherwise most other travellers have taken the route straight from al-Jawf to 'Alaman-Nafud, and then straight across to Jubba, Jubba to Qana, and around the NW end of Jabal Aja to Hail; there is no water for 170 mi. between al-Jawf and Jubba, thus there are no fixed points between the two stations; the route is called *Khall Bani Hilal*, *Khall Abu Zaid* or just *Khall*, and it is no more than a camel path which can be followed by the camel droppings; it is said that on a good camel the journey from al-Jawf to Jubba can be done in three days, but no European has done it in less than 49.5 hours, and the average is c. 75 hours; for Lorimer's refs. see Wallin 1854: 136-139, 158-166, 174-175; Guarmani 1865: 501-513; Blunt 1881: 84-112, 155-212; Huber 1885: 312-317, 326-353, and 1891: 35-42, 49-61; Palgrave 1866: 20-45 and 85-103, cf. 1864: 63-82, is not very reliable.

IVd. KHAYBAR TO HAIL

Source: Huber 1885: 92-104.

Summary: Kheibar, Ergoum el Yehoud, Jebel Fekah, El Meqen'a, El H'abir, Wadi Ghreim, Hail.

V. Routes Linking Central and Western Arabia

Va. ANAYZA TO MECCA

Source: Lorimer 1908: 322-44.

Summary: the route abstracted mainly from Doughty, with orthography according to Huber, distances given in miles: Wahlan (3), Hajnawi (25), Kir (25), Farqain (15), Shi'ab (25), Umm al-Masha'ib (25), 'Afif (30), no name (30 SW), no name (36 SW), Hazaim as-Said (18), Muwaih Hakran (15); this runs parallel to the Kuwait-Mecca route through Burayda, and was travelled by Doughty in 1878 and Huber in 1884; Huber's route diverges from Doughty's at Shabibiyah, rejoicing at Umm al-Masha'ib, and between these two points goes through the wells of Dukhnah and Shibirmah; both Huber's and Doughty's caravans spent two nights at 'Afif; Lorimer 1908: 1334 noted another route further east called *Darb Wadi Sabai'*, with few and small watering places, used «only by well mounted men travelling rapidly».

Vb. ANAYZA TO MEDINA

Source: Lorimer 1908: 1340 following Sadleir 1866 who was the only European to have travelled it; distances given in miles.

Summary: Anayza, Rass (35), Matta (12), Uddas (15), Jirzawiyah (25), Wadi al-Miyah (20), Mishash Batin al-'Urmah (25), Jabal Mawiyah (20), Hanakiyah (60); Sadleir travelling 2.5 mi./4 km. per hour.

Source: Wetzstein 1865: 421-423, distances given in hours.

Summary: Anayza, Wahalan (2), Sebibia (5), Haknawi «Al Hajnawi» (3), Rass «Ar Rass» (3), Senana (3), Go'i (2), Karja (3), Nebhania «An Nabhaniyah» (2), Aban (1), Hanakia «Al Hanakiyah» (18), Suedira «Bi'r Suwaydirah» (6), Hifna (10), Medina (2); Wetzstein's informant Hamed said that the journey from Anayza to Medina required 4 long *delul* days of c. 70 hours total.

Vc. RIYADH TO JIDDA

Source: Philby 1920b: map.

Summary: via Dariya, Malqa, Ammariya «Al 'Ammariyah», Dhurma «Durma», Quaiya «Al Quway'iyah», Mizal, Ibn Sadan, Ruwaidha «Ar Ruwaydah», Qusuriya, Khurma «Al Khurmah», Taif, up around Mecca via Ain Mubarak, Hadda, Raghama to Jidda.

Vd. RIYADH TO TAIF

Source: Dame 1933: 166-69.

Summary: up the Wadi Hanifa, via Jubaila «Al Jubaylah», 'Ainain, Awained «Al 'Uwaynid», Burra «Al Barrah», Thurmada, Meerad; here cross the Nafud As Sirr, arriving at Dawadmi «Ad Dawadimi»; from here to Bir 'Afif, Al Muwayh, Ar Rashaida; complete distance is c. 600 miles, covered in 31 hours of automobile driving, at average of c. 20 mph; estimate camel caravan would have taken 30-45 days.

VI. Routes in Northeastern Arabia

VIa. HOFUF TO DOHA

Source: Burchardt 1906: 312.

Summary: took 8 days, via El Arbaa, Salwa, Al Micenes.

Source: Lorimer 1908: 672-673 following F.B. Prideaux's information gathered from native informants, distances given in miles.

Summary: ordinary route: Man'ayah (35), Bahath (10), Ba'ajj «Bu'ayj» (20), Dohat as-Salwa

(10); a more direct route ran via Ghayyathin « Al Ghubayyitayn » (35), Ba'aj (20), Dohat as-Salwa (10); routes taken by caravans varied, some making a bow to avoid the Jafurah, going via Hamrur to Ba'aj; in all cases water is bad, and no supplies were available along the way; Cheesman 1923 : 331-332 shows a route debouching at Salwa, but otherwise gives no details; says journey took 3 days; cf. Philby 1933 : 5 and map.

VIb. HOFUF TO KUWAIT

Source : Lorimer 1908 : 670.

Summary : usually via Nata in the Wadi al-Miyah; total distance in a straight line is c. 300 mi./480 km., but caravan track is not under 360 mi./576 km. due to zig-zags to reach the different wells; different caravans followed different strings of wells, depending on season and Bedouin politics.

VIc. HOFUF TO QATIF

Source : Kemball 1856 : 114-115, based on Lt. Jopp's route in 1841.

Summary : Day 1 : Hofuf, Kulabiah « Kilabiyat an Nuhud » (6 mi./2 hrs.), first camp (6 mi./2.25 hrs.); Day 2 : on to the water pits (18 mi./6.25 hrs.), second camp (6 mi./2 hrs.); Day 3 : to water pits (9 mi./3 hrs.), third camp (15 mi./5.25 hrs.); Day 4 : camp to date grove (12 mi./4 hrs.), Qatif (4 mi./1.5 hrs.); total journey = 78 mi./124.8 km. over 26.25 hrs. = 4.75 km. per hour average.

Source : Lorimer 1908 : 671, based on Prideaux, Capt. J.A. Douglas, and Jopp, distances given in miles.

Summary : Hofuf, Kalabiyah « Kilabiyat an Nuhud » (6), Kanzan « Jabal Kanzan » (4), Ghuwaij (8), Abul Hamam « Aba al Hamam » (23), Abul Hayat (16), Zaghail (6), Jio-ai « Ayn Jidhui ? » (16), Lajam « Al Ajam » (20), Qatif (6); direct distance put at 85 mi./136 km., actual caravan distance at 105 mi./168 km. (cf. Mackie 1924 : 193 who est. distance at 100 miles); distance could be covered in three days, but caravans usually took longer.

QATIF TO HOFUF

Source : Lorimer 1908 : 673 gives Prideaux's identifications of Sadleir's 1819 stopping points; cf. the detailed study of this itinerary in Berghaus 1835 : 80-82.

Summary : June 28 - Saihat « Sayhat »; June 29 - Badrani; June 30 - 'Aziz al-Ma; July 1 - Mulaibah; July 2 - Abwab; July 3 - Umm Rubai'ah; July 8 - Hafairah; July 9 - 'Ayn Dar and Dumaiyagh; July 10 - 'Ayun; July 11 - Hofuf; Mackie 1924 : 193 estimated distance at 100 miles.

VI d. HOFUF TO UQAYR

Source : Lorimer 1908 : 672, based on Prideaux from native informants; Capt. J.A. Douglas, and Lt. Jopp, distances in miles.

Summary : Hofuf, Jishshah « Al Jishshah » (9), Shatar wells (12), Baraiman wells (14), at each of which halt may be made to break journey into 4 short stages, Uqayr (14); Shatar to Uqayr is over very loose sand, often with no visible track, otherwise not very difficult; actual travelling distance c. 50 mi./80 km.; alternative route : Hofuf, Jishshah (9), Khuwainij (23), Muwaih (5), Bisaitin (2), Uqayr (11), usually broken at Khuwainij; Khuwainij, Muwaih, and Bisaitin all have water.

Source : Leachman 1914 : 520.

Summary : « Leaving Hofuf we crossed in one night the 40 miles (64 km.) of hopeless sand-dunes which separate this place from Ojair, its port on the Persian gulf. » « Caravans or travellers often take two days and halt usually in the desert ».

UQAYR TO HOFUF

Source : Tuson 1979 : 28-29 based on Lt. Wyburd's journey of 1832.

Summary : on evening of second day out of Uqayr reached Jishah, at noon of third day entered Hofuf.

Source : Kemball 1856 : 111-112, on Lt. Jopp's route in Nov. 1841.

Summary : Day 1 : Uqayr to water pits (13 mi./20.8 km. in 4.5 hours = 4.62 km/hr cf. speeds cited below, a good average), waterpits to the first camp (7 mi./2.5 hrs.); Day 2 : camp to Jishah « Al Jishshah » (12 mi./4 hrs.), Jishah to Foozool « Al Fudul » (4 mi./1.5 hr.), Foozool to Hofuf (3 mi./1 hr.); total of 40 mi./64 km. in 13.5 hrs. = 4.74 km. per hour average.

Source : Burchardt 1906 : 309.

Summary : took two days, gives no toponyms.

Source : Philby 1920b : 448-49.

Summary : camped first night at palms called Buraiman, ruins of Turkish blockhouse; towards evening of second day saw outskirts of al-Hasa, camped at Jisha; on third day entered Hofuf; travelled in a caravan of 30 camels and 15 white Hasaeen donkeys, estimating distance at 50 miles/80 kms.

Source : Mackie 1924 : 192.

Summary : via the well/fort Abu Zahmul, a quarter mile out of Uqayr, on to wells of Umm

TRANSARABIAN ROUTES

147

Adh Dhir, where short stop was be made; then through a waterless stretch of 35 miles; on to the eastern edge of the oasis and village of Jishsha, but regular watering stops is one mile further at village of Jafar, and followed by 8 more miles to center of Hofuf; journey could be made either by camel or on one of the famous Hasaeen donkeys.

VIe. HOFUF TO YABRIN

Source: Philby 1933: 5.

Summary: Hofuf, Sikak, Anbak, across Wadi Sahba «as Sahba», to Yabrin; cf. the review of his journey in Pollog 1934: 41-49.

VI f. QATIF TO KUWAIT

Source: Lorimer 1908: 672 based on Prideaux from native informants.

Summary: generally via 'Abu Ma'an wells, Mubarakiyah hill, Mistannah wells; route not strictly defined, direct distance c. 230 mi./368 km., but zig-zagging brings it up to c. 300 mi./480 km.

VI g. QATIF TO UQAYR

Source: Tuson 1979: 27, account of Lt. Wyburd's journey of 1832.

Summary: travelled one full day from Qatif, arrived at noon on second day out, went via some brackish wells, but gives no toponyms.

VI h. UQAYR TO SALWA.

Source: Cheesman 1923: 325.

Summary: est. in advance to take 4 days, no water en route; not really a route, since nobody went to Salwa for anything.

VII. Routes linking Northeastern Arabia and Iraq

VIIa. BASRA TO KUWAIT

Source: Raunkiaer 1912: 84.

Summary: Zubayr to Kuwait in 2 long marches with 4 pack-horses.

KUWAIT TO BASRA

Source: Lorimer 1908: 1067, based on a report by Lt. C.H. Gabriel, distances given in miles.

Summary: Kuwait, Jahrah (20), Mdairah (19), Qasr-as-Sabiyah (21), 'Arfajiyah (10.5), Babariyah (15), Umm Qasr (11), Safwan (15, the the border of Turkish Iraq); total distance 111.5 mi./178.4 km.; alternate route Lorimer 1908: 1070 via Jahrah and Safwan (56) straight north without water unless detour is made to reach Qash'aniyah wells 10 mi. SE of Safwan; by this route journey is only 76 mi./121.6 km.

VIII. Routes linking Northeastern and Southwestern Arabia

VIIIa. WADI DAWASIR/SULAYIL TO HOFUF

Source: Lorimer 1908: 1345, citing native information, distances given in days.

Summary: Hamam (1), Badi' in Aflaj (4), Kharfah in Aflaj (6 hrs), Layla (2-3 hrs), Hautah (2.5), Dilam in Kharj (1.5), Yamamah in Kharj (4 hrs), Abu Jifan (3), Hofuf (6), «days» in the last 6 stages are short, each perhaps 20-25 miles/32-40 kms.

IX. Routes linking Northwestern Arabia and Iraq

IXa. JAWF TO NAĞAF/KERBELA

Source: Philby 1923: 253ff, distances given in miles.

Summary: Jauf, Qara, Sakaka, (Sakaka located c. 308 mi./492.8 km. from Amman, 203 mi./324.8 km. from Kaf, 300 mi./480 to Kerbela); Sakaka, Suwair wells (13), another day's march (45), following morning to wells of Ghadir Turaifawi (10), continuing on same day 12 mi. to wells of Abal Dufuf; cut south 14 mi. to Sha'ib Ruthiya, 9 mi. to Qata'iya, on to Judaidat al 'Ar'ar wells on Saudi-Iraqi border (more or less following Wadi Ar'ar), 14 mi. to wells of Judaidat al Hamir, wells of Nukhaib, Ukhaidhar, Kerbela.

IXb. NAĞAF/KERBELA TO JABAL SHAMMAR

Source: Leachman 1911: 265-272, cf. Hogarth 1920: 325.

Summary: Kerbela, el-Wadian, Wadi el-Khar, wells of Samit, wells of Hazil, Jumeima, ez-Zobala, wells of Linah, and back to Iraq.

X. Routes linking Northwestern Arabia and Syro-Palestine

Xa. AMMAN TO JAWF

Source: Philby 1923 : 242, distances in miles.

Summary: Manshiya, Muwaqqar (21 mi. from Amman), Kharana, wells of 'Amari, Kaf, Minwa (6), into Wadi Sirhan, Al Ghatti, diversion east to wells of Qaraqar, volcanic mt. Buraik, salt marsh Nuqrat fal Hadhaudha, 15 mi. to wells of Ma'asir, 35 mi. to wells of Nabq abu Qasr at edge of Wadi Sirhan, Wadi Ma'arik, 20 mi. to Jawf, and Qara, Sakaka; cf. Lamare 1924 : 162-164.

Xb. DAMASCUS – BAGHDAD ROAD TO JAWF.

Source: Leachman 1914 : 502-3.

Summary: left this route near wells of Ghara, also known as Meluse, or Bir Meluse, dropping down to Wadi Hauran; travelled via wells of al-Mat, reaching Wadi Ar'ar, which leads down to Sakaka and Jawf; on to wells of Hazil, then across the Darb Zubayda to wells of Linah, entering from here the Dahna; proceeded down to Qusayba, north of Al Qasim, on 28th day out of Damascus, and then to Ayun and Burayda.

Xc. MOAB TO TAYMA

Source: Carruthers 1910 : 238-243.

Summary: Katrane, Jabal Itbaik, Mghairah wells, Tayma, wells of Ubai, Hausa «Howja», and Ba'ir in the upper Wadi Ba'ir, c. 55 mi. ENE of Ma'an; 243; on the line of the «supposed ancient trade route between Egypt and Busra»

Xd. PETRA TO JAWF

Source: Carruthers 1910 : 244, distances in miles.

Summary: Petra, Ma'an (20), Wokh (25), Ba'ir (30), Weisit (95), Jawf (90); hypothesized a line of wells and stations from here to the Gulf on basis of place names on Ptolemy's map of Arabia.

Xe. MEDINA TO SYRIA

Source: Wetzstein 1865 : 444.

Summary: usual route Medina, Korh (6 days), Higr; eastern branch from here reached Tayma in 4 stages, was easier and probably the favored one in antiquity; Wetzstein believed that Korh route hooked up with an eastern one to Babylonia; western branch went via Tabuk, 4 hard days away, with 3 intermediate stations at Gunena, Akra', and Mohdata; alternative ran through Medina, 'Isr, Sahaba, Khaybar (8 *berid* for a *delul* acc. Yaqut, c. 33 hours total from Medina), Tayma; this route is known as *Murhab*, «bequem», but was not the usual one acc. to Wetzstein.

XI. Routes in Southeastern Arabia

XIa. ABU DHABI TO BURAIMI

Source: Cox 1925 : 201-203.

Summary: Abu Dhabi, Maqta «Al Maqta», Huwail wells; 40 hours travel time.

XIb. AL ASHKHARAH TO MATRAH

Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1416, after Cole, *Trans. Bombay Geog., Soc.* VIII (1849) : 119.

Summary: Bani Bu 'Ali «Bilad Bani Bu 'Ali», Hasan «Bilad Bani Bu Hasan», Badiyah, Manah, Nizwa, Wadi Samail.

XIc. BATINAH TO DHAHIRAH VIA WADI AL HAWASINAH

Source: Lotimer 1908 : 1415.

Summary: a subsidiary route in the western Hajar, passable by camels.

XId. BATINAH TO OMAN VIA WADI BANI KHARUS OVER JABAL AHDAR.

Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1415.

Summary: subsidiary route in the western Hajar, passable only by donkeys.

XIe. BURAIMI TO SOHAR

Source: Kemball 1856 : 118-119, based on Hamerton's journey of Jan.-Feb. 1840, in hours.

Summary: Buraimi to Bir ul-Humeeza (6), Wadi ul-Tizzee «Wadi Jizzi» (3.5), Shigereee (4), Al Ohei (4.5), Sohar; route considered good, plenty of water and forage for camels the whole way (not for horses).

SOHAR TO BURAIMI

Source: Miles 1877 : 41-45, cf. Lorimer 1908 : 1416.

Summary: 'Auhi, Felej-el-Suk, Sehlat, El-Mileyeyneh, el-Ghorak, Sahileh, Kan, Burj el-Shikeyri, Khoweyrej, Hail, el-Mahdhah, Sa'reh.

TRANSARABIAN ROUTES

149

XIf. BURAIMI TO MUSCAT

Source: Cox 1925 : 208-220, cf. Lorimer 1908 : 1417 after Cox, Govt. of India's Foreign Proceedings for December 1903.

Summary: Muthariz, Jahali, Ain, Hafit, Qabil, Dhank, Mazum, Ibri, Salaif, Kubara, Saifam, Jabrin, Nizwa, Samad al-Kindi, Wadi Habib, Saiq, Sharaija, Ain, Aqar, Qarn ad Daru, Wabal, Samail, Muscat.

XIg. BURKAH TO JABAL AHDAR AND BACK TO MATRAH

Source: Miles 1901 : 466-498, cf. Lorimer 1908 : 1416-1417.

Summary: Burka, NakhI, Towye, Felej el Khosair, Towye Saih, El Awabi, Istal, Aleya, Saik, Sheraizi, Miyadin, Birket el-Muz, Zikki, Wibal, Semail, el Zok, Serur, Malita, Bidbid, Mizra, Fanja, Khoth, Rui, Bait el Felej, Matrah.

XIh. BURKAH/MASNA'AH TO RUSTAQ

Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1417, based on information from Lt. C.H. Gabriel and native informants.

Summary: via Jammah and the Wadi Fara ; 10 hours from Burkah, 6 hours from Masna'ah.

XIi. DAGHMAR TO MATRAH

Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1417, after Dowding, records of the Intelligence Branch, Simla, 1901.

Summary: via Wadi Tayin, down Wadi Mansah.

XIj. IZKI TO BURKAH

Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1416, citing Miles, Govt. of India Proceedings for Oct. 1886.

Summary: a circuitous route, cf. the second part of route XIg above.

XIk. Khaburah to BURAIMI

Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1417, after Gabriel and informants.

Summary: joins Wadi Jizzi at Sabailah, 12 hours distance, from which it follows the Sohar-Buraimi route.

XIl. Khaburah to IBRI

Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1417, after Gabriel and informants.

Summary: up Wadi al-Hawasinah from Ghaizain to Mijzi, reaching Miskin in Wadi al-Kabir, on to Dariz and Ibri, 24 hours.

XIm. KHOR JARAMAH TO JA'ALAN

Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1415.

Summary: « easily accessible » via a route crossing Jabal Khamis into Wadi Falajj.

XIn. KHOR JARAMAH TO SUR

Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1417, after Dowding, records of the Intelligence Branch, Simla, 1901.

Summary: via Muswa, Wadi Fisao, Wadi Falajj, « a regular military route-report ».

XIo. MASNA'AH TO DANK

Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1417, after Gabriel and informants.

Summary: up Wadi Bani Ghafir, to Dihas, Khafdi, Miskin in Wadi al-Kabir (10 hours, underestimated ?); from here via 'Aridh in Wadi al-Kabir and Yanqul in Wadi Dhank (12 hrs), or via Khadel in Wadi al-Jailah and Fida in Wadi Dhank (24 hrs).

XIp. MATRAH/SIB TO OMAN

Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1416, after Aucher-Eloy's *Relations de Voyages en Orient de 1830 à 1838*, Paris, 1843.

Summary: Siq, Nizwa, Jabrin, Izki, Birkat al-Moz up and back through Wadi Samail; not a directed travel route, but a meandering one.

Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1418 after a journey by the American missionary J. Cantine, distances in hours which are equal to c. 2.3 miles/3.68 km. of travel each.

Summary: Ghubrah (4), Misfah (5), Bidbid (5.5), Sarur (2.25), Hisn Samail (3.25), Fanjah (6), Buwah (4), Lajal (3.25), NakhI (3.25), Ghubrat Bani Ruwahah (5), Hijar (5), Ibai (8), Burkah (7), Sib (6), Back to Matrah (8).

XIq. MATRAH TO QURYAT AND BACK

Source: Miles 1896 : 522-537, cf. Lorimer 1908 : 1416.

Summary: Matrah, Ruwi, Al Birain, Al Wasit, Naksa, Al Bir, Miss, Sibal, Akdah, Ghubra el Tam, Mezara, Hail el Ghaf, Kuryat ; Kuryat, Swakin, Heither, Muntheriya, Sarraya, Al Hajar, Al Birain, Muttrah.

XIr. RAS AL KHAIMAH TO BURAIMI

Source: Cox 1925 : 206-207.

Summary: plain of Sir, Falaiya, plain of Jiri, Dhaid oasis, Qala-Mahafidh plain, Misakin plain, village of Mas'udi, Jimi, Buraimi ; total journey of 49 hours camel marching.

- XIs. SAHAM TO YANQUL**
Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1417, after Gabriel and informants.
Summary: via Falaj-ash-Shakhariyin and Wuqbah in Wadi 'Ahin, 18 hours.
- XIi. SAIH HATAT TO WADI TAYIN**
Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1415.
Summary: a minor route in the eastern Hajar via Qahza Pass and Wadi Mansah; passable by camels; or over 'Amdah or Manqal passes, but more difficult.
- XIi. SHARJAH TO BURAIMI**
Source: Kemball 1856 : 116, 'Captain Hamerton's route (Abridged), in January 1840, from Sharjah to Brymee'; distances in hours.
Summary: Sharjah to Fellah (3); to Bir Mohafiz (10); Ghureef (3.5); Jabal Yiff (6.5), Buraimi (13); route considered difficult.
- XIv. SUR TO JA'ALAN**
Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1416, after Ward, Sylvester and Jones, Trans. Bombay Geog. Soc. 1847-1849.
Summary: Sur to Bani Bu 'Ali via Bani Bu Hasan.
- XIw. SUR TO SIB**
Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1415, after Lt. J.R. Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, vol. 1, London 1838.
Summary: Bani Bu 'Ali, Bani Bu Hasan, Kamil, Badiyah, Ibra, Samad, Manah, Nizwa, Tanuf, Saiq, Sharajah, up to Wadi Mi'aidin to Birkat-al-Moz, back to Nizwa, then up Wadi Samail to Sib.
- XIx. SUWAIQ TO DANK**
Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1417 after Gabriel and informants.
Summary: Wadi Bani Ghafir from Hoqain to Khafdi, after which is identical to Masna'ah-Dank route; 30 hours by caravan.
- XIy. SUWAIQ TO IBRI**
Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1416, after Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*.
Summary: Wadi al-Hawasinah and Wadi Adh-Dhula' to Miskin, Maqniyat, then up Wadi al-Kabir to Dariz, Ibri.
- XIz. SUWAIQ TO RUSTAQ**
Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1417, after Gabriel and informants.
Summary: via Wushail in Wadi Fara'; 8 hours.
- XIaa. WADI SAMAIL TO THE SHARQIYAH**
Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1415.
Summary: via Wadi al-'Aqq, « in favour with natives of the country ».
- XIbb. WADI SAMAIL TO WADI TAYIN**
Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1415.
Summary: a minor route in the eastern Hajar, via Qahza pass and Wadi Mansah, passable by camels.
- XIcc. WADI TAYIN TO DAGHMAR**
Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1415.
Summary: a minor route in the eastern Hajar, from the head of Wadi Tayin to the sea.
- XIdd. WADI TAYIN TO THE SHARQIYAH**
Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1415.
Summary: a minor route in the eastern Hajar up Wadi Khabbah from Ghubrat-at-Tam; character « not well ascertained ».
- XIee. YANQUL TO IBRI**
Source: Lorimer 1908 : 1417, after Gabriel and informants.
Summary: via 'Aridh in Wadi al-Khabir, down the Wadi to Dariz, on to Ibri, 9 hours by caravan.

XII. Routes Linking Southeastern and Northeastern Arabia

- XIIa. BURAIMI TO HOFUF.**
Source: Miles 1877:59-60.
Summary: first route runs from Buraimi to el-Dhafreh, Khotem, el-Seradih, Bedu el-Motowwa', Beinunah, Bedu Jerash, Sabkkeh Matti, el-Sala', el-Godha, el-Sakik, el-Hemrur, el-Taraf, el-Hasa; a second route runs from Buraimi to el-Johar, el-'Ankah, el-'Aweyneh, Bedu Showeybi, Da'fis, Bir el-Motowwa, Ghadir el-Lal, el-Sala', 'Aklet el-Nakhlet, el-Sakik, Salwah, Ba'ij, Bajash, el-Mena'iet; Miles 1877 : 56 noted, « there is no tract that can be followed, as the sand is blown about by the wind, but there appear to be two general routes, one of which is used more in winter, the other in summer; the first is straighter and shorter, the other passes near the sea,

is more winding, and after leaving the Sabkheh turns north for three days. The journey is not considered dangerous or difficult, as water is found in a great many places, though usually very brackish, and they seldom have to carry a supply for more than two days. Caravans very rarely make the journey, and travel only at night, taking about thirty days from el-Hasa to el-Bereymi. Troops as a rule travel by day only, their pace being a gentle amble, and they cover the distance in twenty to twenty-five days».

APPENDIX B

A NORTH-SOUTH ITINERARY FROM AL JAWF TO THE AREA OF SAN 'A'

GN: geographical feature

EN: ethnic designation

PLINY, NH VI, 157-159

1. Oppida Domat(h)a,
2. H(a)egra (A(e)gra, Egra),
3. Tamud(a)ei (Thamudeni),
4. oppidum Tha baclanaxa (Tha baciamidei),
5. Cariat(h) Tacitoali (Cariat (T)achoali) (Chinati thacalin),
6. oppidum Phoda (Foda, Foth, Tota),
7. Camin(a)ei (ac Min(a)ei) a (rege) Cretae Minoe, ut existimant, originem trahentes, quorum
8. Charmei (Carm(a)ei),
9. Ma(r)riba (Marippa) Palmalac(h)um (Paramalacum) et ipsum (non) spernendum, item
10. Canon (Carnon, Charnon),
11. Rhamma(e)i (Rhadamei, Narmaei, Marmei), et horum origo Rhadamanthus putatur, frater Minois,
12. Nomeritae (Hemeritae, Hamenitae, Harnitae) [Homeritae] Mesala oppido,
13. Hamirei (Amiroei),
14. Hamin(o)ei,
15. Gedranitae (Igodranitae, -ide, Gedramite),
16. Amphri(a)ei (Amphryei, Ampririaei, Amphoriani, Phryaei, Amptariae),
17. IIsanitae (Lysanitae, Lis-),
18. Bachylitae,
19. Samm(a)ei (Samnaei, Sannei),
20. Amaitaei (Amaythei, Amatheii),
21. oppidis Nossa (Nessa) et
22. Chonneseri (Chenneseri, Chennaesaeri, Cenneseri, Conosti) [Chos Sesarim],
23. Zamaren(e)i (Zamareni) oppidis
24. Sagi(a)tta (Sagitha),
25. Canthace (Canthate),
26. Bacasc(h)ami (Bachachami) Riphearina (Riphearina, Frarina, Arina) oppido, quo vocabulo hordeum appellat.
27. Authaei (Autei, Authaci),
28. Ethraui (et R(h)au, et Reui),

VON WISSMAN'S IDENTIFICATION

- GN Dumat al-Gandal / Al Jawf
 GN al-Hiḡr / Madain Salih
 EN Thamud
 GN Tabuk? (a late interpolation?)
- GN Qaryat dat-Kahil (Ja 635, 641, 643) (near At Ta'if)
- GN Sarum al-Fayd
 GN Kamina(hu) (KMNHW)
- GN Haram
 GN Marib (and) the castle of the kings?
- GN Qaran (area of mountain wadis)
 GN Radman
- GN al-'Assala, town of the Himyarites
 Himyar (duplication)
- GN Hadar
 EN inhabitants of Ma'afir ('M'FRN?)
- EN the al-As'ar ('S'RN)
 EN inhabitants of Bakil
 EN inhabitants of Sama'i (SM'Y)
 EN inhabitants of Ma'din, w. of San'ā'
- GN No'd (N'D)
 GN Haz Sassarim
- EN gu-'Amuran, inhabitants of 'Amuran
 GN Madinat as-Sallit
 GN Madinat al-Kuffar
 GN/EN Bakil gu-Hamir bi-'Arm (the Bakil of Hamir in the city of 'Arm)
 cf. a type of wheat *bakur*, *bikar*
- EN the 'Udr
 EN Banu Taur

(END OF THE NORTH-SOUTH LIST OF TOPONYMS)

THE ROUTE FROM QARYAT AL-FAU TO BABYLONIA

29. Cyrei (Cirei, Gyrei, Ginei) Elmat(a)eis (Elmatacei(s), et Mathataei),	GN	Qaryat al-Ma'arid = Qaryat al-Fau
30. Chod(a)e (Cod(a)e) Aiathuri (Auituri) in montibus oppido XXV p., in quo	GN/EN	Hauta, city of the kings of Kinda of Al Taur, 25,000 m. diameter, with the spring of 'Ayn an-Naqa (al-Hamdani), (spring of the camel) (in Aflağ)
31. fons (A)enuscabales, quod significat camelorum,	GN	spring of 'Ayn an-Naqa (al-Hamdani), (spring of the camel) (in Aflağ)
32. oppidum Ampelome, colonia Milesiorum,	GN	Ampe, a city at the mouth of the Tigris (late interpolation)
33. At(h)rida oppidum,	GN	(late interpolation)
34. C(h)alingi(i) (Calnigii), quorum	EN	inhabitants of al-Kharg
35. Mariua (Marina, in Arabia) oppidum significat dominos omnium,	?MR'H.	«her master»
36. oppidum Pallon (Palon),	GN	Bahrayn ?
37. Mu(r)ra(n)nimal iuxta flumen, per quod Euphraten emergere putant,	GN	Muhallim, spring/river
38. gentes Agr(a)ei,	EN	inhabitants of Hagar
39. Amoni (Amomi)	-----	
40. oppidum Athenae (Ath(a)ene)	GN	cf. Pliny VI 148 Attene
41. Caunaravi (-riui, Channara), quod significat ditissimos armento,	EN	Kauma' ra'aya, «very rich in herds»
42. C(h)or(r)janita(e)	GN	✓ Gabal Qurayn, west of al-Qatif
43. Ces(s)ani (Caes-, Ces-),	-----	
44. Choani (Ciani). fuerunt et Graeca oppida	EN	inhabitants of «flumina Chaenum», Pliny VI 147 ?
45. Arethusa	GN	Von Wissman located these three with Ampelome on the lower Tigris
46. Laris(s)a,		
47. Chalcis, deleta variis bellis.		

APPENDIX C

ROUTES POSTULATED BY SPRENGER ON THE BASIS OF PTOLEMY'S MAP OF ARABIA

The Incence Route from Petra to Hadhramaut

Group I The northern section, comprising routes leading from Petra, Philadelphia / Amman and Palmyra / Tadmor to Egra/al-Hiğr/Mada'in Salih.

1a. *Petra to Egra*

PTOLEMY	SPRENGER
206. Adru	Adzruh, i.e. modern Udhruh
207. Aramua	Aram (Qamus), Iram (Yaqt II, 318)
208. Acale	al-Haql, 9th station on the Egyptian pilgrim route; 16 miles from Aqaba (Yaqt)
209. Madiama	Madian, modern al-Bad; 12th station on the pilgrim route
211. Laba	al-Kilaba (Ibn Jurdabih); 15th station on the pilgrim route, 5 days from Egra (Ptolemy)
212. Egra	al-Hiğr, Mada'in Salih

1b. *Petra to Egra*

214. Nekia	'Aqabat (al-Schamyya, in contrast to 'Aqaba on the Red Sea); the first station after Ma'an on the pilgrim route from Damascus, followed by Gughayman (Medawwara), Dzat-Hagg, al-Qa', next
215. Ostama	Tabuk, based on Ptolemy's latitude of 69° 10', followed by Maghayir-Scho'ayb (Maghayir Qalanderryya), al-Achdar (al-Ochaydhir), Mo'atztam, next
216. Achrua	Aqra' (Oqayri', Mafarischalruzz, Darl Alhamra); 3 days from Egra according to Ptolemy, covered in 1 day by the pilgrims
212. Egra	al-Hiğr

2. *Philadelphia (Amman) to Egra*

221. Adra	al-Azraq, 2 days distant from Bostra
220. Corace	Qoraqir, where the route from Philadelphia joined the Roman road to Babylonia; at least 4 caravan marches from Philadelphia
220. Obaira	Wobayr; from here either via Banacha or Tauba eastwards to Euphrates
219. Obraca	Abraq al-Thamadayn ?

TRANSARABIAN ROUTES

153

218. Gaia ?
 218. Thaima Tayma', 3 or 4 days distant from Egra
 212. Egra al-Hiġr

3. *Palmyra to Egra*

223. Barathena 3 days' travel south of Palmyra
 223. Choke 1.5 days' travel from Barathena
 223. Alata 1.5 days' travel from Choke
 223. Erupa 2 days' travel from Alata
 223. Thaubā 2 days' travel from Erupa
 223. Artemita 3 days's travel from Thaubā
 222. Thapaya Feger ? (al-Muqaddasi), 2 days's travel from Artemita
 220. Obaira cf. Route 2, above
 219. Obraca « «
 218. Gaia « «
 218. Thaima 21 days, 3864 stadia from Palmyra
 212. Egra al-Hiġr

Group II - The middle section, comprising routes leading from Egra to Macoraba/Mecca

4. *Egra to Macoraba*

227. Machura Dzu-Marwa, 4 days's distant from both Egra and Iathrippa; the 4th station on the «Marwa» route out of al-Hiġr, after Qorh in the Wadi al-Qora, al-Rohba, and al-Soqya; from here the route went via Dzu-l-Morr in the Wadi Idham, al-Sowayda, and Choschob to
 231. Iathrippa Al Madinah, known as Yathrib until the advent of Islam
 232. Baiba al-Abwa (al-Mastura), the half-way stop between Madinah and Mecca
 233. Macoraba Mecca

5. *Egra to Macoraba*

228. Aysara in the wadi al-Qora, south of al-'Ula; from al-Hiġr the pilgrim route ran via al-'Ula, al-Matran, Bir Gadyd, Hedyā (Hisn-Banu-'Othman) c. 4 hours from Khaybar; alternatively, al-'Ula, Biyar al-Ghanam, Bir al-Zamarrod, to Bir Gadyd etc.
 229. Thumnu Khaybar
 230. Aluara Fadak, 2-3 days distant from al-Madinah; = Pliny's Phodac
 231. Iathrippa al-Madinah
 232. Baiba al-Abwa
 233. Macoraba Mecca

Group III - The southerly section, comprising the route leading from Macoraba to Sabbatha/Shabwa

234. Karna Qarn al-Manazil (Ibn Hurdadbiġ); 43 mi/2 days from Mecca, on the route leading to Iraq (al-Hamdani, 2.5 days according to Ptolemy)
 235. Thumala Tobala, 116 mi. from Qarn, covered by pilgrims in 6-6.5 days
 237. Karman Benat-Harb/Harm, 3 days from Thumala/Tabala according to Ptolemy and the pilgrims; cf. Pliny VI, 157, «Charmaei oppidum»
 238. Laatha Kothba, 2 days from Karman/Benat-Harm
 239. Mara Sa'da, 5 days from Kothba, 5 days from San'ā; 241. Amara is probably a duplication of the same
 240. Nagara Naġran, placed far to the East by Ptolemy
 242. Sylaiion Saulan or Silyam, 4 days from Sa'da and 3 from Marib
 244. Mariama Marib, cf. Mariaba (m/b interchanged)
 246. Thomna modern Timna', (Eratosthenes/Strabo Tamna, Pliny Tamna/Thomna); 1.5 days from Marib on the road to Hadhramaut
 247. Ouodona al-'Abr, the westernmost well in Hadhramaut, a hard days's journey from Shabwa
 248. Sabbatha Shabwa

A route from Mecca to Spasinou Charax

233. Macoraba Mecca
 234. Karna Qarn al-Manazil
 263. Phalagnou Falga, the seventh station out of Mecca, only 4 stages from Macoraba according to Ptolemy who may have been missing parts

264. Gorda al-Ġarad, capital of al-Qasim; 1 day from Anayza on the road to Basra; near modern Burayda
 265. Alata 'Alat ?, no such toponym in this area (not Alata oppidum)
 266. Sapha al-Sauda (Yaquṭ, al-Saudad or Suda, a desert stretch between Basra and al-Bahrayn)
 267. Gaesu ?
 Itamus portus

A route from Mecca to Hail

233. Macoraba Mecca
 234. Karna Qarn al-Manazil
 284. Salma Ma'din Banu Solaym, 4-4.5 days from Qarn, whereas Ptolemy puts the distance at 2.5 days (modern Ma'dan Bani Suleim)
 285. Jabri Rubadza, 3 days from Salma (al-Rabadah)
 286. Salma es-Seleime (as-Sulaymi)
 287. Arre Hail

A route from Gerrha to Petra

183. Gerra al-Ger'a, in the area of Hofuf
 269. Katara ?
 270. Giratha al-Qiryatan, «the double town» of Malham and Qorran, 5 days from Gerrha according to Ptolemy
 271. Biavanna al-Byna, 4th station out of Hofuf/Haḡar according to Yaquṭ, on the road to al-Yamama
 273. Marata Marat, NW of Shaqra in al-Qasim
 264. Gorda al-Garad, capital of al-Qasim
 274. Arre Hail, according to Ptolemy 5 days from Gorda, cf. distance from Burayda to Hail
 275. Aina Jubbah
 Dumaiṯa Dumat al-Ġandal/al-Jawf

A route from Gerrha to the frankincense region

183. Gerra al-Ger'a
 277. Inapha al-Na'f, 4 days from Gerrha according to Ptolemy, east of al-Yamama
 278. Irada 'Irdh (Ibn Ḥurdadbih) [Brice suggests Riyadh, I suggest Harad, halfway between Hofuf and Yabrin]
 279. Maocosmus Chidhrima, the old capital of al-Yamama
 280. Labris Yabrin
 280. Lalṯha al-Chinn, modern al-Khunn NE of Yabrin
 280. Accipitram v. ?
 280. Tiagar ?
 281. Ravana regia Nizwa or Rustaq
 282. Chabuata ?
 282. Aspa ?

APPENDIX D

Some of the routes proposed by A. Sprenger which are of interest here, arranged in a different order from that adopted by Sprenger:

Group I - Routes leading from Petra, Philadelphia / Amman, and Palmyra / Tadmor to Egra / al-Hijr / Madain Salih

1a. Petra to Egra	1b. Petra to Egra	2. Amman to Egra	3. Palmyra to Egra
205. Petra	205. Petra	221. Adra	223. Barathena
206. Adru/1	214. Nekla/1	220. Corace	223. Choke
207. Aramua/2		220. Obaira	223. Alata
208. Acale/1.5	215. Ostama/4	219. Obraca	223. Erupa
209. Madiama/1 + 1	216. Achrua/4	218. Gaia	223. Thauba
211. Laba/2		218. Thaima	223. Artemita
212. Egra/5	212. Egra/3	212. Egra	223. Thapaua
			220. Obaira etc.

TRANSARABIAN ROUTES

155

Group II - Routes leading from Northwestern and Northeastern Arabia to Macoraba/Mecca ?

4a. <i>Egra to Macoraba</i>	4b. <i>Egra to Macoraba</i>	5. <i>Dumaitha to Mac.</i>	6. <i>Itamus portus to Mac.</i>
227. Machura/4	228. Aysara	275. Aina/5	267. Gaesu
231. Iathrippa/4	229. Thumnu	274. Arre	266. Saptha
232. Baiba/2+4	230. Aluara	284. Salma	265. Alata
233. Macoraba/4+1	231. Iathrippa	285. Jabri	264. Gorda
	232. Baiba	286. Salma	263. Phalagnou
	233. Macoraba	234. Karna	234. Karna
		233. Macoraba	233. Macoraba

Group III - Routes leading to Gerra from Northern, Southeastern, and Southern Arabia

7. <i>Dumaitha to Gerra</i>	8. <i>167. Cauana / 166. Capsina to Gerra</i>	9. <i>Sabbatha to Gerra</i>
275. Aina/5	280. Atia	248. Sabbatha
274. Arre/2	280. Tiagar	256. Marimatha
264. Gorda	280. Accipitram vicus	258. Iala
271. Biavanna	280. Laltha	259. Omanum emp.
273. Marata		
270. Giratha	280. Labris	260. Ormani fontes
269. Catura	279. Maocosmus	282. Aspa
183. Gerra	278. Irada	282. Chabuata
	277. Inapha	281. Ravana regia
	183. Gerra	280. Tiagar etc.

Group IV - Routes leading from Mariama/Marib to Asir and Central Arabia

10. <i>Mariama to Acme</i>	11. <i>Mariama to Karna</i>
244. Mariama	244. Mariama
288. Albana	242. Sylaiou
289. Chagathaf	239. Mara Metropolis
290. Marasdu	238. Laatha
293. Magoulava	237. Karman
242. Sylaiou	235. Thumala
45. Acme	234. Karna

APPENDIX E

SOME INFORMATION ON THE SPEED OF TRAVEL BY CAMEL IN ARABIA

The literature of pre-modern travel in Arabia by traditional, non-motorized means contains a wealth of detailed information on rates of speed by individuals, raiding parties, and large caravans which has not yet, to my knowledge, been collected and digested by scholars working on the historical geography of the region. To that end, the relevant data encountered during the preparation of this study have been gathered here and arranged in chronological order. It is felt that, although relatively recent in date, this information is nonetheless of considerable value for the reconstruction of more ancient episodes in the history of Arabia.

Source: *Kemball 1856*: 115.

Summary: estimated that a camel covered on average 3 mi./4.8 km. per hour.

Source: Rosen 1865: 204, summarizing Guarmani.

Summary: after careful observation of his rate of travel, Guarmani estimated the normal walking pace of his camel to cover 86.21 m./minute, or c. 4776 m./hr, thus yielding an average speed of 4.776 km./hr.

Source: Wetzstein 1865: 409-410.

Summary: Hamed, a shaikh from Ar Rass who was Wetzstein's informant, reckoned distances as follows: in « days » for *deluls* or good riding camels on desert terrain, each day comprising 15 hours of riding; in hours for *deluls* travelling on good roads.

Source: Sprenger 1875: § 202.

Summary: the incense route as related in Pliny, *Natural History* XII, 14, § 63, from Thomna/Timna to Gaza reckoned at 1584 Roman miles or 65 mansiones camelorum, probably meaning 66 marches; 1584 = 66 marches times 24 Roman miles, which Sprenger estimated at 6 hours/day x 4 miles/hour to reach 24 miles/day (or 38.4 km./day which equals 6.4 km./hour over 6 hours, a fast pace).

Source: Euting 1886: 275.

Summary: Euting determined that his *delul* had a pace of 1.95 m., and covered 5500 double-paces/hour, i.e. 2750 x 1.95 m. = 5.3625 km/hour; riding c. 15-18 hours/day he covered c. 80 km./day; excellent riders could make a *delul* do 7500 (3750) double-paces/hour, while raiding parties that went out for four weeks sometimes rode 20-22 hours/day during the first 7-10 days, but after returning their *deluls* were not used again for the rest of the year, just grazed.

Source: Lorimer 1908: 1418, citing Cantine.

Summary: Cantine, travelling in Oman, calculated that in 1 hour of travel his camel covered 2.3 mi./3.68 km.

Source: unpublished notebooks of Capt. W.H.I. Shakespear in the Royal Geographical Society, London.

Summary: on Shakespear's 4th tour, in Feb.-March 1911, he covered 597 mi./955.2 km. in 205 hours = 2.912 mi./4.659 km. per hour; cf. his remark for 22.2.1911: « going very fair 2 3/4 - 3 mph », or for 24.2.1911: « going very fair 3 mph »; and cf. his remark of 14.1.1915 in his last letter to his brother, « hope you... had a better Christmas day than I had - mine was an eight-hours march of 24 miles ».

Source: Leachman 1914: 505.

Summary: « The camel rider whose duty it was to carry the post from Damascus to Baghdad generally covered an average of 60 miles a day for nine days, which makes a fine performance. The story is often told of the rider who, riding with urgent news to one of the Ibn Rashid chiefs at that time in Riadh, covered the 600 miles between Nejef and Riadh in 6 days, the camel dying as it came in. Burkhardt has a story of a camel who covered 115 miles in 11 hours ».

Source: Philby 1920b: 451.

Summary: estimated a caravan march of 150 mi./240 km. required 5 days, i.e. 30 mi./48 km. per day.

Source: Holt 1923: 260.

Summary: « 45 miles is a good day's journey for a riding camel », and further 1923: 267, « in the hot weather a camel cannot travel long journeys for more than two days without a drink, thus limiting his distance between watering-places to 80 miles, or, under extreme necessity, 100 miles, which involves travelling part of the time by night, when reconnaissance work is impossible ».

Source: Mackie 1924: 193.

Summary: speaking of the route between Hofuf and Uqayr: « An experienced rider mounted on a good camel would have no difficulty in covering the 49 miles between 'Oqayr and Hofuf, the chief town of the Hasa oasis, in six to seven hours, but caravan pace is very slow, scarcely averaging as much as 3 miles an hour, and not as a rule doing more than ten to twelve hours a day, except when crossing a long waterless stretch, when the animals will be pushed on to the full extent of their powers ».

Source: Cox 1925: 203.

Summary: « My journey from Abu Dhabi [to Buraimi] had taken fully forty hours of actual travelling, whereas Dr. Zwemer records that he did it in thirty-three, or that thirty-three is the ordinary time for a caravan. Although the position of Baraimi... makes it only 95 statute miles in a direct line from Abu Dhabi, I could not make it less than 100 miles' actual marching by the course which we had

TRANSARABIAN ROUTES

157

followed, calculating the rate of the caravan, which I frequently timed, at two and a half miles per hour. Travelling very light, it would no doubt have been possible to ride through in thirty-three hours, but I cannot imagine it being done in that time with a string of laden camels over heavy sand»; cf. 1925: 204, «The position of Baraimi... makes the distance from Ras al Khaima, as the crow flies, approximately 110 statute miles, that is, 10 miles longer than from Abu Dhabi. According, however, to the readings of the survey wheel, or 'perambulator', which Lieut. Scott and I took with us, the distance actually covered over the ground was 125 miles, and this receives corroboration from the time test of two and a half miles per hour, as it took our string of camels forty-nine marching hours, as compared with forty hours for the 100 miles from Abu Dhabi».

Source: Musil 1927: XIV.

Summary: «As we rode on camels only we soon learned the different rates of march per hour across regions of varying physiographic character. We were able to gain from this accurate data on the camels' rates of march when travelling for a considerable distance northward or southward, for then we could check our estimates of distance by the astronomically determined latitudes».

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159

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161

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AL-ḤĪRA: SOME NOTES ON ITS RELATIONS WITH ARABIA

M.J. Kister

THE RIVALRY between the Persian and Byzantine Empires over the control of the regions of the Arab Peninsula at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century is reflected in a number of traditions attributed to the Prophet and recorded in some commentaries of the *Qur'ān*. Qatāda (died 117 AH)¹ gives a description of the sad situation of the Arab population of the Peninsula before they embraced Islam, commenting on *Qur'ān*, VIII, 26: "And remember when you were few and abased in the land and were fearful that the people (*al-nās*) would snatch you away"². He describes their sorrowful economic situation, their going astray and their weakness, and states that they were "confined on a top of a rock between Fāris and Rūm" (*ma'kūfina 'alā ra'si ḥaḡarin bayna Fārisa wa-l-Rūmi*)³. "The people" (*al-nās*) mentioned in the verse of the *Qur'ān* are said to refer to Persians and Byzantines⁴. A ḥadīṭ reported on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās (died 68 AH) states that the Prophet interpreted *al-nās* as

1. See about him IBN ḤAḤAR : *Tahḡib al-tahḡib*, VIII, 355 (Hyderabad 1327 AH); AL-ḌAHABĪ: *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, III, 385, No. 6864 (ed. AL-BIḤĀWĪ, Cairo 1963).

2. Translation of A. J. ARBERRY : *The Koran Interpreted*, p. 172 (London 1964).

3. AL-SUYŪṬĪ, *al-Durr al-manṡūr*, III, 177 (Cairo 1314 AH); ṬABARĪ'S *Tafsīr*, XIII, 478 (ed. Maḡmūd Muḡ. ŠĀKIR and Aḡmad Muḡ. ŠĀKIR, Cairo 1958) contains the comment of Qatāda, but the mentioned phrase is inserted by the Editors with variants: "between the two lions (*asadayni*) Fāris and Rūm" and "*ma'kūfina*" instead of "*ma'kūfina*"; AL-SAWKĀNĪ, *Faḡh al-Qaḡir*, II, 287 (Cairo 1932—but the phrase is omitted); IBN KAṬĪR, *Tafsīr*, III, 303 (Beirut 1966—the phrase is omitted); AL-SAMARQANDĪ, *Tafsīr*, Ms. Chester Beatty, I, f. 252b (*kānū bayna asadayni bayna Qayṡara wa-Kisrā*).

4. AL-SUYŪṬĪ, *op. cit.*, ib.; AL-ṬABARĪ, *op. cit.*, ib.—but al-Ṭabarī prefers another interpretation, according to which "*al-nās*" refers to Qurayṡ, ib. p. 379; AL-FAYRŪZABĀDĪ, *Tanwīr al-miqbās*, p. 138 (Cairo 1290 AH) records that *al-nās* refers to Qurayṡ; AL-SAMARQANDĪ, *op. cit.*, ib.: *al-nās* refers to Persians, Byzantines and "*Arab*" who dwelt around Mecca; AL-BAYḌĀWĪ, *Tafsīr*, I, 183 (Cairo 1355 AH) . . . *wa-qīla li-l-'Arabi kaffalan fa-innahum kānū aḡillā'a fī aydi Fārisa wa-l-Rūmi*.

referring to Persians¹. Whatever the interpretation of the phrase in the verse discussed above, these early commentaries seem to mirror the apprehensions felt by the people of the Peninsula concerning the power of the two rival Empires and to bring out the impact of this rivalry on the life of the communities in the Peninsula.

The struggle between the two Empires, in which the two vassal-kingdoms of al-Ḥīra and Ḡassān took active part, was closely watched by the unbelievers and Muslims in the different stages of their context. According to the commentaries on *Qurʾān*, XXX, 1-2, the sympathies of the unbelievers of Mecca were with Persia whereas the Muslim community inclined towards the Byzantines². The victories of the Byzantines, it is stressed, coincided with the victories of the Prophet³.

The efforts of Persia to gain control over the region of al-Ḥiḡāz were noticed by R. Růžička, who assumed that the waning of the influence of Tamīm and the rise of the influence of Ḡaṭafān were caused by the action of Persian policy performed through the medium of the Laḥmid kingdom in order to get a foothold in this region⁴.

A tradition recorded by Ibn Saʿīd in his *Našwat al-ṭarab*⁵ reports

1. AL-SUYŪṬĪ, *op. cit.*, ib; but in ṬABARĪ'S *Ṭafsīr*, p. 478 the comment is attributed to Wahb b. Munabbih.

2. AL-ṬABARĪ, *op. cit.*, XXI, 16 (Cairo 1954, printed by Muṣṭafā al-Bābī AL-ḤALABĪ); AL-QURṬUBĪ, *al-Ġāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Qurʾān*, XIV, 1 seq. (Cairo 1945); IBN KAṬĪR, *op. cit.*, V, 342-43; ABŪ NUʿAYM: *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, p. 296 (Hyderabad 1950); ABŪ ḤAYYĀN: *Tafsīr al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, VII, 161 (Cairo 1328 AH); ABŪ L-MAḤĀSIN YŪSUF B. MŪSĀ AL-ḤANAFĪ, *al-Muʿtaṣar min al-muḥtaṣar*, II, 189-190 (Hyderabad 1362 AH); and see M. HARTMANN, *Der Islamische Orient*, II (Die arabische Frage), pp. 50-51, 511-514 (Leipzig 1909); R. BLACHÈRE, *Le Coran*, I, 418-20 (Paris 1920); MUḤ. HAMIDULLAH, *Le Prophète de l'Islam*, I, 18 (Paris 1959).

3. AL-QURṬUBĪ, *op. cit.*, XIV, 1-5; AL-ṬABARĪ, *op. cit.*, XXI, 16 seq.; IBN KAṬĪR, *op. cit.*, V, 348; of interest is a record reported by al-Qurṭubī: when the tidings of the victory of the Byzantines arrived many people embraced Islam, *op. cit.*, XIV, 2; and see F. ALTHEIM and R. STIEHL: *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike*, pp. 158-60 (Frankfurt am Main 1957).

4. R. RŮŽIČKA: *Duraid b. aṣ-Ṣimma*, I, 55 (Praha 1930): "Zda se, že v zaniĥnuti nadvlady Tamimovcu a v převladnutí ulivu Ḡaṭafanovcu třeba spatřovati účinky politiky perské, jež se snažila prostřednictvím političky vládnouti" . . . ["Il semble qu'il faille voir dans la disparition de la prépondérance de Tamīm et la montée de celle de Ḡaṭafān les effets de la politique perse, qui s'efforçait d'assurer sa domination en mettant en œuvre de petits moyens" (N.D.L.R.)].

5. Ms. Tübingen, f. 96 v. (See F. TRUMMETER, *Ibn Saʿīd's Geschichte der vorislamischen Araber*, Stuttgart 1928; and see G. POTIRON: *Un polygraphe andalou du XIII^e Siècle*, in *Arabica* 1966, p. 164).

an interesting attempt in Persia to cast its power over Mecca. When Qubāḍ embraced the faith of Mazdak¹ and deposed the Banū Naṣr who refused to accept it, al-Ḥārīṭ al-Kindī followed suit. Qubāḍ, the story relates, ordered al-Ḥārīṭ to impose this faith on the Arabs of Nağd and Tihāma². When these tidings reached Mecca some people embraced the faith of Mazdak (*fa-minhum man tazandaqa*) and when Islam appeared there was a group (scil. in Mecca-K.) of people who were indicated as former Mazdakites³. There were however people who refrained from embracing this faith. Among them was 'Abd Manāf, who gathered his people and stated that he would not abandon the religion of Ismā'īl and Abraham and follow a religion imposed by the sword. When al-Ḥārīṭ came to know about it he reported it to Qubāḍ. Qubāḍ ordered him to rush upon Mecca, to destroy the Ka'ba, to kill 'Abd Manāf and to abolish the leadership of the Banū Quṣayy⁴. Al-Ḥārīṭ was not willing to comply with the order; because of his partisanship of the Arabs he prevented Qubāḍ from it and Qubāḍ was busy with other people than Qurayš⁵. The tendency of this tradition is obvious: it tries to lay a heavy stress on the behaviour of 'Abd Manāf who remained faithful to the religion of Qurayš, the *dīn Ismā'īl*. The tradition may be spurious, but it points to the contacts which seem to have existed between al-Ḥīra and Mecca.

Ibn Ḥurdāqbeh in his *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*⁶ records a tradition according to which the *marzubān al-bādiya* appointed an *'āmil* on al-Madīna, who collected the taxes. The Qurayza and the Naḍīr—says the tradition—were kings who were appointed by them on al-Madīna, upon the Aws and the Ḥazrağ. A verse to this effect by an Anṣārī poet is quoted. It says:

1. *fī zamānī Qubāḍa sullānī l-Fursī lladī tazandaqa wa-ttaba'a maḍhaba Mazdaqā.*

2. *wa-amara l-Ḥārīṭa an ya'ḥuḍa ahla Nağdīn wa-Tihāmata bi-dālika.*

3. See ĠAWĀD 'ALĪ, *Ta'rīḫ al-'Arab qabla l-Islām*, VI, 287-88 (Baghdād 1957); he assumes that these "*zanādiqa*" of Qurayš embraced the *mağūsīyya*; this passage of *Naṣwat al-ʿArab* seems to give a new interpretation of the well known tradition about the "*zandaqa*" of some Qurayš. And see the list of these "*zanādiqa*" of Qurayš in IBN ḤABĪB's *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 161 (ed. Ilse LICHTENSTÄDTER, Hyderabad 1942).

4. "*fa-amarahū an yanḥaḍa ilā Makkata wa-yahdima l-bayta wa-yanḥara 'Abda Manāfīn wa-yuzila ri'āsata banī Quṣayyīn*".

5. "*fa-kariha dālika al-Ḥārīṭu wa-dāḥalathu ḥamiyyatun li-l-'Arabi fa-dāra'a 'anhum wa-ṣuğila Qubāḍu bi-ğayrihim*".

6. p. 128 (ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1889).

"You pay the tax after the tax of Kisrā: and the tax of Qurayza and Naḍīr"¹. Yāqūt quotes the tradition that the Qurayza and Naḍīr were kings driven out by the Aws and Ḥazrağ; the Aws and Ḥazrağ used formerly to pay tax to the Jews².

W. Caskel doubts whether Ibn Ḥurdāqbeh had had another source than this verse of one of the Anṣār³. Caskel's assumption can however hardly be accepted. The record given by Ibn Ḥurdāqbeh and Yāqūt seems to be based on a separate tradition to which the verse was attached. This verse attributed here to an Anṣārī poet occurs in the well-known poem of Ibn Buqayla; in the poem this verse has quite a different connotation⁴.

This tradition was discussed by H. Z. Hirschberg in his *Yisrael be-'Arav*⁵. Hirschberg does not accept the tradition as valid, arguing that this report is not confirmed by another independent source. He maintains that the people of al-Madīna were free (*bnei ḥorin*) with regard to Persia and Byzantium. It is not plausible—argues Hirschberg—that the 'āmil of the *marzubān* of Hağar, whose power was so weak in Baḥrayn, could have levied taxes in the North of Ḥiğāz.

Altheim and Stiehl consider the tradition sound. The 'āmil of al-Madīna represented the king of al-Ḥīra, on his side stood the "kings" of Qurayza and Naḍīr. This state of affairs—according to Altheim-Stiehl—could endure as long as the Jewish tribes dominated the immigrant Aws and Ḥazrağ, i.e. till the middle of the sixth century. How things went on later with the Sassanid 'āmil is unknown—state the authors⁶.

1. "Tu'addī l-ḥarğa ba'da ḥarāği Kisrā: wa-ḥarğin min Qurayzala wa-l-Naḍīri".

"Min Qurayzala" would mean "for Qurayza". The variant given in YĀQŪT'S *Mu'ğam al-buldān*, IV, 460 is "wa-ḥarği banī Qurayzala wa-l-Naḍīri".

2. YĀQŪT, *op. cit.*, ib.; and see ALTHEIM-STIEHL, *op. cit.*, p. 150, l. 4-5.

3. F. ALTHEIM-R. STIEHL, *op. cit.*, p. 149, n. 63.

4. See the poem AL-ṬABARĪ, *Ta'riḥ*, I, 2042; AL-MAS'ŪDĪ, *Murūğ*, I, 221-222 (ed. BARBIER DE MEYNARD, Paris 1861). A significant variant is given in ABŪ L-BAQĀ'S *al-Manāqib al-Mazyadiyya*, f. 34b (Ms. Br. Mus.): "ka-ḥarği banī-Qurayzala". Abū l-Baqā' states that 'Abd al-Masiḥ composed this poem eulogising al-Nu'mān, his son and his grandfather and waiting them after Ḥālid b. al-Walīd "imposed (scil. upon his people—K.) the ḡizya" (*lammā zahara l-Islāmu wa-ḥaraba Ḥālidu bnu l-Walīdi l-ğizyata*).

5. p. 122, n. 99, Tel-Aviv 1946; in this note an additional reference is given: AL-SAMHŪDĪ, *Wafā' al-wafā*, II, 269 (quoted from Ibn Ḥurdāqbeh, but without the verse).

6. *Op. cit.*, pp. 149-150.

Altheim-Stiehl are probably right in their assumption. A significant record of Ibn Sa'īd in his *Naṣwat al-ṭarab* gives important details about the continuity of the Sassanid control of al-Madīna after the Jewish domination had come to an end.

Ibn Sa'īd reports that battles often took place between the two fighting groups (i.e. the Jews, Aws and Ḥazrağ) ¹ and no rule was imposed on them until 'Amr b. al-Iṭnāba al-Ḥazrağī entered the court of al-Nu'mān b. al-Munḍir, the king of al-Ḥīra and was appointed by him (as king) on al-Madīna ².

In another passage Ibn Sa'īd furnishes us with further details about this event. The author records that 'Amr b. al-Iṭnāba was appointed by al-Nu'mān b. al-Munḍir as king of al-Madīna. The father of Ḥassān b. Ṭābit composed satirical verses about 'Amr and said:

*"Alīknī ilā l-Nu'māni qawlan maḥadṭuhu:
wa-fī l-nuṣṣi li-l-albābi yawman dalā'ilu
Ba'aṭṭa ilaynā ba'danā wa-hwa aḥmaqun:
fa-yā laylahū min ġayrinā wa-hwa 'āqilu"*

"Convey from me to al-Nu'mān a word which
[I said truthfully
for in good advise minds will have some day
[indications
You sent to us one from us—but he is a fool;
Lo! Would that he were from an alien people
[and be a wise man" ³.

Our knowledge of the life of 'Amr b. al-Iṭnāba is meagre. 'Amr b. 'Āmir b. Zayd Manāt b. Mālik b. Ṭa'laba b. Ka'b b. al-Ḥazrağ is a well known poet often quoted in literary anthologies ⁴. He is

1. See the interpretation of Hirschberg about the continuous penetration of the Bedouins and their raids against the Jewish population, *op. cit.*, 127 ult., 128 sup.

2. *Naṣwat al-ṭarab*, f. 55 v., inf.: "illā annahu kānati l-ḥarbu kaḥīran mā taqa'u bayna l-fariqayni wa-lam yastaqim lahum an yastabidda bihim malikun ilā an daḥala ilā l-Nu'māni bni l-Munḍiri maliki l-Ḥīrati 'Amru bnu l-Iṭnābati al-Ḥazrağīyyu fa-mallakahu 'alā l-Madīnati".

3. *ib.*, f. 57 v.: *wa-min šī'rihi fī 'Amri bni l-Iṭnābati l-Ḥazrağīyyi lammā mallakahu l-Nu'mānu bnu l-Munḍiri 'alā l-Madīnati: alīknī—etc.*

4. IBN ḤAZM, *Ġamharat ansāb al-'Arab*, p. 345, l. 17 (ed. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, Cairo 1948); ṢADR AL-DĪN, *al-Ḥamāsa al-Baṣriyya*, I, 3 (see the references supplied by the editor, MUḤTĀR AL-DĪN AḤMAD, Hyderabad 1964); AL-'ASKARĪ, *al-Maṣūn*, p. 136 (see the references given by the editor 'Abd al-

described as "the most honoured of the Ḥazraġ" ¹, as the "best horseman of his people" ², as a "king of al-Ḥiġāz" ³. The opinion of W. Caskel that the story of the meeting of 'Amr b. al-Iṭnāba with al-Ḥārīṭ b. Zālīm is of legendary character ⁴ seems to be sound. It is however noteworthy that Abū 'Ubayda stresses in his record that 'Amr b. al-Iṭnāba was a friend of Ḥālīd b. Ġa'far, the leader of the Kilāb, who was in close contact with the ruler of al-Ḥīra and who was murdered by al-Ḥārīṭ b. Zālīm ⁵ at the court of al-Nu'mān. The names of the persons mentioned in the stories about 'Amr b. al-Iṭnāba ⁶ like al-Ḥārīṭ b. Zālīm, Zayd al-Ḥayl ⁷, Ḥālīd b. Ġa'far, al-Nu'mān b. al-Munḍir, help us to fix the time of his life as the second half of the sixth century.

The tradition about the appointment of 'Amr as a "king", which meant in fact as a representative of al-Ḥīra and a collector of the taxes on al-Madīna, by al-Nu'mān seems authentic. Invention can hardly be suspected as there were no prominent men among the descendants of 'Amr who would have been interested to boast of this appointment. The two verses of Tābit, the father of Ḥassān, confirm the authenticity of the story, which is thus complementary

Salām HĀRŪN, Kuweit 1960); IBN AL-ŠAĠARĪ, *al-Ḥamāsa*, p. 112 (Hyderabad 1345 AH); IBN ḤABĪB, *Man nusiba ilā ummihi min al-šu'arā'* (*Nawādir al-maḥḥūfāt*, I, 95, 201—ed. 'Abd al-Salām HĀRŪN, Cairo 1951); AL-MUBARRAD, *al-Kāmil*, I, 89, IV, 68 (ed. Muḥ. Abū l-Faḍl IBRĀHĪM, Cairo 1956); *L. 'A.*, s.v. *ḥnb*; S. M. ḤUSAIN, *Early Arabic Odes*, p. 42-44 (Ar. text; and see the references of the Editor; and see pp. 41-42 of the English text—Dacca 1938). One of the descendants of 'Amr b. al-Iṭnāba was Qaraḏa b. Ka'b b. 'Amr, a Companion of the Prophet. See IBN ḤAZM, *op. cit.*, ib.; and see about Qaraḏa IBN ḤAĠĀR: *al-Iṣṣāba*, V, 236, No. 7092; IBN SA'ĪD, *Ṭabaqat*, VI, 17 (Beirut 1957); AL-MINQARĪ, *Waq'at Šiffīn*, p. 17 (ed. 'Abd al-Salām HĀRŪN, Cairo 1387 AH).

1. AL-MARZUBĀNĪ, *Mu'ġam al-Šu'arā'*, p. 203 (ed. F. KRENKOW, Cairo 1354 AH).

2. IBN DURAYD, *al-Iṣṭiqāq*, p. 453 (ed. 'Abd al-Salām HĀRŪN, Cairo 1958).

3. *al-Aġānī*, X, 28.

4. W. CASKEL, *Ġamharat an-Nasab, das genealogische Werk des Hišām b. Muḥ. al-Kalbī*, II, 170 (Leiden 1966).

5. *Aġānī*, X, 28; about the murder of Ḥālīd b. Ġa'far see *Aġānī*, X, 16; IBN ḤABĪB, *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 193; idem, *Asmā' al-muġṭālīna min al-ašvāf* (*Nawādir al-maḥḥūfāt*, II, 134-135, ed. 'Abd al-Salām HĀRŪN, Cairo 1954); IBN AL-AṬĪR, *al-Kāmil*, I, 338-39 (ed. 'Abd al-Wahhāb AL-NAĠĠĀR, Cairo 1348 AH).

6. In the record of the battle of Fāri' (IBN AL-AṬĪR: *al-Kāmil*, I, 409-410) the leader of the Ḥazraġ is "'Āmir b. al-Iṭnāba", which seems to be an erroneous reading for "'Amr b. al-Iṭnāba. (The verses are by 'Amr b. al-Iṭnāba).

7. *Aġānī*, XVI, 53.

to the tradition recorded by Ibn Ḥurdādbēh and attests the continuity of the Persian control over al-Madīna during the second part of the sixth century.

In order to secure the domination of al-Ḥīra the loyalty of the tribes was essential. Some formations of the tribes fought on the side of the military units of al-Ḥīra, tribal chiefs had to guarantee the security of the caravans sent by the rulers of al-Ḥīra which passed in their territory, rebellious chiefs had to be tamed and trade had to be made safe.

In order to secure the loyalty and co-operation of the chief of the tribe some prerogatives of the ruler were ceded to him. In this way the *ridāfa* was created. The *Ridf* sat—according to tradition—in the court of the king, on his right hand, rode with the king, got a fourth of the spoils and booty of the raids gained by the king and received some payment from the king's subjects¹. The *ridfs* are said to have had at the court the position of the *wazīrs* in the Islamic period². At the court of al-Ḥīra the clan of Yarbū' of Tamīm had the privilege of the *ridāfa*. Chamberlains, *ardāf*, of the kings, are mentioned as well in the tribe of Ḍabba³, in the clan of Taym⁴, in the clan of Sadūs (of Šaybān)⁵ and in the tribe of Taglib⁶. The institution of the *ridf* is often mentioned in ancient poetry. The Banū Yarbū' of Tamīm boasted that they were the *ardāf* of the kings of al-Ḥīra.

1. *al-Naqā'id*, pp. 66, 299, 809 (ed. BEVAN, Leiden 1905); AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *Ansāb al-ašraf*, ms., f. 992 b; AL-KUTUBĪ, *Fawā'id al-wafayāt*, II, 626 (ed. Muḥ. Muḥyī al-Dīn AL-ḤAṬĪB, Cairo 1951).

2. *L. 'A.*, s.v. "qšr"; KUṬAYYIR 'AZZA, *Diwān*, II, 49 (ed. Henri PÉRÈS, Alger-Paris 1930); and see ROTHSTEIN, *Die Dynastie der Lahmīden*, p. 133.

3. IBN AL-KALBĪ, *Ġamhara*, ms. f. 114 b; AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *Ansāb*, ms. f. 952 (Ḥulayla—or Ġulayla—b. Tābit b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā).

4. AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *op. cit.*, f. 933 b (The Banū Šihāb).

5. IBN DURAYD, *al-Ištiqāq*, p. 352. IBN QUTAYBA, *al-Ma'arif*, p. 45 (Cairo 1935); they were the *ardāf* of Kinda; and see ROTHSTEIN, *op. cit.*, ib., n. 2; and see the verse of LABĪD "*wa-ardāfu l-mulūki šuhūdu*" in his *Diwān*, p. 35 (ed. I. 'ABBĀS, Kuwait 1962); *L. 'A.*, s.v. "rdf"; AL-ṬA'ĀLINĪ, *Ṭimūr al-qulūb*, p. 144 (Cairo 1908); YĀQŪṬ, *al-Buldān*, s.v. *Ufāqa*; *Naqā'id*, p. 299; ABŪ 'UBAYDA, *Mağāz al-Qur'ān*, I, 315 (ed. Fu'ād SEZGIN, Cairo 1955); for the *ridāfa* of Mālik b. Nuwayra, see NÖLDEKE, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Poesie der alten Araber*, pp. 126-27 (Hanover 1864); and compare the saying of Wā'il b. Ḥuġr al-Ḥaḍramī to Mu'āwiya: "*Mā adunnu 'alayka bi-hādihī l-nāqati, wa-lākin lasta min ardāfi l-mulūki wa-akrahu an u'ayyara bika*"—AL-ṬABARĀNĪ, *al-Mu'ğam al-šağīr*, p. 242 (Delhi 1311 AH); IBN KAṬĪR, *al-Sīra al-nabawīyya*, IV, 154-55 (ed. Muštafā 'ABD AL-WĀḤID, Cairo 1966).

6. MUḤ. B. ḤABĪB, *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 204.

These socio-political conditions of the second part of the sixth century gave rise to another institution, that of the *Dawū l-ākāl*. Ibn Ḥabīb defines the *Dawū l-ākāl* as follows: "The *Dawū l-ākāl* are from Wā'il; they are the noble among them. The king used to grant them fiefs" ¹. A description of these *Dawū l-ākāl*, stressing their social position, is given by al-A'šā:

"Around me are the men of the fiefs of Wā'il
like the night (i.e. numerous), nomads and sedentary.
(Men) feeding on meat (i.e. the needy and the
[hungry—K.] in winter
and obliging the gambler of *maysir* to care for food
[(of the poor)]" ².

Further the *Dawū l-ākāl* are mentioned in another verse of al-A'šā in which the people of the *ākāl* are depicted as noble men serving the army of the king of al-Ḥīra.

"Your army is the inherited one, the excellent of
[the chiefs
The people of the leathern tents and the fiefs]" ³.

Ibn Ḥabīb shows a clear line between the tribes whose chiefs co-operated with Persia or with the rulers of al-Ḥīra and were granted fiefs as a reward and the tribes who pursued a policy of independence towards al-Ḥīra. As to Muḍar—states Ibn Ḥabīb—they were *laqāh*. They did not submit to the obedience of the kings (*lā yadīnūna li-l-mulūki*) except some clans of Tamīm, namely those whose abode was Yamāma and the adjacent regions" ⁴.

The case of fiefs granted by the rulers of al-Ḥīra to the loyal chiefs is well illustrated by the story of Qays b. Mas'ūd al-Šaybānī.

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 253; and see AL-MARZŪQĪ, *al-Azmina wa-l-amkina*, II, 191 (Hyderabad 1332 AH).

2. AL-A'ŠĀ, *Dīwān*, XVIII, 48-49 (p. 107)—ed. R. GEYER, London 1928:

"Ḥawli dawū l-ākāli min Wā'ilin:
ka-l-layli min bādin wa-min ḥāḍiri
Al-muṭ'imū l-laḥma idā mā šalaw
wa-l-ḡā'ilū l-qūta 'alā l-yāsiri".

3. AL-A'ŠĀ, *op. cit.*, I, 56 (p. 11) "Ḡunduḥa l-tālidu l-'atīqu min al-sādāli ahla l-qibābi wa-l-ākāli"; and see commentary: "al-ṭarīfu l-tālidu". AL-BAKRĪ, *Simṭ al-la'ālī*, p. 269 (ed. MAYMANĪ, Cairo 1936); but see AL-ZAWZANĪ, *Nayl al-arab*, p. 185 (Cairo 1328 AH): ḡunduḥa l-tālidu l-ṭarīfu min al-ḡarāti aḥlu l-hibāti wa-l-ukāli. The expression "people of leathern tents" denotes their high position in the tribe.

4. *Al-Muḥabbar*, p. 253.

Qays b. Mas'ūd was granted the lands of Ṭaff Ubulla by Khusrau II Parwez (after the death of al-Nu'mān III) against a guarantee that Bakr b. Wā'il would refrain from raiding the territory of the Sawād¹. Contrary to Šaybān the Muḍar were independent. And it is noteworthy that one of the strongest tribes of the federation of Muḍar was Tamīm².

Traditions of some importance about the relations between al-ḤĪra and the tribes are recorded by Abū l-Baqā'. Discussing the position of the kings of al-ḤĪra Abū l-Baqā' remarks that the Bedouins (*al-'Arab*), being used to blowing up things and to exaggerate, used to call the rulers of al-ḤĪra "kings". The Chosroes of Persia—states Abū l-Baqā'—granted the rulers of al-ḤĪra some territories as fiefs and as assistance for them in their governorship (scil. on behalf of the kings of Persia—K.). They collected the taxes of these territories and used them for their expenses. They bestowed from it presents on some of their own people and on people (of the Bedouins—K.) whom they blandished and tried to win over. Sometimes they granted them localities from the fiefs presented to them³.

Abū l-Baqā' points out that these fiefs granted by the Persian rulers were restricted to the border-lands in the vicinity of al-ḤĪra. The rulers of al-ḤĪra could not trespass these lands, because the territories (of Persia) belonged to the Dihqāns, who vied among themselves for their possession. Abū l-Baqā' remarks that the fiefs granted by the kings of al-ḤĪra were very meagre in comparison with the flourishing state of the country.

Of some interest is the passage in which Abū l-Baqā' records

1. *Al-Aḡānī*, XX, 132: "fa-wafada Qaysu bnu Mas'ūdin ilā Kisrā fa-sa'alahu an yaḡ'ala lahu uklan wa-tu'malan 'alā an yaḡmana lahu 'alā Bakri bni Wā'ilin an lā yadhulū l-Sawāda wa-lā yuḡsidū fihi; fa-aqta'ahu l-Ubullata wa-mā wālāhā"; and see ROTHSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 122; E. BRÄUNLICH, *Biṣṭām b. Qais*, pp. 12, 30-33 (Leipzig 1923); W. CASSEL, *al-A'šā*, in *EI*²; W. CASSEL, *Ġamharat an-Nasab*, II, 461.

2. Comp. ABŪ ZAYD, *al-Nawādir*, p. 61 (ed. Sa'īd AL-ŠARTŪNĪ, Beirut 1894):

"Fa-inna bayta Tamīmim ḡū sami'ta bihi:
fihi tanammal wa-arsat 'izzahā Muḍaru

3. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *al-Manāqib*, ms. f. 145 a: "... wa-innamā hānat al-Akāsiratu tuḡli'uhum mawāḡi'a minhu mu'ayyanatan, musammālan, taḡ'aluhā aḡ'imatan lahum wa-ma'ūnatan 'alā 'amalihim. Wa-hānū yaḡtabūna ḡarāḡahā fa-ya'kulūnahu wa-yuḡ'imūna minhu man šā'ū min ahlihim wa-man hānū yuṣāni'ūnahu wa-yastamilūnahu min al-'Arabi. Wa-rubbamā aqta'uhum ayḡan quran min ḡumlati iḡā'ihim . . .".

details about the amount of taxes collected by al-Nu'mān from the fiefs granted to him by the Persian king¹: "the sum of (the taxes collected from) the fiefs given by Kistrā to al-Nu'mān was 100,000 dirham. In some of the books of al-Ḥīra it was mentioned, that the lands given by Kistrā as fief were the *rustāq* of Saylahīn, Qaṭā'i' banī Ṭalḥa and Sanām Ṭībāq. This I have seen (i.e. read it) in a book".

The author identifies the names of the localities mentioned with names current in his time. They were located in the region of al-Naḡaf. The sum of the tax collected was a mere 100,000 dirhams, notwithstanding—as Abū l-Baqā' points out—the fertility of the lands, which yielded a yearly average of 30,000 *karr* in addition to fruits and other produce².

Al-Nu'mān granted some of these lands to some important persons. Sawād b. 'Adiyy (from Tamīm) was granted a place which was named after him "al-Sawādiyya"³. 'Abd Hind b. Nuḡam al-Iyādī got al-Ḥuṣūṣ⁴.

When Khusrau II Parvez appointed Iyās b. Qabīṣa as ruler over al-Ḥīra he granted him 'Ayn Tamr and eighty villages located on the border of the Sawād. Iyās b. Qabīṣa granted Aqsās as a fief to Mālik b. Qays and the place was later known as Aqsās Mālik⁵.

The interrelation between the rulers of al-Ḥīra and the friendly chiefs of the tribes is defined by Abū l-Baqā' as follows: "They

1. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, ib.: "wa-kāna qadrū iqlā'i l-Nu'māni min Kistrā mi'ata alfi dirhamin. Dukira fī ba'ḍi kutubi l-Ḥīrati anna llaḍī kāna Kistrā aqlā'a l-Nu'māna min al-bilādi rustāqu al-Saylahīn wa-Qaṭā'i' banī Ṭalḥata wa-Sanāmu Ṭībāqin. Kaḍā ra'aytu fī nushātin". For the Qaṭā'i' Banī Ṭalḥa see YĀQŪT, *al-Buldān*, s.v. *Naṣāstaḡ*. And see *op. cit.*, s.v. *Sanām*; and see AL-BAKRĪ, *Mu'ḡam*, s.v. *Safawān* and *Sanām*.

2. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 145 b: "fa-kāna ḥarāḡu ḍālika yuḡbā li-l-Nu'māni fī kulli sanatin mi'ata alfi dirhamin; ḥāḍā mā ḍukira 'alā 'izami irtifā'ihī li-ahlihi wa-ḥaṭrati mustaḡallihi li-mullākihi; wa-ḍukira annahu lā yu'rafu fī l-arḍi barriyyatun aḥṭaru ray'an wa-lā aḥaffu ḥarāḡan wa-lā aqallu ma'ūnatan minhā wa-annahā kānat tuḡillu li-ahliḥā fī kulli sanatin ṭalāḡīna alfa karrin ḥinṭatan bi-l-mu'addal siwā ḡayriḥā min al-ḡallāti wa-l-ṭamarāti wa-sā'iri l-aṣyā'i".

3. See YĀQŪT, *op. cit.*, s.v. *al-Sawādiyya* and *al-Sawāriyya*.

4. See YĀQŪT, *op. cit.*, s.v. *al-Ḥuṣūṣ*; this 'Abd Hind is said to have been a friend of 'Adiyy b. Zayd. (ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 146 a; and see the *Dīwān* of 'ADIIY B. ZAYD, p. 68 (ed. Muḥ. Ḡabbār AL-MU'AYYIB, Baḡdād 1965). From his descendants is said to have been the judge Abū Du'ād al-Iyādī. (ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 146 a).

5. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, 145 b.; see YĀQŪT, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Aqsās*, where the pedigree of Mālik is given as follows: Mālik b. 'Abd Hind b. Nuḡam b. Mana'a (but the story of the grant is not mentioned).

had governors on the borders of the country from al-ʿIrāq till al-Baḥrayn. Each of these governors ruled the Bedouins under his protection in the same way”¹.

But the kings of al-Ḥīra themselves were in fact merely governors on behalf of the Akāsira². The Bedouins did not submit to their obedience. Only clans and tribes dwelling in territories under the control of the rulers of al-Ḥīra were compelled to submit and to pay some taxes (*ilāwa*) as they dwelt in their territory. These tribes virtually feared to be crushed by their military forces. When the tribe departed and left the territory, thus being beyond the reach of the rulers of al-Ḥīra, it became unapproachable (*imтанаʿū*). “Obedience—maintains Abū l-Baqāʾ—did not mean for the tribes more than to refrain from raiding the Sawād and the border territories”³.

Tribes could thus be divided—according to the classification of Abū l-Baqāʾ—into three groups: a) The independent tribes, *laqāḥ*⁴, who raided the territory of the rulers of al-Ḥīra and were raided by them, b) tribes who concluded pacts with the rulers of al-Ḥīra on certain terms, and c) tribes who pastured in the vicinity of al-Ḥīra and were obedient to the rulers of al-Ḥīra. But even these tribes were blandished by the rulers of al-Ḥīra, who tried to win their hearts. The nearest neighbours of al-Ḥīra were Rabīʿa and Tamīm⁵. For the expression *laqāḥ* Abū l-Baqāʾ quotes the verses

1. ABŪ L-BAQĀʾ, *op. cit.*, f. 100 a: “*wa-kāna lahum ʿummālun ʿalā aṭrāfi l-bilādi min al-ʿIrāqi ilā l-Baḥrayni ḥakama kullu wāḥidin minhum maʿa (sic!) man bi-izāʾihi min al-ʿArabi fī ḥimāyatihī miṭla ḥāḍḍ l-ḥukmi*”.

2. Comp. Naqāʾiḍ, p. 299: “*wa-kānū ʿummāla l-akāsirati*”; AL-YAʿQŪBĪ, *Taʾriḥ*, I, 184 (al-Naḡaf 1964).

3. ABŪ L-BAQĀʾ, *op. cit.*, f. 99 b.

4. See L. ʿA. s.v. *lqh*; and see AL-ĠĀḤIZ, *Maḡmūʿat al-rasāʾil*, p. 59 (*Faḥr al-Sūdān ʿalā l-biḍān*, Cairo 1324 AH): “*fa-l-laqāḥu l-baladu llaḍi lā yuʿaddi ilā l-mulūki l-urbāna, wa-l-urbānu huwa l-ḥarāḡu wa-huwa l-itāwatu*”; in the new edition of ʿAbd al-Salām ḤĀRŪN, I, 187 (*Rasāʾil al-Ġāḥiz*, Cairo 1964) the word is read “*aryān*”; and see NÖLDEKE, *Delectus*, p. 42, l. 14.

5. ABŪ L-BAQĀʾ, *op. cit.*, f. 121 b: “*wa-ammā ḥaddu ʿizzihim fī l-ʿArabi llaḍina kānū fī l-laḡḍiri riʿāyā lahum wa-lahum ismu l-mulki ʿalayhim fa-qad taqaddama ḍikru ḥawnihim maʿahum ʿalā ṭabaqātin ṭalāṭin: al-laḡāḥi llaḍina kānū yuḡāzūnahum wa-aḥli l-ḥudnati llaḍina kānū yuʿāḥidūnahum wa-yuʿāḥiqūnahum, wa-hāḍihi mumāḷalatum wa-musāwātum min aḥli ḥātayni l-manzilatayni li-l-mulūki, hum wa-iyyāhum ʿalā ḥaddi sawāʾin. Wa-ammā l-ṭabaqatu l-ṭalāṭatu fa-humu llaḍina kānū yadīnuna lahum fa-kānū fī aḡṭari zamānihim aydan yuṣāniʿūna aḥla ḥāḍihi l-manzilati istimālatan lahum wa-taqawwiyān biḥim ʿalā man siwāḥum ḥallā anna l-malika kāna yahūnu maʿahum ḥa-l-muwallā ʿalayhi; wa-kāna aqraba l-ʿArabi minhum dāran*”.

of 'Amr b. Ḥawṭ al-Riyāḥi¹ and the saying of Abū Zam'a al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad when he opposed the crowning of 'Uṭmān b. al-Ḥuwayriṭ as "king" of Mecca on behalf of the Byzantine ruler².

As *Laqāḥ* the author mentions Asad b. Ḥuzayma and Ġaṭafān. They were independent in their relations with the kings of al-Ḥīra. Only few of them visited the court of al-Ḥīra as merchants, relatives or visitors³.

To the second group of tribes belonged Sulaym and Hawāzin. "Sulaym and Hawāzin—reports Abū l-Baqā"—used to conclude pacts with the kings of al-Ḥīra. They (nevertheless) were not submissive to them. They used to take their merchandise for them and to sell it at 'Ukāz and in other markets. Thus they got (in these relations) profits with them. Sometimes an individual or a group of them came to the king (of al-Ḥīra), took parts in his raids and shared with him (i.e. with the king) some spoils. Then they (i.e. the people of the tribe) departed. The caravans of the kings with their goods could only enter Nağd and go beyond Nağd with the escort of men of the tribes⁴.

This passage may shed some light on the battles of al-Fiğār caused by the murder of 'Urwa al-Raḥḥāl (from 'Āmir) by al-Barrāḍ (from Kināna)⁵.

The changing relations between the kings of al-Ḥīra and the chiefs of the tribes are reflected in the story of Hubayra b. 'Āmir b. Salama al-Quṣayrī of the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a and his son Qurra b.

Rabi'atu wa-Tamīmun. By Tamīm—of course—only some clans are meant, pasturing in the vicinity of al-Ḥīra.

1. See *Naqā'id*, p. 69: "Abaw dīna l-mulūki fa-hum laqāḥun"; (about 'Amr b. Ḥawṭ see W. CASSEL, *Ġamharat an-nasab* II, 176, l. 1 and AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *Ansāb al-aṣrāf*, ms. f. 992 b).

2. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 100 b; AL-MUṢ'AB AL-ZUBAYRĪ, *Nasab Qurayṣ*, p. 210 (ed. E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, Cairo 1953); AL-ZUBAYR B. BAKKĀR, *Ġamharat nasab Qurayṣ*, ms. Bodley, f. 74 b; AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *Ansāb al-aṣrāf*, IV B, 126 (ed. M. SCHLOESSINGER, Jerusalem 1938); IBN ḤANĪB, *al-Munam-maq*, pp. 178-185 (ed. Ḥuršid Aḥmad FĀRIQ, Hyderabad 1964).

3. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 100 b.

4. *ib.*, f. 102 a: "wa-kānat Sulaymun wa-Hawāzīnu tuwāliqūhum wa-lā tadīnu lahum; wa-ya'ḥudūna lahumu l-lağā'ira fa-yabi'ūna lahum bi-'Ukāza wa-ğayrihā fa-yuṣībūna ma'ahumu l-arbāḥa; wa-rubbamā atā 'l-malika minhumu l-rağulu wa-l-nafaru fa-yaṣḥadūna ma'ahu mağāziyahu wa-yuṣībūna ma'ahu min al-ğanā'imi wa-yansarifūna; wa-lam yakun lağā'imu l-mulūki wa-tiğārātuhum tadḥulu Nağdan fa-mā warā'ahu illā bi-ḥafarin min al-qabā'ili.

5. See W. M. WATT, *Muhammad at Mecca*, p. 11 (Oxford 1953).

Hubayra. Hubayra is said to have attacked the camp of al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundir, captured his wife al-Mutağarrida and taken booty and spoils¹. His son Qurra² was entrusted by al-Nu'mān to guard a caravan to 'Ukāz against Bedouins who were not obedient to the king of al-Ḥīra (*yaḥfiruhā 'alā man laysa fī dīnīhi min al-'Arabi*). The events took place when al-Nu'mān was compelled to flee before the Persian king. Qurra seized the caravan for himself. Then the Banū 'Uqayl came to the Banū Quṣayr asking for a share in the seized caravan, arguing that they were afraid of the possible consequences of the action of Qurra. When the Quṣayr refused to grant them a share, a quarrel flared up. Hostilities between the two clans were avoided when Quṣayr and 'Uqayl agreed to take as arbiter the famous leader of 'Āmir b. Ṣa'sa'a, Mu'āwiya b. Mālik nicknamed "Mu'awwid al-Ḥukamā"³.

This passage is instructive: while the father of Qurra is recorded to have attacked the camp of al-Nu'mān, al-Nu'mān was compelled to entrust the escort of his caravan to his son. It is an evidence of the weakness of the last ruler of al-Ḥīra and of fickle policy of al-Ḥīra toward the chiefs of the independent tribes of 'Āmir b. Ṣa'sa'a. It may be stressed that the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'sa'a were in close relations with Mecca and the interests of Mecca might have some bearings upon the attitudes and the actions of 'Āmir b. Ṣa'sa'a towards al-Ḥīra.

The clever use of intertribal feuds and hostilities by the rulers of al-Ḥīra to their own advantage is another aspect of the relations of al-Ḥīra with the tribes, analysed with deep insight by Abū l-Baqā'. There was always some fight between tribes—says Abū l-Baqā'. The kings of al-Ḥīra exploited it for their own ends; when they intended to raid a tribe they used to win the hearts of its enemies, to solicit the help of a group against another and "beat one by the

1. *Naqā'id*, p. 404; ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 129 a; AL-NĀBIĠA AL-ĠA'DĪ, *Dīwān* (ed. Maria NALLINO, Roma 1953), pp. 117, 119; IBN ḤAZM, *Gamharat ansāb al-'Arab*, p. 272; W. CASSEL, *Gamharat an-nasab*, II, 285.

2. See about him: *Naqā'id*, p. 405; IBN ḤAĠAR, *al-Iṣāba*, No. 7010, vol. V, 238 (Cairo 1907); IBN ḤABĪB, *Asmā' al-muḡtālina (Nawādir al-maḥfūḡāt)*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām HĀRŪN, VII, 244); IBN 'ABD AL-BARR, *al-Istī'āb*, p. 532 (Hyderabad 1336 AH); W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 472; ṬABARĪ, *Ta'riḥ*, II, 490 (Cairo 1939).

3. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 38 a; see about "Mu'awwid al-ḥukamā", IBN ḤABĪB, *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 458; W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 413.

156

M. J. KISTER

other" ¹. Considerable forces of a tribe used in fact to rally and join the troops of al-Ḥīra in order to fight together against a hostile tribe or in the hope of getting spoils and booty. After the raid the forces of the tribe departed to their abode and the kings of al-Ḥīra were left with their own forces only.

The co-operation between the kings of al-Ḥīra and the tribes in their military actions is well illustrated by the story of the raid of al-Qurnatayn. According to the report of al-Balāḍurī ² al-Nu'mān equipped his brother (from his mother's side), Wabara b. Rūmānis with strong forces of the Ma'add and others. He sent for Ḍirār b. 'Amr al-Ḍabbi who came with 9 sons, each of whom already experienced in warfare and leadership ³. Another leader of the Ḍabba, Ḥubayš b. Dulaf ⁴, came as well. Al-Nu'mān sent with them to Mecca a caravan and instructed them to attack the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a after they had finished their trading transactions. The cause of this raid is given in the version of Ibn al-Aṭīr ⁵: the forces of al-Ḥīra and their allies were sent against the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a in retaliation for an attack of the Banū 'Āmir on a caravan of al-Nu'mān sent by him to 'Ukāz.

When Qurayš returned from 'Ukāz to Mecca, these forces of the king under the command of his brother attacked the Banū 'Āmir. The Banū 'Āmir, however, having been warned by 'Abd Allāh b. Ğud'ān, fought with great bravery and defeated the forces of the king of al-Ḥīra. Ḍirār b. 'Amr, the leader of the Ḍabba, was rescued by his sons when he was attacked by Abū Barā'a 'Āmir b. Mālik (the brother of Mu'āwiya b. Mālik, the uncle of the poet 'Āmir b. Ṭufayl), one of the leaders of the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a ⁶. Ḥubayš b. Dulaf was captured by a sign of Ḍirār b. 'Amr ⁷. Wabara b.

1. ABŪ L-BALĀḌURĪ, *op. cit.*, f. 100 a: "*wa-kānati l-'Arabu ayḍan lā taḥlū fī dā'i baynihā min al-dimā'i wa-l-ḥurūbi wa-l-muḡāwarāti fimā baynahum . . . wa-kāna l-maliku idā arāda ḡazwala ḥayyin min al-'Arabi istamāla a'dā'ahum 'alayhim . . . wa-istanḡada bi-qawmin 'alā qawmin wa-ḡaraba ba'ḡahum bi-ba'ḡin*".

2. AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *Ansāb*, ms. f. 948 b.

3. IBN AL-KALBĪ, *Ġamhara*, ms. f. 112 b; and see W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 242.

4. See about him W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 327.

5. IBN AL-AṬĪR, *al-Kāmil*, I, 391 ("*yawm al-Sullān*"); and comp. IBN 'ABD RABBĪHĪ, *al-'Iqd al-farīd*, III, 335 (Cairo 1935—"yawm al-Sarayān").

6. See IBN ḤAḤḤAR, *al-Iṣāba*, No. 4417; W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 161.

7. According to the version of IBN AL-KALBĪ, as recorded by AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *Ansāb*, ms. ff. 949 a and 956 b he was killed at the "Day of al-Qurnatayn". (*wa-qāla bnu l-Kalbī: qutila Ḥubayšun fī yawmi l-Qurnatayn*).

Rūmānis was captured by the warrior and poet Yazīd b. al-Ṣaʿīq¹. He freed him after he had paid a ransom of 1000 camels, 2 singing girls and an allotment of his possessions. The defeated forces were led back to al-Nuʿmān by Ḍirār b. ʿAmr. The victory of the ʿĀmir was mentioned in the verses of Yazīd b. al-Ṣaʿīq:

“*Tarakna aḥā l-Nuʿmāni yarsufu ʿāniyan:*

wa-ḡaddaʿna aḡnāda l-mulūki l-ṣanāʿiʿā”

“They left the brother of al-Nuʿmān walking in

[shackles as captive

and mutilated the troops of the kings, the *ṣanāʿiʿ*”².

An interesting aspect of the battle is brought out in the version of Abū l-Baqāʾ: Yazīd b. al-Ṣaʿīq came to al-Nuʿmān with his brother, the captive, asking the promised ransom. Al-Nuʿmān asked him how it happened that a corpulent man like his brother was captured by a Yazīd b. al-Ṣaʿīq (a man of short stature). Yazīd answered: “His people were absent, my people attended (the battle)”. It is of course a hint, that his tribe, the attacked one (ʿĀmir) were superior in battle to the mercenary troops of the *Ṣanāʿiʿ*³. The Kalb, the tribe of Wabara, did not take part in the battle; Wabara was a leader appointed by the ruler of al-Ḥīra.

For understanding of the policy of al-Ḥīra it may be mentioned that this very Ḍirār b. ʿAmr—according to a tradition recorded by Abū l-Baqāʾ in his *Manāqib*⁴—attacked the camp of al-Munḍir, the father of al-Nuʿmān. It happened when al-Munḍir returned to al-Ḥīra from his visit to al-Ḥārīṭ b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḍamḍam al-Kalbī⁵,

1. See about him W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 593; according to the version of AL-MUFARRĀD AL-ḌABBĪ recorded by AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *op. cit.*, f. 956 b, he captured Ḥassān b. Wabara, the brother of al-Nuʿmān (from his mother’s side) who led the Ḍabba in this raid and who was appointed by his brother, al-Nuʿmān, on the Ribāb.

2. So in the account of ABŪ L-BAQĀʾ, *op. cit.*, ms. f. 126 a, 21 b; in the account of AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *op. cit.*, 948 b.

“*wa-ḡaddaʿna Murran wa-l-mulūka l-ṣanāʿiʿā*”.

3. ABŪ L-BAQĀʾ mentions as well another version recorded from the descendants of Ibn al-Ṣaʿīq (“*wa-fī riwāyatīn uḥrū ʿan wulḍi Yazīda bni l-Ṣaʿīq*”), according to which the king of al-Ḥīra was al-Munḍir, not al-Nuʿmān. (About Muʿāḍ b. Yazīd b. al-Ṣaʿīq who opposed the *ridḍa* see: IBN ḤAĀAR, *al-Iṣāba*, No. 8425; about Yazīd b. Qays b. Yazīd b. al-Ṣaʿīq see AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *Ansāb*, ms. f. 942 b); about Umāma bint Yazīd b. ʿAmr b. al-Ṣaʿīq see IBN ḤABĪB, *al-Munammaq*, p. 8).

4. f. 128 b; another version: AL-ḌABBĪ, *Amṭāl al-ʿArab*, p. 6.

5. See ROTHSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 108, n. 3.

with the gift given to him by al-Ḥārīt: the bondswoman Salmā, his later wife, the mother of his son al-Nu'mān. Only by the intercession of al-Ḥārīt b. Ḥiṣn—did Ḍirār agree to return the seized property of al-Munḍir, inter alia the bondswoman Salmā.

Some time after the battle of al-Qurnatayn ¹ Ḍirār attended the market of 'Ukāz ². Ḍirār attended the battle as an aged man. He is said to have visited the court of al-Munḍir b. Mā' al-Samā', had quarrelled with Abū Marḥab, Rabī'a b. Ḥaṣaba b. Aznam of the Yarbū' ³ and had cut his forearm. He asked for the protection of the king failed to grant him protection. He was granted the protection of Ğuṣayš (or Ḥuṣayš) b. Nimrān al-Riyāhī ⁴.

Of interest are the relations of Ḍirār with Tamīm; he gave his daughter Mu'āḍa as wife to Ma'bad b. Zurāra ⁵. The version of Ibn al-Aṭīr states that al-Nu'mān summoned with the Banū Ḍabba the Banū Ribāb and Tamīm; they responded and took part in the battle.

Some verses of Aws b. Ḥaḡar ⁶, Labīd ⁷ and Yazīd b. al-Ṣa'iq ⁸ give the impression that the battle was a grave one.

It is noteworthy that Ibn al-Aṭīr stresses in his report (on the authority of Abū 'Ubayda), that the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a were Ḥums, kindred with the Qurayš and that they were *Laqāḥ*. (*kāna Banū 'Āmiri bni Ṣa'ṣa'ata ḥumsan, wa-l-ḥumsu Qurayṣun wa-man lahu fihim wilādātun*). This points to the connections between Qurayš and the 'Āmir and explains why 'Abd Allāh b. Ğud'ān ⁹ sent to

1. See about the battle: YĀQŪT, *Buldān*, s.v. *Sullān*; IBN ḤAZM, *Ġamharat ansāb al-'Arab*, p. 194; about the location of the place: U. THILO, *Die Ortsnamen in der altarabischen Poesie*, s.v. *Lubān*, 'Uyūn (Wiesbaden 1958).

2. IBN ABĪ L-ḤADĪD, *Šarḥ Nahḡ al-Balāḡa*, IV, 308, 362 (Cairo 1329 AH).

3. About Abū Marḥab see: IBN ḤABĪB, *Asmā' al-muḡtālīna (Nawādir al-maḡtālīn)*, VII, 139; about the quarrel between Ḍirār and Abū Marḥab see AL-ḌABBĪ, *Amtāl al-'Arab*, p. 15; about Ḍirār at the court of al-Ḥīra see AL-MAYDĀNĪ, *Maḡma' al-amtāl*, I, 44 (Cairo 1352 AH).

4. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 137 b.

5. AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *Ansāb*, ms. f. 948 b, 954 a; IBN ABĪ L-ḤADĪD, *op. cit.*, IV, 308; AL-ĠĀḤIẒ, *al-Bayān*, I, 168 (ed. AL-SANDŪBĪ, Cairo 1932).

6. *Dīwān*, p. 6 (ed. Muḡ. Yūsuf NAĠM, Beirut 1960).

7. *Šarḥ Dīwān Labīd*, p. 133 (ed. Iḥsān 'ABBĀS, Kuwait 1962); see note 2 of the editor, who did not identify the battle.

8. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 126 b, inf.: "wa-naḡnu ḡadāta l-Qurnatayni tawāḡhaqat: ḡanāḡīḡu yam'aḡna l-ḡubāra ḡawā'i'a. Bi-kulli sinānin fi l-qanāti taḡāluku: Ṣihāban fi zulmati l-layli sāfi'a. [Tara]knā Ḥubayṣan ḡina arḡafa naḡduhu: yu'aliḡu ma'sūran 'alayḡi l-ḡawāmi'a".

9. See about him: IBN HIŠĀM, *al-Sīra*, I, 141 (ed. AL-SAQQĀ, AL-ABYĀRĪ, ŠALABĪ, Cairo 1936); AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *Ansāb*, I, 74, 101 (ed. Muḡ. ḤAMĪDULLĀH,

warn Banū 'Āmir of the approaching forces of al-ḤĪra, enabling them to prepare themselves for battle. One may assume that there was some co-operation between Qurayš and 'Āmir, that Mecca had some influence on the actions of 'Āmir and that this had some bearing on the attitude of 'Āmir towards al-ḤĪra.

It is plausible, that the booty of the raided caravan of the king of al-ḤĪra was sold at 'Ukāz; a case of this kind is recorded in Ibn Ḥabīb's *al-Munammaq* ¹.

For understanding of the relations between al-ḤĪra and the tribes the reports about the taxes collected by the kings of al-ḤĪra and the position of the tax-collectors are of some importance. Analyzing the sources of income of the rulers of al-ḤĪra and the position of al-ḤĪra Abū l-Baqā' mentions the income from the fiefs of al-'Irāq and states: "That was the amount of their income from al-'Irāq. But the bulk of their revenues for their livelihood and their profits was gained from trade, from booty of their raids against the Bedouins, against the border lands of Syria, against every territory they could raid and from collection of taxes from the obedient tribes; they collected in this way great quantities of cattle" ².

The rulers of al-ḤĪra appointed the leaders of friendly tribes as collectors of taxes, as military leaders of divisions of their forces and as officials in territories in which they exercised some control. 'Amr b. Šarik, the father of al-Ḥawfazan, was in charge of the police troops of al-Munḍir and al-Nu'mān (*waliya šuraḥa l-Munḍiri wa-l-Nu'māni min ba'dihī*),³ Sinān b. Mālik of the Aws Manāt (of the Namir b. Qāsiṭ) was appointed by al-Nu'mān b. al-Munḍir as governor of Ubulā ⁴.

In the service of 'Amr b. Hind there was the Tamīmī al-Ġallāq b.

Cairo 1959); IBN KAṬĪR, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, I, 116-117 (ed. Muṣṭafā 'ABD AL-WĀḤID, Cairo 1964); AL-MUŠ'AB AL-ZUBAYRĪ, *Nasab Qurayš*, p. 291.

1. IBN ḤABĪB, *al-Munammaq*, p. 428-29.

2. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, I, 145 a: "fa-hādā kāna qadra našibi l-qawmi min al-'Irāqi. Wa-innamā kāna ḡulla ma'āsihim wa-akḥara amwālihim mā kānū yuṣībūnahū min al-arbāhi fī l-tiḡārāti wa-yaḡnimūnahū min al-maḡāzi wa-l-iḡārāti 'alā l-'Arabi wa-aḥrāfi l-Šāmi wa-hulli arḍin yumkinuhum ḡazwuhā wa-yaḡṭabūna l-ilāwala mimman dāna lahum wa-zaḡfirū bihi min al-'Arabi; fa-yaḡṭami'u lahum min dālika l-kaḡīru min al-an'āmi".

3. IBN AL-KALBĪ, *op. cit.*, I, 205 a.

4. IBN AL-KALBĪ, *op. cit.*, I, 232 a; W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 513; these Aws Manāt were exterminated by Ḥālid b. al-Walīd in the wars of the *ridā*. (see IBN ḤAZM, *Ġamharat ansāb al-'Arab*, p. 284).

Qays b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Hammām¹. He is mentioned in a verse of Diġāḡa² b. 'Abd Qays quoted in the *Ihliyyārayn*³ as a leader of an attacking troop together with al-Ḥārīt b. Bayba⁴ and Ḥāḡib⁵. Ḡallāq was sent by 'Amr b. Hind to submit the Taġlib; he raided them and killed many of them⁶. This event is mentioned by al-Ḥārīt b. Ḥilliza in his *Mu'allaqā*⁷. According to *Aġānī*⁸ and the commentary of al-Tibrizī⁹ al-Ḡallāq was in charge of the white camels (*haġā'in*) of al-Nu'mān¹⁰. According to *Siml al-La'ālī*¹¹ he was appointed by al-Nu'mān who put him in charge of the white camels of the tribes adjacent to his country (*ista'malahu l-Nu'mānu bnu l-Mundiri 'alā haġā'ini man yalī arḡahu min al-'Arab*). The report of al-Bakrī indicates that al-Ḡallāq was entrusted with collecting taxes. 'Uqfān b. 'Aṣim al-Yarbū'ī hid from al-Ḡallāq—

1. So IBN AL-KALBĪ, *op. cit.*, and AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *Ansāb*, "Ḡallāq"; in some other sources "'Allāq"; see W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 271.

2. IBN AL-KALBĪ, *op. cit.*, f. 98; W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 232; AL-WAZĪR AL-MAGRĪBĪ, *al-Īnās bi-'ilmi l-ansāb*, Ms. Br. Mus., f. 37 b; he was from the Taym b. 'Abd Manāt b. Udd. See AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *op. cit.*, f. 929 b.

3. S. M. ḤUSAYN, *Early Arabic Odes*, p. 199, transl. p. 161, commentary p. 320. The pedigree in the commentary: 'Allāq b. 'Abdallah b. Hammām al-Riyāhi (his brother Qays b. 'Abd Allāh mentioned as well). Dū l-Kīr is said to have been al-Ḥārīt b. Munabbih b. Qurṭ b. Sufyān b. Muġāšī'. But Munabbih is a mistake; read: "al-Ḥārīt b. Bayba" (Comp. v. 13 of the poem).

4. This verse:

"Taġarrada 'Allāqun ilaynā wa-Ḥāḡibun:
wa-Dū l-Kīri yad'u yū-la Ḥanzalata rhabū"

is rendered by S. M. Ḥusayn:

"There come helter-skelter to us 'Allaq and Ḥāḡib:
and Dū l-Kīr crying: Ho Ḥanzala: ride forth".

About al-Ḥārīt b. Bayba see W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 305, 221.

5. Ḥāḡib—obviously Ḥāḡib b. Zurāra.

6. IBN QUTAYBA, *al-Ma'ānī al-habīr*, p. 1012 (ed. F. KRENKOW, Hyderabad 1949).

7. And see IBN AL-KALBĪ, *op. cit.*, f. 72 a and AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *op. cit.*, f. 993 b.

8. *Aġānī*, IX, 173.

9. *Ṣarḡ al-qaṣa'id al-'aṣy*, p. 275 ("al-Muniriyya" Print, 1352 AH).

10. See T. NÖLDEKE, *Fünf Mo'allaqāt*, I, 76. And see about his son al-'Aḡfāq b. al-Ḡallāq, who was killed by the 'Abs: *Naqā'id*, p. 336; AL-ḤUṬAY'A, *Dīwān*, p. 323 (ed. Nu'mān Amīn ṬĀḤĀ, Cairo 1958); AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *op. cit.*, f. 929 b.

11. AL-BAKRĪ, *Siml al-la'ālī*, p. 746 (ed. AL-MAYMANĪ, Cairo 1936); and see L. 'A., s.v. *zif*; according to al-Balāḍurī, *op. cit.*, f. 798 b 'Uqfān b. Qays b. 'Aṣim came to Arwā bint Kurayz (another version: the visitor was Mutammim b. Nuwayra). A verse of 'Uqfān see IBN QUTAYBA, *al-Ma'ānī al-habīr* p. 105; and see AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *Ansāb*, V, 1 (ed. S. D. GOITEIN, Jerusalem 1936); he is said to have been a companion of the Prophet (see IBN ḤAḠAR, *al-Iṣāba*, No. 5619).

AL-ḤĪRA

161

according to this report—his white camels. When pursued by al-Ġallāq he went to al-Nu‘mān with the herd and asked for his protection. He was in fact granted protection and al-Nu‘mān “did not take anything from his herd” (*wa-lam ya’ḥud minhā*—i.e. *al-ibil—šay’an*).

The story of al-Ġallāq illustrates the relations which existed between al-ḤĪra and a chief of a tribal group. Al-Ġallāq was entrusted by the king of al-ḤĪra to subdue the Taġlib, he commanded a military unit and it is plausible that he had at his disposal some force for carrying out his task as tax collector. This may explain how the kings of al-ḤĪra could impose their rule on tribal groups in cooperation with friendly chiefs and loyal tribal forces.

A clash between the tax-collector of al-ḤĪra and a clan grew into a clash between tribal units. According to the tradition recorded in *al-‘Iqd*¹ on the authority of Abū ‘Ubayda—the Banū Usayyid (a clan of the ‘Amr b. Tamīm) captured Wā’il b. Ṣuraym al-Yaškūrī (from Bakr b. Wā’il) and killed him. When they killed him they chanted: “*Yā ayyuhā l-mā’ihu dalwī dūnaka*”². His brother Bā’iṭ, raided the Usayyid, killed a nobleman of this clan and upon his body he killed 100 men of the same clan. This version is also given by al-Bakrī in *Mu‘ġam mā sta‘ġam*³.

According to another version given by al-Bakrī⁴ Wā’il b. Ṣuraym was sent by ‘Amr b. Hind as tax-collector (*ba‘aṭahu sā‘iyan*) of the Banū Tamīm. They threw him into a well and stoned him. He was killed by the clan of Usayyid.

A more detailed version is given by al-Riyāšī in his commentary of the *Ḥamāsa*⁵. All the clans of Tamīm paid the demanded tax (*al-itāwa*) to Wā’il b. Ṣuraym. When he came to the Usayyid they collected the cattle and sheep (scil. of the tax) and ordered them to be counted. When he was sitting on the side of a well there came an elder of the Usayyid and catching him unaware pushed

1. IBN ‘ABD RABBIHI, *al-‘Iqd al-farīd*, III, 354.

2. See this verse: AL-MARZŪQĪ, *al-Azmina wa-l-amkina*, II, 159; AL-FARRĀ’, *Ma‘ānī al-Qur’ān*, I, 323, (ed. NAĠĀTĪ—AL-NAĠĠĀR, Cairo 1955); L. ‘A., s.v. *myḥ*; AL-ANṢĀRĪ, *Šuḏūr al-ḡahab*, p. 436 (ed. Muḥ. Muḥyi al-Dīn ‘ABD AL-ḤAMĪD, Cairo 1942).

3. *Mu‘ġam mā sta‘ġam*, s.v. *Ḥāġir*.

4. *ib.*, s.v. *Ṭuwaylī*.

5. AL-TIBRĪZĪ, *Šarḥ Diwān al-Ḥamāsa*, II, 112-113 (ed. Muḥ. Muḥyi al-Dīn ‘ABD AL-ḤAMĪD, Cairo 1938); and see AL-BAKRĪ, *Siml*, pp. 286, 476 (see the references given by AL-MAYMANĪ in note 5).

him into the well. The clan assembled and stoned him to death. His brother Bā'it̄ decided to avenge him, and together with his clan the Ġubar of Yaškur, attacked the Banū Usayyid. His vow to fill the well with the blood of Usayyid was fulfilled; when some of them lowered the bucket into the well it came up full of blood.

Poets of Yaškur mentioned the event in their verses. The event is recorded in al-Wazīr al-Maġribī's *Īnās*¹ and Abū l-Baqā's *Manāqib*². The clash lived long in the memory of the two clans, as is evident from the curses in these clans: "*Ta'isat Ġubar, la'isat Usayyid*"³.

W. Caskel denies the historical value of the story⁴. This may be true. But the story faithfully reflects the attitude of the tribes towards the tax-collectors, their hatred towards them and the acts of violence committed against them.

Refusal to pay taxes to the king of al-Ḥīra was the cause of a raid made by the troops of al-Nu'mān against Tamīm. The story recorded by al-Mubarrad⁵ on the authority of Abū 'Ubayda says that Tamīm refused to pay the tax to al-Nu'mān. He sent against them his brother al-Rayyān b. al-Munḍir at the head of troops which belonged mainly to Bakr b. Wā'il. They raided the Tamīm, captured children and took their cattle as spoils. Abū l-Mušamraġ al-Yaškuri ('Amr b. al-Mušamraġ) composed a poem in which he described the defeat of Tamīm:

*"Lammā ra'aw ra'yata l-Nu'māni muqbilatan:
qālū alā layta adnā dārinā 'Adanu
Yā layta umma Tamīmin lam takun 'arafat:
Murran wa-kānat ka-man awdā bihi l-zamanu
In taqtulūnā⁶ fa-a'yārun muġadda'atun:
aw tun'imū fa-qadīman minkumu l-minanu
Minhum Zuhayrun wa-'Attābun wa-Muḥtaḍarun:
wa-bnā Laqīṭin wa-awdā fī l-waġā Qaṭanu"*

1. ff. 28 b-29 a.

2. f. 123.

3. AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *op. cit.*, p. 1075 b; AL-TIBRĪZĪ, *Šarḥ Diwān al-Ḥamāsa*, II, 113; the grandson of Bā'it̄, 'Amr b. Ġabala b. Bā'it̄, fought at Ḍū Qār (see AL-MARZUBĀNĪ, *Mu'ġam al-šu'arā'*, p. 225).

4. W. CASKEL, *op. cit.*, II, 221, 585. (Bā'it̄ b. Šuraym and Wā'il b. Šuraym).

5. AL-MUBARRAD, *al-Kāmil*, II, 82-83 (ed. Muḥ. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm—AL-SAYYID ŠAḤĀTA, Cairo 1956).

6. So AL-MUBARRAD, *op. cit.*, ib., and AL-MAYDĀNĪ, *Maġma' al-amṭāl*, I, 439; AL-MARZUBĀNĪ, *Mu'ġam al-šu'arā'*, p. 211: "*in taqtulūhum*", which seems to be the correct reading.

AL-HĪRA

163

"When they saw the banner of al-Nu'mān advancing
 they said: "would that our nearest abode be 'Adan
 May the mother of Tamīm not have known Murr
 and been like one destroyed by the (changes of) time".
 If you kill them—they are (merely) asses with cut
 [noses,
 and if you show grace—since ancient time you have
 [shown grace.
 From among them are Zuhayr, 'Attāb and Muḥtaḍar
 and two sons of Laqīṭ; Qaṭan perished in the battle".

The leaders of Tamīm came to al-Nu'mān asking him to release the captives. Al-Nu'mān agreed that every woman who wished to return to her relatives should be returned. All the women questioned expressed the wish to be returned to their tribe except the daughter of Qays b. 'Āṣim who preferred to remain with the man who captured her, 'Amr b. al-Mušamrağ. Qays then vowed to bury every female child, that would be born to him.

The version of *al-Ağānī*¹ does not mention that the cause of the raid was the refusal to pay taxes, does not contain the verses and records the story as a raid of al-Mušamrağ. But in this version the raid is restricted to the Banū Sa'd and the name of the captured woman is given: Rumayma bint Aḥmar² b. Ġandal; her mother was the sister of Qays b. 'Āṣim.

Al-Mušamrağ is mentioned in a short account of al-Balāḍurī³: some clans of Bakr b. Wā'il raided the 'Ukl. They were however defeated by the 'Ukl under the command of al-Namir b. Tawlab⁴. In one of the verses quoted by al-Balāḍurī and attributed to al-Namir b. Tawlab, al-Mušamrağ is mentioned as a captive of the 'Ukl⁵.

For the assessment of the story of the raid the verse recited by

1. *Ağānī*, XII, 144.

2. In the text "*Aḥmad*", which is a mistake. Aḥmar b. Ġandal was the brother of Salāma b. Ġandal (See SALĀMA B. ĠANDAL, *Dīwān*, p. 21—ed. CHEIKHO; and see AL-ĠĀḤIṢ, *al-Bayān*, III, 318; AL-BAĞDĀDĪ: *Hizānat al-adab*, II, 86; 'AMR B. KUṬYŪM, *Dīwān*, p. 3—ed. KRENKOW; AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *op. cit.*, f. 1040 a; W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 146).

3. AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *op. cit.*, f. 928 a.

4. About him see W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 444.

5. "*Rāḥa l-Mušamrağ li-l-rikābi ḡanibatān:*
fi l-qiddi ma'sūran 'alā adbārihā"
 (in text: *Mušamrah, ḡanbiyatān*).

164

M. J. KISTER

al-Nu'mān—quoted by al-Mubarrad—is of some importance: when al-Nu'mān forgave the Tamīm he said:

“*Mā kāna ḍarra Tamīman law taḡammadahā:*

min faḍlīnā mā ‘alayhi Qaysu ‘Aylāni’”

“What would harm the Banū Tamīm if they

[would be filled

with our favour like the Qays ‘Aylān’¹.

Al-Nu'mān reminds the Banū Tamīm that by paying the *itāwa*, and by their loyalty they would enjoy the favour of the king. The expression seems to point to the benefits bestowed by the king on the chiefs of the tribe Qays ‘Aylān, appointment of their chiefs as tax collectors, granting them pastures, etc. It is noteworthy that al-Mubarrad renders *itāwa* by *adyān*, pointing to obedience and submission². The verse attributed to al-Nu'mān reflects the efforts of al-Ḥīra to gain the allegiance of some divisions of Tamīm (evidently the Sa'd), who tried to free themselves from the dependence of al-Ḥīra. That was manifested by the refusal to pay taxes.

Some light on the relations between al-Ḥīra and Asad and Ḡaṭafān is shed by a story recorded by Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb³. These tribes—says Ibn Ḥabīb—were allies, not submitting to the obedience of the kings⁴. ‘Amr b. Mas‘ūd and Ḥālid b. Naḍla⁵ of Asad used to visit every year the ruler of al-Ḥīra, stay with him and drink with him. During one of these visits al-Munḍir al-Akbar suggested that they should accept his obedience. He said: “What prevents you from yielding to my obedience and to defend me like the Tamīm and Rabī‘a?” They refused his offer, remarking: “These territories are not suitable for our herds. Besides (in the present situation) we are near to you; we are here in these sandy lands and if you summon us we will respond”. Al-Munḍir understood that they were not willing to accept his offer and ordered to poison them. Whether Ḥālid b. Naḍla was really poisoned is rather doubtful⁶; the story itself may be spurious. But the tendency of

1. AL-MUBARRAD, *op. cit.*, II, 84.

2. *ib.*, p. 83, l. 2; and see above note 4, p. [11]. (*adyān* is identical with *urbān* and *aryān*).

3. IBN ḤABĪB, *Asmā' al-muḡtālīna* (*Nawādir al-maḥḷūlāt*, VI, 133).

4. *Comp.* p. 12, l. 3 of this paper (note 3).

5. SEE W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 179, 342.

6. See AL-BALĀDURĪ, *Ansāb*, f. 903 a (with other versions about his death); AL-ḌABBĪ, *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, VII, 1 (LYALL notes p. 14); AL-QĀLĪ, *al-Nawādir*, p. 195; AL-A'SĀ, *Dīwān*, p. 306 (ed. GEYER—AL-ASWAD B. YA'FUR, XLIX,

[23]

AL-ḤĪRA

165

the rulers of al-ḤĪra to widen their influence by gaining the obedience of independent tribes is evident from this story. The answer of the two leaders seems to indicate that the ruler of al-ḤĪra proposed that they should enter territories under his control, but that they refused to do so ¹.

The rulers of al-ḤĪra could impose their sway on the tribes either by granting the chiefs benefits—as mentioned in the stories quoted above—or by force. The rulers based their power on their troops. The troops were, however, not levied from a certain tribe: there was no tribe ruling in al-ḤĪra; it was a family. The rulers of al-ḤĪra had therefore to rely on foreign troops or on mercenary troops. Only occasionally could they use a tribal force against another tribal unit, hostile to the first—as already mentioned.

The problem of the formations of *Dawsar*, *al-Šahbā'*, *al-Waḍā'i'*, *al-Šanā'i'* and *al-Rahā'in* was discussed by Rothstein ². Rothstein, quoting the sources ³ and arguing with Caussin de Perceval arrives at the conclusion that the *Šanā'i'* seem to have been a *Prätorianerschaar* ⁴. This is confirmed by the commentary of the *Naqā'id* ⁵: Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd states that the *Šanā'i'* are people upon whom the king bestows his favours (*yaštani'uhumu l-malīku*) and they remain in his service. Another version is also given there: the *Šanā'i'* of the kings are the helpers of the king, who raid with him, by whom the king is aided. An additional information is given by al-Mubarrad ⁶: most of them are from Bakr b. Wā'il.

The *Waḍā'i'* are defined by Rothstein as *Besatzungstruppen*. Rothstein argues that *Waḍā'i'* cannot refer to certain troops (. . . "dass damit unmöglich eine bestimmte Truppe gemeint sein kann"). He assumes that the *Waḍā'i'* may probably denote the troops of the garrisons and especially the border garrisons. *Dawsar* and *Šahbā'* refer probably—according to Rothstein—to the garrison-troops of al-ḤĪra.

v. 6-7); and see ĠAWĀD 'ALĪ, *Ta'riḥ al-'Arab qabla l-Islām*, IV, 73; ABŪ MIṢĤĀL: *Nawādir*, I, 122-3 (ed. 'IZZAT ḤASAN, Damascus 1961—see the notes of the editor).

1. ". . . *hāḍihi l-bilādu lā tulā'imu mawāšīyanā*" . . . and see the variant of the question of the king (AL-BAGDĀDĪ, *Ḥizāna*, IV, 151): ". . . *wa-an ladnū minni hamā danat Tamīmun wa-Rabī'alu*".

2. *Die Dynastie der Laḥmīden*, pp. 134-138.

3. *Al-Ḥamāsa*, *al-Aḡānī*, *al-'Iqd al-farīd*, AL-ĠAWHARĪ, *Šaḥāḥ*.

4. ROTHSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

5. p. 884.

6. *Al-Kāmil*, II, 83.

The definition of the *Waḍā'i* given by Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd is different. *Waḍā'i*—says Ibn 'Ubayd—are the troops levied by the king, 100 from every tribal group (*qawm*), more or less according to their number. Another definition quoted in the same source¹ claims that the *Waḍā'i* are the forces of the subjects of the kingdom. According to this definition Bevan renders *Waḍā'i* in his glossary "levics, troops, raised by the Lakhmite king". Ibn al-Aṭīr, however, defines them as "semi-chiefs"².

The opinion about the *Rahā'in*, the hostages of the tribes is unanimous.

A detailed account about the troops of al-Ḥīra is given by Abū l-Baqā'³. Imru' l-Qays al-Badan⁴—records Abū l-Baqā'—was the man who, imitating the division of the troops of Kisrā, divided his troops and gave them names, which remained till the end of the kingdom of al-Ḥīra. People next in kinship to the king were called *Ahlu l-rifāda*. There were leaders of the troops marching in front of the troops in battles and raids⁵. The commanders of the divisions of the troops were the *Ardāf*⁶.

A special division of the army of al-Ḥīra was levied from among the Laḥm. This troop was called *al-Ġamarāt* or *al-Ġimār*. As soldiers of this troop are mentioned the Urayš b. Irāš b. Ġazila⁷ of Laḥm. Another version claims that this troop was formed from people levied from Laḥm and other groups. Mentioned are Banū Silsila from Ġu'fi, Banū Māwiya from Kalb⁸ and groups from Banū Salamān b. Tu'al⁹ of Ṭayy.

The *Šana'i* were a troop of outlaws from different tribes—records Abū l-Baqā'. Driven out from their tribes as murderers or culprits—they were protected by the king of al-Ḥīra and gained

1. *Naqā'id*, p. 884.

2. See ĠAWĀD 'ALĪ, *Ta'riḥ al-'Arab qabla l-Islām*, IV, 92 ("al-waḍā'i wa-humu llaḍīna hānū šibha l-mašāyih").

3. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 21 a, seq.

4. See ĠAWĀD 'ALĪ, *op. cit.*, IV, 31; and see S. SMITH, *Events in Arabia*, in *BSOAS*, 1954, p. 430, Table A.

5. The word denoting the title of these leaders cannot be deciphered. It is written العرايمى.

6. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 21 a: "wa-l-ardāf wa-hum 'urafū'u l-ḡundi wa-zu'amā'uhum wa-quwwāduhum wa-azimmatuhum".

7. See IBN ḤAZM, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

8. See W. CASKEL, *op. cit.*, II, 405.

9. See IBN DURAYD, *al-Ištiqāq*, p. 386.

safety. They attended his battles and raids¹. The other version about the *Ṣana'i'* is given as well, they were men from Bakr b. Wā'il, from the Lahāzīm, from Qays and 'Abd al-Lāt and from Ṭa'ālabā b. 'Ukāba. Abū l-Baqā' prefers the first version.

The *Waḍā'i'*—says Abū l-Baqā'—were a Persian unit, sent by Kisrā to the kings of al-Ḥīra as reinforcements. They counted 1000 mounted soldiers (*asāwira*) and stayed a year at al-Ḥīra. After a year's service they used to return to Persia and were replaced by another troop sent from Persia. They formed in fact the strength of the ruler of al-Ḥīra and through their force the ruler of al-Ḥīra could compel the people of al-Ḥīra as well as the Bedouin tribes to yield obedience to him. Without these forces the rulers were weakened, so that they had to fear the people of al-Ḥīra².

The people of al-Ḥīra consisted of three divisions *Dawsar* (or *Dawsara*), an elite troop of valiant and courageous warriors; *al-Ṣahbā'*, (but according to a contradictory tradition this was the troop of the *Waḍā'i'*); *al-Malhā'*, so called because of the colour of the iron (i.e. their coat-of-mail)³.

The *Rahā'in* were youths from Arab tribes taken by the kings of al-Ḥīra as hostages guaranteeing that their tribes would not raid the territories of al-Ḥīra and that they would fulfil the terms of their pacts and obligations between them and the kings of al-Ḥīra. They counted—according to a tradition quoted by Abū l-Baqā'—500 youths and stayed 6 months at the court of al-Ḥīra. After this period they were replaced by others⁴.

These forces—of the people of al-Ḥīra and the Persian troops—formed the strength, upon which the rulers of al-Ḥīra relied. They fought with the rulers of al-Ḥīra in obedience to Kisrā, in order to defend their abode, their families and possessions; they could not forsake them⁵.

1. Two verses are quoted as evidence: the verse of Yazīd b. al-Ṣā'iq (see above, n. 2, p. [15]) and the verse of ḠARĪR:

"*Ḥamaynā yawma Dī Naḡabin ḥimānā:
wa-aḥraznā l-ṣanā'i'a wa-l-nihābā'*"

see his *Dīwān* (ed. AL-ṢĀWĪ), p. 68, l. 1.

2. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 99 b, seq.

3. *ib.*, f. 22 b; ABŪ L-BAQĀ' records the opinion of ṬABARĪ, that these two troops (*Ṣahbā'* and *Dawsar*) were Persian troops sent to al-Ḥīra.

4. *ib.*, f. 21 b; ḠAWĀD 'ALĪ, *op. cit.*, IV, 93.

5. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 99 b: "*wa-kāna ḡundahum llaḡīna biḥimī nūnā'uḥum wa-'izzuhum aḥlu l-Ḥīrati l-musammauna bi-tilka l-asmā'i l-muqaddami dīkruhā; fa-kānū yuhāribūna ma'ahum fā'alan li-Kisrā wa-*

When the king of al-Ḥīra left with his troops for a military action, the people of al-Ḥīra afraid of an attack of the raiding Bedouins, used to stay in their fortified fortresses till the king returned with his troops. Sometimes the king concluded agreements with the neighbouring tribes—mainly from Bakr b. Wā'il and Tamīm—that they would not raid al-Ḥīra in his absence ¹.

A peculiar aspect of the relations of the tribes with the rulers of al-Ḥīra is brought out by Abū l-Baqā': tribes pasturing in regions adjacent to the kingdom of al-Ḥīra were compelled to get their provisions (*al-mīra wa-l-kayl*) from the kingdom of al-Ḥīra and therefore had to submit to the obedience of its rulers ².

The rulers of al-Ḥīra were well acquainted with the situation in the tribe itself and used to intervene in the internal affairs of the tribes. A case of this kind is illustrated by the story of Laqīṭ b. Zurāra, who was convinced by al-Munḍir b. Mā' al-Samā' to return the children of Ḍamra b. Ġābir al-Nahšalī ³. His children were given as hostages to Laqīṭ for the children of Kubayš and Rušayya ⁴ and the Banū Nahšal requested the king to intervene ⁵. Ḍamra himself was respected and liked by the king ⁶. His son, Ḍamra b. Ḍamra, was favoured by al-Munḍir and al-Nu'mān. He was one of his boon-companions and the king entrusted him with the care of his white camels ⁷.

Instructive is the case of Ḥāğib b. Zurāra with the Banū 'Adiyy

ḥiḡzan li-bayḡatihim wa-ahlihim wa-manāzilihim wa-ḥimāyatan li-ansusihim wa-amwālihim wa-lā yumkinuhum ḥiḡlānuhum wa-lā l-taḡallufu 'anhum.

1. *ib.* f. 102 a.

2. *ib.*, f. 100 a; for the necessity of getting provisions comp. the story of "Yawm al-Mušaqqar".

3. He was the father of the famous Ḍamra b. Ḍamra. The name of Ḍamra b. Ḍamra was in fact Šiqqa b. Ḍamra; his mother was Hind bint Karib b. Šafwān, one of the leaders of Sa'd. About Ḍamra b. Ġābir see W. CASKEL, *op. cit.*, II, 241; about Šiqqa b. Ḍamra, *ib.*, II, 530.

4. Al-Kalb b. Kunays (or Kubayš) b. Ġābir, the son of Kunays and Rušayya married the mother of al-Ḥuṡay'a (see ABŪ L-FARAĠ, *al-Ağāni*, II, 43; *ZDMG*, XLIII, p. 3, n. 2).

5. AL-ḌABBĪ, *Amṡāl al-'Arab*, pp. 7-9; AL-MUFADḌAL B. SALAMA, *al-Fāḡir*, p. 53 (ed. C. A. STOREY, Leiden 1915); AL-MAYDĀNĪ, *Mağma' al-amṡāl*, I, 136.

6. See the sources given in the preceding note and see AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *op. cit.*, f. 986 b.

7. AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *op. cit.*, 987 a: "wa-ğa'alahu min huḡḡatihi wa-summārihi wa-dafa'a ilayhi ibilan kānat lahu fa-kānat fi yadihi wa-ḥiya ḡā'i-nuhu wa-ḡā'īnu l-Nu'māni bnihī ba'dahu, waritahā 'an abihī; wa-kānat min akrami l-ibili . . .".

b. 'Abd Manāt¹. These 'Adiyy were in the service of Ḥāḡib and Ḥā-ḡib intended to turn them into his slaves by a writ of al-Mundir².

Chiefs of tribal divisions co-operating with the rulers of al-ḤĪra took part in their expeditions against Syria, visited their court and were favoured and respected. There was, however, no general line of continuous loyalty and allegiance to the rulers of al-ḤĪra. Contending leaders of clans revolted against the agreements concluded by their chiefs with al-ḤĪra from which they could not get the desired share of profit. There was continuous contention between chiefs on the favour of the ruler, which strengthened the feeling of lack of confidence. Sudden changes in the policy of Persia towards the rulers of al-ḤĪra further enhanced the feeling of instability. The application of the method of "divide and impera"³ as a means to control the tribes and the lack of sufficient and steady support for the loyal tribes—all this created a feeling of disappointment and bitterness.

The successful raids of small units of clans against al-ḤĪra undermined the prestige of its rulers. 'Uṣayma b. Ḥālid b. Minqar⁴ could oppose the orders of the king al-Nu'mān, when he demanded to extradite the man from 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a to whom 'Uṣayma gave shelter. When raided by the troops of al-Nu'mān 'Uṣayma summoned his people by the war-cry "*Kawṭar*" and defied the king. Directing the spear to the mane of his horse he said: "Go back, you wind-breaking king! Would I like to put the spear in another place—I would put it⁵. The Banū 'Amr b. Tamīm when attacked by the forces of the king al-Nu'mān succeeded in defeating his army and in plundering his camp⁶. The cases of the victory of Bedouin tribes over the royal troops of al-ḤĪra were sufficient proof of the weakness of the vassal kingdom of al-ḤĪra, presaging its fall.

It was concurrent with the rise of Mecca to authority and power.

1. Probably the 'Adiyy b. 'Abd Manāt b. Udd; see W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 137.

2. IBN RAŠĪQ, *al-'Umda*, II, 174 (Cairo 1934).

3. W. CASSEL, *Die Bedeutung der Beduinen in der Geschichte der Araber*, p. 15 (Köln 1953).

4. Apparently 'Iṣma b. Sinān b. Ḥālid b. Minqar as in IBN AL-KALBĪ'S *Ġamhara*, f. 78 b and in AL-BALĀḌURĪ'S *Ansāb*, f. 1030 a; see ṬUFAYL AL-ĠANAWĪ, *Diwān*, p. 59 (No. 19), éd. F. KRENKOW; see W. CASSEL, *Ġamharat al-Nasab*, II, 359 ('Iṣma b. Sinān).

5. MUḤ. IBN ḤABĪB, *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 354.

6. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 126 a.



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PRE-ISLAMIC BEDOUIN RELIGION

Joseph Henninger

Introduction

To describe the religion of pre-Islamic Arabia, and especially the pre-Islamic *Bedouin* religion, is no less difficult a task than portraying ancient Bedouin society, and that precisely because of serious lacunae in our documentation. It was with good reason that J. Wellhausen entitled his book on the subject, *Reste arabischen Heidentums (Remnants of Arab Heathendom)*.¹ Cuneiform literature, the Old Testament, and the classical authors (Greek as well as Latin) throw very little light on religious phenomena in ancient Arabia. It is only the Byzantine, Syriac, and especially the Arab writers (all from a somewhat later period) who furnish more detailed information, although it is hardly systematic or complete.² It is not surprising, therefore, that no attempt appears to have been made in Europe before the seventeenth century to publish monograph-length studies on pre-Islamic religion, because of this lack of relevant documents. Since the classical and biblical references were too few and the cuneiform inscriptions still unknown, it was impossible to consider undertaking such a project before the Arabic sources became at least partially accessible in the West. It is true that as early as the tenth century, Arabic works were translated into Latin or into other European languages in Spain. First to be translated were treatises on philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, etc. Works on the Quran as well as books dealing

with the religion of Islam followed. Information on pre-Islamic Arabia is to be found for the most part in works by Muslim historians, traditionists, and jurists. These are works that did not come to the attention of Christian Europe until the Renaissance, and then only gradually.³

The first to describe pre-Islamic religion *ex professo* was Edward Pococke, in his *Specimen historiae Arabum* (Oxford, 1649).⁴ After an interval of almost two centuries, G. Bergmann published his dissertation (1834) on pre-Islamic Arabic religion,⁵ certainly a work of merit for its time, but soon made obsolete by the works of E. Osiander (1853),⁶ L. Krehl (1863),⁷ and especially those of J. Wellhausen, the most important of which has already been mentioned, the *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, published for the first time in 1887.⁸ In it Wellhausen drew primarily on the *Kitāb al-Asnām* (*The Book of Idols*) of Ibn al-Kalbī, a work known at that time only through quotations in Yāqūt's geographical dictionary.^{8a} In his *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, first published in 1889, W. R. Smith contributed to our understanding of pre-Islamic religion through explanations that were largely speculative. For his factual data he relied on Wellhausen's work.⁹ Much the same may be said of the work of M.-J. Lagrange¹⁰ who, like W. R. Smith, made a number of valuable contributions to an understanding of the religions of other Semitic peoples. Th. Nöldeke, on the other hand, advanced our knowledge in the field by his critical scholarship¹¹ and also by an important article in which he summarized the results of research up to that point.¹²

Toward the end of the nineteenth century and on into the twentieth, South-Arabic and proto-Arabic epigraphy (entirely absent from the works of Wellhausen) was taken more and more into consideration. Although not particularly relevant to the study of the nomadic peoples, D. Nielsen from 1904 onwards made use of epigraphic evidence as a basis for reconstructing an astral religion common to proto-Semitic peoples and thus also attributable to Arab Bedouin. This much too speculative theory met with strong opposition.¹³ More reliable studies followed the discovery of Ibn al-Kalbī's *Kitāb al-Aṣṅnām*, published in 1913 in Cairo by Ahmad Zakī Pacha,¹⁴ later translated into German and English,¹⁵ and referred to in numerous articles.¹⁶

Credit must be given to G. Ryckmans for producing an important survey in his monograph, *Les Religions arabes préislamiques*, first published in 1947.¹⁷ He made extensive use of the expanding corpus of epigraphic material while carefully avoiding Nielsen's dubious theories. More recently, in his works on the religions and social organization of

pre-Islamic Arabia,¹⁸ J. Chelhod attempted to present an overall picture of pre-Islamic religion. Though debatable in some respects, his work is essentially sound. Finally one will find discussions of varying lengths dealing with the religious situation of pre-Islamic Arabia in introductions to biographies of Muhammad¹⁹ and to monographs on Islam.²⁰

Arab and Bedouin Religion

The sheer volume of this literature would seem to contradict the remark made earlier that the documentation is meager and that it is thus difficult to paint a complete picture of pre-Islamic Bedouin religion. The difficulty, however, is real. Works dealing with this subject contain a large number of inferences (more or less justifiable) by which the authors have attempted to compensate for the lacunae in the existing data. On the other hand, scholars frequently speak of Arabs or even Semites without always distinguishing between nomads and sedentary peoples.²¹ In general, however, most of the authors do differentiate clearly between the more developed civilizations of South Arabia and those in other parts of the peninsula.²² More precisely than his predecessors, G. Ryckmans makes a tripartite distinction between central Arabia (where there are no inscriptions), northern Arabia (important for its Lihyānite, Thamūdic, and Safaitic inscriptions), and southern Arabia (known primarily through its inscriptions).²³ But even considering central Arabia by itself, we often have great difficulty distinguishing clearly between the religious practices of the nomads and those of the settled peoples.

One might be tempted to think that it is possible to make progress in this area by giving careful attention to the information provided, for example, by Ibn al-Kalbī. He often says, "Such and such a tribe worshipped such and such a god." One might suppose therefore that one need only divide the tribes into nomadic and settled. But these indications are often of little value in solving the question at hand, for many of the tribes were partly nomadic, partly settled, and the nomads often maintained a close symbiotic relationship with one or more oases, which also served as their religious centers. It has been shown that the priests or guardians of the sanctuary frequently belonged to another tribe which had emigrated and that "priestly" families tended to remain fixed.²⁴ What we know of the religious practices of pre-Islamic Arabia has to do primarily with the cultic centers located at oases, to which the Bedouins came as pilgrims, associating themselves with the religious practices of the settled

groups.²⁵ (There were also, however, portable sanctuaries, and to H. Lammens goes the credit for having drawn attention to this very important fact.)²⁶

Theories concerning the relationship between the religion of the settled peoples and that of the Bedouin reflect two tendencies which are not, however, always mutually exclusive. One group of scholars begins with the assumption that the nomads were more or less indifferent²⁷ and unoriginal in matters of religion, and that their gods were *borrowed from more advanced civilizations*.²⁸ The other school of thought holds that the nomads represent *a more primitive form of Semitic religion*. The most extreme form of the first tendency was found in the pan-Babylonian school at the beginning of this century,²⁹ though its views have since been generally abandoned. If C. E. Dubler has somewhat more recently gone back to H. Winckler³⁰ it is only to draw on a few details of the latter's ideas. In any case, the Babylonian influence, whether strong or weak, was felt primarily among the settled Arabs and reached the Bedouin only indirectly. In certain respects, therefore, one is brought back to W. Cas- kel's view regarding influences within Arabia.³¹

We turn now to a consideration of the other tendency which considers the Bedouin religion to be *older* than that of the settled peoples. It assumes an evolution from the less developed to the more developed. What the starting point was differs considerably from theory to theory.

1. According to some, it was an elementary form of *fetishism*, the worship of stones and similar objects; already certain Greek writers had pointed out that Arabs worshipped stones.³²

2. Another view which originated in the field of Semitic studies under the influence of E. B. Tylor and gained recognition was that of *animism*. According to this theory, in the most primitive phases of the development of religion there were no gods bearing distinct personalities, but only spirits, that is, collective and anonymous beings. The *jinn* are interpreted as representing this primitive phase, and the origin of a belief in them is often attributed to the Bedouin, whereas the settled people are credited with the creation of individual gods. Wellhausen became the champion of this theory³³ which flourished most vigorously at the end of the nineteenth century. Indeed, in spite of criticism³⁴ it still has a loyal following today.³⁵

3. A third though less important theory, *manism*, proposed that ancestors, not nature spirits, were the predecessors of the gods; and certainly ancestor-worship existed among pre-Islamic Bedouin.³⁶

4. Recently another theory has been advanced, suggesting that religion

PRE-ISLAMIC BEDOUIN RELIGION

7

began with *le sacré impersonnel*, a force not yet personified. According to J. Chelhod, this impersonal force was still too diffused to constitute a true object of worship.³⁷

5. We will not repeat here the details of W. R. Smith's *totemic* theory which attempts to explain both religious and social phenomena in terms of totemism.³⁸

6. According to D. Nielsen, the starting point of the religion of the Semitic nomads was marked by the *astral triad*, Sun-Moon-Venus, the moon being more important for the nomads and the sun more important for the settled tribes.³⁹

7. Finally, some have considered the oldest form of the Semitic religion to be a fairly pure *monotheism*. M.-J. Lagrange's claim: "El, the common, original, and probably only god of the Semites" is well known.⁴⁰ W. Schmidt adopted this view on the basis of a much more extensive documentation dealing with other pastoral nomadic peoples.⁴¹ He held that the same belief also existed among the ancient Semitic nomads in addition to the pre-Islamic Bedouin Arabs.⁴² C. Brockelmann has published a short but important study on this question.⁴³

In order to assess these theories, it will first be necessary to give a purely descriptive account of pre-Islamic Bedouin religion as we are able to observe it immediately prior to the rise of Islam. This can be done only on a provisional basis, however. Other aspects of pre-Islamic Arabia remain to be studied in greater depth, and these may later oblige me to revise some of my conclusions.

Pre-Islamic Bedouin Religion⁴⁴

We will not take into consideration here the influences of foreign religions such as Christianity which had won many followers in Arabia, even among the nomads.⁴⁵ Judaism,⁴⁶ Parseeism, and Manichaeism⁴⁷ on the other hand do not seem to have won many converts outside the sedentary communities.

Attempting now to describe what one may safely call *autochthonous* Bedouin religion, I will first discuss the superior beings they worshipped and then go on to describe their practices and cultic personnel. But first, one more general remark: it has become quite common to speak of the *religious indifference of the Bedouins*.⁴⁸ This view is not entirely without justification. In comparison with South Arabia where a very large body of data bears directly on the religious life, Bedouin Arabia seems to

furnish very little evidence in this area. However, I think that certain qualifications are in order. First one must recognize that the Bedouin were never particularly zealous in the practice of Islam, which is not surprising in view of the fact that Islam is markedly urban in character.⁴⁹ As for the pre-Islamic Bedouin, one must also take into account the fact that their moral ideal of *muruwwa* ("virility") had no religious character.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, to conclude from this a total absence of religious sentiment is to go too far. When scholars use pre-Islamic poetry as a basis for this judgment, they make rather generous use of the argument from silence. One must not forget the rigid and conventional character of pre-Islamic poetry in the centuries immediately preceding the birth of Islam, narrowly limited as it was in its choice of subjects. It is for this reason, very probably, that pre-Islamic poetry does not reflect all aspects of contemporary life.⁵¹

In order to form a judgment on this point, let us observe some of the more concrete expressions of Bedouin religion.

1. One detail which already impressed the Greek authors was the role played by *sacred stones*,⁵² a phenomenon that they interpreted as a worship of raw and unpolished stones, that is to say, fetishism, regarded as the oldest and crudest form of religion. However, the scientific study of religion has long since rejected the theory that accorded to fetishism such a place of honor. In fact what is customarily called fetishism is not an independent phenomenon. The material object is not venerated for itself but rather as the dwelling of either a personal being (god, spirit) or a force.⁵³ Especially in the area of Semitic beliefs, more recent research has led to a conclusion which R. Dussaud summarizes in his latest book: "One must realize that it is not to the stone itself that the worshipper gives his adoration, but to the god which it contains. . . . The term 'litholatry' therefore expresses a false idea and is based on a total lack of understanding of the rites."⁵⁴ In addition one must ask whether the religious significance of sacred rocks and stones arose among nomads who, we now know, possessed portable sanctuaries,⁵⁵ rather than among settled peoples who tended to worship concrete and stationary objects existing within a particular locality.⁵⁶ In my view it would therefore not be justifiable to consider this "stone worship" as a characteristic of Bedouin religion except in the sense defined by Dussaud, in which case it applies equally to the sedentary peoples.

2. One might perhaps object that the Bedouin were not yet capable of conceiving a personal god, that they were at an earlier stage which had

PRE-ISLAMIC BEDOUIN RELIGION

9

not yet moved beyond the *sacré impersonnel*, or at least the collective and anonymous phenomenon of the *jinn*.

This compels us to consider the role of these spirits in the religion of the pre-Islamic Bedouin. The persistence in the Quran of a belief in the *jinn* and the testimony of pre-Islamic as well as Islamic literature adequately demonstrate its importance at the beginning of the seventh century. But it will be necessary to define the role of this belief more precisely.

Wellhausen has rightly observed that these spirits which were thought to haunt desolate, dingy, and especially dark places in the desert were feared, that it was thought necessary to protect oneself against them, but that they were hardly the object of a true cult.⁵⁷ From this he drew the conclusion that these spirits had first to be elevated to the level of divinities in order to become objects of worship. Though there may be some truth in this assumption, the view that polydemonism everywhere preceded belief in divinities and that all gods are only spirits elevated to a higher rank, has been increasingly called into question by the science of comparative religion.⁵⁸

It is often assumed that belief in the *jinn* who were thought to dwell in the desert originated with the Bedouin and was passed from them to the settled tribes. This assumption does not seem to me to be well founded. The Bedouin who are familiar with the desert feel much less fear there than do village or city dwellers who regard this unknown region as terrifying and who imagine that all sorts of monsters and demons dwell there. This tendency existed already in the Ancient East.⁵⁹ And there is another fact that deserves attention: among Arab peoples today, belief in spirits is much more intense among the agricultural population than among the Bedouin.⁶⁰ It is further worth noting that, according to W. F. Albright who bases his ideas on certain facts already established by Th. Nöldeke and M. Lidzbarski, the word *jinn* is not Arabic but derived from Aramaic. Aramaic-speaking Christians used the term to designate pagan gods reduced to the status of demons. He concludes from this that the *jinn* themselves were introduced into Arabic folklore only late in the pre-Islamic period.⁶¹ However that may be,⁶² one must reckon seriously with this possibility, for it is supported by other observations of detail.⁶³ Even if one accepts an *autochthonous* pre-Christian animism among the Bedouin (which seems reasonable to me), this animism could have been reinforced by contributions from sedentary Arabs, and one should not see in it either the core or the root of the pre-Islamic Bedouin religion. The possibility of the secondary diffusion even of beliefs and practices which

one would prefer to designate as very primitive is not purely theoretical. We have a clear example of it in the spread of *Zār* ceremonies (with their ideology) into Egypt and Arabia. This diffusion which occurred only since the nineteenth century was effected by African slaves.⁶⁴ We now know that what is "primitive" in the sense of a value judgment is not necessarily so in the chronological sense.

3. There are more numerous indications of the existence of a cult of ancestors. Here we are undoubtedly dealing with an indigenous phenomenon. Proof of this is to be seen in the extensive diffusion of this cult even among Bedouin in more recent times, a fact that cannot be attributed to Islam whose principles are opposed to it. (In border areas this cult more nearly approximates Islam through the fact that the ancestor has been elevated to the rank of *walī* or Muslim saint.)⁶⁵ For pre-Islamic Arabia, explicit evidence is not lacking. It has not been sufficiently established that the dead generally were regarded as powerful, superhuman beings. They appear rather as beings deprived of protection, needing the charity of the living. This is why sacrifices for the dead in general do not seem to signify a cult of the dead but rather a continuation of social obligations beyond the grave. On the other hand ancestors, that is to say, especially the eponymous heroes of the tribe (as well as certain other celebrated heroes, chiefs, and warriors), were an object of real veneration. People not only slew animals and made libations by their tombs but also erected stone structures as they did at the sanctuaries of the local gods. Like the sanctuaries these graves were places of refuge.⁶⁶ These are instances of a real cult; moreover, this veneration of the ancestor reflects a social organization which assigned a great deal of importance to genealogy. It is difficult to understand J. Chelhod's remark that the sacred remained too diffused to coalesce into a clearly defined cultic object.⁶⁷ For the Bedouin the hero was (in my view) a rather concrete figure. If it does not appear so to us, it is because we know very little about the ancestor traditions within each tribe. Furthermore, the transition from tribal ancestor to *tribal god* does not seem to me too difficult. Although it would be going too far to see this as the origin of all individual divinities, one may admit that some of them were originally only ancestors and heroes, wrapped in legends, and slowly elevated to the status of deity.

4. Let us now examine these *local divinities*, which Muslim authors call "idols" (*aṣṇām*) or "companions" (*shurakā'*)—supposedly companions mistakenly associated with Allāh—local divinities because their cult was restricted to a certain place or to a particular tribe. In most cases we have

very little information about them. We scarcely know their names or the places where they were worshipped (and often not even the real name but a surname meaning, for example, "lord of such and such a place"). The myths which might have been able to illuminate the character of these gods are almost entirely lost.⁶⁸ In view of this one can see why it is difficult to decide in each case whether the god in question owes its origin to the Bedouin or to sedentary peoples. It is undeniable that the Bedouin often borrowed gods from the latter but, on the other hand, one cannot exclude the possibility that the Bedouin also had their own gods, as in the case of a god called after the name of a mountain.

The mass of these gods presents a chaotic picture (it does not seem justifiable to me to speak of a pantheon).⁶⁹ In trying to substantiate certain data regarding their origin, one is hardly able to go beyond hypotheses. Those which I have already mentioned all seem to me to contain some element of truth. Among these gods there may be some that were originally *jinn*, mythical ancestors or legendary heroes, elevated little by little to the rank of god. On the other hand, some of the gods developed directly from the personification of natural forces (in Quzah, for example, one may still discern the features of a storm god).⁷⁰ It should not be thought, however, that these gods must first have passed through a spirit or demon stage, and that celestial beings are posterior to earth spirits.⁷¹ Pre-Islamic Arabic stellar myths (which are, at least in part, Bedouin in origin)⁷² prove that the sky was studied and that stars also were personified. To what degree were the stars the object of real worship? That is a separate question, which we will look at now.

5. The importance of *astral divinities* in central Arabia has been exaggerated by pan-Babylonian theories and those of D. Nielsen. Certainly they dominated the religion of South Arabia, but not of central Arabia. The information given by several later Muslim authors on the worship of certain planets and fixed stars is not very well founded except for the cult of the Pleiades which arose through north Semitic influences.⁷³ The three great goddesses venerated at Mecca by the Quraish (and by several other tribes), mentioned in the Quran as "daughters of Allāh" (in the opinion of inhabitants of Mecca), al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā and Manāt, were not exempt either from such influences and cannot be considered as divinities of purely Bedouin origin.⁷⁴ Manāt was a goddess of destiny, without an astral character. Al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā probably represented two phases of the planet Venus (evening and morning), but it is possible that their identification with this planet represented a secondary development.⁷⁵ In

Bedouin Arabia (as in South Arabia) there was probably first a masculine divinity of the planet Venus which only later became feminine under a north Semitic influence.⁷⁶ The existence of a *sun* goddess (which some had attempted to recover in al-Lāt) is less certain, and it is impossible to prove the existence of an *earth* goddess among the nomadic Semites.⁷⁷

6. The final divinity to be considered is Allāh who was recognized before Islam as god, and if not as the only god at least as a supreme god. The Quran makes it quite clear that he was recognized at Mecca, though belief in him was certainly more widespread.⁷⁸ How is this to be explained? Earlier scholars attributed the diffusion of this belief solely to Christian and Judaic influences. But now a growing number of authors maintain that this idea had older roots in Arabia. Wellhausen's view that Allāh (al-ilāh, "the god") is a sort of abstraction which (originating in the local gods) gave rise first to a common word, then a common concept that merged the various gods into one single god has rightly been judged inadequate. One must rather see in this pre-Islamic Allāh one of those great supreme gods who created the world but who plays a minor role in the actual cult.⁷⁹ If, therefore, Allāh is indigenous to Arabia, one must ask further: Are there indications of a nomadic origin? I think there are, based on a comparison of the beliefs of the nomads in central and northern Asia with those of northeastern Africa. Like the supreme being of many other nomads, Allāh is a god of the sky and *dispenser of rain*.⁸⁰ These indications might not seem sufficiently peculiar to Bedouin, for the notion of such a god might just as well have been formed by settled farming people. But one must not forget that rain is even more important for nomads. Whereas agriculture is possible with artificial systems of irrigation which lessen the direct dependence on rain, for the nomads the condition of the pasture lands, vitally important for both animals and people, is much more directly dependent on the rain. I am certainly not advocating that one should conclude simply on the basis of the monotheism of other nomadic peoples that the Semites, including the pre-Islamic Bedouin, were also monotheists. Nevertheless, a comparison with these other nomads might help us to better understand the fragmentary data for pre-Islamic religion. This is especially true for certain cultic practices which we shall discuss now.

In the *practices* of the pre-Islamic cult, *prayer* does not seem to have been very important. In any case, we know very little about it. More frequently mentioned are the sacrifices, bloody sacrifices as well as those that did not involve the shedding of blood. The animals which were

immolated were the camel, the sheep, and the ox; fowl are never mentioned.⁸¹ There seems to have been a certain preference for white animals. As for other types of sacrifice, libations of milk are indigenous, whereas libations of wine and oil are of foreign origin. Human sacrifices, on the whole rather rare among the Bedouin, may be attributed to the influence of the northern Semites.⁸² The offering of human hair was not a true sacrifice but a rite of passage, involving a transition from the profane to sacred or in the reverse direction.⁸³ If the preference for white in the sacrificial animal recalls the customs of central and northern Asia, this is even more true for the *non-bloody consecration* of animals, a rite which expressed gratitude for the fertility of cattle. Camels and other domesticated animals dedicated to a god were exempt from work. In the case of camels, their milk was reserved for visitors and the poor. Sometimes after these animals were marked, they remained with the herd, but very often as the special property of the god they were kept in a sacred enclosure (*himā*) near a sanctuary until their natural death.⁸⁴ The sacrificial rites were simple; each man had the right to sacrifice his own victim. Owing to the scarcity of fuel in the desert, victims were not burned. Usually the sacrifices ended in a common meal. Sometimes too the slaughtered animals were abandoned to wild animals and birds of prey. If the ceremonies of pouring and sprinkling the blood are not in any way peculiar to a nomadic civilization, the *interdiction against breaking the bones*,⁸⁵ on the other hand, can only be explained by an ideological complex which is still very much alive among hunters and stock farmers of northern Asia. This custom is based on the belief that the animal can be regenerated if the bones remain intact. In the very fragmentary Arabic documentation, this custom is barely comprehensible and has given rise to very different and sometimes rather arbitrary interpretations; but it appears in a new light when compared with the customs and beliefs of the above-mentioned peoples. The same is true for the *festivals of springtime*⁸⁶ as far as the sacrifice of the firstborn is concerned. There are solid reasons for believing that the Arabic feast of the month of Rajab, for which originally the firstborn of the herd were sacrificed, and the Jewish Passover have a common origin. Both are derived from a spring festival common to nomadic Semites (although after the exodus from Egypt, the Passover was given a new significance). These spring observances have numerous analogies among other shepherd groups.

The question of *pilgrimage* which was an element foreign to nomadic civilization and of a late date among Semitic peoples will not be dealt

with in detail here.⁸⁷ It is precisely through pilgrimage that certain cultic practices of the settled tribes found their way into nomadic culture. Nor is there sufficient space here to discuss in detail the various practices of *divination, magic, and sorcery*,⁸⁸ which certainly receive ample attention from Muslim authors in their descriptions of pre-Islamic religion, but which must be studied much more thoroughly. As in the case of the belief in the *jinn*, we must try to discover what share the nomads and the sedentaries had respectively in these practices. By the inherent (perhaps magical) force of his utterances, the *shā'ir* (poet)⁸⁹ resembles the *kāhin* (soothsayer);⁹⁰ both were said to be inspired by the *jinn*.

This leads us to mention briefly the individuals who played a special role in the religion. Can one speak of *cultic officials*? The priests (*sādin*, pl. *sadana*) mentioned in the Arabic sources⁹¹ were not sacrificers but rather guardians of the sanctuaries, for each man was allowed to slaughter his own victim. The absence of a special class of priests recalls the primitive situation of the Semites and other shepherd nomads.⁹² It is not our intention here to deal with the typology of the priesthood and related phenomena in the history of religions.⁹³ However, within the Semitic domain, we must at least touch briefly on a problem which is suggested by the linguistic identity of the words *kāhin* (soothsayer) in Arabic and *kōhēn* (priest) in Hebrew. Scholars since Wellhausen have seen in this fact proof of a development from the sorcerer through the soothsayer to the priest.⁹⁴ This view, however, is contradicted by W. F. Albright who on the basis of Ugaritic documents writes: "Unfortunately, however, the word (*kāhin*) is isolated in Arabic and may, therefore, like thousands of other cultural words in that language, be considered equally well as a loanword from older Canaanite *kāhin* or from Aramaic *kāhnā*, both meaning 'priest'; should this be true, we have an indication of a specialization in function among the Arabs and not of a supposed magical background of the Israelite priesthood."⁹⁵ I cannot resolve this problem here. May I simply point out that in this case also, an explanation by uniform evolution from the less developed to the more developed is not at all clear. Moreover, the portable sanctuaries were also accompanied by soothsayers and other persons playing a religious or magical role, among whom there were also women.⁹⁶ I would not venture to identify such institutions with shamanism, a phenomenon which has been vigorously debated in recent years as to its nature and origin and which is probably no more indigenous to nomadic pastoral civilization than the institution of the priesthood.⁹⁷

Conclusion

To conclude, let us attempt briefly to characterize the pre-Islamic Bedouin religion. In 1958 A. Brelich, in analyzing the results of studies on ancient Semitic divinities, came to the following conclusion: one cannot speak of polytheism in proto-Semitic civilization, but one does find the belief in a *supreme being*, coupled with *animism*.⁹⁸ I am inclined to accept this formula, with a few slight modifications, for pre-Islamic Bedouin religion. It seems to me that one must attribute a little less importance to animism (belief in nature spirits), and emphasize ancestor worship a little more.

Here then are the elements of this religion: Allāh, creator of the world, supreme and undisputed lord, but relegated to the background in the cultic and practical life of the people; next, manifesting the rudiments of a polytheism, several *astral divinities* (at least that of the planet Venus) and *atmospheric divinities* (perhaps the attributes of a creator god which have been hypostatized);⁹⁹ finally, ancestors and *jinn*, these last having more importance in the belief system than in the cult. All of this, moreover, is somewhat vague and far from being organized into a real pantheon or hierarchical system. The cultic practices as well were characterized by very little ritual and in turn reflected the individualism of the Bedouin and the lack of rigidity in their entire social system.

Islam which followed this religion did not grow out of a void, nor was it of purely foreign origin. It was not a Bedouin religion, for its principal roots are to be found in the biblical religions; however, in Arabia it found not only human values¹⁰⁰ but also religious values it could and did incorporate.

NOTES

1. J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1887; 2nd ed. 1897, reprinted 1927).
2. On these sources see: "La société bédouine ancienne" [in *L'antica società beduina* (ed. F. Gabrieli; Rome, 1959)], pp. 71-76.
3. See J. Fueck, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1955), especially pp. 1-166 *passim*; cf. also: F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Übersetzungen arabischer Werke in das Lateinische seit dem 11. Jahrhundert* (*Abhandl. der Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen, Hist.-phil. Classe* 22, 1877, no. 2); U. Monneret de Villard, *Lo studio dell' Islām in Europa nel XII e nel XIII secolo* (Città del Vaticano, 1944); other references in J. Henninger, "Sur la contribution des missionnaires à la connaissance de

- l'Islam, surtout pendant le moyen âge," *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswiss.*, 9 (1953), pp. 161-85.
4. Pococke's account was used extensively by G. Sale in the introduction to his translation of the Quran (London, 1734), and by many authors who relied on one or the other of these; see G. Pfannmüller, *Handbuch der Islam-Literature* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1923), pp. 91, 96, 164, 171-72, 209, 216.
 5. G. Bergmann, *De religione Arabum anteislamica dissertatio historico-theologica* (Strasbourg, 1834).
 6. E. Osiander, "Studien über die vorislâmische Religion der Araber," *ZDMG*, 7 (1853), pp. 463-505.
 7. L. Krehl, *Über die Religion der vorislamischen Araber* (Leipzig, 1863).
 8. See above, note 1.
 - 8a. [*Mu'jam al-Buldân*, edited by F. Wüstenfeld and published in 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1866/73). See *GAL*, I, 480, Suppl. 1, 880.]
 9. W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites: The Fundamental Institutions* (London, 1889; 3rd ed., 1927). See *ibid.*, pp. XVI-XVII: "For Arabia I have been able to refer throughout to my friend Wellhausen's excellent volume, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1887), in which the extant material for this branch of Semitic heathenism is fully brought together, and criticized with the author's well-known acumen."
 10. M.-J. Lagrange, *Etudes sur les religions sémitiques* (2nd ed., Paris, 1905).
 11. Th. Nöldeke, review of W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (London, 1885), in *ZDMG*, 40 (1886), pp. 148-87; *idem*, review of J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1887) in *ZDMG*, 41 (1887), pp. 707-26.
 12. Th. Nöldeke, article: "Arabs (Ancient)," in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* I (Edinburgh, 1908), pp. 659a-73a.
 13. D. Nielsen, *Die altarabische Mondreligion und die mosaische Überlieferung* (Strassburg, 1904); *idem*, *Der dreienige Gott in religionshistorischer Beleuchtung*, I (Copenhagen, 1922), II (1942); *idem*, *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, I (Paris-Copenhagen-Leipzig, 1927), and other publications. For a critique of these theories see: G. Furlani, "Triadi semitiche e Trinità cristiana," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, 6 (1924), pp. 115-33; E. Dhorme, "La religion primitive des Sémites. A propos d'un ouvrage récent," *RHR*, 128 (1944), pp. 5-27; A. Jamme, "Le panthéon sudarabe préislamique d'après les sources épigraphiques," *Le Muséon*, 60 (1947), pp. 57-147; *idem*, "D. Nielsen et le Panthéon sud-arabe préislamique," *RB*, 55 (1948), pp. 227-44; other references in J. Henninger, *Anthropos*, pp. 37-40 (1942-45), pp. 802-5; cf. also Henninger, *Zeitschr. für Ethnol.*, 79 (1954), pp. 107-10; *idem*, *Anthropos* 53 (1958), p. 743.
 14. First edition: Cairo, 1913, 2nd edition, Cairo, 1924 (text reprinted in R. Klinke-Rosenberger, see note 15).
 15. See R. Klinke-Rosenberger, *Das Götzenbuch (Kitâb al-Aṣnâm)* of Ibn al-Kalbî (Leipzig, 1941); N. A. Faris, *The Book of Idols, Being a Translation from the Arabic of the Kitâb al-Aṣnâm by Hishâm Ibn al-Kalbî* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1952).
 16. See, for example: M. S. Marmadji, "Les dieux du paganisme arabe d'après Ibn al-Kalbî," *RB*, 35 (1926), pp. 397-420; H. S. Nyberg, *Bemerkungen Zum "Buch der Götzenbilder" von Ibn al-Kalbî*, in Δ ΠΑΓΜΑ, Martino P. Nilsson A.D. IV Id. Jul. Anno MCMXXXIX dedicatum (Lund, 1939), pp. 346-66; F. Stummer, "Bemerkungen zum Götzenbuch des Ibn al-Kalbî," *ZDMG*, 98 (N.F. 23) (1944), pp. 377-94; A. Jepsen, "Ibn al-Kalbîs *Buch der Götzenbilder*. Aufbau und Bedeutung," *Theol. Literatur-Zeitung*, 72 (1947), Col. 139-44.
 17. G. Ryckmans, *Les Religions arabes préislamiques*, in M. Gorce and R. Mortier, *Histoire*

PRE-ISLAMIC BEDOUIN RELIGION

17

- générale des religions*, IV (Paris, 1947), pp. 307–22, 526–34; 2nd ed. (*Bibliothèque du Muséon*, vol. 26) Louvain, 1951; cf. E. Dhorme, "Les Religions arabes préislamiques d'après une publication récente," *RHR*, 133 (1947–48), pp. 34–48.
18. J. Chelhod, *Le Sacrifice chez les Arabes* (Paris, 1955); *idem*, *Introduction à la sociologie de l'Islam. De l'animisme à l'universalisme* (Paris, 1958), as well as several articles, mostly in the *RHR*. For a critique of some of the details see: Henninger, *Anthropos*, 50 (1955), pp. 106 with note 135; *idem*, *Anthropos*, 53 (1958), pp. 748–57, *passim*, 786, 795, note 339. A general criticism has yet to be written.
 19. See, for example: F. Buhl, *Das Leben Mohammeds* (German translation by H. H. Schaefer: Leipzig, 1930; 2nd ed. Heidelberg 1955); T. Andrae, *Mohammed, Sein Leben und sein Glaube* (Göttingen, 1932; French translation: *Mahomet, sa vie et sa doctrine*, Paris, 1945 [English translation: *Mohammed, The Man and His Faith*, New York, 1936]); W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford, 1953; French translation: *Mahomet à la Mecque*, Paris, 1958); *idem*, *Muhammad at Medina* (Oxford, 1956); M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet* (Paris, 1957); R. Paret, *Mohammed und der Koran* (Stuttgart, 1957).
 20. See, for example, F. M. Pareja, *Islamologia* (Roma, 1951) [translated into French under the title of *Islamologie* (Beirut, 1964)]; cf. also M. Guidi, *Storia e cultura degli Arabi fino alla morte di Maometto* (Firenze, 1951), especially pp. 122–43.
 21. W. R. Smith assumes a primitive religion common to all Semites, as is expressed in the title of his work: *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*. M.-J. Lagrange writes more cautiously in his *Etudes sur les religion sémitiques*.
 22. Cf. J. Henninger, "Das Opfer in den altsüdarabischen Hochkulturen," *Anthropos*, 37–40 (1942–45), pp. 779–810, especially pp. 787–93, 805–10.
 23. See G. Ryckmans, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–18: central Arabia; pp. 19–24: northern Arabia; pp. 25–48: southern Arabia.
 24. See Buhl, *op. cit.*, pp. 73–74, 81–82; other references in J. Henninger, *Anthropos*, 50 (1955), pp. 119–20.
 25. See Smith, *Religion*, pp. 111–13; cf. also G. Levi Della Vida, *Les Sémites et leur rôle dans l'histoire religieuse* (Paris, 1938), pp. 81–91 *passim*, especially pp. 89–91, and 116–17, note 40; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–39.
 26. See H. Lammens, "Le Culte des bétyles et les processions religieuses chez les Arabes préislamites," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archaéologie orientale, Le Caire*, 18 (1919), reprinted in H. Lammens, *L'Arabie Occidentale avant l'Hégire* (Beyrouth, 1928), pp. 101–79; J. Morgenstern, *The Ark, the Ephod and the "Tent of Meeting"* (Cincinnati, 1945), *passim*, especially pp. 1–77; cf. also Henninger, *Internat. Archiv für Ethnogr.*, 42 (1943), pp. 23–26, especially p. 26, note 116; *idem*, *Anthropos*, 50 (1955), p. 121, note 189; K. Dussaud, *La Pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam* (Paris, 1955), pp. 113–17.
 27. See Smith, *Religion*, p. 47; Wellhausen, *Reste*, 2nd ed., pp. 224–28; Nöldeke, in *Hastings*, I (1908), p. 659b. One could also cite many more references.
 28. See W. Caskel, in *Le Antiche divinità semitiche* (Roma, 1958), pp. 104–5 (cf. S. Moscati, *ibid.*, pp. 120–21); W. Caskel, *ZDMG*, 103 (1953), p. 31 [English translation: "The Bedouinization of Arabia," in *Studies in Islamic Cultural History*, edited by G. E. von Grunbaum (*The American Anthropological Association. Memoir No. 76*, April 1954, Menasha, Wisconsin), p. 39]; *idem*, *Die Bedeutung der Beduinen in der Geschichte der Araber* (Köln and Opladen, 1953), p. 6.
 29. See, for example, H. Winckler, *Arabisch-Semitisch-Orientalisch. Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 6 (1901), pp. 151–373, *passim*. Merely as a curiosity one might also mention Ahmad-Bey Kamal, *Les idoles arabes et les divinités égyptiennes*.

- (*Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, 24^e année, Nouvelle série, tome 8^e [Paris, 1902], pp. 11–24.) This author compiles a list of gods which supposedly had been identical in ancient Egypt and in Arabia. According to the Egyptologist Werner Vycichl, that is entirely inadmissible (Letter of 26 May 1959). Besides, this risky theory does not seem to have gained any supporters.
30. See C. E. Dubler, "Survivances de l'ancien Orient dans l'Islam (Considérations générales)," *Studia Islamica*, 7 (1957), pp. 47–75, especially 53–54; *idem*, *Das Weiterleben des Alien Orients im Islam* (Antrittsvorlesung, Zürich, 1958), pp. 5–6.
 31. See Caskeel, above note 28.
 32. The earliest testimony seems to be that of Maximus of Tyre and Clement of Alexandria; see references in G. E. von Grunbaum, *Medieval Islam* (2nd ed., Chicago, 1953), p. 131, n. 89; cf. also A. Bertholet, "Über kultische Motivverschiebungen." *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. hist. Klasse*, 18 (Berlin, 1938), pp. 164–84, especially pp. 165–69; E. G. Gobert, "Essai sur la Litholâtrie," *Revue africaine*, 92 (1948), pp. 24–110, *passim*; other references in Henninger, *Zeitschr. für Ethnol.*, 79 (1954), pp. 103–6; *idem*, *Anthropos*, 50 (1955), pp. 107–9; Dussaud, *op. cit.*, pp. 41–42; cf. also Lammens, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Krehl, *op. cit.*, pp. 69–73.
 33. See Wellhausen, *Reste*, 2nd ed., pp. 211–14.
 34. See Lagrange, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–28, especially pp. 16–18; cf. also W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, I (2nd ed., Münster i. W. 1926), pp. 20–55, 69–133, *passim*.
 35. I will mention only some of the most recent ones: Chelhod, *Sociologie*, pp. 15, 42–62, *passim*, 77–83, 88–90, 180–81; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 26, 29, 32–33.
 36. This theory is found already in Ibn *al-Kalbi* for some of the gods of pre-Islamic Arabia; see Klinke-Rosenberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 56–61. Cf. also Krehl, *op. cit.*, pp. 54–69, *passim*; A. Lods, *La croyance à la vie future et le culte des morts dans l'antiquité israélite* (Paris, 1906), especially I, pp. 8–17, 29–31; II, pp. 101–3, 112–13.
 37. Chelhod, *Sacrifice*, p. 125; *idem*, *Sociologie*, pp. 42–43, 180–81.
 38. See "La société bédouine ancienne" [*L'antica società beduina* (Rome, 1959), p. 85, n. 68].
 39. See above, note 13.
 40. Lagrange, *op. cit.*, p. 70, cf. Moscati, *loc. cit.* (above, note 28), p. 122.
 41. See W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee VII–XII: Die Religionen der Hirtenvölker* (Münster, 1940–1955; vol. XII, posthumous, edited by F. Bornemann).
 42. W. Schmidt, *op. cit.* I, pp. 670–74.
 43. C. Brockelmann, "Allah und die Götzen, der Ursprung des islamischen Monotheismus," *Archiv für Religionswiss.*, 21 (1922), pp. 99–121.
 44. For this brief survey, the references cannot always be given in detail. It is based on the materials used in the publication mentioned above, notes 1–20, and on a study by the author entitled: *Das Opfer bei den Arabern. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Studie*, and composed of about 450 pages of manuscript. As of the present moment only a summary has been published in French ("Le sacrifice chez les Arabes," *Ethnos*, 13 (1948) pp. 1–16), and certain parts dealing with specific problems (see the list: *Anthropos*, 50 (1955), p. 99, n. 113; in addition, see below, notes 81–86).
 45. See H. Charles, *Le Christianisme des Arabes nomades sur le Limes et dans le désert syro-mésopotamien aux alentours de l'Hégire* (Paris, 1936).
 46. See W. M. Watt, *EI*, new ed. [French edition] I, p. 919a (English edition, p. 892b), "Bdw."
 47. One must perhaps admit a certain diffusion of Manichaeism, which had a center at Hira, among the Bedouin of the Syrian desert. See U. Monneret de Villard, *Annali*

PRE-ISLAMIC BEDOUIN RELIGION

19

- Lateranensi*, 12 (1948), pp. 169–74, and references cited there. For Parseeism, see Buhl, *op. cit.*, pp. 71–72.
48. See above, note 27.
49. See X. de Planhol, *Le Monde islamique* (Paris, 1957), pp. 5–45, and the bibliography, *ibid.*, pp. 132–35; Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
50. See I. Goldziher, "Muruwwa und Din" in *Muhammedanische studien*, I (Halle, 1889), pp. 1–39 [translated into English under the title *Muslim Studies*, I (London, 1967), pp. 11–44]. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, pp. 20–33 (French translation, pp. 43–46).
51. See the discerning comments of Levi Della Vida, *op. cit.*, pp. 89–90. It would be easy to list a great number of references emphasizing the strictly limited content of this poetry.
52. See above, note 32.
53. See M. Eliade, *Traité d'histoire des religions* (Paris, 1949), pp. 191–210, *passim* [translated into English under the title *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (New York, 1963), pp. 216–38]; A. Bertholet, *Wörterbuch der Religionen* (Stuttgart, 1952), see under "Fetischismus"; P. Schebesta, "Fetischismus" in F. König, *Religionswissenschaftliches Wörterbuch* (Freiburg i. Br., 1956), col. 252–53.
54. Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 41, and note 3; cf. also Lagrange, *op. cit.*, pp. 187–216, *passim*.
55. See above, note 26.
56. See A. Musil, *Österr. Monatsschrift für den Orient*, 43 (1917), p. 164; the same text in English: A. Musil, *Northern Negd* (New York, 1928), p. 257.
57. Wellhausen, *Reste*, 2nd ed., p. 213; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 148–60, *passim*.
58. See Bertholet, *Wörterbuch*, see under "Animismus"; P. Schebesta, "Animismus," in F. König, *op. cit.*, col. 52–54; J. Goetz, "Dämonen," *ibid.*, col. 154–56.
59. See A. Haldar, *The Noion of the Desert in Sumero-Accadian and West-Semitic Religions* (Uppsala-Leipzig, 1950; summary in *Anthropos*, 46[1951], p. 624); cf. also Ebeling, "Dämonen" in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II (Berlin und Leipzig, 1938), pp. 107a–13a; E. Zbinden, *Die Djinn des Islam und der alorientalische Geisterglaube* (Bern und Stuttgart, 1953), especially pp. 101–10.
60. For the Bedouin, see A. Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928), pp. 411–17; for the *Fellāhin*: T. Canaan, *Aberglaube und Volksmethoden im Lande der Bibel* (Hamburg, 1914), *passim*; *idem*, "Haunted Springs and Water Demons in Palestine," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, I (1920–1921), pp. 153–70; *idem*, *Dämonenglaube im Lande der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1929); W. S. Blackman, *The Fellāhin of Upper Egypt* (London, 1927; French translation: *Les Fellahs de la Haute-Egypte*, Paris, 1948); cf. also Henninger, *Anthropos*, 41–44 (1946–1949), pp. 337–46, especially pp. 343–46, on the diffusion of certain animist beliefs and practices with the introduction of chicken breeding.
61. See W. F. Albright, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 57 (1937), pp. 319–20; 60 (1940), pp. 292–93, with the references cited there.
62. D. Schlumberger, *La Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest* (Paris, 1951), pp. 121–22, 135–37, maintains the priority of the Arabic word *jinn* and considers that the Palmyran form *jny'* derives from the former.
63. According to A. Haldar, *Associations of Cult Prophets Among the Ancient Semites* (Uppsala, 1945), p. 180, the demoting of gods to the level of demons had already begun before Islam.
64. See the references in Henninger, *Anthropos*, 50 (1955), pp. 130–36; cf. also *Bulletin des études arabes*, 3 (1943), pp. 104–6; M. Rodinson, *Journal Asiatique*, 240 (1952), pp. 129–32; *idem*, *Comptes rendus sommaires des séances de l'Institut Français d'Anthropologie*, fasc. 7 (1953), pp. 21–24.

65. See the details in my essay on Arab sacrifice, mentioned above, note 44; cf. also Chelhod, *Sacrifice*, pp. 118–19; *idem*, *Sociologie*, pp. 50–52.
66. See I. Goldziher, "Le culte des ancêtres et le culte des morts chez les Arabes," *RHR*, 10 (1884), pp. 332–59; *idem*, "Über Totenverehrung im Heidentum und im Islam," in *Muhammedanische Studien*, I, pp. 229–63; [translated into English under the title *Muslim Studies*, I (London, 1967), pp. 209–38 ("The Veneration of the Dead in Paganism and Islam")]; Wellhausen, *Reste*, 2nd ed., pp. 183–85; Lammens, *L'Arabie Occidentale*, pp. 163–79, *passim*; Buhl, *op. cit.*, pp. 78–79; Chelhod, *Sacrifice*, pp. 101, 106, 118–19; *idem*, *Sociologie*, pp. 15, 180–81. On the question of human sacrifice (rather doubtful) in the cult of the dead, see Henninger, *Anthropos*, 53 (1958), pp. 749–52.
67. In *Sociologie*, pp. 42–43, Chelhod does not speak of the cult of ancestors; but *ibid.*, pp. 15, 180–81, he places this cult on the same level (*palier*) with the notion of a diffused and impersonal sacred. This kind of systematization does not appear justified to me.
68. See Buhl, *op. cit.*, pp. 76–77. J. Chelhod's attempt to reconstruct a myth concerning the origins of civilization ("Le monde mythique arabe," *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, 24 (1954), pp. 49–61) is not convincing.
69. See Ryckmans, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–18, and the works mentioned above, note 16. According to Chelhod, *Sociologie*, pp. 118–25, in the course of the formation of an Arab national religion, a kind of pantheon developed at Mecca. However that may be, even Chelhod admits that the formation of an Arab national religion followed the adoption of a sedentary mode of life and does therefore not concern Bedouin religion as such.
70. See Wellhausen, *Reste*, 2nd ed., pp. 67, 209; Buhl, *op. cit.* pp. 76–77; Albright, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 60 (1940), pp. 295–96.
71. Wellhausen, *Reste*, 2nd ed., pp. 211–14.
72. See J. Henninger, "Über Sternkunde und Sternkult in Nord und Zentral-arabien," *Zeitschr. für Ethnol.*, 79 (1954), pp. 82–117, especially pp. 88–93, 110–15.
73. See Henninger, *loc. cit.*, pp. 93–110, *passim*, 115–17.
74. See W. Caskel, in *Le antiche devinità semitiche*, p. 105.
75. See Henninger, *Zeitschr. für Ethnol.*, 79 (1954), pp. 97–110.
76. See Henninger, *loc. cit.*, pp. 107–10.
77. See Henninger, *loc. cit.*, pp. 99–100, 110. The question of solar and lunar cults in central Arabia still remains to be examined in a special study.
78. The fact is too well known to need detailed references. For a succinct account, see Wellhausen, *Reste*, 2nd ed., pp. 217–24, and the article of C. Brockelmann, mentioned above, note 43; cf. also Paret, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–17, and the references cited, *ibid.*, p. 156.
79. See Wellhausen, *Reste*, 2nd ed., pp. 218–19; opposed to this opinion: Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 103–5; Buhl, *op. cit.*, p. 94; Andrae, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–21; Paret, *op. cit.*, p. 17. Cf. also Levi Della Vida, *op. cit.*, pp. 85–92 *passim*, 116, n. 37; and below, notes 98 and 99.
80. See Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 107–8; Smith, *Religion*, p. 111; Wellhausen, *Reste*, 2nd ed., p. 222.
81. See J. Henninger, "Über Huhnopfer und Verwandtes in Arabien und seinen Randgebieten," *Anthropos*, 41–44 (1946–1949), pp. 337–46.
82. See J. Henninger, "Menschenopfer bei den Arabern," *Anthropos*, 53 (1958), pp. 721–805.
83. See J. Henninger, "Zur Frage des Haaropfers bei den Semiten," in *Die Wiener Schule*

- der Völkerkunde. Festschrift anlässlich des 25 jährigen Bestandes des Instituts für Völkerkunde der Universität Wien (1929-1954)* (Horn-Wien, 1956). pp. 349-68.
84. See J. Henninger, "Die unblutige Tierweihe der vorislamischen Araber in ethnologischer Sicht," *Paideuma*, 4 (1950), pp. 179-90.
85. See J. Henninger, "Zum Verbot des Knochenzerbrechens bei den Semiten" in *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida* (Roma, 1956), I, pp. 448-58.
86. See J. Henninger, "Les fêtes de printemps chez les Arabes et leurs implications historiques," *Revista do Museu Paulista*, n.s. 4 (1950), pp. 389-432.
87. See Smith, *Religion*, p. 80; cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 109-10; Wellhausen, *Reste*, 2nd ed., pp. 121-22. with note 3; Buhl, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
88. See Wellhausen, *Reste*, 2nd ed., pp. 159-77, *passim*; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-44.
89. Cf. above: "La société bédouine ancienne," n. 62.
90. Cf. above: "La société bédouine ancienne," n. 61.
91. See the references in Henninger, *Anthropos*, 50 (1955), pp. 119-21; Chelhod, *Sacrifice*, p. 169, writes: "He (i.e. the pre-Islamic priest) was the guardian of the temple as well as the sacrificer, as one may easily determine from the root *sādāna* which gives *sādin*, priest, and *sādīne*, grease, blood, wool." In this context he refers to my article in *Ethnos*, 13 (1948), p. 12 (see above, note 44), where I say quite clearly that the *sādin* was not a sacrificer. The etymological argument does not seem to prove the contrary. On Chelhod's linguistic method in general, see the references in Henninger, *Anthropos*, 53 (1958), p. 795, n. 339.
92. See Smith, *Religion*, p. 143; A. J. Wensinck, *Some Semitic Rites of Mourning and Religion* (Amsterdam, 1917), p. 74; Levi Della Vida, *op. cit.*, p. 116, n. 39.
93. See E. O. James, *The Nature and Function of Priesthood* (London, 1955; German translation: *Das Priestertum, Wesen und Funktion* [Wiesbaden, 1951]).
94. See Levi Della Vida, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-89, 96, 116, n. 39; W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (Baltimore, 1940), pp. 18-19 (according to Morgenstern, *op. cit.*, p. 58, n. 82; German translation: *Von der Steinzeit zum Christentum* (Bern, 1949), p. 32; French translation: *De l'âge de la pierre à la chrétienté* [Paris 1951] p. 26).
95. Albright, *op. cit.* (English translation), p. 47; cf. the German translation pp. 32, 409, n. 34; cf. also Lagrange, *op. cit.*, p. 218. Morgenstern, *op. cit.*, p. 58, n. 82, would be disposed to concede the borrowing of this word, but on the other hand, he maintains that among all the Semites the soothsayer preceded the priest as we understand him today.
96. See Lammen, *L'Arabie Occidentale*, pp. 103-4, 106-10, 112-25, 132-41; Morgenstern, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-61, 64; Huldar, *Associations of Cult Prophets*, pp. 161-98 *passim*, especially pp. 190-93, 195-97; Henninger, *Anthropos*, 50 (1955), p. 121, n. 189.
97. See W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, XII (1955), pp. 615-759; M. Eliade, *Le Chamanisme et les techniques archaïques de l'extase* (Paris, 1951) [translated into English under the title *Shamanism* (Bollingen Series LXXVI, New York, 1964)]; D. Schröder, "Zur Struktur des Schamanismus," *Anthropos*, 50 (1955), pp. 848-81; H. Findeisen, *Schamanentum* (Zurich-Wien, 1957); J. P. Roux, "Le nom du chaman dans les textes turco-mongols," *Anthropos*, 53 (1958), pp. 133-42; *idem*, "Eléments Chamaniques dans les textes pré-mongols," *Anthropos*, 53 (1958), pp. 441-56; *idem*, "Le Chaman gengiskhanide," *Anthropos*, 54 (1959), pp. 49-80, and the literature mentioned in these articles.
98. See A. Brelich, in *Le Antiche divinità semitiche*, pp. 135-40, especially pp. 136, 139, 140.

99. On this process in general, see H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom. Studies in the Hypostatization of Divine Qualities and Functions in the Ancient Near East* (Lund, 1947); cf. the recensions of O. Eissfeldt, *Theol. Literatur-Zeitung*, 76 (1951), col. 154–55 and of J. Henninger, *Anthropos*, 46 (1951), pp. 646–47.
100. See Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, pp. 24–25, on “tribal humanism” (cf. also p. 23). Although the decadence of the archaic religion (*ibid.*, pp. 23–24) is an incontestable fact, this author (like others) perhaps goes too far in the separation of this ethic from religion; see Th. Nöldeke, “‘Gottesfurcht’ bei den alten Arabern,” *Archiv für Religionswiss.*, 1 (1898), pp. 361–63; Wellhausen, *Reste*, 2nd ed., p. 224; Brockelmann, *Archiv für Religionswiss.*, 21 (1922), pp. 113–14; Lammens, *L’Arabie Occidentale*, p. 229; Buhl, *op. cit.*, pp. 90–91; cf. also above, note 51.

- AION *Annali dell’ Institute Orientali di Napoli*
 AJSL *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
 BASOR *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research*
 BEO *Bulletin des Études Orientales*
 BO *Bibliotheca Orientalis*
 BSOAS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
 EI *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (first edition).
 EI² *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (second edition).
 GAL *Geschichte des arabischen Litteratur*
 GAS *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*
 IBLA *Revue de l’Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes à Tunis*
 JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
 JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
 MIDEO *Mélanges de l’Institut Dominicain d’Études Orientales du Caire*
 OLZ *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
 RB *Revue Biblique*
 REI *Revue des Études Islamiques*
 REJ *Revue des Études Juives*
 RHR *Revue de l’histoire des religions*
 SWBA *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften*
 WZKM *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
 ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

IDOL WORSHIP IN PRE-ISLAMIC MEDINA (YATHRIB)

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Maqrīzī's universal history *al-Khabar 'ani l-bashar* 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'rīkh* 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-bashar* 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 Muhammad b. Ya'qūb al-Fīrūzābādī, *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-'Aqīq 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. Ḍafar 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, Ḍafar 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 Nabīṭ. To this group belong the first four *buṭūn*: 'Abd al-Ashhal, Ḥāritha, Ḍafar and Mu'āwiya¹⁰.

⁶ Cf. the idol Shams of Tamim, 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, *Anṣāb*, 338 ('Abd al-Ashhal, Ḥāritha and Ḍafar 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 Nabīṭ although they cooperated with them. For an attempt of 'Abd al-Ashhal, Ḍafar, Mu'āwiya and "the people of Rāṭij" 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. Hunayf 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 Ṭālīb 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. Hunayf 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'adh of 'Abd al-Ashhal was Ḥawwā's maternal uncle; *Usd*, V, 431:13.

¹³ See also IBN SA'ĪD, 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 Nabīṭ 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, *Jamīharat an-nasab*, ed. N. ḤASAN, Beirut, 1407/1986, 633. IBN QUDĀMA, *Istibṣār*, 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 Uḥayḥa b. al-Julāh. It is not clear why az-Zubayr [b. Bakkār] says that al-Ḥarīsh b. Jahjabā is the only Ḥarīsh in the genealogy of the Anṣār, the rest being Ḥarīs [with a *sin*]; IBN MĀKŪLĀ, *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; *Iṣī'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 'Aṭiyya) 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 ṣāḥiba ālihatihim fī l-jāhiliyya*)²⁵.

Three prominent members of Najjār reportedly destroyed idols when they embraced Islam: As'ad b. Zurāra, 'Unāra 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 *Uṣd*, V, 66, s.v. Hilāl b. Umayya al-Wāqifī (... *wa-kāna yukassiru aṣnāma 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; *Uṣd*, IV, 127:4 from bottom; *Isti'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; *Uṣd*, IV, 155-6 (cf. s.v. 'Awdh b. 'Afra', *op. cit.*, 153; *Isti'āb*, III, 1247, 1225-6).

²⁷ IBN SA'D, III, 609f. (... *yukassirūna aṣnāma 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. Wāqidi 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 Wāqidi 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'affifu 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 (*raḡul sharīf*) had one of these idols. In the house of 'Amr b. al-Jamūḡ there was an idol called Sāf (cf. above, section 1 no. 9) which was destroyed by Mu'ādh b. Jabal (may God be pleased with him) and Mu'ādh b. 'Amr b. al-Jamūḡ.

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 1, no. 9). One of them, a man called al-Jamūḡ (read: Mu'ādh b. 'Amr b. al-Jamūḡ) attacked it, bound a dog (i.e. dog's carrion) to it and then threw it into a well where it was found. Al-Jamūḡ (read: 'Amr b. al-Jamūḡ) 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-Jamūḡ³¹, 'Amr was one of the *sayyids* of the Salima and one of their noblemen (*sayyidan min sādāt B. Salima wa-sharīfan min ash-rāfihim*).

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. Ḥunayf. 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 noblemen. They would take for themselves an idol, honour and purify (i.e. consecrate) it (*kamā kānati l-ashraf yaṣna'ūna, tattakhidhuhu ilāhan tu'azzimuhu wa-tu'ahhiruhu*)³².

The name of the idol in the source just quoted, Manāt, is identical to the name of the main idol of the Anṣār 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" (*aḏunnuka qad ghaḏibta wa-lan aṣna' 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; *Et*², 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 KALBĪ, *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. 'Abdal-lāh al-Bakkā'ī, 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-Jamūḥ 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-Jamūḥ, 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; *Uṣd*, 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, *Istihṣār*, 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; *Iṣḥāh*, 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 *naqīb* 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'adh 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 Uḥūd: Mu'adh 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 *SUYŪṬī, ad-Durr al-manthūr fī t-tafsīr bi-l-ma'ṭhūr*, 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. Ṣakhr, or Farwa b. 'Amr; *WAQ.*, II, 691. Jabbār b. Ṣakhr (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 Bayāḍa'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-maghānīmi 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-yakhrūṣu thamra ahli l-Madīna*. Also *Usd*, IV, 179:4: *wa-kāna n-nabiyyu (Ṣ.) yab'athuhu yakhrūṣu '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 Buḥān⁴⁶.

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 islāmuḥu qalīlan* (note the apologetic phrasing!) *wa-kāna ākhira ahli dārihi islāman*; *Usd*, V, 185; *Isī'āb*, IV, 1646. Cf. DHAHABĪ, *Nubalā'*, II, 340.

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

⁴⁶ The territory of the Ḥārith was east of Buḥān 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 DHAHABĪ, *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: Wāqidī'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 *Uṣd*, 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; *Uṣd*, IV, 243-4. The sources mention the Ḥāritha b. al-Ḥārith (of the Aws), the 'Awf b. al-Khazraj and the Sālim; *Uṣd*, *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. Qawqa/Qawāqila; IBN QUDĀMA, *Istibṣār*, 195.

⁵³ *Mustadrak*, III, 355.

⁵⁴ *Uṣd*, 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 *Uṣd*, III, 106 (*wa-'sta'malahu n-nabiyyu [Ṣ.] 'alā ba'di ṣ-ṣadaqāt*).

⁵⁷ IBN SA'D, III, 614 (from Wāqidī).

As to the Bayāḍa (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 Maqṛīzī:

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 (*raḡul 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-Jamūḡ, 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 الانصار صنم في بيت لجماعة البطن يكرمونه ويعظمونه ويذبحون 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 البهام 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 الديباج وصنم للجد بن قيس يقال له الزبر.

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 فاتاه ابن رواحة فقال له: اما تستحي وانت من كبرائنا تعبد خشبة انت عملتها بيدك؟ فقال الشيخ: اني غير متعرض له اخاف على صميتي. فضحك بشير بن سعد وقال: وهل عنده ضر او نفع؟ فكسره عبدالله بن رواحة واسلم الشيخ.

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

اتبرا من اسما الشياطين كلها الا كل ما يدعا مع الله باطل
فقال امراته: اهلكتي يابن رواحة. وخرج وجا ابو الدرداء وامراته تيكي.
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 غايب عن منزله فكسر صنمه. فلما جا كعب فرأى ما صنع به قال: ما عند هذا طایل. واتی منزل عبادة فظن عبادة انه يريد ان يقع به فقال: قد رايت انه لو كان عنده طایل ما تركك تفعل به ما رايت.

٦. قال: وكانت حوا بنت يزيد امرأة قيس بن الخطيم فقالت: كان قيس لا يرام فعدوت يوماً على صنمه فكسرتة فلما دخل نظر اليه وقال: ما هذا؟ انت فعلت هذا؟ قالت: لا ولكن الشاة نطحته. فقام الى الشاة فذبحها.

٧. قال: واتخذت بلحرث بن الخزرج صنماً 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 الجليل ذي المنن قبح بالفعل منافا ذا الدرن
اقسم لو كنت الاها لم تكن انت وكلب وسط بئر في قرن

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- Usd*: IBN AL-ĀTHĪR. *Usd al-ghāba fī ma'rifat 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.

THE ORIGIN OF THE JEWS OF YATHRIB

Moshe Gil

1. Ḥijāz and Dārūm

The origin and ethnic nature of the Jews in Ḥijāz, and particularly in Yathrib — Medina, are a puzzling matter and the modern student has difficulty in trying to solve the problems involved. Quite interestingly, the sources we possess about those Jews, which are Muslim ones, are aware of these difficulties, and do their best to present us the different versions with all their variations.

Both talmudic and Islamic traditions are quite unanimous in describing a Jewish population which inhabited the southeastern parts of Palestine (inclusive of Transjordan) and had an extensive common border with the Bedouin tribes. Jericho, Ṣo'ar, Eylat and their surroundings formed the northern edge of this Jewish area, which stretched into the Arabian peninsula, starting from the "Valley of the villages" (*wādī'l-qurā*) which according to Muslim tradition represented the border between Ḥijāz and al-Shām — and reaching the city of Yathrib.¹ The Jewish character of the said area can be seen from the Hebrew designation *Dārūm* used in early Muslim sources for southern Palestine.²

The literary sources are reinforced by the epigraphical findings. Of special interest is the inscription published by Altheim and Stiehl, from a photograph taken in 1965 at Madā'in Ṣāliḥ. It is a funerary inscription on the tomb erected by 'Adnūn *bar* Ḥōnī (or: Ḥunnay) *bar* Shemū'el *rēsh*

¹ See the talmudic sources as gathered by Krauss, *ZDMG*, lxx:321, 1916, and also the sources on Jewish localities in the south of Palestine in *Sēfer ha-yishshūv*, vol. I; the articles "Arabien" by Horowitz in the German *Enc. Jud.*, and "Arabia" by Hirschberg in the new *Enc. Jud.*; the first comprehensive study in this field was Hartwig Hirschfeld's "Essai sur l'histoire des Juifs de Médine", *REJ*, vii:167, 1883; x:10, 1885; both sources and modern studies are conveniently summed up in Hirschberg's *Yisrā'el ba-'Arāv*, pp. 36-49, 112-137.

² See for instance Ibn Ishāq in Ibn Hishām, p. 970: The Prophet sent Usāma b. Zayd b. Ḥāritha to lead his cavalry ("gallop his horses") into *al-Dārūm min takhūm al-Balqā*, meaning "into the southern part of Palestine, through the border-province of Moab". Both terms, *dārūm* and *takhūm* are taken from Hebrew. Saadya Gaon still uses the term *Dārūm* in his Bible commentary to render biblical *Negev*. *Takhūm* may have meant the Roman defense system, the *lines*, on the southern border of Palestine; or, if we were to believe Dīnawarī, p. 8, it meant perhaps Provincia Arabia: Sodom (Sadūm), he says, is situated between *Urduṃ* and *takhūm arḍ al-'arab*.

Ḥigrā for his wife Mūnā, the daughter of 'Amru *bar* 'Adnūn *bar* Shemū'el *rēsh* Taymā, she having died in Av 251 at the age of 38. Here we have mention of the leaders of two localities, Ḥijr and Taymā, both named Samuel. The inscription apparently dates from A.D. 319, if the counting begins with 68, reckoned as the year of the destruction of the Temple, and common in Jewish inscriptions and other sources; or perhaps of 356, if the counting starts from 105, when Provincia Arabia was founded by Emperor Trajan.³

2. The Jews and the Bedouin

Muslim traditionists could not think of any earlier settlers in Yathrib than the Jews. As a matter of fact, some of them mention the Amalekites as its earliest inhabitants, who were destroyed by the *banū Isrā'īl*, who inherited the place; but no historical value can be attributed to this information, which is obviously pure imagination, based on the well-known biblical story.⁴ The Jews are described as the first inhabitants of the agricultural strips of land in northern Ḥijāz, in Yathrib and its vicinity; they were those who dug the wells, planted the palm trees, practiced every kind of farming, and also those who built houses (*āṭām*). They are the only real historical settlers known by Muslim sources. Farming, settling, properties, crafts, these were concepts represented by the Jews, as against the Arabs, who were the Bedouin, the nomads.

In the words of Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd, the master of intrigues, of B. Ghaṭafān, who acted for the Muslims during the battle of the Khandaq: "The B. Qurayza were people of high lineage and of properties whereas we were but an Arab tribe who did not possess any palm trees nor vineyards, being people of only sheep and camels".⁵ The Bedouin used to be hired by the Jews during harvest periods. At the time of the date harvest they would come with their camels and transport the bunches of dates to the villages for sale, taking half the revenue for themselves; in their view that was unpleasant labor, as seen from the Prophet's encouraging verse when they had to carry bricks to build the first mosque: *hādḥā ḥimālun lā ḥimālu khaybara* ("what you carry here is unlike what you carry in Khaybar").⁶ B. Naḍīr and B. Qurayza are described as "kings" (*mulūk*) over Medina,

³ See Altheim and Stichl, *Arabia*, V(1), pp. 306 f. (see the photo on p. 500); quoted also by Hirschberg, *Enc. Jud.*, III, col. 233.

⁴ See the sources as gathered by Samhūdī, I, starting on p. 107 (the chapter on the Jews of Medina).

⁵ Wāqidi, p. 480; Torrey, p. 13, made no effort to prove his denial of the fact that Yathrib was founded by the Jews, as Muslim sources state.

⁶ Samhūdī, I, p. 234; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, I, p. 260.

The origin of the Jews of Yathrib

205

ruling the Aws and the Khazraj, in addition to a governor (*'āmil*), appointed by the *marzubān* of the Bedouin, who would collect their *kharāj* for him.⁷ A tradition quoted by Samhūdī from Ibn Shabba relates that it was the Jews who would stand on guard at the gates of Yathrib and demand tithes from any person wishing to enter the city (*an yu'ashshira*).⁸

This general picture seems to have still prevailed at the time the Prophet arrived in Medina, Persian suzerainty, based on the Jews of Medina, being strengthened by the victory over Byzantium. This appears to lend credibility to the Muslim traditions which have the *ibn ra's al-jālūt*, the son of the exilarch, present in Medina and discussing with the Prophet the matter of the names of the stars in Joseph's dream; those traditions are even aware of his name, Bustānay. The tradition reflects two facts; the connections of the Medinan Jews with the Babylonian center, and their influential position in the Ḥijāz, reinforced by the connections and apparently backed by the world power of the time, Persia.⁹ Al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāṭ al-Sulamī hurries to Mecca after the Khaybar expedition, with the Prophet's permission, in order to collect money from his wife and his debtors so as to be able to purchase some of the booty taken from the Jews. Before his return to Khaybar he tells 'Abbās: 'By God, when I left (Khaybar) your brother's son was married to their king's daughter!' (i.e. Ṣafīya).

The Prophet always addresses the Medinan Jews as kinsfolk and offspring of the ancient Banū Isrā'īl. They spoke a language of their own, which Muslim sources call *raṭan*, apparently meaning a non-Arabic tongue.

⁷ *Kharāj* here most probably means poll tax, like Aramaic (Persian?) *kargā* and obviously refers to a time when the Ḥijāz was under Persian suzerainty; see Ibn Khurdadhbih, p. 128, quoted also by Samhūdī, II, p. 269, who also cites al-Āqshahrī (d. 1330), who apparently had this information (taken also from Ibn Khurdadhbih) included in his lost *rawḍat al-firdaws*, a history of Medina. See Hājji Khalifa, III, pp. 505 f.; Brockelmann, *GAL*, S, II, p. 928; on the story itself cf. Altheim and Stiehl, *Araber*, V, pp. 306 f.; Kister, *Arabica*, xv (1968), pp. 145 f. On *marzubān*, see Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. P.*, p. 446, and P. Gignoux's paper in this volume.

⁸ Samhūdī, I, p. 41; al-Damīrī, *Ḥayawān*, I, p. 218; for some unexplained reason, in these sources the verb *'ashshara* (2nd form) denoting "to collect tithes" acquired the meaning of a donkey's braying. Goldziher, *Muḥamm. St.*, I, p. 19, n. 2, thought it expressed a protest against tax collectors. See also in *Aghānī*, VII, p. 101, verses mentioning the Jew as the tax collector (*yu'ashshir*).

⁹ Ibn Hishām, p. 351; Daḥlān, I, p. 393; Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, XV, p. 555; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, II, p. 302; Abū'l-Fidā', *Tafsīr*, II, p. 468; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, I, p. 199; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mawḍū'āt*, I, p. 145; Qurṭubī, *Jāmi'*, IX, p. 121; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār*, I, p. 240; Shawkānī, *Fath*, III, p. 6; al-Nawawī al-Jāwī, *Marāḥ*, I, p. 398; Naysābūrī, *Gharā'ib*, XII, p. 96; these traditions go back to Jābir b. 'Abdallah, the Khazrajite (B. Ghanm) contemporary of the Prophet. Cf. Gil, *Tarbiz*, xlvi (1978/9), p. 56, and pp. 48, 49. See there also the discussion on Ibn Ṣalūbā (present in Medina at the time of the Prophet's arrival there), evidently a nickname of Bustānay, and see the sources: Ibn Hishām, p. 351; Daḥlān, I, p. 393.

which Ṭabarī says was Persian. The Prophet ordered Zayd b. Thābit to teach himself *al-Suryāniya*, i.e., Aramaic, which he did in seventeen days, in order to be able to understand what the Jews were writing.¹⁰

3. The first settlers

On the basis of even a few sources, it is easy to perceive that there were clear-cut social and cultural differences between the Jews of Yathrib and the Bedouin. They were two separate divisions in the population of the northern part of the Arabian peninsula, known as the homeland of the Bedouin; but where those Jews of Arabia stemmed from still remains an open question. Muslim sources differ as to the time of their arrival in Ḥijāz and Yathrib. Some say it was at the time of Noah, after the deluge, others that it was at the time of Moses' expeditions against the Amalekites. Still others say it was at the time of David and Solomon, or the time of the destruction of the Temple by Nebuchadnezzar; and there are traditions putting the Jewish migration into Ḥijāz at the time of the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans.¹¹

Some modern scholars have accepted the traditions putting the origins of the Jews in Ḥijāz into the biblical period, according to their various versions. Thus Torrey sought traces of the allegedly Jewish trading house

¹⁰ The story of al-Ḥajjāj: Ibn Hishām, p. 771; Altheim and Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte*, p. 127, cite it as evidence for their rather strange theory, that the B. Nadīr were feudal rulers of Khaybar, landlords of Jewish tenants who thereafter became tenants of the Muslims. See also Wellhausen, *Sk.u. Vorarb.*, IV, pp. 137. On *rajan*: Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, II, p. 86; Ṭabarī, *Dalā'il*, p. 88; Zayd B. Thābit: Ṭihāwi, II, pp. 304 f.: after learning Aramaic Zayd was able to write to the Jews and read the letters they sent to the Prophet; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Isf'āb*, II, p. 538. 'Abdallah b. 'Atīk was sent at the head of the group scheduled to attack the house of Abū Rāfi', leader of the Jews in Khaybar, since he spoke the Jewish language, *kāna yarjunu bi'l-yahūdiyyati*, see Wāqidī, p. 392, cf. Wansbrough, *Qur. St.*, p. 105 (his translation: "he could talk like the Jews"). See on *rjn* also: Greenfield, *J. Finkel Jub. Vol.*, 63-69, where the meaning of this root is discussed, mainly in Jewish Aramaic and Syriac. During the battle of the *khandaq* Khawwāt b. Jubayr was caught by a sentry of the B. Qurayza, whom he overheard speaking among themselves in the Jewish language, *bi'l-yahūdiyyati*, to each other. He later overcame the Jew by getting hold of his *mi'awl*, pickax, "since none of them would walk around at any time without holding his pickax under his girdle"; this reminds us of course of the Essenes as described by Josephus, *Bella*, II:137, 148 as carrying with them a hatchet, (ὑέριπίριον), probably following Deut. xxiii:12-15.

¹¹ See the various traditions in Samhūdī, I, beginning on p. 107. On the times of Moses see also the quotation from 'Imād al-Dīn al-Wāsiṭī printed by Wüstenfeld in his edition of Ibn Hishām, II, pp. 106 f. (E); Ibn al-Najjār, p. 324; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, MS. BM Or 4215, fol. 114a: Nebuchadnezzar's time: Abū 'l-Fidā', *Mukhtaṣar*, I, p. 31 (quoting the *Tajārib al-umam*): this happened as Nebuchadnezzar was on his way to conquer Egypt, when some Jews, who first fled to Egypt upon the fall of Jerusalem, were forced to seek refuge in Ḥijāz.

The origin of the Jews of Yathrib

207

of the Murashū brothers of Nippur.¹² A theory which seems quite incredible nowadays was put forward more than a hundred years ago by R.P.A. Dozy, who believed the children of Israel had penetrated as far as Mecca, on the basis of biblical passages regarding the war against the sons of Ham, and the Amalekites in the region of Gedor (I Chr. v:41-43), the Jews "that were in Moab, and among the Ammonites, and in Edom" (Jer. xl:11), Uzziah who built Eloth, warred "against the Arabians that dwelt in Gurbaal and the Mehunims", and received gifts from the Ammonites (II Chr. xxvi:2,7-8). Dozy thought the name Makka was derived from the Hebrew root *nkh*, "to beat", "to defeat" (causative).¹³

The traditions putting the Jewish settlement of Ḥijāz at the time of the Romans and the destruction of the Second Temple are based on the intention of the "king of the Rūm", after conquering al-Shām, to marry a daughter of the Banū Hārūn (i.e., priests). As the latter were forbidden to intermarry with Christians (sic; since at the time when the tradition was recorded the Rūm, i.e. Byzantines, were Christians), they invited the king and all his people to a feast, in the course of which they killed all of them. They then fled to Ḥijāz, to the Banū Isrā'īl who lived there. The king of the Rūm pursued them, but his troops were not able to catch up with them, and all the Romans died of thirst near a creek (*thamad*) which is known as *thamad al-Rūm* "to this very day".¹⁴

This story is evidently connected with the talmudic tradition on the 80,000 youngsters of priestly descent who fled to the Ismaelites after the Temple was destroyed. As they were very thirsty, they asked for water, and then the Bedouin "brought before them salty food and inflated water skins, telling them to eat and then drink. As they untied the water skins the air would run out of the water skins into their mouths choking them... this is the way cousins treat you". The Palestinian Talmud draws a parallel between this and the story of Hagar and Ishmael; like the latter, the Jews who fled to Arabia eventually found a well in the wilderness from which they were able to drink.¹⁵ Similarly, Muslim traditions parallel the talmudic one regarding the priests, the story of the *thamad al-Rūm* being told

¹² Torrey, p. 279, n. 6; cf. Hirschberg, *Yisrā'el*, p. 36.

¹³ See the first chapter in his book, *De Israëliten: De Simeoniten, Mekka*. See also the notes of A.E. Harkawy in Grätz's *History*, Hebrew version (by S.P. Rabinowitz), III, p. 74, n. 8; also in *REJ*, v (1882), p. 204; Margoliouth, *Relations*, pp. 28-56; J.A. Montgomery's thorough *Arabia and the Bible*, Philadelphia 1934, contains a thorough discussion of the biblical passages alluding to Arabs or to the Arabian peninsula.

¹⁴ *Aghānī*, XIX, pp. 94 ff., Samhūdī, I, p. 112; Yāqūt. *Buldān*, I, p. 635, IV, p. 462.

¹⁵ *P.T. Ta'aniyōt*, iv, 60b; *Lam. Rabbā*, ii, no. 117 (Bober ed., p. 108). Hirschberg, *Yisrā'el*, p. 118 assumes that the Muslim tradition is perhaps related to the Aelius Gallus expedition into Yaman (25 B.C.E.), but this is completely unfounded.

also about priests (Banū Hārūn), and with the purpose of explaining the origin of the B. Naḍīr and B. Qurayza, who claimed priestly descent. Muslim sources often call them *al-kāhinān*, "the two priests". "Qurayza and Naḍīr (were called *al-kāhinān*) since they were people of the book and of knowledge" (*kitābin wa-fahmin*). There is a *ḥadīth* saying "there will emerge from *al-kāhinān* a man who will teach (*yadrusu*) the Qur'ān as no one will after him"; and there is often the remark: "Some say that this man was Muḥammad b. Ka'b (b. Asad) al-Quraẓī; but God knows better".¹⁶

4. The Muslim traditions

The alleged exact genealogy of Naḍīr and Qurayza is found in the traditions as well: Qurayza, Naḍīr, Hadl, were the sons of (backwards): Nuḥām-Tanḥūm- 'Awf-Qays — Finḥās — Al-Āzar — al-Kāhin — Hārūn- 'Imrān — Qāhith — Lāwī. As can be seen this is a fabrication formed of a mixture of a few well-known Jewish names (Naḥūm, Tanḥūm), biblical personalities (Pinḥās, El'āzār, Aharōn, 'Amrām, Qehāt, Levi), "a priest" — *kāhin* (*Kōhēn*) taken as a person's name, and two Arabic names, 'Awf and Qays. Another genealogy runs Qurayza, Naḍīr, Nuḥām, 'Amru (who is Hadl), sons of: Khazraj — Ṣarīḥ- Tū'mān — Sibṭ — Al-Yasa' — Sa'd — Lāwī — Khayr — Nuḥām — Tanḥūm — Āzar — 'Azrā — Hārūn — 'Imrān — Yiṣhar — Qāhith — Lāwī — Ya'qūb (who is Isrā'īl) — Ishāq — Ibrāhīm. Abū'l-Faraj al-Iṣbāhānī, the compiler of the *Aghānī*, was probably rather sceptical about these genealogies, as he declares not having found any genealogy of the Qurayza, Naḍīr, and Qaynuqā', "since they were not Arabs, whereas the Arabs use to record their genealogies; they were only allies (or: protégés, *ḥulafā'*) of the Arabs".¹⁷

Apparently the dwelling places of the Jews and their properties, mainly plantations of date palms and wells, were scattered all over Medina. Some lived in Qubā', the southern suburb; west of *masjid Qubā'* was al-Buwayra

¹⁶ Fārisī, MS. Bodl. Hunt 277, III, fol. 127; Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, IV, p. 41; Sam'ānī, MS. BM Add. 23, 355, fol. 447b.: "Qurayza and Naḍīr were two brothers among the children of Hārūn, the prophet". Suhaylī, MS. India Office 4110, fol. 54b: "...their descent from Hārūn is a true matter, since the Prophet told Ṣafiya when he found her weeping after she was offended by some saying: Your father is Hārūn, your (paternal) uncle Mūsā, and your husband Muḥammad"; see also: Suyūṭī, *Khaṣā'if*, II, p. 476. Hirschberg, *Tarbiz*, xlv (1974/5), p. 152 relates the tradition of the *kāhinān* to an inscription found in Yemen containing the list of the priestly wards. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, p. 48 finds the story logical as it may be assumed that priests sought indeed to stay together, because of the laws on priestly purity.

¹⁷ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 387 (Yanḥūm instead of Tanḥūm); Balādhuṛī, *Ansāb*, I, p. 442; Suhaylī, *Rawd*, I, p. 12 (see *ibid.*, p. 165: al-Najjām instead of Nuḥām); *Aghānī*, III, p. 13; Samḥūdī, I, p. 113; see also mentions of the *kāhinān* in the *Dīwān* of Qays b. Khaṭīm, no. 2, l. 13; no. 14, l. 6; no. 17, l. 2.

The origin of the Jews of Yathrib

209

(or al-Buwayla), where the Naḍīr and Qurayṣa formerly lived and which was then allotted (as *ṣadaqa*) to the Prophet.¹⁸

The problem of whether the Medina Jews were indeed the offspring of ethnic Jews or of Jewish proselytes has been much discussed. In Nöldeke's view, if the Jews of Arabia had been the offspring of immigrants they could not have been so well absorbed by the tribal society of the Arabs. He was particularly impressed by their contribution to Arab poetry, which he considered an expression of a real Arabic character, without any Jewish elements. Winckler strongly defended that same view, arguing that Jews, people of a higher social level, could not have become so well assimilated among Arabs, just as the European immigrants in America could not have been "Indianized".

Lammens too felt that the Jews, representing a higher degree of civilization, had the advantage in this respect over their Bedouin neighbors, influencing many of them to accept Judaism. Detailed arguments supporting this view were put forward also by Nau, who pointed out four main facts, in regard to the problem of the Jews in the whole of the Arabian peninsula. (a) It is known that the Jews conducted intensive propaganda to spread Judaism in various places, including Arabia. (b) Almost all Jews mentioned during the Prophet's lifetime have Arab names. (c) They needed spiritual leadership from outside, from Palestine (here he refers to the Jews of Ḥimyar), just like the Christians of Najrān. (d) The phenomenon of a Jewish kingdom (Ḥimyar) is something outside the Jewish norm, unless that royal family were proselytes. D.S. Margoliouth considered the problem of the Judaism of the Yathrib Jews to be a completely nebulous matter and expressed far-reaching doubts of their being real Jews, preferring to think of them as monotheists, in his term: Raḥmānists. This view is based in the first place on the name of God as found in the Arabian epigraphic sources. Torrey seems to have been the only scholar of that generation who was willing to accept the Judaism of the Yathrib Jews as genuine.¹⁹

This partial survey of scholarly opinions on the nature of the Medina

¹⁸ Samhūdī, II, p. 267. There are many other references to former properties of Jews in different parts of Medina which became *ṣadaqāt* after the expulsion and annihilation of the Jews, e.g., the seven farms of Mukhayriq; Mayṭhab, Dīyāfa, Dilāl, Ḥusnā, Barqa, A'wāf, and Mashrabat Umm Ibrāhīm, see Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, 'Uyūn, I, p. 208; but this is a topic to be treated separately.

¹⁹ Nöldeke, *Beiträge*, pp. 52 ff.; Winckler, p. 72; Lammens, *Mél. Univ. St. Jos.*, v (1912), pp. 605f.; Nau, *Les Arabes*, pp. 113 ff.; Margoliouth, *Relations*, p. 71; Torrey, pp. 8-27. Hirschberg, *Yisrā'el*, pp. 122, 297, n. 98 expressed his belief that the main so-called Jewish tribes were genuinely Jewish; it was only the extensive information in Muslim sources about conversion among Arab tribes, he argued, that created the impression that the major part of Yathrib's population were the offspring of Arab proselytes.

Jews should be supplemented by an additional look into the Arab sources themselves. Quite a lot can be found in them about Arab tribes or clans which were influenced by Judaism, many of them accepting it completely. Suhaylī informs us, for instance, that besides Qurayza, Naḍīr, and Qaynuqā', there were people of Aws and Khazraj who became Jewish (*man tahawwada*). Some of their women used to make a vow that if their child lived they would make it a Jew (*tahawwadathu*), since they considered the Jews to be people of knowledge and the book ('*ilmin wa-kitābin*). Ya'qūbī, after describing Yaman as an area which became mainly Jewish due to the action of the *tubba'*, mentions that people of Aws and Khazraj became Jewish as well after they arrived from Yaman, due to their being neighbors of the Jews of Khaybar and Yathrib. People of the B. Ḥārith b. Ka'b, of Ghassān and of Judhām, also accepted Judaism. In fact it appears that many more clans in Medina were Jewish. Samhūdī mentions many such clans, like B. Quṣayṣ, B. Marthad, B. Mu'āwiya, B. Jadhma', B. Nāghīṣa, B. Za'ūrā', B. Ḥujr, and B. Tha'laba.²⁰

We have already mentioned the B. Hadl, and seen above Hadl identified with 'Amru, whereas one of the names in the earlier generations was 'Awf, hinting perhaps at some connection with the B. 'Amru b. Awf. There is a tradition indicating Tha'laba b. Sha'ya, his brother Usayd, and Asad B. 'Ubayd, as belonging to the B. Hadl. They were spared on the night the B. Qurayza were killed. There is also mention of that Asad's son, 'Alī, whose mother was Umāma bint Bishr b. Zu'ba, sister of 'Abbād. Some say that the B. Hadl ('Amru b. 'Awf?) were together with Qurayza during the *jāhiliya* and then under Islam (that is evidently upon Muḥammad's arrival in Medina) became the masters of the B. Qurayza.²¹

A tribe which adopted Judaism was the B. Ḥishna b. 'Ukārīma b. 'Awf, of Balī. After fighting the B. Raba'a they asked to settle in Taymā', but the Jews would accept them only if they became Jewish, so some of them did so

²⁰ Suhaylī, *Rawḍ*, IV, p. 297; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, p. 298; cf. Ibn Rusta, p. 217: Judaism spread into Ḥimyar, B. Kināna, B. Ḥārith b. Ka'b, and Kinda; the same in Tawhīdī, *Basā'ir*, II, p. 45; Samhūdī, I, pp. 114-116, who quotes a tradition about more than twenty Jewish tribes that lived in Yathrib; cf. Watt, *Muḥ. at Med.*, pp. 192ff.; see also Ibn al-Najjār, p. 326.

²¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, p. 1490; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 417; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Durar*, p. 190; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *Uyūn*, I, p. 58 (quoting Ibn Ishāq about the position of the B. Hadl in Islam); II, p. 71; cf. Ibn Ḳathīr, *Bidāya*, II, p. 309. On Umāma bint Bishr see also Ibn Sa'd, VIII, p. 236; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, IV, p. 235; her brother 'Abbād was among those who killed Ka'b b. al-Ashraf, see Ibn Sa'd, II (1), p. 26; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Durar*, p. 151; they were of the B. 'Abd al-Ashhal, see Ibn Sa'd, III (2), pp. 16f., a clan all of whose members accepted Muḥammad, except one Yasha', who was a leader of the Jews, see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, p. 286. On 'Abbād see also Ibn Ḥazm, *Jawāmi'*, pp. 89f.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, II, p. 263.

The origin of the Jews of Yathrib

211

and later moved to Medina.²²

Some traditions make even the Aws and Khazraj descendants of Jews, namely, of the 400 *aḥbār* left by the *tubba'* in Medina. Abū Ayyūb (Khālid b. Zayd), one of the *anṣār*, of Khazraj, in whose house the Prophet stayed for some time after arriving in Medina, is said to have been a descendant of such a *ḥabr*, and to have preserved a letter from the *tubba'* for the Prophet, of whose coming, far in the future, he was informed. Abū Ayyūb actually handed the letter over to the Prophet.²³ There is special mention of Jews among the B. Ḥāritha, which designation apparently applied to the B. Qayla, i.e., both Aws and Khazraj.²⁴

Abū 'Aḥaf, one of the Prophet's opponents, killed 20 months after the *hijra*, is said to have been a Jew, belonging to the clan of B. 'Amru b. 'Awf.²⁵ Zahra, described as one of the biggest villages around Medina, was inhabited by 300 Jewish craftsmen (*ṣāni'*).²⁶ B. Jafna are mentioned together with Jewish groups in the *kitāb al-umma*, also B. Shuṭayba; The B. Jafna were apparently clients of Tha'laba, they were part of the Ghassān, and described as "kings in Palestine" (*al-Shām*). The Tha'laba themselves were at least partly Judaized, since they are described as *min yahūda*. The B. Shuṭayba are also described as people from al-Shām. Mentioned together with them are also the B. Za'ūrā, likewise known as a Jewish clan. Note should also be taken of the other tribes and clans to whom Jews were attached, apparently as protected people, in the above mentioned document, the *kitāb al-umma*, among them the B. 'Awf, B. Najjār, B. Ḥārith, B. Sā'ida, B. Jusham, B. Aws.²⁷

No conclusive evidence is yet available of who these Jewish *mawālī* were and whether they stemmed from Arab clans or were the offspring of Jews who settled in the city centuries before Islam. However, the bulk of traditions on Jews preserved in the sources surveyed so far point to proselytes from among the Bedouin.

²² Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 29 quoting 'Umar b. Shabba; cf. Horowitz, *IC*, iii (1929), p. 177.

²³ Samhūdī, I, p. 189, cf. Kister, *IOS*, ii (1972), p. 233, and the references in n. 141.

²⁴ Abū 'Awāna, IV, p. 163; Ibn al-Jārūd, p. 496, also singles out the *Yahūd Banī Ḥāritha* in his report on the expulsion of the Jews from Medina. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī (Caskei), I, table 176, and II, p. 455 (Qaila).

²⁵ Maqrīzī, *Imtā'*, p. 103.

²⁶ Ibn al-Najjār, p. 323; Samhūdī, II, pp. 319 f. has the same tradition, but omits the fact of their being Jews. Closely connected with the Jews of Fadak were the Sa'd b. Bakr (of the Hawāzin). The Prophet had to send 'Alī to attack them to prevent them from rushing to help Fadak (or Khaybar), see Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* I, p. 1556, Ibn Sa'd, II (1), p. 65; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *'Uyūn*, II, p. 109.

²⁷ Ibn Hishām, p. 343; Mawṣilī, MS. Cambridge, Or Qq 33, fol. 79; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, II, p. 317; Samhūdī, I, pp. 115, 126; II, pp. 62; 152 ff.; cf. Gil, *IOS*, iv (1974), pp. 61 f.

5. Offspring of the Banū Judhām

There are traditions describing the Naḍīr and Qurayza themselves, considered the most important Jewish tribes in Medina, as descendants of the B. Judhām. Not enough attention has been paid to these traditions, though they were known even to earlier students of Islam. We first find such a tradition in Ya'qūbī's chronicle, in his introductory lines to the attack against the B. Naḍīr, whom he described as *fakhidhun min Judhāma illā annahum tahawwadū wa-nazalū bi-jabalin yuqālu lahu al-Naḍīru fa-summū bihi*; "a clan of Judhām; only that they became Jewish; their name comes from a mountain on which they settled". The same story is told about the B. Qurayza, though some say that Qurayza was the name of their ancestor (not of a mountain).²⁸

Mas'ūdī also quotes an anonymous tradition saying that the Naḍīr and Qurayza were the offspring of Judhām, but they split away from the religion of the Amalekites and idol worship and followed the law of Mūsā, and then they migrated from Palestine (al-Shām) to Ḥijāz.²⁹ Then there is a tradition which makes the Naḍīr the offspring of Kināna and Khuzayma, and relatives of Judhām.³⁰ In another tradition the Naḍīr and Qurayza are said to be the offspring of al-Khazraj b. al-Ṣurayḥ (or Ṣarīḥ); Qurayza pretended to be descendants of Shu'ayb, the prophet of God, who was of Judhām. This is recorded by Samhūdī, who says he found it in Ibn Ḥajar (al-'Asqalānī), who took it from 'Abd al-Malik b. Yūsuf's *kitāb al-anwā'*.³¹ Mawhūb b. Rushayd, singing the praises of Suwāj, Akhānj, and Batīl, evidently places in the land of Judhām, Madyan.³²

6. Midian

In what follows we shall endeavor to present the main points which can be ascertained on Judhām, on Shu'ayb, Madyan (whose prophet Shu'ayb is said to have been), taking into account a few non-Muslim sources as well.

²⁸ Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḥ*, II, pp. 49, 52. Nöldeke thought the tradition to be a trustworthy one, though noting that he never came across anything similar, see *ZDMG*, xxxvii (1884), p. 158.

²⁹ *Tanbīh*, p. 246. Hirschfeld, writing a year before Nöldeke (see note 28), cited this tradition, see *REJ*, vii (1883), p. 309, n. 37.

³⁰ Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, p. 37; Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, I, p. 1105.

³¹ Samhūdī, I, p. 113; cf. Ibn al-Najjār, p. 325. Leszynsky, p. 11, totally rejected this tradition. Hirschberg, *Yisrā'el*, p. 167, assumed it to be an invention of the B. Qurayza, who wanted to prove their connections with the Arabs, through Shu'ayb and Madyan, said to be the homeland of Judhām. 'Abd al-Malik the author of the *k. al-anwā'* (see below) considered the tradition to be acceptable (*muḥtama*), whereas Ibn Ḥajar said it was very far-fetched (*ba'īd jiddan*). Lammens, *mél. Univ. St. Jos.*, v (1912), pp. 597f., who mentions Ya'qūbī and Mas'ūdī, stresses the credibility of these traditions.

³² Zamakhsharī, *Amkina*, p. 24.

The origin of the Jews of Yathrib

213

We shall also try to see who the main transmitters of those Muslim traditions were.

The B. Judhām lived north of Hijāz, in the border region of Palestine, their center being Ḥismā; their land is said to be Madyan, i.e., biblical Midyān. Around A.D. 570 Antoninus Martyr Placentinus mentions the Midianites whom he met in Abela (or Abila, or Ahela; evidently Eylat), on his way from Sinai to the Arabian peninsula. Numbering 58 (or:80) clans, they considered themselves descendants of Jethro (cf. Shu'ayb of the Muslim tradition). The Midianite women carrying palm branches anointed the soles and heads of the pilgrims with radish oil, saying *lingua Aegyptiaca: Benedicti vos a Domino et benedictus adventus vester, Hosanna in excelsis!*³³ Hamadānī's description of the Judhām's area apparently shows the situation that obtained in the tenth century A.D. According to him, it stretched from Madyan to Tabūk and further to Adhruḥ. One of the clans lived in the neighborhood of Tiberias and Lajjūn (Megiddo), Yāmūn(?), and Acre. Their land included Tabūk, the mountains of Sharāh (Edom), Ma'ān (Petra), Ayla, Maghār, and Dārūm. It is called "the wilderness of the B. Isrā'īl", between Ayla and the land of B. Ghudra. It appears that in southern Palestine they were intermingled with their "brothers", the B. Lakhm. Between Ayla and that wilderness was Iram, meaning "a rock". The B. Judhām also lived around Rafaḥ, where they had famous plantations of palm trees, mainly in Khawārij. Maqrīzī described Madyan as being located on *baḥr Qulzum*, by which he apparently means the Red Sea. It is six *marāḥil* from Tabūk. Some say Madyan is the name of both a city and a region, others that it is a tribe called after its ancestor, Madyan, in some sources Madyān b. Ibrāhīm. Although generally considered to be non-Arabic (*a'jamī*) some say however it is Arabic (quoting al-Farrā').³⁴

³³ See the *Itinerarium*, MPL 72, pp. 912f.; Tobler and Molinier, *Itinera*, I, pp. 113f., 132.

³⁴ Hamadānī, I, pp. 129 f. Bakrī mentions also Ḥismā, Kurā'u rabba, Marrūt, Ma'in, 'Arad ('Arād), Ghazza, Khabt, Munā, Bayt Zummarā'a; see his *Mu'jam*, pp. 289, 446, 1122, 1214, 1247. There was also Salāsil, which was a watering place, or a small river, see Zamakhsharī, *Amkina*, p. 129; Yāqūt, III, p. 111; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, I, pp. 329 f.; the *marḥala* is eight *farāsīḥ*, i.e. ca. 50 kms., and this would make a distance of ca. 300 kms. between Madyan and Tabūk. It is noteworthy that some Christian sources tend to identify the Midianites as Arabs. An anonymous Syriac chronicle even explains the name al-Madīna as derived from "Midyan, the fourth son of Abraham from Qenṭūrā(!), it is the one which is also called Yathrib", see *Chronica Minora* (ed. Guidi), p. 38; Hieronymus in Ez. xxv:1-3, MPL 25, p. 244, says The Midianites are "Ismaelitai et Agareni qui nunc Sarraceni appellantur..."; Ghévond, p. 2, also calls the Arabs Midianites. See more on Madyan and the locations of Judhām: Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, p. 253; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, pp. 212, 267, 919f.; II, p. 794 (Thajr); Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 33; Wāqidī, pp. 28 555f., 990, 1032; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 135; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *Uyūn*, II, p. 107 (on Ḥismā; the water of the flood persisted there for eighty years); Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 186. See

7. Judhām

An important clan among the B. Judhām were the B. Wā'il. Hawdha b. Qays al-Wā'ilī and Abū 'Ammār al-Wā'ilī, together with other people from this tribe and the delegates of B. Naḍīr headed by Huyyay (probably: Ḥunnay) b. Akhṭab formed the delegation to Mecca which preceded the battle of the *khandaq*.³⁵ Following the Tabūk expedition, a man of Wā'il who had accepted Islam was among those appointed to collect the quarter of the yield of the Maqnā Jews.³⁶

The genealogy of the Judhām is Judhām—'Adī—al-Hārith—Murra—Udad — Zayd — 'Amru — 'Arīb — Zayd — Kahlān. They are said to be the brothers of Lakhm. Thus one sees that they were to be counted among the Yamanīs. During the Umayyad period, in Yazīd's day, there was an attempt to make them join the B. Asad and thus become part of the Qays coalition. Rawḥ b. Zinbā' readily agreed, but their older leader, Nā'il (or: Nā'il) b. Qays rebuked him in a very harsh manner. There is much information on the B. Judhām pertaining to the wars of the Prophet and also from the later period, when they infiltrated the inner parts of Palestine and became in fact the rulers of its two *junds*, Filastīn and Urdunn. (What is said in the sources about Tiberias etc. clearly belongs to the Umayyad period.) Not much is heard of them after the 'Abbāsīd revolution, when they were probably forced to move westwards, into Sinai and Egypt and deprived of any political power or influence.³⁷

The Jewish connection of the B. Judhām is well attested: Ya'qūbī explicitly stated that some of them accepted Judaism.³⁸ On the other hand,

also Abel. *Géogr. de la Pal.* I, pp. 285ff. and his references. Concerning Maghār ("the caves") it is important to note what Josephus says about the Midianites: They are τρωγλοῦται (dwellers of caves), see *Ant.* ii:259; the land that Abraham bequeathed to the sons of Qeīūrā is called Τρωγλοῦτις, *ibid.* 213. As to Midyān, it is "a city on the Red Sea", *ibid.* 257.

³⁵ (Though obviously of no relevance to our topic, the etymological correspondence of Wā'il to Hebrew Yō'ēl is interesting.) See Ibn Ḥishām, p. 669 (cf. p. 391); Wāqidī, p. 441; Tabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, p. 1464; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *'Uyūn*, II, p. 55.

³⁶ Wāqidī, p. 1032; cf. Musil, *Northern Hejaz*, p. 114 and n. 30; this may be considered a continuation of the position and functions of the B. Wā'il in the pre-Islamic period, when they acted for the kings of Ḥīra as *dhawū ākāl*, cf. Kister, *Arabica*, xv (1968), p. 150.

³⁷ Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1201; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, pp. 36f.; *Aghānī*, VIII, p. 182; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Isī'āb*, II, p. 502; Warrām, II, p. 102 (Rawḥ b. Zinbā' belonged to the Azd); Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, I, pp. 330-334. He quotes the opinion of the Egyptian specialists in genealogy, that the B. Judhām belonged originally to the B. 'Adnān. Where others have Zayd b. 'Amru B. 'Arīb he has Zayd b. Yashjab. See also his *Nihāya*, pp. 205ff. See the comprehensive discussion on the B. Judhām by Lammens, *Mél. Univ. St. Joseph*, v (1912), pp. 589-619. Some sources mention the view that the Judhām were the offspring of A'ṣar, or Ya'fur b. Madyan b. Ibrāhīm, which is said to be the origin of Shu'ayb (see below); see Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, I, p. 331, and the note *ibid.*

³⁸ Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, p. 298.

The origin of the Jews of Yathrib

215

there was obviously also some Christian influence among the B. Judhām, quite naturally for a tribe living on the border of the Byzantine empire. Farwa b. 'Amru b. al-Nāfira of the B. Judhām was the appointed governor of the Bedouin (*'āmil al-rūm*) by the Byzantines, and later was put to death by them for accepting Islam.³⁹

Like the Jews of Yathrib (p. 205 above), the B. Judhām were criticized for collecting taxes at the entrance to the city. (Zinbā' [Rawḥ's father], was a tax collector [*'āshir*] for the B. Jafna in Palestine [al-Shām]). They would take possession of some of the gold carried by merchants. Shu'ayb, the prophet of Madyan and Judhām, on whom see below, was sent to administer a badly needed admonishment and warning, since the people of Madyan, i.e., Judhām, used to rob travellers and falsify weights and measures, and, what is even worse, collect tithes (*'ushūr*) from people's belongings.⁴⁰

8. Shu'ayb

Shu'ayb is a Qur'ānic personality (vii:83-91; x:85-98; xxvi:176-189; xxix:35-36), who was sent to Madyan and al-Ayka to ask people there to respect justice and equity and refrain from falsifying weights and measures. The people of al-Ayka declared him a liar, and a man bewitched. According to traditions, he was of the B. Judhām, from the sub-tribe of the B. Wā'il. Muḥammad greeted the delegates of the B. Judhām saying "welcome to the people of Shu'ayb!" He is said to have been none other than biblical Jethro, or considered a relative of his, for instance his father's brother; but Shu'ayb is the one who was Moses' father-in-law. It is from him that Moses got his staff, which was taken from the myrtle of the Garden of Eden. He was a descendant of Madyan b. Ibrāhīm. He became blind. He was the only prophet to be sent to two nations. His genealogy is Shu'ayb b. Nawfal — Ra'ū'il — Murr — 'Ayfā — Madyan — Ibrāhīm. The biblical names Re'ū'el and 'Eyfa (Gen. xxvi 1-4, 1 Chr. i:33, 35) are discernible here. Some have: Shu'ayb b. Mīkā'il, or b. Nū'ib, or b. Nū'il, or b. Yūbab, or b. Šifūr, or b. Šifūn, or b. Ya'far (A'far?), or b. Yashjur, or b. Tawīd b. Raghū'il, or b. Nū'ib, or b. Malakā'in.⁴¹

³⁹ Ibn Sa'd, I(2), pp. 1, 26, 83; an oft quoted tradition has it that Jesus will descend to earth again, break the crosses, kill the pigs, and marry a woman of Judhām, see e.g. Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *'Uyūn*, I, p. 66; Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, IV, p. 1201; Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, I, p. 825; Samhūdī, II, p. 370; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, p. 188. Cf. Lammens, *Mél. Univ. St. Jos.*, v(1912), pp. 603f., 611f.

⁴⁰ Abū'l-Baqā', MS. BM Add 23.296, fol. 11; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, I, pp. 185f.

⁴¹ Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, pp. 187f., 331; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 389; b. Yūbab; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḫh*, I, p. 32; b. Nū'ib; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, p. 825; Suhaylī, *Rawḍ*, I, p. 73, n. 2; Samhūdī,

9. Bil'ām — Bālāq — Jethro

It is almost certainly the biblical figure of Bil'ām that underlies this description and genealogy. There was some merger between him and Bālāq king of Moab, however. Three versions of his father's name can be guessed through the garbled forms preserved in the sources. One of them seems to stem from Ba'ūr, another (preserved correctly) is Šifūr, and a third comes from Hūbab. These are respectively Be'ōr father of Bil'ām, Šippōr father of Bālāq, and Hōbāb, the son of Re'ū'el the Midianite, the father-in-law of Moses (See Nu. xxii-xxiii; x:29). Bil'ām is known in the midrash as a prophet sent to both the Moabites and the Midianites (though the Biblical story refers to Moab, the elders of Midian are twice mentioned there, see Nu. xxii:4, 7) as Josephus noted as well. He was blind on one eye, says the midrash, as it is said "the speech of the man who had his eye shut" (*shetum ha-ayin*, Nu. xxiv:3). The midrash also contains something about his having to do with falsifying weights, though in quite a different sense from that of Muslim tradition. God said to Bil'ām (concerning the seven altars that he erected): "You wicked man, what are you doing? He then replied: I erected seven altars; just like a banker who lies about his weights and is caught by the overseer of the market", etc. The midrash describes him as a sorcerer, whereas in the Qur'ān people say he is bewitched (*min al-musahharīn*, xxvi:185, but the phrase may once have been *min al-musahhirīn*, a sorcerer).⁴²

II, p. 269; Ibn al-Jawzī, MS. Bodl. Marsh. 551, fol. 29; Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, p. 365: Some say he was not the offspring of Abraham, but one of his followers; his grandmother was Lot's daughter; *ibid*, p. 370: The main sin of his people was that they falsified coins (*qaṭ' u'l-darāhima*); Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, p. 93 and III, p. 301: His language was Arabic; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, p. 510; Bakrī, *Mu'jam*: Shu'ayb was of the B. Wā'il b. Judhām; Quḍā'i, MS. Bodl. Marsh. 37, fol. 13a: Thabrūn (should be: Yithrūn) b. Šifūr; Suhaylī, MS. India Off. 4110, fol. 19b: Shu'ayb b. Šifūr; some say: Shu'ayb Malalā'n; the Prophet complimented the clan (*raḥl*) of Shū'ayb, the fathers-in-law (*akhtān*) of Mūsā; Ibn Wahb al-Qurashī, *Jāmi'*, p. 1; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, MS. BM Or 4215, fol. 102b; Abū'l-Fidā', *Mukhtaṣar*, I, p. 18: Some say he was a descendant of a believer in Abraham (not of Abraham himself); Fāsī, *Shifā'*, I, p. 352: b. Tawīd; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, I, p. 184: b. Nū'ib, or b. Šifūr; Ṭha'labī, *Qīṣaṣ*, p. 115: b. Šifūr; or b. Mīkā'il b. Yashjur; his Aramaic (Suryāni) name was Yithrūn; his mother was Mīkīl, Lot's daughter; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, I, p. 246 (no. 654): b. Mīkā'il b. Taskhur; he was sent to two nations, Madyan and al-Ayka; when he became old he was blind; Suyūṭī, *Mu'tarak*, III, p. 277, quoting Nawawī: b. Mīkā'il b. Yashjun; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, II, p. 154.

⁴² See *Yalqūṭ Shim'ōnī*, nos. 765ff.; Jos. Fl., *Ant.* iv:104. The readings Mīkā'il, Malalā'n (see note 41), as Shu'ayb's father, may perhaps represent Berakh'el, said to be the name of Bil'ām's father, P.T. *Sōjā* v, 20d, cf. Urbach, *Tarbiz*, xxv (1955/6), p. 273, n. 5 (Elihu b. Barachel the Buzite in Job xxxii:2-6, is said to be identical with Bil'ām, his father being nicknamed Berachel since he blessed Israel.) Or, perhaps Qemū'el (son of Nāhōr), with whom the midrash identified Bil'ām, cf. Ginzberg, *Leg. of the J.*, VI, pp. 123f., n. 722. On Hōbāb, see Mazar, *JNES*, xxiv:299, 1965.

The origin of the Jews of Yathrib

217

It is hard to say how a biblical "prophet of the gentiles" whose name was Bil'ām became Shu'ayb among the B. Judhām. Perhaps the development has something to do with the elements 'ām and *sha'b* of the two names respectively. *Balaam hio qui interpretatur populus vanus*, says Origenes. As he was considered a prophet sent to the Midianites, with whom the B. Judhām identified themselves, it is easy to understand how he became connected with Jethro and how Re'ū'ēl and Ḥōbāb, the other biblical names attributed to the Midianite priest, insinuated themselves into the genealogies of Shu'ayb.⁴³

10. The sons of Jethro

It is important to cast a glance at the Jewish sources on this matter. There are sources mentioning Jews living among Arabs, such as in the Mishna, "Arabian (i.e. living in Arabia) women carry their veils on their faces when they go out" (of their houses, on Saturdays); and in the Palestinian Talmud, "people in Arabia used to collect (the *ketubbā*, i.e. what is due to the widow or the divorcée) from spices and camels" (i.e. by selling such belongings of the husband).⁴⁴ Still more significant are the traditions on the Sons of Jethro, the Kenites. The Targum calls the Kenites, sons of Jethro, Salamians: "The Salamians (Benē Salmā'a sons) of Moses' father-in-law went up from the city of Jericho together with the sons of Judah, to the wilderness of Judah which is south of 'Arad; they went and sat together with (the Jewish) people".⁴⁵ Salmā is included in the list of the sons of Judah (I Chr. ii), as the father of Bethlehem, and was perhaps considered father of the Kenites, who are mentioned further in those lists; Ezra ii:46 mentions the sons of Samlay, rendered by the Septuagint (Lucian) as Σελαμει, just like the sons of Salmāy of Neh. vii:48. In I Esdras v:30 they are called υἱοι Συβαει, but there is a version Σελαμει as well (see the Tedesche edition). Σαλάμοι and Σαλμηνοι are names of Arab tribes both in inscriptions and in Stephen of Byzantium (sixth century).⁴⁶

⁴³ See Origenes, in *Numeros Homilia xiv*, *MPG*, 12, col. 682; cf. Urbach, *Tarbiz*, xxv (1955/6), p. 273, n. 5. Apparently, the traditional Hebrew pronunciation of Re'ū'ēl in Antiquity was with a *ghayn*, since Josephus always wrote it: Raguēl, see for instance: Ant. vi:140. There are traditions on a slave of Shu'ayb b. Dhū Mahdam called Rughāl (Righāl); some say he was a wicked man, a tax collector, some say: a messenger of God, Abū Rughāl. See Balādhuṣṣayyid, *Ansāb*, I, pp. 25f. The Prophet ordered the grave of Abū Rughāl to be stoned. One used to nickname al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf "the slave of Abū Rughāl". Abū Rughāl is said as well to have been the one who showed Abraham the way to Mecca, see Ibn Hishām, p. 32.

⁴⁴ Mishna, *Shabbāt*, vi:6; P.T., *Ketubbōt*, x, 33d.

⁴⁵ See the Palestinian Targum to Nu, xxiv:21, 22; Ps. Jon. to Ju. i:16.

⁴⁶ See Steph. Byz., p. 550; Moritz, *Abh.*, Göttingen 1916, p. 42.

In other words, the Targum viewed the Kenites, Jethro's people, as Arabs, just like the Christian sources mentioned above (p. 213). However, other sources consider the Kenites, the "sons of Jethro" to be proselytes, enjoying a status equal to that of any other Jews. Discussing the Mishna citation that "the proselyte brings (the first fruits) but does not read", two sages of the Palestinian Talmud, R. Yōnā and R. Yasā (fourth century) said, quoting R. Samuel b. R. Isaac, that it referred to the "sons of Qēnī, the father-in-law of Moses. But the sons of Qēnī, Moses' father-in-law, both bring and read". ("Reading" refers to the phrase on the first fruits, "which the Lord hath sworn unto our fathers to give unto us"; since that would be inaccurate for offspring of non-Jews.) This view is based on Nu. x:29 (Moses' words to Hobab) "come thou with us, and we will do thee good." R. Yōnā said: "This was attested by Benjamin b. 'Ashtūr before R. Ḥīya b. R. Bā", saying that "does not read" (of the Mishna) refers only to the offspring of a Jewish mother and a gentile father.⁴⁷

The offspring of Jethro are said to have reached the position of members of the Sanhedrīn, in the "chamber of hewn stone" (*lishkat ha-gāzīt*), and some of them were even high priests (which is difficult to grasp, but brings to mind the *kāhinān*). The descendants of Jethro will participate in Israel's joy and sorrows at the end of days, in the time of the Messiah, whereas other nations will be destroyed.⁴⁸

The impression derived from these sources is that during the Byzantine period there was a well known and well established category of proselytes, of Bedouin descent, known as "the Sons of Jethro". The similarity with the Muslim sources on the matter of the Jewish tribes and clans of Ḥijāz and their connections with B. Judhām, the inhabitants of the land of Madyan, kinsfolk of Shu'ayb-Jethro cannot be ignored. We have seen above that a similar parallelism exists concerning the Jewish refugees who fled from the Romans (most probably in A.D. 70, and perhaps also 135) into Arabia. It is apparently these refugees who formed the first layer of the Jewish population in northern Ḥijāz. During the centuries that followed they increased in number through Arab tribes who converted, and adopted an

⁴⁷ See ch. i. of *Bikkūrīm* in the Mishnā, the Tosefta, and the P.T. (64a). See all parallels and variants in Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-feshuṭah*, ad locum.

⁴⁸ B.T. *Sanhedrīn*, 104a, 106a; *Pesqātā de-R. Kahanā* (Mandelbaum ed.), I, p. 36. *Sifrē Zūja* (Horovitz ed.), pp. 263ff.; *Mekhilta de-R. Shim'ōn* (Hoffmann ed.), p. 92; *Mekhilta de-R. Ishmā'el* (Ish-Shalom ed.), 60a (referring to Yōnādāv b. Rēkhāv); Targum to I. Chr. ii:55: "The Salamians, sons of Šippōrā, who are from the tribe of Levi, of the seed of Moses..." (cf. the genealogy of the Jewish tribes of Medina, above, p. 208); *Sifrē, be-ha'alotekhā* (Horovitz ed.), pp. 72ff.; *Tanḥūmā, wa-yaqhēl*, viii; *Yalqūf ha-Makhīrī*, to Isaiah (Kahana-Spira ed.), p. 195. See also, Ginzberg, *Leg. of the J.* III, p. 380; VI, pp. 133f, nn. 782, 783.

The origin of the Jews of Yathrib

219

agricultural life, taking over not only the Jews' religion and way of life, but also their spoken language, Aramaic.

11. Baṣrians against Ibn Ishāq

The nature and origin of the Jews of Yathrib seems to have been a point of disagreement among early Muslim authors and compilers of traditions. There was a heated conflict between Ibn Ishāq and Mālik b. Anas. The latter stamped the first as a kind of Satan himself, *dajjāl min al-dajājila*, reporting traditions taken from the Jews. Ibn Sayyid al-Nās provides the explanation that Mālik was angry since Ibn Ishāq used to accept things from the offspring of the Jews who became Muslims and it was they who preserved the story of Khaybar, and of the Qurayza and Naḍīr, and similar peculiar stories they took over from their predecessors.⁴⁹ The tradition preserved in Samhūdī on the descent of the Naḍīr and Qurayza from the Judham and Shu'ayb was taken, as said above (p. 212), from a *kitāb al-anwā'*, by 'Abd al-Malik b. Yūsuf, as copied by Ibn Ḥajar (al-'Asqalānī) who declared that tradition very improbable. That 'Abd al-Malik b. Yūsuf was, one may safely assume, 'Abd al-Malik b. Qurayb al-Aṣma'ī, the Baṣrian. (Yūsuf being a misscript.) His *k. al-anwā'* is mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm. Ibn Ḥajar notes that Qurayb was his father's *laqab*, whereas his real name was 'Āṣim. Al-Aṣma'ī died in 828 (at the age of 88), whereas Mālik b. Anas died ca. 800. They cited traditions from each other.⁵⁰

As to the parallel tradition from Mas'ūdī quoted above (p. 212), it is included in a fragment copied from 'Umar b. Shabba al-Numayrī, who died in 877. He too was Aṣma'ī's contemporary (though much younger) and used to quote him.⁵¹ According to him, Moses and Aaron performed the pilgrimage to Mecca and sojourned for some time in Medina, where they had to stay in hiding in order to avoid the Jews, who wanted to harm them. Aaron died in Medina and Moses buried him in nearby Uḥud.⁵²

⁴⁹ Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 1334), *'Uyūn*, pp. 16ff.; Ṣafadī, II, p. 189 (no. 550); however, there is another opinion in Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Intiqā'*, p. 11: Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq claimed that Mālik and his father's family were *mawālī* of the B. Tamīm b. Murra, whereas Mālik claimed descent from Dhū Aṣbaḥ the Himiarite; see also Suhaylī, *Rawḍ*, I, p. 39; Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh*, VI, p. 377; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh*, I, pp. 223f.

⁵⁰ Ibn al-Nadīm, p. 55; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, p. 415. Aṣma'ī's tomb was still seen in Baṣra by Harawī, see p. 82. See also Ibn Al-Anbārī, pp. 112-124; "al-Aṣma'ī" (by B. Lewin), *EP*, I, pp. 717ff.

⁵¹ Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, p. 460. Ibn Khallikān, III, p. 463; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, VI, p. 48. He is often quoted by Ṭabarī and also by Samhūdī (mostly as Abū Zayd). See Sezgin, I, p. 345.

⁵² Samhūdī, I, pp. 112f.; Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. d. St. Med.*, p. 29 attributes this story to Ibn Zabāla, but it is actually from Ibn Shabba.

A much quoted source in Samhūdī, in Jewish matters as well, is Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Zabāla, who wrote a history of Medina (814). He was one of the pupils of Mālik b. Anas, and one of 'Umar b. Shabba's sources.³³ Evidently then, the views of the early Medinan Muslim community as represented by Mālik b. Anas, were accepted by some of his younger Baṣrian contemporaries, who spread them. At least in the matter of the Medinan Jews, these Baṣrians preserved different information from that in Ibn Iṣḥāq. The tendency and spirit of their traditions are still alive in Ibn Khaldūn's description: "The people of the Torah among the Arabs in those days were Bedouin like themselves... their majority being from Ḥimyar; they accepted the Jewish religion, and even after they became Muslims they kept their former views" (by this he tries to prove that the traditional commentaries of the Qur'ān took over many things from the Medinan Jews, who were far from being learned enough). Elsewhere he criticizes Ibn Iṣḥāq for quoting a tradition based on the numerical value of letters, prophecizing the duration of Islam, in the name of Ḥuyyay b. Akḥṭab and his brother Aḇū Yāsir (leaders of the B. Naḍīr). This, he says, has nothing to do with nature or with reason; also "Abū Yasir and his brother Ḥuyyay are not the sort of people whose opinion should be considered an argument; nor were they of the Jewish sages, since they were Bedouin of Ḥijāz, ignorant of crafts and sciences, and even of the knowledge of their own law or the legal aspects (*fiqh*) of their book and religion".³⁴

Thus we see that those few fragments preserved in Muslim sources showing the Jewish tribes of Yathrib to be the offspring of proselytes were part of one particular trend of Islamic hermeneutics. The full range of basic points at issue and differences is unknown to us at this moment. What is evident is that the origin of the Medinan Jews was one of the arguments in this dispute. In this respect, we find a clearcut difference between the accounts of Ibn Iṣḥāq and those of the Baṣrian followers of Mālik b. Anas.

³³ See Samhūdī, I, pp. 7, 252: Ibn Zabāla was one of Mālik b. Anas' *aṣḥāb*; he finished his book in Ṣafar 199 (IX/X 814); cf. S.A. Al-Ali, *JC*, xxxv (1961), p. 66.

³⁴ Ibn Khaldūn, *Muq.*, pp. 332, 439.

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221

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222

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223

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224

Moshe Gil

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HARAM AND HAWTAH, THE SACRED ENCLAVE IN ARABIA

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Over the last ten years my conviction has grown steadily that most western writers on the Prophet Muhammad have had little real understanding of the circumstances into which he was born, tending to regard Muḥammad as free to detach himself, at least in some degree, from his Arabian environment, and even to initiate, though what they consider novel in his religion they incline to ascribe to Jewish and Christian influence. There is the tendency always, to compare him with Jesus, as his figure, at any rate, is represented in those Gospels considered canonical. The question has even been asked — was Muḥammad sincere — a question absurdly out of context. Nor can it be said that the approach of Muslim writers is always more realistic. Of latter years my views have begun to crystallise as a result of the partial synchronisation of my field research with classical texts, and consideration of the results of the researches of scholars into the pre-Islāmic inscriptions, vital for the study of the rise of Islām, though I have had to content myself largely to accepting what others have written. Through essaying the interpretation of the content and language of the ancient Arabic texts in accordance with existing Arabia that has not yet undergone any major social change it is becoming possible to offer some tentative re-assessments and a fresh approach to the unsolved problem of the origins of Islām. This article embodies views at an interim stage of my researches, subject to modification.

In pre-oil Arabia, indigenous institutions and fundamental patterns of social behaviour have hardly changed from the earliest historic times. There is, in general, the ever-recurrent pattern of centralisation of a great number of component societies into an organised state, the dissolution of that state, followed by the resumption by the constituent communities of their independent entities — which indeed they never really lost in the centralised state. This is often regarded as the relapse from order into anarchy. There seems to exist an unending conflict between the secular organisation of tribal groups and the theocratic nuclei of the professional men of religion, (the latter professions of course, hereditary like all else in Arabia), but sometimes, perhaps even frequently the two interact to work together. Complementary is the factor of the fairly rigidly patterned customary law, basically the same all over Arabia. In areas as far apart as Kuwait and Hadramawt, it is known as *Tāghūt*. It is significant that *Tawāghīt* are described in the *Sirah* of Ibn Hishām as temples (*buyūt*)

venerated like the Ka'bah and circumambulated, with priests, *etc.*, like the Ka'bah itself. I incline therefore to the theory that Tāghūt before Islām, may have included the senses of law and custom in just the same way as "Dīn" means law. Again, Arabian customary law of the present time is fundamentally one with that ancient law of Arabia of which we catch glimpses in the pre-Islāmic inscriptions, and from which the *sharī'ah* is also descended. From reading the Koran and *Sīrah* it becomes clear that Muḥammad hardly made any innovations, and terms like *sālifah* 'ādah, sunnah, the law of Abraham, are opposed in ancient and modern times to words like *bid'ah* innovation, *bādī*, and their like. As to the above the rigid stratification of ancient and even modern Arabia — which I hold to be in part maintained by the application of the law of *kafā'ah*, making it impossible, or nearly so, for a woman to marry a man below her in social standing.

In ancient Arabia and in contemporary South Arabia, the social stratification has, as its top layer, the armed tribes who consider themselves as a sort of chivalry; they may be camel-owning desert tribes, or tribesmen living in villages settled, who fight on foot, as in South Arabia. These tribesmen of chivalry may even be a minority of the population of Arabia. Subjected to the tribes are the merchant element, the artisans, and the peasants, all of whom are considered *da'if* as opposed to *sharīf*, a definition you may find in the *Hadīth* and the *Sīrah*, and who come under some form of protection for which they have to pay the tribesman. Slaves form a separate class, chattels, yet more influential than the peasant.

In Southern Arabia the religious element is represented in the noble families of *Sharifs*, *Saiyids*, and *Mashāyikh*. In a published lecture¹ I have tried to convey some impression of the organisation and function of this religious aristocracy, and accept the overwhelming evidence of the Muslim view that Muḥammad was a member of the religious aristocratic family of Mecca.

In all classes each social group is based on the family, has its own organisation and discipline, and seeks to the best of its powers, to maintain its position and interests, *vis-à-vis* the other groups.

Normally each tribal unit will be at war, at truce, or even in a state of alliance with other tribal units — all these relations strictly governed by customary law. Inevitably occasions arise when tribes must meet on common ground in physical security, to come to market, to arrange for truce or the payment of blood-money, and for religion. As the tribesman constantly requires some greater authority than his own which he trusts, to preside over tribal arbitrations, and to impose, even, some sanctions

with supernatural authority to enforce the observance of security on these occasions, he has to turn to the holy family which derives its authority from the divinity, perhaps through the medium of a prophet or saint. Closely associated with the holy family is the institution known in ancient Arabia as the ḥaram, and in contemporary South Arabia as the ḥawṭah — the sacred enclave — both obviously ancient terms, and, it will be remarked, both containing the radical ḥā', like the interdicted pastures, ḥimā and maḥjar. The primitive form or ancestor of all these institutions may, I think, be the type of ḥawṭah which Thesiger² records at Mughshin, north-east of Zufār on the edge of the Arabian sands. Thesiger recounts that, on several occasions, he was warned not to cut trees in these ḥawṭahs, to ignore the prohibition meaning to incur misfortune, and in this particular ḥawṭah the killing of hares was forbidden also. Thesiger, oddly enough, seems not to have noticed the numerous ḥawṭahs within Ḥadramawt itself, although he remarks on the similarity of ḥawṭahs to the ḥarams of the Hejaz, which, of course, Landberg had already pointed out some sixty years ago.

To accept the oft-repeated pattern of events described in the Arabic hagiologies, the way in which a ḥawṭah, a sacred enclave, comes to be created is that a member of a holy family will declare a certain piece of land a ḥawṭah. Perhaps in rare cases the founder might be a man of piety, not of a holy family, and conversely I recall the Ṣubaiḥis telling me of a shrine where a man of holy family had been killed deliberately so that he would stay for ever with them. The founder has the ḥawṭah boundaries demarcated by white-washed cairns; it will usually be sited at a locality where people tend to come together; several ḥawṭas for example that I have visited, lie at the junction of a number of wādīs. The hagiologies, though conveying the impression that a religious personage (let me call him a saint, for convenience), took the initiative in founding a ḥawṭah, without the consent of the tribes he clearly could not act. The hagiologies in effect of course are a species of propaganda of the religious aristocracy, and pronouncedly anti-tribal. I recall, moreover, reading somewhere of a saint who founded a ḥawṭah, but the tribes would not observe its sanctity, so it was abandoned. The essential principle is that security under God's law is established and the saint recognised as his representative by the tribes, in administrative control. It might even be that amongst the ignorant the distinction between the original saintly founder of the ḥawṭah and the divinity is vague.

Security once assured, merchants, peasants, and others settle in the ḥawṭah; it often becomes a market like Hawṭat al-Faqīh 'Alī in Wāḥidī country, and any infringement or violation of its sanctity brings condign

punishment. All show it great respect (iḥtirām), and just as people arriving at the Medinan ḥaram used to lead in their animals, so at Hawṭat al-Faqih 'Alī we dismounted from our camels at the point of entry and came in on foot. Outside the ḥawṭah we fired a salute, called ta'shīrah, and so also for fear of Medina, though before it became a ḥaram, people entering used to utter a cry which Samhūdī compares to the braying of an ass — Arabic *yu'ashshir*. In cases known to me the founder of the ḥawṭah, and later, his descendants, taxes the inhabitants of the ḥawṭah with the *Khums*, but he also derives an income from waqf lands outside the sacred enclave where a proprietor has made bequest of the tenth furrow in his fields as a *nidhr* or votive offering. The original founder of the ḥawṭah, in the natural course of events, dies, but remains forever Lord of the ḥawṭah, a dome is set up over his tomb, and one of his descendants is elected — elected mark you — to fill his office, with the title of *Manṣab* or *Manṣūb*. This last word — which is reported as *Manṣib* by some authorities — I propose to see as equivalent to the classical Arabic word *manṣib*, a place or thing to which a person is referred as his source, said by the lexica to be synonym of *marji'*. Now in the tribal areas of South Arabia a *marji'* or *maradd* is a person, a *sulṭān*, headman, or the like, who is an authority on tribal law. We learn from the so-called "Constitution of Medīna" that in the case of a tribal dispute then Allāh and Muḥammad are the *maradd*. There are certain passages in the Koran which I think, whether they employ the term *marji'* or *maradd*, could be understood in the same sense.

It occurs sometimes that for reasons obscure to me, the saint's descendants do not actually live in the ḥawṭah, and a comparatively humble person takes charge of the shrine, known as *Khādim al-walī*, an office which becomes hereditary, and the family thereby acquires some *siatus*. The office of *manṣab* is then, at the one time, both elective and hereditary, and in the J.R.A.S.³ I have already published a short account of the election of a *Manṣab* of the *Mashāyikh*, in which all classes appear to have some say. If one recalls the situation in Medina after Muḥammad's death, neither of his two first successors was a member of a holy family, whereas the third, 'Uthmān, belonged to the holy family of Mecca, as did 'Alī. Though the two latter Caliphs belonged to very different branches of that family, my theory is that, at least down to the emergence of the 'Abbāsids, there was no universal feeling among Arab Muslims that Muḥammad's legitimate successor, as distinguished from interim caretakers as it were, such as the first two Caliphs, should be taken from any specific branch of the family.⁴ However I do not wish to develop my views on this issue in this place, but I propound my theory by way of analogy with the pattern of elections to *Manṣabates*.

At the time the ḥawṭah is established the surrounding tribes guarantee it, in documents preserved by the Maṣṣab — I have been fortunate enough to have the opportunity of making selections from two groups of documents pertaining to two important Ḥaḍramī ḥawṭahs. Those of the Ḥaddād Saiyids of Tarīm whose ḥawṭah is called al-Ḥāwī, show guarantees of the inviolability of the ḥawṭah made by sulṭān after sulṭān — for the sulṭāns are only really tribal chiefs. They guarantee exemption from customs duties, and even exemptions from certain categories of taxation for persons under the Maṣṣab's protection though living outside the ḥawṭah.

Fear of the supernatural plays a strong part in the privileges wrung from the tribes and their rulers for the ḥawṭah — the hagiologies cite many an example of a sulṭān or governor who tried to infringe on its rights, or to tax it, only to suffer swift retaliation from the saint of the place. Even animals, innocently straying and eating of the pasture of the ḥawṭah, have sometimes suffered from the wrath of the departed saint at the violation of his property. The privileges of the Lord of the ḥawṭah seem to be known as 'jāh', and when a *shaiḥh* of the Bā 'Abbād, probably a Maṣṣab, intervened to stop the palms of his fuqarā' from being cut by the tribes, their chief said to him, "You have no 'jāh' here, your 'jāh' only begins at Kuḥlān, (a mountain in the wādī Ḥadramawt)."

Once when discussing with a Saiyid of the Mawlā al-Dawīlah family, the ḥawṭah of this saint I noticed he referred to the tribes supporting the ḥawṭah of Mawlā 'l-Dawīlah as "Anṣār Mawlā 'l-Dawīlah", exactly the same term as applied to the tribal supporters of Muḥammad in Medina. The following account I have extracted verbatim from my field notes.

'The aḥbāt is land surrounding the ḥawṭah, occupied by sundry tribes who make agreements (*wuthūr*) with the Maṣṣab to respect and venerate the ḥawṭah. They agree also that if there is any quarrel between them they will go and submit the matter to his judgement — (perhaps I should say arbitration here). When a ḥawṭah is well organised, the various tribes of the aḥbāt are bound to the Maṣṣab by *wuthūr* to assist him against those tribes who do not abide by their agreements with him, and to help him to use the threat of force to execute a judgement. If the Maṣṣab's spiritual power over them is not strong the tribes are inclined to go their own way, but if he has great ascendancy over them they obey him.'

It is interesting to see how this tallies with the engagement into which the Al *Shamlān* tribes of the Tamīm entered in 1922 with the Maṣṣab of the *Thibī* ḥawṭah near Tarīm, of which the following is the gist. It was agreed with their Ḥabīb, Maṣṣab, and Paragon, the Ḥabīb Aḥmad bin Husain al-'Aidarūs,⁵ that anything untoward that occurs (*yaḥduth*) in

the recognised ḥawṭah at *Thibi*, according to its boundaries and deeds, and the undertakings of its people (i.e. the tribes) concerning it, is linked to their honour, (i.e., is an infringement of their guarantee of protection of the ḥawṭah), and is bound up with their undertaking to assist the one against the other, and against whomsoever it be, who commits an evil action in the ḥawṭah, and against any person who *initiates* any offence against Saiyid, Miskin (i.e. artisan and peasant), or tribesman. The Maṣṣab will take action against the offender — each offence carrying its due expiation, and every case its appropriate settlement.

The document continues that if the offender pays the due penalties in such a way as to satisfy the Maṣṣab — then well and good ! If however he does not, then the whole tribe of *Al Shamlān* will take action against the offender to bring him out of his disgrace — making a strong judgement against him on such a way as to fully satisfy honour, and cleanse the tribe (of the black shame put upon them by the infringement of their guarantee of the ḥawṭah's inviolability), according to the way of those white of face (i.e. honourable). The text stipulates further that nobody may absolve himself from the undertakings of the agreement unless he is done an injury within the ḥawṭah which the Maṣṣab takes no steps to have remedied.

An old or a recent resident in the ḥawṭah is a protected person, neither entitled to commit an offence, nor may an offence be committed against him; but should any trouble arise between him and a tribe he must leave the ḥawṭah, and any warlike actions must be carried on outside it. The Maṣṣab is not to show preference for any particular group or person, and the *Al Shamlān* on their part undertake to do all that will “adorn the Lord of the place, and preserve the ḥawṭah and its inviolability.” The agreement concludes with an oath taken by the tribes — the oath by God, his Book, and their *shaiikh*, the *Aidarūs Saiyid* (i.e. the Maṣṣab), to observe the afore-going stipulations.

Murder in the ḥawṭah is the gravest of offences. In the event of a murder outside the ḥawṭah, the procedure is relatively simple, and the Maṣṣab could probably declare a truce to allow the parties to come and settle the affair under his aegis — indeed a general truce is usually declared between the warring tribes on the death of an important Maṣṣab. In the case of murder within the ḥawṭah however, the Maṣṣab writes to the chief of the offending clan, and to all the other tribes, placing the responsibility of dealing with the incident upon them. Immediately they summon a tribal conclave, called *ḥujrah*, and this you may compare with the Meccan ‘*nadwah*’; the offending clan sends the Maṣṣab a *suqtān*,⁶ i.e., the present of a sheep or she-camel, and a pledge in earnest of its willingness to proceed to judgement. All the ḥawṭah tribes assemble at

the Maṣṣab's house, and the headmen of the guilty clan, or even the Maṣṣab himself in person, will take the guilty party's dagger, strike his forehead with the hilt, and then slash his brow until it bleeds — this is to demonstrate that the man's honour—his 'wījḥ' وجھ has been shamed. The action is highly symbolic, and it is found in a Minean inscription and in the *Sīrah* where it is called the *tajbīh* and is accompanied by blackening of the face. The Maṣṣab now attempts to effect a truce between the two tribes who are at bloodfued as a result of the murder inside the ḥawṭah. To expiate the guilt of the offence, the guilty tribe must execute one of its own members, not necessarily the actual murderer, or else the other tribes will unite to attack it, remaining at war until they have exacted proper atonement in the way of killings adequate to the heinous crime of violating the sanctity of the sacred enclave.

As any offence against the Maṣṣab or persons coming under his protection within or without the ḥawṭah — or against the ḥawṭah property, is regarded as infringing on the respect of the Maṣṣab, the result is that a clever, and it may be an unscrupulous Maṣṣab, can attain great power by playing off one tribe against another, manipulating them to attain his own ends — though of course a good Maṣṣab can be of great service to his people. He can even enter into their disputes, interposing his banner between warring tribes to separate them. During times of political anarchy in Ḥaḍramawt some Maṣṣabs have been able to extend their influence very widely, but any centralisation of the secular power tends to weaken their authority, though not to break it. When I was in Wāḥidī territory in 1947, the Maṣṣab of Hawṭat al-Faqīh 'Alī had become, I imagine, more powerful than the Sulṭān, but I had the interesting experience of seeing this power broken through the support accorded the Sulṭān by the Residency which favoured centralisation of power under secular, i.e. tribal, authority.

There are of course rival ḥawṭahs, and rival Maṣṣabs. The Maṣṣab of *Thībī* even waged a war against the holy city of *Tarīm* for several years, by instigating the *Tamūmī* tribes to beseige it, while in the *Wādī Daw'an*, the 'Amūdī families of *Mashāyikh* in times gone by seem to have built themselves a little empire. At least one case is known to me where the member of a *Saiyid* family finding no scope of his politico-religious function in his native place, has moved to some other centre where he has founded a new ḥawṭah.

To turn to *Muḥammad* and the process by which he became established in *Medina*, it appears to me that there are here very close parallels with the growth of a ḥawṭah, but I must emphasize that this article is concerned with patterns of action, and not with questions of revelation and inspira-

tion — however important these may be in another context. If we look closely firstly at the terms upon which he was accepted by the Medina tribes, we find that, stripped of the edifice constructed by Ibn Hishām, and others, over the basic facts, Muḥammad and the Medinan tribes arrived at an agreement only after much hard bargaining. He had already been rejected by the Banū Ḥanīfah, conceivably because they had already declared themselves adherents of the prophet Musailamah who set up a ḥaram amongst them.⁷ Muḥammad had been rejected by *Thaqif*, possessors also, of a ḥaram. The final agreement with the Medinans however, as quoted in the *Sīrah*, is evidently drawn from a document, and simple though the language appears, it seems to me highly technical — the main issues being obedience to Muḥammad in good and bad (circumstances) (i.e. perhaps war and peace), and in attack against *us*, and not to dispute with people in their own affair.

Muḥammad is himself specifically described in the *Sīrah* as held in honour and protection (*man'ah*) by his people and town, i.e. Mecca. Again, these terms have no hint of flattery, but are technical and indicate that he belonged to an honourable arms-bearing group. Without such honourable ancestry it is inconceivable to me that tribes could have desired him, and anyway, as already remarked, he also belonged to a holy family.

Now, according to the *Sīrah*, Muḥammad, after his arrival in Medina, wrote a document for the Mu'minūn and the Muslimūn of *Quraish* and *Yathrib*. This phraseology is in itself noteworthy since it does not speak of the parties as the *Anṣār* and *Muhājirūn* — it is in brief, an agreement between a tribal group, *Quraish*, or properly part of *Quraish*, and those described as Mu'minūn and Muslimūn of *Yathrib*. Further more the so-called "document" is not one document but no less than 8 separate agreements, though one or two of these may be by way of appendixes to the others. Each concludes with an appropriate terminal formula such as *Wa-inna 'Ilāh 'alā abarr hādhihi 'l-ṣaḥīfah*. Each of these documents belongs to a different date, though I am uncertain, as yet, whether they are even in chronological order — but if they are, then this will be fundamental towards settling the chronology of the *Sīrah* as a whole.⁸ These documents quite clearly reveal the stages of the development of Muḥammad's power, and though unnecessary to consider the chronology here, it is obvious that pieces in which the name *Yathrib* figures are earlier than those in which its later title *al-Madinah* appears, or where we find simply "Muḥammad" without the epithet, "Apostle of God."

The first document of the series then, constitutes the said Mu'minūn and Muslimūn of *Quraish* and *Yathrib* an *ummah* or community. A

great many theories have been woven about this "ummah" and the growth of the concept of the Muslim community in the mind of the Prophet, to find in it a significance it probably never had. To compare a usage current in South Arabia, *al ummiyah* means a tribal confederation, a word semantically linked with *ummah*. Furthermore we have in the inscriptions, for example, the community of 'Aḥtar⁹ — this suggests something very close to Muḥammad's organisation at Medina. There is also the traditional idea that every *ummah* which believed in its prophet will be resurrected as an *ummah* by itself, no other mingling with it. In short, I think that the *ummah* in the sense of a confederation round a religious nucleus was a pattern well established long before Muḥammad.

The opening document of the Medina collection begins with a series of identical clauses which run, "The emigrants of Quraiṣh (or the Banū Sā'idah, or Banū Juṣṣam, or other Medinan tribes), according to their former custom,¹⁰ will give and take blood-money between themselves, and they will ransom their prisoner according to the common custom (*ma'rūf*) and share (*qist*) among the believers (*Mu'minūn*).

A second proviso makes the group responsible for paying blood-money for a person who becomes a Muslim, but is not attached to any group of Muslims. Yet another clause makes the *Mu'minūn muttaqūn* (God-fearing believers, though I should like to render this as "guarantors of security, clear of offences against tribal law, especially in the matter of blood — from *naqiya* to be clean, so used in South Arabia), responsible for taking action against one of their number who commits a crime or causes dissension among the *Mu'minūn*, even if he be one of them. No *Mu'min* is to be executed in revenge for a *kāfir*¹¹ Other clauses guarantee mutual security, and lay down arrangements for a common peace with an external foe.

The second document in the series extends what is in the first, dealing with the question of murder and blood-money among the *Mu'minūn*, believers or perhaps guarantors, outlawing the murderer — in Arabic *muḥdith*, which is actually the same word as that used in parallel contexts in the *Thibī* documents, written this century. It outlaws the man who protects the murderer, stating that from him will be received neither *ṣarf* nor 'adl. Now *ṣarf* is said to have the sense of repentance, and for many reasons I think it is to be identified with the *suqṭān* or present which the guilty tribe brings to the *Maṣṣab*. The 'adl I should like to identify with the pledge in earnest of readiness to proceed to judgement, a sense in which the word is used today.

In the one piece in the series that can be dated, that drawn up im-

mediately before the *Quraysh* assault upon Medina, the Jews of the Aws are associated with the Arab tribal groups in the defence of the town.

For purposes of this article however, the most important document is what I have dubbed no. F., not early in my view, since Muḥammad is called Rasūl Allāh. It says, "Inna *Yathrib* ḥarām jawfu-hā li-ahl ḥaḍhihi 'l-ṣaḥīfah, The centre (or *Jawf*) of *Yathrib* is inviolable (sacred) to the people of this sheet." It adds that any dispute between "the people of this sheet" is to be referred (ṣadd) to God and to Muḥammad, the Apostle of God.¹³ According to a tradition quoted by Samhūdī, the "taḥrīm al-Madīnah" took place after Muḥammad's return from his successful campaign at *Kḥaibar*, i.e. in the year 6 or 7 with the varying chronologies. A tradition classified as weak, maintains that at the time of the declaration Ka'b b. Mālīk went out and marked the points of the boundary of the Ḥaram around Medina. Some traditions claim that an area of 12 miles around Medina was turned into a ḥimā or inviolate pasture, but the plain sense of *Jawf* is given in Ibn al-*Athīr*'s *Nihāyah* as the baṭn al-wādī. To quote Samhūdī again, "God made for his temple (at Mecca) a ḥaram to magnify it, and he made for his Ḥabīb and the noblest of mankind to Him, that area which surrounded his place a ḥaram, the statutes(aḥkām)¹⁴ of which must be observed." Tradition furthermore records specially heavy penalties for killing in the Medinan ḥaram, as in the Meccan ḥaram. Yet two more traditions, quoted by Ibn Ḥanbal, embody significant notions, "Each prophet has a ḥaram, and al-Madīnah is my ḥaram." "Mecca was Abraham's Ḥaram and al-Madīnah is my ḥaram."

The progress revealed by this remarkable series of agreements preserved by Ibn Hishām, is from a confederation presided over by a member of a holy house to regulate procedure — and this is what I understand when the agreements stipulate that any point upon which the Medinan tribes disagree is to be referred to Muḥammad who knows what the law is — to the founding of a ḥaram within which God, for practical purposes Muḥammad, is virtually absolute, surrounded by tribes self-governing but linked to the ḥaram. The ḥaram, as indeed we know from subsequent history, constitutes a nucleus around which may be gathered an indefinite number of tribes. Once more the Arabian solution has been found for centralising the power and control over tribes which will not yield their own sovereignty and independent management of their own affairs. So little is there of religion in this aspect of the situation that I have debated whether it would have even been possible for Jewish armed tribal groups to be linked to the ḥaram. This is the great question, and in the event it did not turn out so, but in 1947 there were Jewish families in the *Hawṭat al-Faqīh* 'Alī under Arab protection, which by analogy might show that

it is not impossible for a sacred enclave to protect those of other faiths.

For the Arabian tribes it was not difficult to adhere to this central nucleus. What has been preserved of the Prophet's correspondence demonstrates that they were asked to give up very little, in adhering to the ascendant centralised authority; to take a modern parallel, one might liken their position to that of Arabian tribes not subject to Ibn Sa'ūd, who yet send him a present as a species of political insurance. By Islām, according to al-Azraqī, every claim of privilege, blood, and property was abolished. We have too the tradition, "lā hilf fi 'l-Islām, there is no alliance in Islām", i.e. no new alliance between one tribe and another, while perhaps old alliances against third parties also were invalidated by the security within the common allegiance to Allāh and Muḥammad. It was to God and Muḥammad that all inter-tribal disputes had to be referred, disputes which in effect are only serious when they lead to bloodshed, hence the constant harping on this question. At first, no doubt, reference to God really meant a meeting at which Muḥammad presided, but later he had obviously to delegate some of these powers.

Linked to the idea that at Medina it is that blood-disputes are settled, may be the tradition on the epithet "Tibah" applied to Medina, which runs, "Inna-hā Tibah, tunaffi 'l-dhunūb, It is Tibah, driving away crimes." From the root *ṭyb* in fact do seem to be derived a number of technical senses to do with the making of peace between disputants, some of which have been collected by Graf,¹⁵ mainly from the Palestinian writer 'Arif al-'Arif. I believe too, that the pre-Islāmic *Hilfal-Muṭaiyabīn*, is properly to be interpreted as a pact made to avoid crimes, along the same lines. Samhūdī does of course offer various interpretations of the name Tibah, none very convincing, and I must say here, that the philologists of a later period often seem at a loss to comprehend fully words relating to the technicalities of Arabian life, falling short of their true implications, but that by reference to still existing Arabian usages one can sometimes arrive at a closer interpretation of them.

Muslim sources present a picture of Islāmic law as sanctioned by Muḥammad's practice at Medina, but one has only to read the *Sīrah* and the series of 8 documents of the so-called "Constitution of Medina" to perceive that the already established system of law and custom was Muḥammad's practice. Any new sunnahs he introduced are so limited that they can be described in the brief letters he wrote to the tribes. It might be said that Muḥammad fitted into the system of law and custom into which he was born. So also in more recent times, the *Maṣnabs* of the *ḥawṭahs* preside over cases settled according to Arabian tribal law. I do not say they would not protest against practices manifestly and

grossly un-Islāmic, of which quite a few exist in South Arabia, but in general they follow tribal law, and indeed some may not be very well acquainted with the *ṣharī'ah* except in its more universally accepted practices. They have, however, agreements containing long lists of penalties for specific crimes and misdemeanours, compiled by the tribal headmen meeting along with the *Manṣab*, and ratified by them. Closely corresponding lists are preserved in the *ṣharī'ah* law books, such as the definition of the several categories of wound, for each of which there is a special computation of damages. This list was sent by Muḥammad to Najrān. The whole episode of the expulsion of the Medinan Jews is an example of how Muḥammad applied the sanctions of tribal law.

From that point where Muḥammad had been successful in obtaining the agreement of his tribes to create a *ḥaram* which could be protected, the rest of the story of the expansion of his power is not so difficult. It would be a mistake though, to talk of a military conquest of Arabia, especially of the Yemen where there is a most suspicious lack of data on the supposed campaigns. Muḥammad's most obstinate opponents included Musailamah, Lord of a *ḥaram*, as we have seen, and *Ṭḥaqif* of Wajj, the *ḥaram* of which place Muḥammad ultimately recognised, guaranteeing the game of Wajj the same security as that of Mecca and Medina. He was clearly unable to get *Ṭḥaqif* to concede on the question of the *ḥaram*, but Arab historians have played this down, and attempt to explain away the *ḥaram* of Wajj as a *ḥima* or protected grazing.

I must turn now to the *ḥaram* of Mecca, probably only one of many, though all sources concur that it was an important centre [before Islām. Mecca is described in Tabari's *Tafsīr*, for example, as being created a *ḥaram* secure (*āmin*) from the punishment of Allāh, and of "tyrants" (*jabābirah*): In the pre-Islāmic inscriptions we find the word *mahram* associated with shrines and generally rendered as "temple"; it still survives in the name *Maḥram Bilqīs* at Ma'rib. The god *Dhū Samāwī* at Timna', capital of Qatabān, had a *mahram*, and one may remark that even its present-day name, Timna', means something like, "it defends" or, "it is inviolable", in allusion, I surmise, to the power of a *ḥaram* to defend itself. It is clear that at al-Hazm in Jawf of the Yemen the sanctuary or the god *Dhū Samāwī* was set within a sacred enclave, for the inscription identifying it, refers to a *mahram* and *ḥnṣbt*, the latter meaning a place of *anṣāb* or boundary stones of a *ḥaram* such as we know at Mecca.

The essential authenticity of the picture of the Meccan *ḥaram* painted by the Arabian sources is then confirmed, both by the inscriptional material and by comparison with the *hawtah*, not only in respect of the rites of worship, but also as regards its organisation as a social and political

institution. A central feature of the Meccan temple is the ṭawāf accompanied by the grasping of the four corners of the sacred house, just as I have seen Bedouin at Bin Hūd grasp the corner-posts of the tābūt when performing their ritual visitation there. The veneration of the ḥaram extended to the Anṣāb of the Ka'bah, which is in essence litholatry, and I could of course cite innumerable examples of litholatry in Arabia which I have recorded of the present day. The threat to move the stones of the Ka'bah to the Yemen before Islām, and the Carmathian removal of the black stone in the 3rd century show how litholatrous ideas have held sway and persisted, but in general when one compares the rites associated with saint-cults in Southern Arabia with the data provided by G. Ryckmans' *Les Religions Arabes Pré-Islamiques*,¹⁶ one is immediately aware of the unbroken continuity of Arabian religion.

Before Muḥammad's birth, the holy family in charge of the Meccan sanctuary, a family to which Muḥammad himself belonged, had been frequently at variance. Their ancestor Quṣaiy, of whom we might think as the first Maṣṣab, was the Lord and guardian of the shrine, but in their squabbles, his descendants distinguished various offices, the ḥijābah or guardianship, the watering of the pilgrims, and probably of their animals (siqayah), the feeding of them (rifādah), and nadwah which is supposed to be the council of Quraiṣh, but both from the evidence of the ancient texts, and by analogy with the present day, I am inclined to think it may have been a meeting-place in a neutral centre where inter-tribal disputes could be discussed. There was, too, the privilege of keeping the banners, the liwā', of which I shall treat shortly. The point I wish to make about these offices is that, quite apart from the sharaf they brought their holders, they were lucrative unquestionably, and the rifādah is actually described as a contribution (*kharij*) which Quraiṣh used to pay from their own property to Quṣaiy at every pilgrimage (*mawsim*) so that he could provide food for the pilgrims, and this is exactly what a Maṣṣab does at his *maṭbakh* or "kitchen". It is one of the responsibilities of his office, the expenses whereof would be defrayed from the income he receives from the "tenth furrow".

To turn now to the banners of the Ka'bah, it is not extraordinary to learn that all South Arabian saints have their banners, and some have a bairaq, i.e. a pole surmounted by a crescent and provided with little bells. The bairaq may be sent from one saint to another to invite people to the annual ziyārah pilgrimage — by chance I saw the bairaq going along the main motor road to Crater, Aden, when I was last there; it is usually accompanied by a drummer. The bairaq may be sent out to intervene in war, as happened in very recent years on the Aden-Yemenite frontier.

At the battle of Uḥud, the holy family of the Banū 'Abd al-Dār, then still unbelievers of course, bore the standard of the Meccan temple with them. Presumably therefore the Meccan temple was giving its sanction to the war against Muḥammad. I am not able to prove this theory, but I cannot believe, in the context, that the presence of the standard did not have a religious significance.

The name 'Abd al-Dār indicates that the family gave servitors to the Meccan temple; I would compare this family with the Bā 'Abbād Mashāyikh, the hereditary servitors of the tomb of Hūd in Ḥaḍramawt from antiquity. There is a Ḥaḍramī 'Abbād who figures occasionally in the *Sīrah*, though we know nothing of his family. Names like 'Abd al-Saiyid or 'Abd al-Shaikḥ are still current in South Arabia, meaning of course, "servant of the Saiyid or Shaikḥ", a saint departed this world. Before Muḥammad's time the 'Abd al-Dār had been forced to cede some of their offices to the 'Abd Manāf branch of the holy family, to which both Muḥammad and the Umayyads belonged. Such disputes between holy families in Arabia are legion, and I might instance the case of the 'Amūdī Maṣḥāyikh of 'Amd who venerate a chest of mediaeval books, called *khizānah*, three branches of the family holding the keys of the chest in rotation. I recall vaguely too, that in Tarīm there was an acute dispute over the Ḥaddād manṣabate at al-Ḥāwī in which the question of the application of the monies of the *hawṭah* was involved, for in any *hawṭah* its revenues go to the Manṣab who disburses them as he wishes, though of course in practice he is fairly strictly bound by convention as to how he does so. To hold these offices in Mecca then, was to hold power, and it was surely not for sentimental reasons, that the Umayyad Caliph Mu'āwiyah actually bought the Dār al-Nadwah, the Council-House, for one million dirhams from the 'Abd al-Dār, thus assuming the function of presiding at arbitrations and the setting of disputes, a piece of politico-religious strategy.

As an extension of the influence of the *ḥaram* or of the *hawṭah*, we may consider the celebrated caravan of Quraiṣh and its summer and winter journey. Turning once more to present-day Southern Arabia, we find that if a Manṣab wishes a tribesman to visit the shrine, or should the tribesman himself desire to do so, the Manṣab will send him a thread or some other emblem of security. Al-Marzūqī reports what appears to be the same custom from the pre-Islāmic period, and I believe this was the usage amongst the Ashrāf of Mecca in mediaeval if not even later times. The tribesman may then walk to the sanctuary protected by it from his foes. Arising from the basic principle that wherever a Manṣab or a member of his family goes, he will not only be secure, but able also

to extend that security to others, we find that he can accompany caravans to protect them. The mediaeval writer, al-Sharjī, refers in several places to a caravan from Yemen to Mecca known as Qāfilat Ibn 'Ujail, accompanied first by the celebrated Yemeni saint, Ibn 'Ujail, then later by his descendants which had complete inviolability (*ḥurmah wāfirah*) from attack. No one of the Bedouin of these districts says al-Sharjī, will molest them — nay, if there be a small boy of them in the caravan or one of their slaves, nobody will molest them. They have an effective control (*ḥukm nāfidh*) over them, and their command is obeyed through the *barakah* of the *shaikh*.

My view is that the institution of caravans by Hāshim could only have been achieved through the sanctity of the Meccan Ḥaram and spiritual influence of the family controlling it. Al-Marzūqī shows that Quraiṣh only conducted their caravans through the parts of Arabia under control of the Muḍar confederation in this way, and for the rest, they had to pay tolls (*khafārah*, the modern *siyārah*). So, if the tribes to which no *khafārah* tolls were paid were contrasted with those which took *khafārah*, it might be possible to define the exact limits of the politico-religious influence of the Meccan ḥaram, for tribes insisting on *khafārah* may have been attached to other religious centres. One need not of course assume that Hāshim actually founded this caravan system, for we have a Ḥimyarite inscription from Sha'ib Shisa' in Sa'ūdī Arabia which states that a certain Hārith led a caravan north and south, Yaman wa-Shām,¹⁷ with a band from Ḥadramawt.

Although Muhammad had established his own ḥaram at Medina, his spiritual authority in Arabian eyes, I would suggest, stemmed primarily from his belonging to the holy family of Mecca, a place to which his attachment is manifest through out the pages of the *Sīrah*. When he first stood before it *vi et armis*, then departed peacefully because his camel refused to enter it, he is reported to have said, "They will not ask me any matter (*khuṭṭah*) whereby they may magnify the sacred things of God (*ḥurumāt Allāh*) but I shall grant it them." When he actually entered Mecca by force, tradition records that he wore a black turban. My inference is that he did so because he felt the violation of the ḥaram was a shameful act, though of course justified in his case. Tradition further states that only for one hour was it made lawful for him to shed blood there, but that the game, the cutting of trees, and all the other things forbidden to people there, were not made lawful for him to do. With the two ḥarams in Muḥammad's hands, we have a coalescence of the two politico-religious nuclei around which the tribes are confederated, owing allegiance to Allāh. However as the expansion al-Haramān (al-

Haramain), the Two Ḥarams, does not occur in the Koran, this concept of a sort of unity between them may be subsequent to the Prophet's death.

After re-adjusting one's views on the ḥaram, I think that some of the problematic issues of early Islāmic history become a little clearer. When 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubair held the Ḥaramain, the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik feared he would make the pilgrims perform allegiance to him there, and so he created a new ḥaram, or re-created an old one, at Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-Šharif, saying that this rock shall be in place of the Ka'bah — here again is a glimpse of litholatry. At this early period, the year 69 of the hijrah, I am of the opinion that Arabian concepts of religion were still dominant, and thus it may be that the tribes tended to consider themselves attached to a ḥaram rather than a dynasty, and just as Muḥammad had set up a new ḥaram at Medina, so in the early formative period of Islām it could have been in line with age-old Arab patterns to set up a new ḥaram to counter the politico-religious powerpull of the Arabian Ḥaramain.

In concluding I should like to suggest that the concept of a holy family at a ḥaram seems to have survived in Islām at many other times and places of the Muslim world apart: I mean from cases where the pattern occurs in the ordinary organisation of saint cults. In Morocco I learned quite recently that the town of Muley Idrīs where the founder of the dynasty was buried and where neither Jew nor Christian may spend the night is called a maḥram. Idrīs was proclaimed Imām in Morocco as early as the year 68 and he collected about him a group of tribes of which he was the focal point. Whether the term maḥram was applied to Walilī, where he was buried, before or after his death I suppose nobody knows, but the few circumstances of his life that are related suggest that he acted in much the same way as his great ancestor Muḥammad in departing to Medina. In the latter half of the 'Abbāsīd era we find that the palace complex in Baghdad is called ḥarīm or ḥaramain though the reason for this never seems to have been explored. Even in Nigeria distant from the mediaeval Islāmic centres a curious use of maḥram survives perhaps by extension from the rights guaranteed to a sacred enclave for it means a document containing tax exemptions and exemption from military service for holy families claiming descent from Hasan son of 'Alī.¹⁸ Šarifs are called Habīb in these documents their title in Ḥadramawt to this day and curiously enough a title of Muḥammad's enemy Musailamah.

No doubt many more evidences of the survival of this important pattern of ḥaram and holy family are to be found in the classical period of Islām, and it is a concept which in the shape of the hawtah has lived into this century of ours. It is essential I believe to understand how it operates

and to appreciate fully its importance in the rise and early development of Islām which in its initial Arabian form seems to me itself an outstanding example of an ever-recurring pattern; this pattern of religion at Mecca I hold to be the most important social circumstance into which Muḥammad the Prophet was born. Before looking for Jewish and Christian elements in Islām it would be wise to establish what is specifically Arabian and I think this will be found to be vastly greater than many western scholars have supposed.

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- (1) *The Saiyids of Ḥaḍramawt*, (London, 1957). This is merely a sketch in outline from my materials.
 - (2) W. Thesiger, *Arabian Sands*, (London 1959), p. 97.
 - (3) Two Tribal Law Cases, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (London, 1951), pp. 166-8.
 - (4) This is perhaps the basic reason underlying the recognition or at any rate, acceptance of the first two Caliphs by the Zaidīs. In Shi'ite eyes they could be no rival to those descended from the holy family whose claim to be the true successors of Muḥammad in the Imamate was clearly superior. 'Uthmān however, belonging to another branch of the holy house of Mecca, may conceivably have been quite a serious rival on the score of legitimacy alone, to the 'Alī-ids in the early period.
 - (5) This family in past times used to provide the hereditary naqībs of the Ḥaḍramī Saiyids, I knew Ḥabīb Aḥmad personally.
 - (6) The word is interesting; it may be linked to the sense of repentance as in *Kor.* VII, 148, but there are also other possibilities which need not detain us here.
 - (7) Accounts of Musailamah do vary of course, but this does not affect the argument here.
 - (8) For the problems involved, cf. J.M.B. Jones, *The Chronology of Maghāzī*, *B.S.O.A.S.*, (London, 1957), XIX, II, op. 245-80.
 - (9) N. Rhodokanakis, *Studien zur Lexicographie ...*, *Kais. Akad. Wiss.*, (Wien, 1915). CLXXVIII, IV, p. 59.
 - (10) I should prefer here to render this phrase as "according to their customs of protection" following the sense of *rabi'* in contemporary South Arabia.
 - (11) I am not entirely satisfied with the translation of *Mu'min* in early Islāmic contexts as "Believer", and am speculating as to whether its fundamental sense may indeed be to guarantee security. I must defer proposing any firm view however until I have examined the philological evidence fully, and also the passages where the word occurs in the *Koran*. Dr H.F. al-Hamdani has pointed out to me a relevant and most significant passage in his edition of al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Zīnah*, (Cairo, 1958), II, p. 71 "al-taḍdīq rāji' ilā ma'nā al-amān, believing goes back to the sense of security." This is discussed in some detail.
 - (12) The basic sense of *Kāfir* I should like to take with Lane, as to declare oneself free or quite of something. This is supported by *Kor.* XIV, 27. A passage in the *Tāj al-'Arūs* on a fight that broke out between the Aws and *Khazraj* seems to me to support the general theme of this article, and to some extent the sense of making themselves quit of the *mawaddah* and *ulfah* established between them by the Prophet. *Mawaddah* is a particularly interesting term, occurring in the pre-Islāmic inscriptions in a technical sense.

- (13) Cf. *marji'*, etc. *supra*, p.
- (14) These statutes seem to have included a prohibition on the carrying of arms or cutting of vegetation in the ḥaram.
- (15) E. Graf, *Das Rechtswesen der heutigen Beduinen*, (Bonn, n.d.), p. 191 citing 'Arif al-'Arif who gives *ṣulḥ* as the synonym of *ṭibah*.
- (16) Published at Louvain, 1951 (2nd. edit.).
- (17) In *Ṣubaiḥi* country, *Shām*, as I discovered recently, was used to indicate the Yemen, which lies just north of this area.
- (18) H.R. Palmer, *Sudanese Memoirs*, (Lagos, 1928), III, unfortunately with no Arabic text and a rather dubious accuracy of translation.

PRE-FOUNDATIONS OF THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY IN MECCA

Fazlur Rahman

“In the beginning,” wrote Snouck Hurgronje, “Muḥammad was convinced of bringing to the Arabs the same [message] which the Christians had received from Jesus and the Jews from Moses, etc., and against the [Arab] pagans, he confidently appealed to “the people of knowledge”... whom one has simply to ask in order to obtain a confirmation of the truth of his teaching. [But] in Madina came the disillusionment; the “People of the Book” will not recognize him. He must, therefore, seek an authority for himself beyond their control, which at the same time does not contradict his own earlier Revelations. He, therefore, seizes upon the ancient Prophets whose communities cannot offer him opposition [i.e., whose communities are not there or no longer there: like Abraham, Noah, etc.].” (1).

Passages like this constitute the classic formulation, at the hands of a great leader of modern Western Islamic studies, of a view of the emergence of the Muslim community in Madina as a separate entity from the Jewish and the Christian communities. The statement, approvingly quoted in the *Geschichte des Qorans of Nöldeke-Schwally* (2), seems to have become a per-

(*) This paper was first read at the annual session of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion held at Milwaukee in October, 1975.

(1) Quoted in *Geschichte des Qorans*, Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim, New York, 1970, Part 1, pp. 146, line 16-147, line 2.

(2) See preceding note.

manent part of the patriarchal legacy for many Western Islamicists who have elaborated it further. The theory invites us to accept (1) that in Mecca, the Prophet was convinced that he was giving the same teaching to *the Arabs* which earlier Prophets had given to their respective communities, (2) that when, in Madina, Jews and Christians (particularly the former) refused to accept him as Prophet, he began appealing to the image of Abraham whom he disassociated from Judaism and Christianity, claiming him exclusively for Islam and linking his community directly with him. Further elaborations of the theory followed which depict this development as a major, indeed, basic diversion from the Prophet's original stance, culminating in the "nationalization" or "Arabization" (1) of Islam through the change in the direction of prayer from Jerusalem to the Ka'ba at Mecca and the installation of the pilgrimage to the Ka'ba as a cardinal duty of Islam. These latter dissertations will not be treated *per se* in this paper but will be seen to fall in line with the drift of our main argument.

Let it be stated at the outset that certain *facts* upon which the theory stated above seeks to rest are not wrong; our contention will be that these are not all the facts relevant to our problem and, further, that these facts, because they are not all the material facts, have been put in a distorted perspective and misconstrued. Thus, whereas it is true that the Qur'ān was convinced of the identity of its message with those of earlier Prophets, it is neither true that its message was only for the Arabs and the earlier Prophets' messages were only for their respective communities, nor is it correct that later when Islam is linked with Abraham (which happened in Mecca, not Madina), the Qur'ān gives up Moses to the Jews and Jesus to the Christians as their respective properties, in view of Jewish (and Christian) opposition. Nor yet is it correct to say that the change of Qibla represents either a *rupture* in the Prophet's religious orientation, or its nationalization! One basic trouble lies with viewing the career of the Prophet and the Qur'ān in

(1) For example, Buhl, F., article *Muhammad*, in *The Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*.

PRE-FOUNDATIONS OF THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY IN MECCA

7

two neatly discrete and separate "periods"—the Meccan and the Madinan—which most modern scholars have become addicted to. A closer study of the Qur'ān reveals rather a gradual development, a definite transition where the late Meccan phase has basic affinities with the early Madinan phase; indeed, one can "see" the latter in the former.

It is clear from the Qur'ān that some Meccans were already desirous of a new religion of the Judeo-Christian type: "Although these people used to say, 'If only we had a Reminder from the ancients, we would be God's sincere servants,' but they disbelieved in it (when it came)" (xxxvii, 168-70). This situation was part of the result of the penetration of the Judeo-Christian ideas in the Arab milieu and a testimony to the existence of a religious ferment among the more enlightened individuals and possibly groups. Although there is little historical evidence for the existence of any sizable population of Jews or Christians in Mecca, it is certain that some individuals had come to an idea of monotheism and some had actually become Christian. But what the Qur'ān points to frequently is the existence of some kind of Messianism or a desire for a new Arab Prophet: "And they swore with all their strength that if a Warner should come to them, they would certainly be better guided than any other community; but when a warner did come to them, it increased them only in aversion" (xxxv, 42). That the Meccans did not want to accept either Jesus or Moses (presumably because they wanted "to do better" than those two communities) ⁽¹⁾ is also stated in the Qur'ān: "And when the son of Mary was cited as an example, lo! your people resisted him, and they said, 'Are our gods better or he?' They did not say this except as a [point of] disputation—they are, indeed, a disputatious people" (xliii, 57-58); again, "But for the fact that a calamity should befall them for what their hands have sent forth and then they should say, 'Our Lord! Why did You not send us a Messenger so we would have followed your signs and been among the believers.'" But when the Truth came to them from Us, they said, 'Why has he [Muḥammad] not been given the like of what

(1) See also *Qur'ān*, VI, 157-58, containing the same idea.

Moses was given?' But did they not reject what Moses had been given before, saying 'Those are a pair of sorceries mutually supporting each other' [and adding], 'We reject both of them.' (1) Say to them [O Muḥammad!], 'Then you bring another Book from Allah which would give better guidance than these two (i.e., the Bible and the Qur'ān) and I will follow that one, if you are speaking, the truth" (xxviii, 47-49).

Since these Qur'ān passages date from different contexts during a prolonged and bitter controversy of the Meccans with the Prophet, it would be difficult to fully assess the stance of the Meccans on the issue for the period immediately preceding the advent of the Prophet's mission, for, as the Qur'ān itself says, they said certain things only for the sake of controversy. (Indeed, later in Madina, when Jewish-Muslim enmity became solidified, even the Madinese Jews, at the instance of the pagans, declared the pagan Arab religion to be superior to Islam! (iv, 51)). Nevertheless, this much is clear, that at least some Meccan Arabs were looking for a new religion and a new Scripture which should bestow a certain distinction upon them vis a vis the old communities, and that they were generally disinclined to accept the earlier Scriptures: "If We had sent it (i.e., the Qur'ān) down upon some non-Arab and he had recited it to them, they would not have believed in it" (xxvi, 198); again, "If we had made it a non-Arab Qur'ān, they would have said, 'Why are its verses not clearly set forth?' What, non-Arab and Arab? Say, 'It is a guidance and cure for those who believe'" (xli, 43-44). In the phrase "the Arab Qur'ān", we should, I think, see something more than the language and nationalism, but what it was is not easy to say; these Arabs themselves most probably had the vaguest and most non-descript ideas of what they wanted, although on the negative side they were much more precise. From the persistent demands of the Meccan leaders, during their controversy with the Prophet, (2) that he change the Qur'ānic teaching, it is also clear that they wanted him to give some place

(1) Also *Qur'ān*, xxxiv, 31, "And those who disbelieve [in the Qur'ān] said, 'We shall never believe in this Qur'ān nor in that [Revelation] which came before it'."

(2) *Qur'ān*, X, 15; xvii, 73 ff.

PRE-FOUNDATIONS OF THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY IN MECCA

9

between God and man to their gods in his system. This will make intelligible why they rejected the Mosaic religion and also why they would not consider Jesus to be superior to their gods.

Let us now consider the position of the Prophet himself. From the times when the earlier Prophets begin to be referred to in the Qur'ān, the Prophet is convinced of the identity of his message with theirs: "This is in the earlier scrolls—the scrolls of Abraham and Moses" (LXXXVI, 18-19). These "scrolls," i.e., written revelations, are again referred to in LIII, 33-37: "Did you see the one who turned his back? He gave a little [of his wealth] and then ran dry. Does he possess a knowledge of the unseen, so he can see? Or, has he not been told of what is in the scrolls of Moses and of Abraham who fulfilled [his undertaking]?" These passages do not, of course, imply that the Prophet knew these scrolls, nor even that he had seen them. (These two are among the very few passages ⁽¹⁾ where the term "scrolls" has been used for revealed documents; elsewhere it is applied to the "heavenly Archetype" of all Revelation or to the deed-sheets of men which will be presented to them on the Last Day). Later on, the word "Book" is used and is applied almost exclusively to the "Book of Moses," throughout the Meccan period, as a forerunner of the Qur'ān. Also, from the beginning of the references to earlier Prophets, the Qur'ān uses certain purely Arab figures—the Prophets of the tribes 'Ād and Thamūd—in addition to Biblical figures. Jesus ⁽²⁾ and other New Testament personalities do not seem to be referred to in the first Meccan period but appear from the second period onward, while the gospel is mentioned only once in Mecca. This fact also corroborates our statement that the Prophet had little or no acquaintance with earlier Scriptures in the first four years of his Prophetic career.

When opposition starts against the Prophet's theses—that

(1) This most probably indicates that there was already a native Arab Prophecy.

(2) *Qur'ān*, XIX, 30. See below, p. 777; why the Gospel hardly appears in Meccan period while the "Book of Moses" appears very frequently is a problem for which there is no satisfactory explanation so far, given the fact that Christianity was widespread in Arabia.

God is one, that the poor ones of the society must not be allowed to flounder and that there is a final day of Judgment—the stories about the earlier Prophets become numerous, more detailed and are repeated in the Qur'ān. There can be little doubt that the Prophet heard these stories during discussions with certain unidentified people, and the Meccans themselves were not slow to point this out. (1) Muḥammad insisted, nevertheless, that they were revealed to him. He was, of course, right. For, under the impact of his direct religious experience, these stories became *revelations* and no longer remained mere tales which they were before. Through this experience, he cultivated a direct community with earlier Prophets and became their direct witness: "You were not [O Muḥammad!] upon the western side when we decreed to Moses the Commandment, nor were you of those witnessing [at the time]. But We raised up [many] generations [afterwards] who have lived too long [to keep the original experiences alive]. Neither were you a dweller among the Midianites..." (xxviii, 45). The Prophet was not present at the Sinai of Moses nor in the Midian of Shu'aib, but he was *present* now. Not only were the points and lessons of those stories transformed through revelation but often their content was too. Shu'aib is represented as admonishing his people against fraudulent forms of commerce, which was Muḥammad's problem at Mecca; Noah is seen rejecting the demands of the big men in his community that he dissociate himself from his socio-economically weak followers before these big men could join his religion, a situation which, of course, Muḥammad himself was facing in Mecca. And so on.

Because of this spiritual community with earlier Prophets through his revelatory experience, Muḥammad was absolutely convinced of the identity of the messages of all Prophets. All Scriptures stem from and are parts of a single Source, the Heavenly Archetype called "The Mother of Books" and also "The Hidden Book." This being the case, it is necessary to believe in all revealed books and Muḥammad is made to declare in the Qur'ān: "Say, 'I believe in any and every Book that God

(1) *Qur'ān*, XXV, 4-5; XVI, 103.

has revealed" (XLII, 15). Indeed, the term "The Book" is often used in the Qur'ān not denoting any specific scripture but as a generic term denoting the totality of revealed scriptures. It was, then, absolutely natural for Muḥammad to expect that all communities should believe in the Qur'ān just as he and his followers believed in all the Books. It is true that the Qur'ān repeatedly emphasizes ⁽¹⁾ the fact that the Qur'ān is revealed in "clear Arabic," but this emphasis is addressed especially to the Arab Meccans; otherwise, the truth of a scripture is not circumscribed by being revealed in any particular language.

Let us now consider a different dimension of this issue. From the Qur'ān it is abundantly clear that there were, among the followers of Judaism and (whether orthodox or not) of Christianity, some who affirmed the truth of the Prophet's mission and, in fact, encouraged him in the face of Meccan opposition. History tells us next to nothing about them; ⁽²⁾ nor do we know whether these are the same persons with whom the Prophet held discussions. The Qur'ānic references to them, however, are clear evidence for the presence of Messianism among these circles. In xxvi, 192 ff., we have, "Truly it [i.e., the Qur'ān] is Revelation from the Lord of the world, brought down by the Trusted Spirit upon your heart, that you may be one of the warners, in a clear Arabic tongue. It is, indeed, in the Scriptures of the ancients. Was it not a sign for them (i.e., the Meccans) that it is known to the learned of the children of Israel?" They are invoked again and again by the Qur'ān as witnesses to the truth of Muḥammad's prophethood, being "People whom We had already given the Book," "People whom the Book or Knowledge had already been given," "people

(1) XVI, 103; XXVI, 195; XXXIX, 28; XLI, 3, etc.

(2) The Muslim tradition usually refers to a delegation of Christians who came from Abyssinia and accepted Islam, but the basis of these reports is quite uncertain. These verses are, for the most part, Meccan, but some seem to be early Madinan. In Madina, the tradition refers to certain Jewish converts, the most prominent being 'Abd Allāh ibn Salām who, however, is often brought in by Muslim commentators in contexts which are clearly Meccan. This whole matter is shrouded in obscurity since the Qur'ān never mentions any names. See Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥy al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, vol. I, Cairo, 1356/1937, p. 320, lines 15 ff.

of Knowledge" and "people of Admonition," through the second and third Meccan periods. Even when the Prophet himself, during periods of intense pressure and trial from opposition, seemed occasionally to lose hope and wondered whether, after all, he should go ahead with his movement, the Qur'ān asks him to seek solace and support from "the people who recite the [previous] Book" (x, 94) and not to become a party to the polytheists after "clear signs" and the divine teaching have come to him, which he had never anticipated before his Call (xxviii, 85-89).

If God is one and His Message is also one and fundamentally indivisible, mankind should surely be one community? And, particularly in view of the affirmation of his mission by followers of earlier religions, the Prophet had come to hope to unify the multiplicity of these religions into one single community, *under his teaching and on his terms*, but that this was not to be soon became apparent to him as his knowledge about differences among earlier religions and sects gradually increased. This undoubtedly set him a theological problem of the first order which the Qur'ān continued to treat until well deep into the Madinan period when the Muslim community was formally established as the "median" and "ideal" community. We are not here concerned with the purely theological aspect of the phenomenon of the diversity of religions in the Qur'ān, but rather with the effect upon the development of the Muslim community of the perception on the part of the Prophet of this diversity.

The jolt to the Prophet's idea of a single religious community did not come so much in Madina, as the quotation from Hurgronje at the beginning of this paper states, but well back in Mecca. Who precisely the agents here were, we again know very little about, for the Qur'ān, as usual, names no persons. According to Ibn Ishāq's *Biography of the Prophet*, Meccan leaders had once sent a team of two men to solicit the help of the Jews of Madina in their controversies with the Prophet and this team had returned with three questions to be put to the Prophet. (1) The Qur'ānic accounts, however, assume much

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 11, n. 3.

more than this and strongly suggest something like direct controversies between the Prophet and representatives of earlier religions. With these controversies, which evidently showed differences not only with Muslims but also within the earlier religions, the followers of these religions are called *al-aḥzāb* (pl. of *ḥizb*, partisans, sectarians), i.e., those who split up the community of religion. This term had earlier been employed by the Qur'ān on three occasions ⁽¹⁾ to refer to ancient nations or peoples who had rejected their messengers and were consequently destroyed by God. In one of these passages (xxviii, 11-13), Meccans are invited to ascend to the heavens and witness "there a host of destroyed *aḥzāb*" which are identified as peoples of Noah, 'Ād, Pharaoh, Thamūd, Lot and the "people of the thicket" (i.e., Midian). The underlying sense in this usage seems to be of "counter-groups" who, in the face of a divine message, oppose it but then are themselves destroyed.

Every Prophet's message, then, acts like a watershed upon people to whom it is addressed; it has the effect of dividing them according to the categories of truth and falsehood. But in a later use of the same term, it means the splitting up into sects of an originally unitary truth. In xix, 37, it refers to the sectarian differences among the followers of Jesus and his message, differences which distorted his teaching and the idea grows strong in the Qur'ān, about Jews and Christians in particular but also in general, that "people come to differ only after clear knowledge has come to them." ⁽²⁾ Indeed, the original message gets lost over a long passage of time and the sentence, "too long a period has lapsed over them" is repeated. ⁽³⁾ It becomes an unusually tormenting thought in the Qur'ān and the Muslims are repeatedly warned—both in Mecca and Madina—against such division where "every sect rejoices in what it has" (xxx, 32). ⁽⁴⁾ In this connection, the words *aḥzāb* and *shiyā'* (pl. of *shī'a*, also meaning a party or a sect) are used in the same sense.

(1) For reference to these earlier passages I am indebted to Rudi Paret's *Der Koran*, Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1971, p. 233, lines 23 ff.

(2) X, 19, 93; XLV, 17, 11, 213, 111, 19; VIII, 4, etc.

(3) XXI, 44; XXVIII, 45; LVII, 16.

(4) Also III, 103, 105, VI, 153.

When (in the third Meccan period) the term is applied to the earlier communities contemporary with Muḥammad, it has most probably both meanings discussed above. That is to say, they are sectarians resulting from splits over the earlier messages and also (perhaps because of it) are counter-groups against the message of Muḥammad. In three passages they are sharply distinguished from "those We *had* given the Book" and who believe in the Qur'ān as well. The first passage where the term *aḥzāb* is not applied states, "And even thus have We sent down the Book to you [O Muḥammad!]; so those to whom We had [already] given the Book believe in it and some among these people also believe in it" (xxix, 47). The second passage is more explicit, "Those to whom We had [already] given the Book rejoice at what is being sent down to you, but among the sectarians (*al-aḥzāb*) there are those who reject part of it" (xiii, 36).⁽¹⁾ This verse suggests that the 'sectarians' did not object to the whole Qur'ān but to a part of it. In the third passage we are told, 'And what of him who stands on [the basis of] a firm conviction from his Lord, and then a Witness from Him [i.e., the Angel of Revelation] recites it and before it is [already] the Book of Moses as an example and a mercy. It is those [i.e., who have the Book of Moses] who believe in it [i.e., the Qur'ān]; but whosoever among the sectarians disbelieves in it, Fire shall be his destiny" (xi, 17).

The term *aḥzāb* is used once more but much later, in the middle of the Madinan period (in sura xxxiii, 20-22), to mean the various parties and tribes (the Quraish, Bedouin tribes and Jews) which had formed a confederacy to war on Madina in the "Battle of the Ditch." But although the Qur'ān does not use this term any longer to mean the earlier communities who rejected the Prophet, it continues to speak to them, now as supporting the Prophet and believing in him, now as rejecting or opposing him—both in the Meccan and the Madinan periods. In xvii, 107, referring to the Meccans, the Qur'ān declares:

(1) As said in Note 11 above, these verses are mostly, if not wholly, Meccan. Nöldeke-Schwally think that wherever "those to whom we had given the Book" are said to believe in the Qur'ān as well, are Meccan passages (*op. cit.*, p. 155, line 17).

“Say to them (O Muḥammad!), ‘Whether you believe in it [i.e., the Qur’ān] or not, those who have been given the Knowledge [i.e., Revelation] before it, when it [i.e., the Qur’ān] is recited to them, fall upon their faces in prostration. And they say, ‘Glory be to our Lord! Our Lord’s Promise has been fulfilled [in Muḥammad].’ And they fall upon their faces weeping and it increases them in God-fearingness.” We have it again in vi, 115, “Those to whom We have [already] given the Book, know that it [i.e., the Qur’ān] has been sent down from your Lord in truth—so be not one of the doubters.” On the other hand, we are also told in vi, 20, “Those to whom We have [already] given the Book, know it as they know their own sons—those who have lost their own souls because they would not believe [i.e., in the Qur’ān].” Both these assertions are repeated in Madina (e.g., Sura II, 121, 144, 145 and particularly 146) where a protracted religious and political controversy is waged against the Jews, many of whom are accused of unbelief in the Qur’ān and infidelity to their own scriptures as well.

Just as Muḥammad follows upon and inherits the missions of earlier Prophets and the Qur’ān receives the legacy of earlier Revelations, so does the Muslim community now inherit the place of earlier communities. This development also takes place in Mecca. In vi, 89-93, after enumerating eighteen earlier Prophets from Noah and Abraham to New Testament personalities, the Qur’ān says, “That is God’s guidance; He guides therewith whomsoever He wills of His servants, and if they [i.e., the earlier Prophets] had been idolaters their deeds would have come to naught. They are those whom We gave the Book, the Decision and Prophethood; so if these people disbelieve in it, We have already commissioned it to a people [i.e., Muslims in general, particularly those who already had an earlier Revelation] who do not disbelieve in it. They [i.e., earlier Prophets] are those whom God has guided; so follow their guidance... They have not measured God with His true measure when they said, ‘God has not sent down anything on any mortal.’ Say, ‘Who sent down the Book that Moses brought as a light and a guidance to mankind? You [or they] write it out into parchments, revealing them, yet hiding much [thereof] and

you were taught that which neither you nor your fathers had known'... And this [Qur'ān] is a Book We have sent down, blessed and confirming that which was before it, that you may warn the Mother of Towns [i.e., Mecca] and its environs..." (1)

(1) This passage, as its context indicates, is Meccan and is basically directed against the pagans. But certain points in it have raised difficulties for commentators, both Muslims and Westerners. Who are meant by the words "If these people disbelieve in it" and "We have already commissioned it to a people who do not disbelieve in it?" According to the general traditional Muslim view, the "people who disbelieve" are Meccans, which may well be correct since the context is Meccan; but "the people to which it has been commissioned" cannot be either Madinese Muslims or the earlier Prophets themselves, as the traditional view holds. Richard Bell thought that the "disbelieving people" are Madinese Jews and the "people to whom it is entrusted [or commissioned]" are Muslims, and that the verse is not Meccan but Madinese. R. Paret notes that the first and the last parts of the verse fit Meccan pagans while the middle fits Jews; but regards the entire verse as a well connected whole. This interpretation in itself appears plausible but the verse is obviously not Madinese but Meccan. In the light of our preceding argument on the meaning of *ahzāb* and the Meccan=Jewish communications on the subject of Muḥammad's mission, the most natural way to understand the verse is that it is addressed to the pagan Meccans who were supported by Jews, and hence the passage hits at the Jews as well. On this basis verse 92 which has given considerable trouble to commentators and scholars, also becomes satisfactorily intelligible. It makes three related points: that those Meccans who deny the possibility of Revelation to a human have misconceived God's power, that several Meccans themselves have learnt much from the Mosaic Revelation which neither they nor their fathers had known before, and that Jews who copy down the Mosaic Revelation hide a large part of it (The vulgate has "which *you* write down... making it public but hiding much" in the second person plural, but there is a variant reading, adopted also by al-Ṭabarī, in the third person plural, which might possibly be an attempt to smoothe out the text).

Bell (*The Qur'ān Translated*, Edinburgh, Vol. 1, p. 124) believes this passage to be Madinan, in spite of the fact that its first and last parts are obviously Meccan and could have been addressed only to the Meccan pagans, and regards the words which accuse the Jews of copying down Scriptures in such a manner that they hide part of the Scriptures, as being a still later insertion by the Prophet. Now, whereas it is true that the Qur'ān in its controversies with Jews at Madina repeatedly accuses the latter of not faithfully representing their Scriptures, this accusation is by no means limited to Madina. Early in this paper we have drawn attention to the fact that some Meccans had heard stories of earlier Prophets from the "People of the Book" and had wished for a revealed Book of their own and that they had not accepted the Mosaic teaching. This is precisely what the latter part of the verse under discussion here is pointing to by saying "And you have been taught [i.e., by the People of the Book] what neither you nor your fathers knew." Further, when the Prophet became aware of the differences among the "People of the Book" themselves, as we have also said earlier, he became convinced that whereas their Scriptures were true, these were being manipulated and misrepresented by their votaries. In XXIX, 48 the Qur'ān states, "Before it [i.e.,

At the point where Muḥammad clearly realizes his position as being in the direct line of Prophetic succession to earlier Prophets and that the pagan Arabs are wrong in their idolatry and other communities are wrong in their schismatic character, the Qur'ān describes Muḥammad as a *ḥanīf* or a true monotheist and his religion as the "straight religion (*al-dīn al-qayyim*)" from which paganism and sectarianism are represented as deviations: "So set your face [O Muḥammad!] to the straight religion" (xxx, 43); "So set your face to the religion as a *ḥanīf*; this is the primordial religion on which God has originated mankind... This is the straight religion... and do not be [O Muslims!] among those who associate [partners with God], nor among those who split up their religion into sects, each sect rejoicing in what it has" (xxx, 30-32).

That this religion of pure monotheism which is pre-eminently attributed to Abraham was primarily developed against the cult of pagan deities is obvious from xii, 37-40, where Joseph declares to his two prison companions, "I have abandoned the religion of a people who do not believe in [one] God and disbelieve in the Last Day and now follow the religion (*milla*) of my fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. It is not ours to associate anything with God... O my prison companions! are several lords better or one all-powerful God... He has commanded that

the Qur'ān], you [O Muḥammad!] did not use to recite a Book nor *were copying it down with your right hand*, for then those who do not accept you would have been suspicious." This verse has three ideas, the most prominent of which is the reply to the Meccans' charges that the Prophet was being taught by some persons the stories of older Prophets. The reply is that had the Prophet been reciting these stories or writing them before his Call, there might have existed some ground for such suspicion. The second idea, also repeated in the Qur'ān (XXVIII, 86; XLII, 52), is that Muḥammad had never anticipated or made any deliberate effort at being a Prophet, which came to him all of a sudden. But, thirdly, there is in the words "nor were you copying it down with your right hand" an obvious sarcasm against the scribes who wrote the old Scriptures and did not represent them faithfully. This idea is, however, squarely Meccan. Also, the verses that follow the one under discussion here are clearly Meccan. In order to be consistent with his view that this entire passage is Madinan, Bell takes the phrase "the Mother of the Towns" whom the Prophet is exhorted to warn to refer to Madina, against the weight of all traditional Muslim authorities, who take it to refer to Mecca. Still, this particular substitution of Madina for Mecca is one of the lesser eccentricities of Richard Bell!

you not serve except Him alone: this is the straight religion." The image of Abraham as the Arch-Monothelist is asserted against the Meccan pagans towards the end of the Meccan period where (Suras VI and XII) the stories of earlier Prophets have ceased except Abraham's and where, in VI, 74 ff., after narrating the story of how Abraham arrived at the idea of monotheism after eliminating astral gods one by one, Abraham says, "O my people! I am quit of what you associate [with God]; I have set my face as a *ḥanīf* unto Him who created the heavens and the earth and I am not one of those who associate [with God]. And [when] his people argued with him, he said, 'Do you argue with me concerning God when He has already guided me? I do not fear what you associate with Him... Why should I fear what you associate [with Him] while you do not fear that you have associated [others] with God without any authority that God may have sent upon you—which of the two parties is, then, more deserving of security, if you only knew?' (79-82). This is followed by a list of seventeen Prophets, including Moses and Jesus in a passage we have referred to above and which states that if these men had committed *shirk*, all their deeds would have come to nothing.

It is, then, in a solidly Meccan context with pagans as its addressees that the Qur'ān develops its image of Abraham as the super-Prophet and arch-monotheist and not in Madina as a consequence of controversies with Jews, as Hurgronje and Schwally say. But the line of monotheistic succession having come from Abraham, through earlier Prophets, to Muḥammad, must be kept straight *without any deviation*. Now the earlier monotheistic communities—"the People of the Book"—have not apparently been able to keep this line straight; otherwise, there would not have been sectarian splits. In the light of this, it is possible to understand afresh the meaning of the much-debated term *ḥanīf*. In the Qur'ān it most probably means a monotheist, but a straight, non-deviant monotheist. In this sense, neither the pagans nor the "People of the Book" were *ḥanīfs*, and hence it is on the basis of this straight, Abrahamic monotheism (running, of course, through other Prophets to Muḥammad) that the Qur'ān criticizes not only pagans but the

PRE-FOUNDATIONS OF THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY IN MECCA

19

earlier communities as well. Towards the end of Sura VI, we read, "Those people who have split up their religion and become sects, you have nothing to do with them; up to God is their affair and He will tell them what they had been doing... say [O Muḥammad], 'As for me, my Lord has guided me to a straight path, an upright religion, the religion of Abraham who was a straight monotheist (*ḥanīf*) and he was no associationist (or idolator).' Say, 'My prayer, my religious exercises, my living and my dying are for God, the Lord of all creation. He has no associate; with this I have been commanded and I am the first of those who surrender themselves'" (vi, 160-64).

In Madina, important developments do take place but they do not consist in the Qur'ān abandoning Moses and Jesus to Jews and Christians and linking the Muslim community directly and exclusively with Abraham. This would have destroyed the whole idea of the straight line of Prophetic succession as *ḥanīfism*, and the basic unity of religion. Indeed, Moses and Jesus loom large in Madina, just as they had done in Mecca. Also, the earlier Revelation continues to figure and the Qur'ān upholds itself both as its confirmer and preserver. In Sura V, after talking about the Mosaic Revelation and the Gospel, the Qur'ān says, "And to you [O Muḥammad!] We have sent down the Book in truth as a confirmer of the Books [i.e., all Revelations] that have come before it and as a protector over them... For each one of you [i.e., Jews, Christians, Muslims], We have appointed a path and a way, and if God had so willed, He would have made you but one community but [He has not done so in order] that He try [all of] you in what He has given you, wherefore compete with one another in good deeds..." (v, 48). One important development in Madina, then, is that earlier Revelations are mentioned by name, the Torah and the Gospel, whereas in Mecca the Gospel is hardly referred to (although, of course, Jesus and other New Testament personalities are certainly there), while the Mosaic Revelation is always called "the Book of Moses," which repeatedly appears as the forerunner of the Qur'ānic Revelation.

A second major development is—as is also apparent from the preceding quotation—the recognition of three separate commun-

ities—Jews, Christians, and Muslims. The Meccan terms “sects” and “parties” (*aḥzāb* and *shiya'*), used for the earlier communities, disappear in Madina and are replaced with the term *Umma* or the collective term “the People of the Book” (*ahl al-kitāb*), and each *Umma* is recognized as having its own paths or laws. Far from seeking refuge in Abraham in order to validate the Muslim community, the Qur'ān now recognizes, in some fashion, the validity of the Jewish and the Christian communities. Still, the Muslim community remains the “ideal” or “best” community (*khair ummatin*), the “median community (*Umma wasaṭ*),” which, over against the “tendentiousness” of the others, is the true descendant of the Abrahamic line. Despite their recognition, the “People of the Book” are still invited to Islam, however, “O People of the Book! Our Messenger has come to you now, making matters clear to you, after a long interval between Messengers, lest you should say, ‘There has not come to us any bearer of good tidings nor a warner; now a hearer of good tidings and a warner has come».

We should like in the end to discuss briefly the position of the Ka'ba or the *Ḥaram* with which both the pilgrimage and the direction of prayer are concerned. I find the statement of Nöldeke-Schwally⁽¹⁾ that the Ka'ba is not mentioned in the Qur'ān at all in Mecca after the very early Sura 106, puzzling. The word Ka'ba itself is, of course, not used in Mecca at all and appears in the Qur'ān fairly late in Madina (V, 47, 95). But if the statement implies, as it apparently does, that the Sanctuary as such went out of the Prophet's attention until the pilgrimage was installed as a Muslim's duty, it is obviously wrong. In xxviii, 57, commenting upon some Meccans' expressed fears that if they accepted the Prophet's teaching, they would be kidnapped from their homes by his opponents, the Qur'ān says that the territory has been recognized as secure with the consequence that people are not only secure from attack but do free trade there resulting in prosperity and abundance. This statement tallies exactly with what had been said in Sura 106 earlier. This statement about the sacred character of Mecca—thanks to

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 91, lines 14-15.

the Sanctuary—is repeated in xxix, 67, and the Qur'ān complains that, despite its sanctity, people are being kidnapped all around it. Finally, in vii, 29 ff., dating from the last years of the Prophet in Mecca, the Qur'ān criticizes the practices of certain pagan Arabs (including some Meccans) who performed the circumambulation of the Ka'ba naked and fasted during the pilgrimage. Nöldeke-Schwally also affirms this, (1) following the overwhelming reports of Muslim Qur'ān-commentators. This evidence shows that the Prophet had not only never given up belief in the sanctity of the Ka'ba but was involved in the pilgrimage ritual till late in Mecca and was, indeed, interested in certain reforms of the ritual. Reform of the pilgrimage, however, and other religious and social reforms required political control of the Meccan situation, and the Meccan's opposition to him was, in no small measure, based on the political implications of his message.

Nor is there the slightest hint that the Prophet, after his arrival in Madina, had given up the Ka'ba in favor of any other shrine. (2) Indeed, all the evidence is to the contrary. That the Prophet had decided to emigrate to Madina in order to coerce Mecca to accept Islam is clearly shown by the fact that the pact he made with the Madinese in order to come to Madina was itself called the "Pact of War [i.e., with Mecca]." All his political actions after his arrival in Madina—the harassment and way-laying of the Meccan trade caravans—are really intelligible only in the light of his over-riding concern to take Mecca—if not through peaceful means, then through economic pressure or, if necessary, war. And the Ka'ba was formally declared as the pilgrimage shrine of Islam within one year of the Prophet's arrival in Madina. This concern for Mecca and the Ka'ba can be understood only in the light of the religious, economic and political ascendancy exercised by the shrine and the tribe of

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 159, lines 4 ff.

(2) That the Ka'ba had been built by Abraham was believed by some Arabs even before Islam. Nöldeke-Schwally (p. 147, note 3), believe, without any specific evidence, this belief was probably the creation of Arab Jews and Christians, and Christians are even said to have taken part in the pilgrimage to the shrine. In any case, in view of this and the evidence we have given of the continued central place of the Ka'ba in the Qur'ān, the view of Hurgronje and Schwally that Sura, XIV, verses 36-38 are madinan, must be rejected.

Quraish over the Arabs. What, then, it may be asked, could the Prophet and Islam have gained by placating a handful of Madinese Jews—no matter how important they may have been locally—at the expense of Mecca and the rest of the Arabs?

There was a gap of nearly six months between the ordaining of pilgrimage to the Ka'ba and the change of the direction of prayer (*Qibla*) to it from Jerusalem, which occurred just before what Western scholars call "the break with the Jews." Now, if the break with the Jews was such an important event, as so many Western scholars believe, fraught with ideological implications for Islam and changing its very orientation, how explain this gap of six months between the two events, for the logic of such an Islam-shaking break would require that both occur simultaneously, or at least nearly so? On the view I have attempted to propound above, the pilgrimage ordinance had nothing to do with Jews or any break with them, since there was a continuity on this matter between the Meccan and Madinan periods of Islam, except that in Madina the association of Islam with the Ka'ba was made official in view of the fact that the Muslim community was now no longer in Mecca but in Madina, even though the Muslims had to wait for several years to actually perform pilgrimage due to the hostility of the Meccans. On the question of the *Qibla*, however, the continuity was on Jerusalem, not on the Ka'ba.

The Prophet had chosen Jerusalem as the *Qibla*, not in Madina, but many years back in Mecca itself, as Ibn Ishaq tells us. ⁽¹⁾ He adds, though, that the Prophet faced Jerusalem in prayer in such a way that he simultaneously faced the Ka'ba as well. It is obvious from this that the Madinan Jews had nothing to do with the Prophet's choice of Jerusalem as the *Qibla* in the first place. It is possible that the choice had something to do with the great sanctity attached to the Mosaic teaching in the *Qur'ān*, but it seems to me more probable that

(1) Ibn Ishāq, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 318, line 12 ff.; also Vol. II, p. 47, line 3 ff., where it is stated that when the Madinese went to Mecca to conclude with the Prophet the agreement concerning his Emigration to Madina, their leader al-Barā' ibn Ma'rūr, refused to face towards Jerusalem instead of the Ka'ba, when the party prayed on their way to Mecca, while the rest, following the Prophet's practice at Mecca, faced towards Jerusalem.

PRE-FOUNDATIONS OF THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY IN MECCA 23

this choice was made as a protest against the Meccan's persecution of Muslims who were not allowed to pray in the Sacred Mosque in the early years. Ibn Ishaq also tells us that when congregational prayers were first introduced into Islam. Muslims used to pray in a hiding place outside of Mecca for fear of persecution and that once, when a party of Meccans discovered the Muslims praying there, they jeered at them, upon which a fight ensued wherein Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqās seriously wounded a Meccan with a camel's shoulder-blade, adding, "This was the first blood ever shed after the promulgation of Islam." (1) Muslims were not able to say prayers in the Sacred Mosque until well after the Abyssinian Emigration, when 'Umar became Muslim and successfully fought for his right to pray there. (2) Even after that Muslims normally prayed in a private house for fear of trouble, although the Prophet himself did pray sometimes in the Sanctuary.

After the Hijra to Madina, Jerusalem continued to be the *Qibla* in Muslim prayers. The change from Jerusalem to the Ka'ba, therefore, meant a break in this practice—unlike the pilgrimage—and had to wait until the official place of the Ka'ba as the central Islamic shrine was well settled in the Islamic system. After it was clear by this official act where the Islamic center of gravity lay, the change in the *Qibla* was effected. It is to be noted that, as the Qur'ān tells us, (3) the trouble over this change was being expected, not so much from the Jews as from the "Hypocrites" who would seize this opportunity to sew dissension among the ranks of the Muslims. We do not wish to deny the importance of the Muslim-Jewish troubled relations but want to emphasize that the mainstream of this development lies elsewhere than in the Muslim-Jewish relations. To begin with, those relations were troubled from the very beginning of the Prophet's arrival in Madina. But these troubled relations by themselves need not have affected

(1) *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 275, lines 8 ff.

(2) *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 364, lines 14 ff.

(3) The passage about the change of the *Qibla* begins at II, 142; "the stupid ones among the people will ask what has diverted them from the *Qibla* they have been used to."

the *Qibla* question; the Prophet could have kept Jerusalem as the *Qibla* while disowning the Jews, just as he kept his Prophetic link with the Biblical Prophetic tradition but disowned the Jews as true representatives of that tradition. We must, therefore, seek the real answer in something else and that is the centrality of the Meccan shrine in the religion of Islam. Finally, one must question the validity of the concept of the "break with the Jews" itself. There is no single special event or declaration or measure on the part of the Prophet or the Jews that can be taken as the unique referent of this hallowed phrase. We are sometimes told that the change of the *Qibla* itself represents "the break with the Jews,"⁽¹⁾ which obviously begs the question. There were certainly protracted controversies with and criticisms of the Jews of Madina; when the Jews refused to become Muslims, they were recognized as a separate religious community but were asked not to aid the Muslims' opponents in wars—indeed, to help defend Madina against attacks—an obligation which they accepted. When this did not work out, they were expelled and, in the final phase, exterminated. But criticism of the Jews, their recognition as a community and invitations to them to become Muslims ran concurrently and one cannot assign to them successive periods of time, as we have said earlier. Which of these phenomena constitutes "the break with the Jews?" Indeed, long after the removal of the Jews from Madina, the Qur'ān continues to criticize them on religious grounds along with the Christians (e.g., ix, 30).

(1) Watt, Montgomery, *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'ān*, Edinburgh, 1970, p. 12, lines 22 ff.

MECCA BEFORE THE TIME OF THE PROPHET—ATTEMPT OF AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

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The knowledge of the social and economic conditions of Meccan society prior to the time of the Prophet reveals not only the possibilities of explaining the appearance of *Muhammad*, but also of elucidating more precisely changes in the ancient Arabic society, brought about by Islam. In my present paper, I will be carrying the discussion beyond the topic, indicated by the title, which, as far as I can see, two anthropologists have already contributed to, namely *E. R. Wolf* "*The social organisation of Mecca and the origins of Islam*" (1951) and *U. Fabiotti* "*The role played by the organisation of the 'Hums' in the evolution of political ideas in pre-Islamic Mecca*" (1988). On the one hand, I would like to pursue those questions which up to now have not received adequate attention; on the other hand, I would like to attempt to interpret in a new way certain phenomena as for example the cult-alliances of the "*Hums*". Therefore, I would like to have my paper considered as a contribution to the discussion of the problem as to which specific social structures and events have determined the evolutionary process of Meccan society in the pre-Islamic period. I do not intend to undertake a systematic and extensively detailed interpretation of the entire complex of social economic conditions; rather I would like to pursue a few of the questions that would be relevant to our theme. In the first part, my interest concerns the changes in the Meccan chieftainship; in the second part, I will try to characterize the social limits, within which nuptial alliances are entered into by the agnates of *Qusayy*, the ancestor of the Prophet. The third part concerns a problem that is important for estimating the political organization, i. e. to what extent pre-Islamic society of Mecca was able to form those collective identities, by which tribal identities, based on common descent, were relativized.

At the beginning of my contribution, I would like to describe the original Meccan chieftainship and then go on to the question of the changes in this institution.

We can start by first considering the historical personality of *Qusayy b. Kilāb*, who was known as the "unifier" (*mudjammi*) of the tribal union of

the *Quraysh* and who started the settlement of Mecca.¹⁾ What function or position of authority did *Qusayy* have? The question offers us a certain latitude, limited by the sources, in which the combination of cultic (*hidjāba*)

¹⁾ In the traditions concerning the origin of Mecca, two distinct views are found: the first version links the construction of the *Ka'ba* with *Ibrāhīm*, the Biblical Abraham. This has been supported by two passages out of the *Quran* (Sure 2/119-121 and 3/90-91); cf. *al-Anṣārī*: 123 ff.; *Wensinck & Jomier*: 318 ff.; concerning the genealogical significance of *Ibrāhīm* and *Ismā'īl* see *Caskel*: 1966, I, 39 f.); compared with this, the second championed by the early Muslim chroniclers, establishes the foundation of the Mecca settlement by *Qusayy b. Kilāb*. According to the second version, a prehistoric tribe, the *Djurhum* might have built the *Ka'ba*, a cube-shaped structure. Later on, another tribe, the *Khuzā'a*, exercised control over the holy place. The above mentioned *Qusayy b. Kilāb* married a woman from the tribe of the *Khuzā'a*. The father of his wife was cult official of the *Ka'ba*. Eventually, *Qusayy* took over this cultic offices (*Simon*: 210 f.; *Levi della Vida*: 519 f.; *Kister*: 1979, 77); concerning the different versions dealing with the assumption of cultic offices by *Qusayy* (*Kister*: 1979, 77 f.; *Levi della Vida*). In addition to the *Djurhum*, the *Amāliq/Amalekites* are also named as their predecessors (*al-Anṣārī*: *ibid*; *al-Sharīf*: 104 f.; regarding the two see *Caskel*: 1966, I, 40, 61; regarding *Khuzā'a* see *Kister*: 1979; *Wellhausen*: 1892, 340 f.; the same 1897, 91 f.).

Regarding Mecca's prehistory, the following problem is up for discussion: *Ptolemaeus of Alexandria* (2/3 of the 2nd century A. D.) observes in his map of the present day area of Mecca a place named "*Makoraba*" (*Müller*: 1984, 126; *Watt*: 1987, 144; *Grohmann*). I refuse to enter into the speculations concerning the derivation of the word "*Mecca*" (comp. *al-Sharīf*: 98, who derives "*makoraba*" from Aramaic, recently, critically treated by *Crone*: 1987, 134 ff.). Much more interesting however, is the fact that a corresponding term "*makoraba*" could be found in the Sabaic word for holy place, temple "*mukariba*" (*Müller*: *ibid*; *Sabaic Dictionary*: 78, *Edit.*: *Beeston*, A. F. L., *Ghul*, M. A., *Müller*, W. W., *Ryckmans*, J.; Publication of the University of *San'ā'*, YAR, Louvain-la-Neuve — Beyrouth, 1982; *Wensinck-Jormier*: 318). This indication shows that a familiar cult center must have been situated in the area of Mecca, otherwise *Ptolemaeus* would have made no mention of it. Nevertheless, certain connections between Southern Arabia and the Meccan holy place are striking. The *Himyaritic* ruler *Tubba' As'ad Abū Karib*, on the occasion of a visit to *Mecca*, is said to have ordered the *Ka'ba* to be covered with a curtain/*Kiswa* as well as the construction of a sealing door (*Wensinck-Jormier*: 318). For the historical details of the architecture of the *Ka'ba* see (*Finster*: 14 f.). A statement by *Ibn al-Kalbī* casts a new light on the significance of this holy place regarding the habits of the tribes of that time. From a few relevant passages it can be inferred that this cult centre was not settled and the pilgrims who visited this holy place dispersed after the pilgrimage was over (*Simon*: 209; cf. *Wellhausen*: 1897, 91).

About *Qusayy b. Kilāb* (*Levi della Vida*; *al-Azraqī*: 60 f.; *Ibn Hishām*: 75 f., 79 ff.; *Ibn Sa'd*: 66 ff.). Concerning *Qusayy's* Nabataean origin (*Fahd*: 1966, 123, n. 2; the same: 1968, 215, n. 4; *Caskel*: 1966, II. 602 under *Zayd b. Kilāb/Qusayy*).

and political functions (*siyāda*) stands out as an essential feature.²⁾ *Qusayy* had chief custody over the *Ka'ba* (*hidjāba*) and hence presents himself to us in this deducible sacerdotal role as a cultic reformer.³⁾ In this way, he renovated the periphery of the *ḥaram*-district in order to enable settlement of *Mecca*;⁴⁾ he assumed control of the pilgrimage to Mecca by establishing the *siqāya*- and *rifāda* institutions; the first deals with the superintendence of the water supply and its distribution among the pilgrims, the second one concerns the redistribution of food supplies, which were provided by the Meccans for the pilgrims.⁵⁾ Since the function of ritual lot-casting was linked to the priest's office, he might have also acted as *Sāhib al-Qidah*,⁶⁾ the same applies to collective oath-taking (*qasāma*.⁷⁾ In addition, he is said to have introduced the fire cult for the god *Quzah* on the mountain of *Muzdalifa*.⁸⁾

His function of political leadership was legitimized by the consent of his tribe.⁹⁾ The following innovations regarding the civil sector have been

²⁾ Concerning *sadāna* see (*Fahd*: 1966, 199f.); *siyāda* (*Tyan*: 77, 78 n. 1).

³⁾ *Fahd*: 1966, 194, 205; *al-Azraqi*: 63f.; *Ibn Hishām*: 80.

⁴⁾ *Qusayy* cut down the trees in the *ḥaram*-district (*Ibn Hishām*: 80; *Ibn Sa'd*: 71); he set up the border stones of the *ḥaram*-area (*Wellhausen*: 1882, 341).

⁵⁾ *al-Azraqi*: 64f.; *Ibn Hishām*: 80; *Ibn Sa'd*: 70; cf. *Tyan*: 108f.

⁶⁾ *Wüstenfeld*: 1861, 32; *Wellhausen*: 1897, 132; *Fahd*: 1966, 110, 181ff.); concerning the ritual lot-casting with arrows (*al-Azraqi*: 72f.; *Klinke-Rosenberger*: 44, 105, n. 189).

⁷⁾ With *al-Fāsi* only generally worded, who observed that the *Quraysh* performed official duties or arbitration on the basis of the *Qasāma* and in return for this 100 camels per man had to be given (*Wüstenfeld*: 1859, 142). Regarding *Qasāma* (*Wellhausen*: 1987, 187f.; *Gräf*: 124f., 129; cf. in addition *Braumann*: 1972, 195); *Crone* (1984) has recently dedicated a detailed study to this subject, in which she postulates a Jewish origin to this legal usage (p. 168f., 176f.). The author has thus disregarded the possibility due to her mono-causal point of view of convergent developments; concerning recent *qasāma*-practices in Southern Arabia (*Serjeant*: 1989, 147ff.).

⁸⁾ *Fahd*: 1966, 10. The sources referring to this naturally do not mention the connection between the institution of fire and the god *Quzah* (*Ibn Sa'd*: 72; *Wüstenfeld*: 1861, 32).

⁹⁾ *al-Azraqi*: 64: "fa-kāna *Qusayyun* awalla *raḍjulin* min *Banī Kināna* 'aṣāba *mulkan* wa 'aṭā' la-hu bi-hi *qawmuhu*", *Qusayy* acquired power and did what he wanted with his tribe, i. e. acceptance of his rule by agreement of the tribe, a fact that occurs with ethnographical data dealing with the nomination of tribal chieftains (*Dostal*: 1983, 125; 1985, 55ff., 235ff.).

ascribed to him:¹⁰) the founding of an assembly house (*dār al-nadwa*), which was used for consulting the *Quraysh* and was reserved for conducting ceremonies that had to do with the rites des passages: entering into a marriage contract, performing circumcision on young boys as well as carrying out ceremonies for girls upon reaching puberty who were declared marriageable, received a new dress (veil) and were finally led into the house of their parents; on the occasion of initiation ceremonies, ritual banquets (*i'dhār/'adhīr/'adhīra*) were also celebrated.

Further, I should like to mention the institution of the *liwā'*, the war banner and the right to declare war that was probably associated with it. The supreme command over military units (*qiyāda*) that *Qusayy* likewise claimed also has some connection with this. Regarding important political decisions, he must have, of course, been dependent on the assembly of personable men (*malā'*). *Qusayy's* power and prestige was based on several factors: on the one hand, on the function of political leadership; on the other, on cultic functions and obligations: since a holy place was considered the property of a divinity, *Qusayy* acted as owner of the *ḥidjāba*, the priest's office, as its administrator and thus had access to the supernatural. In this function, *Qusayy* was able to cut down the trees in the *ḥaram*-district with his own hands and what is important in this context, without any harm, which would normally be in for such an action of outrage of the sacred area.¹¹) Furthermore, it should not go unmentioned that in a praise to *Qusayy* given by *Khudhafa b. Ghānim al-Djumaḥī* it has been hinted

¹⁰) *al-Azraqī*: 64; *Ibn Hishām*: 80; *Ibn Sa'd*: 70. Concerning these institutions (*Tyan*: 109, 112f.; *Wüstenfeld*: 1861, 31f.).

dār al-nadwa: here, consultations on matters of dispute and political affairs took place. Besides the agnates of *Qusayy*, only the *Quraysh* who had completed their fortieth year had access, a situation that refers to competency of judgement upon completion of a certain age. In this connection, the following passage may be referred to: "*amsā fulānun li-'umri-hi ḥakāma*", age has made him judge (arbitrator) (*'Amr b. Qamī'a*: Nr. IV, 4; *Lyall*: 1919, 27). Furthermore, the war banner (*liwā'*) was kept in the assembly house. The assembly house was also used for carrying out the mentioned official ceremonies (*al-Azraqī*: 65; *Ibn Hishām*: 80; *Ibn Sa'd*: 70; *Wüstenfeld*: 1861, 30; *Chelhod*: 121).

liwā': (*Jacob*: 25; *Tyan*: 109; *Fahd*: 1966, 123). According to *al-Ḥūfi*: 257, three war banners are said to have been kept in the *dār al-nadwa*: one for the *B. Kināna*, another for the *Aḥābīsh* and a third for the *Quraysh*.

siqāya: the pilgrims drew their water from two wells: from *al-Nabīdh* and *Zamzam* (*Chelhod*: 163, n. 1).

¹¹) *Ibn Hishām*: 80.

Mecca before the time of the prophet

197

that the unification of the *Quraysh* was brought about on behalf of God (*Allāh*).¹²⁾ All things considered, these are the characteristics which, viewed anthropologically, distinguish a sacral chieftainship.

To be sure, as a result of the apportioning of inheritance, this sacral chieftainship experienced a radical structural change through which the function of political leadership ultimately rendered itself independent, that means, independent of cultic offices. In this process, the peculiarity of Meccan political organization is revealed, namely the beginning of dynastic development, which probably, as *E. Tyan* has rightly surmised, can be traced to the influences of the states existing at that time in Arabia.¹³⁾ The rules of succession regarding the chieftain's office did not always follow, among pre-Islamic Arabs, the rule of primogeniture, but commonly the *qu'dud* rule.¹⁴⁾ In virtue of this patrilineal rule, the extent of heirs in generally determined according to the agnates who descend from a common genitor. The rule of succession for *Qusayy* emphasizes, on the contrary, the notion of dynastic development.

I would like to name a principle aspect, according to which different traditions on the change of functions, accumulated by *Qusayy*, can be classified. Among the chroniclers, we find two opposing versions. According to the first, passed on by *Ibn Hishām*, *Qusayy*'s eldest son, *'Abd al-Dār*, assumed all previously mentioned functions and bequeathed them to his agnates. For *'Āmir b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd al-Dār*, however, who belonged to the 4th descending generation of *Qusayy*, these were contested by the sons of *'Abd Manāf* (2th descending generation), the brother of *'Abd al-Dār*, whereby the first factional formation occurred among the *Mutayyabūn* and *Ahlāf*. The *'Abd al-Dār* group retained all functions through a settlement between the contesting parties, except those offices of the water supply (*siqāya*) and the food supply for the pilgrims (*riḥāda*), that was allotted to *Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf*.¹⁵⁾

In the first version, we see an attempt to explain the development of political factions amongst the *Quraysh*, namely the factions of the *Mutayyabūn* and *Ahlāf*; this, however, leaves certain aspects untouched. The allot-

¹²⁾ *al-Azraqī*: 64: "abūhum *Qusayyun kāna yud'ā mudjammi'an bi-hi djama'a Allāhu al-qabā'ila min Fihri*". Their father *Qusayy* is called the uniter, through him, God has united the tribes of *Fihri* (fictitious ancestor of the *Quraysh*). Similarly also with *Ibn Hishām*: 80 and *Ibn Sa'd*: 70.

¹³⁾ *Tyan*: 99, 114.

¹⁴⁾ the same: 115.

¹⁵⁾ *Ibn Hishām*: 83-85; *Ibn Sa'd*: 73, 77; *Wüstenfeld*: 1861, 33f.; the same: 1853, 28f. for *Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf*.

ment of political leadership is thus left open, which according to the others was transferred to the 'Abd-Shams-segment; the question remains unanswered as to why *Hāshim* b. 'Abd *Manāf* contented himself exclusively with the offices that were allotted to him; in addition to this, as seen from a relatively chronological point of view, the second versus the fourth generation is quite striking.

The second version as passed on by *al-Azraqi* according to *Ibn Djaridj* and *Ibn Ishāq*, accentuates the division of functions within the descending generations of *Qusayy* as follows:¹⁰) the first-born, 'Abd *al-Dār*, received the most important cultic offices, namely the superintendence over the sanctuary (*hidjāba*), through which he occupied the priest's office (*sadāna*). Further political offices were the protection of the assembly house (*dār al-nadwa*) and the right of disposal over the war banner (*liwā*'). The second eldest, 'Abd *Manāf*, had to content himself, from the number of cultic offices available, simply with the control of the water — and the food supply for the pilgrims (*siqāya* and *rifāda*), however, he was entrusted with the leadership of the military troupe (*qiyāda*). Owing to this dichotomy of the structure of authority that created a certain tension, 'Abd *al-Dār* combined the most important cultic and administrative offices with the right to declare war. His brother, 'Abd *Manāf*, who was entrusted with the leadership of the military troupe belonging to the tribal union had to relinquish this right — a functional loss that had to essentially diminish his claim to leadership.

The second inheritance allotment in the next generation reveals that the most important cultic offices such as the protection of the assembly house (*dār al-nadwa*) and the right of disposal over the war banner (*liwā*') in the 'Abd *al-Dār* segment were bequeathed. The functions of 'Abd *Manāf* were on the other hand distributed among his agnates in the following manner: the leadership of the tribe's troupe (*qiyāda*) were assumed by his son 'Abd *Shams*. The control of the water and food supply (*siqāya* and *rifāda*) which had to be provided for the pilgrims, was consigned to his brother *Hāshim*, the great grandfather of the Prophet. Do we see in this state of affairs the reason why the 'Abd *Manāf* group, which had been to a large extent relieved of the essential cultic functions, could devote itself more intensively to the development of foreign commercial relations?

In spite of the diverging views, certain agreements can be shown: already in the second descending generation of *Qusayy*, the sacral chieftainship was dissolved and its unity-furthering force lost. We can view the

¹⁰) *al-Azraqi*: 66 ff.

allotment of hereditary offices as a mechanism that was causing problems, which brought about a change in the socio-political conditions, if one brings to mind the political formation of factions, by which the agnates of *Qusayy* with their allies were divided into the *Mutayyabūn* and *Ahlāf*.¹⁷⁾

The same generation, in which the differentiation of the original sacral chieftainship was effected, brought about an accomplishment that was decisive for the future social development of Meccan society: its involvement in the foreign commercial network of that time that had been initiated by the 'Abd Manāf segment.¹⁸⁾ This step resulted in the already extant potential being increased by broadening its radius of activity. Hence, the question is raised: what social means did the agnates of *Qusayy* avail themselves of in order to support further their commercial intentions? To approach this question it seems to me to be advisable to draw attention to their policy of marriage, the significance of which has already been pointed out in *J. M. Kister's* treatises.¹⁹⁾

In the analysis of the genealogical works of *Ibn al-Kalbī*, *al-Zubayr b. al-Bakkār* and ancient Arabian poetry, as far as I am able to fathom this, I have tried to show that there have been certain standard mechanisms for the admittance of affinal relations in this society that forms an essential determinant for the character of the social conditions of that time. Naturally, the interest in the special characteristics of nuptial alliances is connected to this, since these give us an insight into the various social aims underlying them.

To gain an initial point of departure for this problem, I would like first of all to point to the patrilineal origins drawn from the sources mentioned above.

The type of partilinearity, developed at that time, will become clearly evident if we can for example imagine the following passages taken from poetry: "he made his community adhere to the custom, as his father was accustomed to"²⁰⁾ or "by people, whose fathers used to prescribe for them the way of acting".²¹⁾ In conformity with the claims of fatherhood is associated the normative claim to loyalty (*birr*) of both the son towards the father as well as the father towards the son. This norm (*birr*) finds opposition in the term

¹⁷⁾ *Ibn Hishām*: 85; *Ibn Sa'd*: 77; *Kister*: 1972, 82 ff.; *Watt*: 1953, 5 f.

¹⁸⁾ *Ibn Sa'd*: 75 f.

¹⁹⁾ *Kister*: 1965, 158 ff.; the same: 1972, 82.

²⁰⁾ *Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā al-Muzanī*, nr. 18, 9–10: "wa 'awwada qawmu-hu . . . kamā qad kāna 'awwada-hum abū-hu" (*Ahlwardt*: 99).

²¹⁾ *Labīd b. Rabi'a*, 81: "min ma'sharin sannat la-hum ābā'-hum wa li-kullī qawmin sunnatun wa-imāmu-hā" (*Arnold*: 117).

“*uqūq*”, disloyalty towards blood relatives. We find these circumstances expressed in the following passage: “*You have dresses one another in a gown of disloyalty, a father without loyalty and a son without bond.*”²²) The formational level of patrilinearity attained at the time of the Prophet will be evident in Document F of the “Constitution of Medina”, which has been treated by *R. B. Serjeant*; this states regarding the establishment of an asylum-district in *Yathrib* that a woman can only seek refuge if this occurs with consent of her kinship group.²³)

Now it is time to detect the rules for affinal relationships which results from a patrilineal ideology that lays down a social claim of recognition for the lineage of agnates. Involved is the connection between these norms and certain social acts of the *Quraysh* or more exact, the agnates of *Qusayy*. In the ideology of this patrilineal society, it is genealogy, i. e. the knowledge of decent, that acquires significance. Genealogy is a kind of interpretation of social reality, because it effects the self recognition as well as the self representation of a group and also assumes the function of a court of justification, according to which certain social acts and designs may be oriented, regardless if it is a matter of assistance for an act of retaliation, granting of protection or the admittance of affinal relationships.²⁴ In the context of the social functions of genealogy, the normative rules for nuptual alliances can be seen, because they assert under which requirements marriages may be concluded. The following points should be mentioned: 1. both marriage partners must be “*mu’imm*” and “*mukhwil*”,²⁵) i. e. they have to be able to prove recognized patrilineal and matrilineal genealogical links of relationship, with which the basic social equivalency both of the paternal as well as the maternal kinship-group is indicated. *Mu’imm* is derived from ‘*amm*, the term for father’s brother (F&Br), *mukhwil* is from *khāl*, the term

²²) *Hudhaytile* songs, nr. 143,9: “*ta’āwartumā thawba ’l-’uqūqi kilākumā abun qhayru barrin wa-bnu-hu qhayru wāqilīn* (Wellhausen: 1884).

Concerning the terms “*birr*” and “*uqūq*” (*Bravmann*: 1972, 116). *birr* = “loyalty, fidelity and obedience to one’s fellow-tribesmen” (ibid: 117).

²³) *Serjeant*: 1979, 35, document F. The patrilineal kinship system is found fully developed in the *Ṣafā* inscriptions in Northern Arabia, a fact that is evident from the following line of agnates: “*Muqhayyir b. ’Awdh b. ’Awdh b. Ghawth b. Wādīm b. Sūr b. Ṣabah b. Qādīm b. Saha-’el* (*Littmann*: 135; cf. also *Caskel*: 1954, 42).

²⁴) *Dostal*: 1985, 18 ff., 167 ff.

²⁵) compare *Wellhausen*: 1893, 440 n. 3; the passage referring to this reads, ‘*Antara* nr. 19, 13: “*wa idha ’l-katibatu aḥḍjamat wa talāḥazat ulfītu khayran min mu’ammin mukhwil*”, when the squad glanced at one another in horror, I proved to be more superior than those who display patri-and matrilineal ancestors (*Ahlwardt*: 42).

for mother's brother (MoBr)²⁶). Semantically, "amm" describes the act of embracing and "*khāl*" an act of granting or bestowing. This conceptual contrasting forms a main element in the emic concept of consanguinity. As the root of the term for affinal relations, *sihr*, is a basic word meaning "merge" or "fuse", as a result of this supplement we can infer, in which manner "kinship" can be conceptualized.²⁷) 2. They have to be "*ṣarīḥ*", i. e. pure blooded, that means belonging to a genealogically recognized descent group.²⁸) The normative implications drawn from this become especially effective regarding exogamous marriages, in as much as these could be concluded only on the basis of genealogical equivalency; hence a kind of obligatory group endogamy may be inferred by which a marriage with genealogically unequal partners is forbidden. In this manner, a social stratification developed, in which the former claimed a privileged status for themselves. Of course, this rule was not always followed in social reality, as the following passage indicates: "*It is not the case that they (the children) do not have good blood (descent) from a mare, but their stallions dragged them down to the dust*".²⁹) 3. A further normative requirement that can be seen in agreement with the ones named in point 2 is the social status of free born, *ḥurr/ḥurra*, i. e. the mother's social status was conferred to the children of a female slave; sons, however, from such a mismatching union could be adopted and later legitimized by their fathers.³⁰)

²⁶) At the root of the terms *mu'imm* and *mukhwil*, we see probably a merging of the following kinship terms: 'amm = FaBr = FaFa and *Khāl* = MoBr = MoFa. cf. "*umūma*" as a designation for a patrilineal kinship group (*Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, *Lyll* 1921, 364, 21); an indication for the significance of *khāl* as MoFa is found, for example, by *Imru 'l-Qays* nr. 59, 21 where the following statement has been made: *khāli bnū Khabshata* (*Ahlwardt*: 158). To be sure, the term *djadd* is customary for FaFa (*Nöldecke*: 1864, 187, 5); cf. also *Mufaḍḍaliyāt* Nr. LIX, 3 "*wa djaddu lubbin ašili*" a grandfather is the kernel of my origin (*Lyll*: 1921, 508). Merging of MoBr = MoFa (*khāl*) is still customary today in 'Umān (*Dostal*: 1985, 45f.; *Wilkinson*: 159, Fig. 26).

²⁷) cf. *Nöldecke*: 1864, 171, 9.

²⁸) 'Amr b. Qami'a, nr. 2, 8 (*Lyll*: 1919).

²⁹) *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, nr. 63, 2: "*fa-mā bi-him an lā yakūnū farūqatan hiḍjānan wa lakin 'affarat-hā fuḥūlu-hā*" (*Lyll*: 1921, 519); further *Wellhausen*: 1893, 439.

³⁰) cf. *Labid*, nr. 5, 7: "*banu 'l-ḥurra*, sons of the free (*al-Khālidī*: 19); in *Mufaḍḍaliyāt* nr. XL, 2 a free born woman is compared with the brightness of the sun that shines through the mist (*Lyll*: 1921, 382). A free born daughter of a household is called '*adhāra*, meaning that she has passed the initiation ceremonies in the *dār al-nadwa* ('Amr b. Qami'a, Fragment 7, 1, *Lyll*: 1919, 66), compare note 10 and the relevant passage in the text.

Essentially, we have shown a standard mechanism, which has acted as a significant determinant of the social conditions of that time and also of today. By means of this distinction among groups considered to be genealogically of equal birth and those who are viewed as being genealogically unequal has been efficient. By means of these normative rules it was possible to maintain control over affinal relationships by which the former were qualified to consolidate their power over genealogically disqualified groups.

Before we consider the various kinds of marriages it seems to me necessary to explore the meaning of the term marriage. The term "*nikāḥ*" that would be relevant for this explains the socially tolerated sexual relationships. With respect to this, all aspects of notions associated with marriage have not been by any means mentioned. They become evident from the different terms for spouse: *zawḍj/zawḍja* expresses the aspect of being joined; "*ḥalīl/ḥalīla*" refers to living together and "*'irs*, husband, refers to providing protection.³¹⁾ In summary, we can determine that the following elements are tied together in the concept of marriage: publically recognized sexuality, being joined, co-residency and providing protection.³²⁾

The form of marriage was predominantly monogamous; non-soral polygyny was practised.³³⁾ According to the facts given by *Ibn al-Kalbī*, in the generations from *Qusayy* to the 5th descending generation, the one of the Prophet, — of 41 men only 17 (41,46%) entered into polygynous marriages (Tab. 1).³⁴⁾

Concerning a later legitimization of a son from a mismatching relationship s. *Kitāb al-Aḡḥānī, Abī al-Faradī al-Iṣbahānī*, vol. 8, p. 239, 7, Cairo) where it has been mentioned concerning 'Antara b. *Shaddād* that he was legitimized by his father upon reaching maturity (*kibar*).

³¹⁾ *zawḍj/zawḍja* s. *Ḥātim*, nr. 59, 2 (*Schulthess*: 45), *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, nr. XXVII, 24 (*Lyll*: 1921, 301), *Lane*: 1266; *ḥalīl/ḥalīla* s. *Naqā'id* (*Bevan*: 824,5, 876,1), *Lane*: 619; '*irs* s. 'Amir b. *al-Tufayl* nr. 2, 19 (*Lyll*: 1913, 97), *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, nr. LXVII, 3 (*Lyll*: 1921, 528), *Lane*: 1988 ff.

³²⁾ Sexuality is clearly expressed in the term for marriage, *nikāḥ*; from *n-k-h*, conjugal i. c. socially acceptable sexual relations contrary to the non-tolerated *sifāḥ* (*Lane*: 1369).

Concerning the anthropological discussion on sexuality (*Godelier*: 1989).

³³⁾ The details given by *Wellhausen*: 1893, 441, 448 are unclear (cf. also *al-Hūfi*: 219 f., 223 f.). About recent data (*Henninger*: 1943, 16 ff.; s. also his critical remarks to the details given by *al-Bukhārī*: 1954, 314 f.).

³⁴⁾ According to *al-Zubayr b. Bakkār* (Appendix II), who handled the genealogy of *B. 'Abd al-'Uzzā*, polygynous marriages could be verified only for three men (20,0%) out of 15 in the 3rd-5th descending generations from *Qusayy*. A comparison with the frequency of polygynous marriages in the same generations according to

Mecca before the time of the prophet

203

Table 1 Frequency of polygyny according to *Ibn al-Kalbi* (Appendix I).

	Number of men entered in polygynious marriages	Proportion of the total of men in the specific generation	Number of wives per husband
I.-G.	2	66,66 %	2 3
II.-G.	7	87,5 %	3 3 4 4 4 3 7
III.-G.	3	60,0 %	2 4 6
IV.-G.	3	23,07 %	2 3 3
V.-G.	2	18,18 %	5 5

From the diagramm 1 different frequencies of polygynous marriages were evident in the respective descending generations as well as the number of wives per husband. Striking is on the one hand the relatively high proportion of men in the 1st to the 3rd descending generation, who have entered into polygynous marriages: on the other hand we see a considerable decrease of their positions in the 4th and 5th generation. Unfortunately due to a lack of sources necessary to make a valid statement, we cannot offer an explanation of this situation. On the contrary the number of women per husband illustrate the different situation of wealth regarding the husbands.

As a form of postnuptial residency partri/virilocality predominates, uxori-locality was also customary, however, it might have been less frequent.³⁶⁾ A hitherto unsolved problem is the transaction of goods due to marriage. It is certain that bridewealth, *mahr*, had to be transferred to the kinship group of the wife in all forms of marriage.³⁶⁾ The young wife had a

Ibn al-Kalbi shows little variations; out of 29 men only 8 (27,58 %) entered into this category of marriage. These varying frequency estimations suggest that we should consider a medium standart. Regarding my own field research, I was able to establish i. e. in the *Shihūh* settlement of *Hārat al-'Awali*, only one polygynous marriage out of 28 marriages, the *B. Hushaysh* in Yemen also had a lower frequency value of 3 % polygynous marriages (*Dostal*: 1985, 61, 243). Concerning the present anthropological discussion (*Hartung*).

³⁵⁾ *Henninger*: 1959, 87. Concerning virilocal residency s. for example "*hadiy al-'arūs*", leading the bride home (*Naqā'id*), *Bevan*: 101, 14; an example for uxori-local residency is found with *Caskel*: 1930, 90. In this case, a man from the *Tamim* group married a woman from the *B. 'Idjl (Bakr)* and settled with the tribe of his wife.

³⁶⁾ *Wellhausen*: 1893, 433 f.; the price for the bride could probably be paid off by service (*ibid.*). Concerning the anthropological discussion on the bride's price s. *Kressel*: 1977, 450 f. and commentary. The term "*mahriya*", mentioned in the *Naqā'id*, signifying a married woman remains unclear (*Bevan*: 1046, 6).

claim to the bridegroom's gift (*ṣadaqa*)³⁷). The question, however, remains open whether the wife received a dowry or the estate that she brought to the marriage was her inheritance. At any rate, she possessed the sole right of disposal over the estate that she brought with her. The separation of estates in matrimonial property laws may be quoted from the following passage. "‘*Āliya! you did not gladden me with ‘Āliya’s estate, what I squandered belonged to my estate*"³⁸) or another statement from a husband whose wife wants to leave him and consequently reminds her of the time of the wedding: "once I entered the tent of one with a small waist, delicate like a gazelle. I put my arms around her neck, she leaned on me . . . and then spoke: I gave my soul for you, my estate for your people".³⁹) Both marriage partners were able to dissolve the marriage.⁴⁰)

On the basis of may analysis of both of the genealogical works mentioned above it is advisable to distinguish between three categories of marriages:

1. intra-marriages, i. e. affinal relations between the segments that are genealogically descended from *Qusayy*; 2. inter-marriages, i. e. affinal relationships with the other lineages of the *Quraysh* and 3. exogamous marriages, i. e. affinal relationships with tribes that are foreign but otherwise recognized as being genealogically equal. The frequency values of these marriage categories, according to *Ibn al-Kalbī*, ranging from *Qusayy* to the 5th descending generation, i. e. the generation of the Prophet – indicate the following distribution (Tab. 2):⁴¹)

³⁷) *Wellhausen*: 1893, 434; designated in the *Naqā'id as ṣaduqa* (*Bevan*: 821, 6). Concerning the description of the marriage feast (*Wellhausen*: 1893, 441 f.).

³⁸) *Hālim*, nr. 88, 1 "‘*Āliya lā talīda min ‘Āliya inna alladhī ahlaktu min māliya* (*Schulthess*: 54).

³⁹) 'Ābid b. al-*Abraṣ*, nr. 11, 16–18: "fa-bimā adkḥutu al-*khībā'a 'alā maḥḍumati al-kashḥi ṭaflatin ka 'l-ghazāli fa-ta'aṭaytu ḍjīda-hā . . . thumma qālat fidan li-naṣsika naṣsi wa fidā'un li-māli ahli-ka māli" (Lyall: 1913, 38).*

⁴⁰) *Wellhausen*: 1893, 452 f.

⁴¹) The details given by *al-Zubayr b. al-Bakkār* (Appendix II) vary of the 18 marriages of the *B. 'Abd al-'Uzzā* concluded in the 3rd up to the 5th descending generation 8 (44,44 %) fall into the category of intra-marriages; 4 (22,22 %) fall into the category of exogamous marriages. Of the latter 4 (80 %) concern of affinal relations with northern Arabian tribes and 1 marriage (20 %) with a southern Arabian tribe.

Mecca before the time of the prophet

205

Table 2

intra-marriages:	26	29,55 %
inter-marriages:	9	10,23 %
exogamous marriages:	51	57,95 %
uncertain:	2	2,27 %
<hr/>		
Total:	88	100,00 %

Source: *Ibn al-Kalbī* (Appendix I.)

The conclusion that can be drawn from this is: for entering into a marriage alliance, to which a network of social relations are attached, *Qusayy's* agnates had several possibilities of decision. This was determined by certain social designs but also by the kind of inter-personal relations in connection with which a striking trend towards exogamous marriages might have to be stresses. This state of affairs states further that one cannot rate the forms of marriage imputed to the concept of "intra-marriages" as being the "ideal choice" of this society.

There are a few things to be cleared up regarding the marriage forms belonging to the category "intra-marriages", in which I have summarized two different types of patrilineal parallel-cousin-marriage (PPC-marriage), the one represented by father's brother daughter (FaBrDa) or *bint 'amm*:

1. The *bint 'amm marriage* (m+mOm-f)*, including its generational expansion to father's brother son daughter (FaBrSoDa) (m+mOm-m-f).

2. The *multi-generational extended patrilineal parallel-cousin-marriage*: (m+m²⁻⁵ Om-m²⁻⁵-f). From the following table (Tabl. 3), we can infer the noteworthy circumstances that type 2 indicates the highest frequency values.

*) Symbols for notation by Romney (*Romney, A. K. & D'Andrade, R. G.*, "Cognitive Aspects of English Kin Terms", A. A., vol. 66 (1964), nr. 3, Special Publication, Part 2: "Transcultural Studies in Cognition,": 146-170, p. 148:

m represents male
 f represents female
 O represents sibling link (used only where individuals share both parents)
 + represents parent link
 - represents child link
 () represents an expansion

206

Walter Dostal

Table 3

Type 1:	9	10,23 % (n = 88)	34,62 % (n = 26)
Type 2:	17	19,32 %	65,38 %
		29,55 %	100,00 %

n = 88, total of marriages; n = 26, total of intra-marriages.

Source: *Ibn al-Kalbī* (Appendix I).

How can the distinction of these two types of "intra-marriages" be justified, which I have encountered in contrast to the anthropologists *J. Cuisenier*, *R. R. Randolph* — *A. D. Coult*, *M. R. Ayoub* and *D. P. Cole*, who do not differentiate type 2 from type 1?⁴²) In answering this question I would first of

⁴²) *Cuisenier*: 84, 89, does not recognize the difference between a *binī 'amm* marriage and the multi-generational extended PPC marriage; *Cole*: 179 observes the appearance of the latter, seems however, to include these among the former. *Randolph & Coult* 87, 93 f. refer to the generational extension of the PPC marriage, correlate the manner of their preference with the different levels of segmentation, an assumption that clearly effaces the difference between the two categories of PPC marriage.

Although I cannot enter in this context into a detailed discussion as to the state of anthropological research on this form of marriage, I do not want to leave unmentioned that the discussion concerning patrilineal parallel cousin marriages was carried on from the perspective of endogamy (*Patai*: 1965; cf. survey given by *Holy*: 16 f.). In this context, one might refer to *Cole*: "FBD marriage is seen only one of a number of forms of endogamous marriages within an ethnic category, all of which result in the building up extensive and important affinal relations (*ibid.*: 184). As an example for the course that the discussion has taken, I refer to *Brown & Sawayan*, starting out from an ambiguous statement made by *Murphy & Kasdan* (1959, 25) that the kinship system of Arabian beduins "corresponds closely to the bilateral kindred that to the patrilineage", *Brown & Sawayan* made a not too convincing attempt of interpreting the Arabian kinship system as being ambilineal and classifying PPC marriages as an endogamous marriage (*ibid.*: 595 f.). *Kressel* (1986, 178) brought forth a new aspect in that he characterized a PPC marriage as isogamy. A detailed explanation of the discussion as well as a profound study of the PPC marriage has been furnished by *Holy*.

It can be maintained that the PPC marriage is only an alternative to intra-marriages, because FaSiDa, MoSiDa and MoBrDa also come under the category of cousin marriages (*Holy*: 21 f., 25 f.) to be sure, there are certain limitations, marriages with FaSiDa and MoSiDa are forbidden by the *Shihūh* ('*Umān*) and the *B. Hushaysh* (Yemen) (*Dostal*: 1985, 66, 244).

Regarding the different attempt to explain PPC marriages, I can agree with *Cole* on the basis of my own field research: "In my opinion, each explanation con-

Mecca before the time of the prophet

207

all like to start with *type 1*, the regular *bint 'amm marriage* (PPC): first of all, with respect to the preferential character of this marriage in the pre-Islamic, North Arabian society, a claim should be made both on the part of the parallel-cousins as well as on the part of the female parallel-cousins. For instance, the daughter of *Aws b. Hārith (Ṭayy)* refused to marry *Hāritha b. 'Awf (Murra)*, because she was not his *bint 'amm*.⁴³) The provision of protection does not change this socially, because this will be observed by her consanguinal group. Further, no change occurs regarding the social commitments of assistance that apply for the two brothers (fathers of the married couple). The often maintained solidarity effect, which proceeds from a PPC-marriage, should not be overdone, because in social reality, hostilities between parallel cousins are frequent.⁴⁴) These interpretive remarks should not cloud the circumstances that the question, namely, of the qualification of a *bint 'amm marriage* has to remain open if one considers the following passage: "a hero who a closely related *bint 'amm* did not bear."⁴⁵)

In view of this background, the ground has been cut from under such an interpretation that in utter generalizations explains this form of marriage (so-called "Arab marriage") as being the "ideal choice" of Arabian society.⁴⁶)

tains some elements of truth, and FDB marriage quite possible does all the things people say it does: it keeps property intact and the bloodline . . . ; it strengthens the bonds between a man and his paternal nephews, since the later become his sons-in-law as well . . . ; it facilitates the ecologically adaptive process of fission and fusion among the bedouin by not building up extensive affinal ties . . . and it contributes to harmonious family relationships, since family kinship relations already exist between the people involved" (ibid.: 170f.).

⁴³) Wellhausen: 1893, 437, n. 3; Patat: 1955; Holy: 15ff.

⁴⁴) cf. Nöldecke: 1864, 75, 15; I have translated the passage somewhat freely: "I am your cousin (FaBrSo) when misfortune strikes you, I do not belong to you whenever your game is straightforward". In *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* Nr. XXXI, 1, the difference between Ego and its FaBrSo is stressed (Lyall: 1921, 321). In this context, an Arabian saying may be called to mind: "Myself against my brother; my brother and I against my cousin; my cousin, my brother and I against the outsider" (Cole: 181). To be sure, the relationship between Ego and its FaBrSo must be relativized, this means, as for example with *Hātīm* nr. 42, 29-30: "*wa-aqhiru 'awrā'a 'l-karīmi . . . wa lā akhdūku 'l-mawlā wa-in kāna khadhīlan wa lā ashtimu ibna 'l-'ammi in kāna muṣṣaman*", I forgive the noble man an evil word . . . I don't abandon the *Mawlā* and I do not slander the FaBrSo when it has been blackened (i. e. has committed a severe crime), *Schulthess*: 25f.

⁴⁵) Wellhausen: 1893, 441.

⁴⁶) Patat: 1959, 333.

Type 2, i. e. the multi-generational extended PPC-marriage, is set off from *type 1* by the following characteristics: preferential claim falls to the marriage partner as in the case of *type 1*; for a marriage of *type 2*, only the descent from a common genitor can be asserted. The group, which has been genealogically distanced by segmentation, assumes the protection of the woman. The transfer of estates associated with a marriage occurs between segmented groups of the same fictitious descent. These affinal relationships were probably set up due to certain social designs. This aspect becomes clear if one correlates the *type 2* marriages with the development of factions among the *Quraysh*. In the 2nd descending generation of *Qusayy*, the first political factions arose caused by the struggle for the right to rule between the *B. 'Abd Manāf* and the *B. 'Abd al-Dār*: the *Mutayyabūn* and the *Ahlāf*. In the 4th descending generation, the faction of the *Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl* grew out of the *Mutayyabūn*, which opposed the *Ahlāf*.⁴⁷⁾ In the 5th descending generation, the existing factions were split up into three parties: in the *Hāshim* (*Watt*: A), in those of the *'Abd Shams* (*Watt*: B) and in those of the *Makhzūm* (*Watt*: C).⁴⁸⁾ The following table 4 demonstrates how the marriage alliances of *type 2* worked. In the 2nd and 3rd descending generations, affinal relationships were probably used to reduce tensions that resulted from the fissure caused by the two factions. In the 4th descending generation, we can observe an increasing tendency towards intra-marriages within the same faction which has been starting to gain prominence within the 5th descending generation.

Table 4

Marriage alliances (<i>type 2</i>) and political factions.		
II.-G.:	(A) <i>B. 'Abd al-Dār</i>	= <i>B. 'Adī</i> (A)
	(A) <i>B. 'Abd al-Dār</i>	= <i>B. Murra</i> (N)
	(A) <i>B. 'Abd al-Dār</i>	= <i>B. Taym</i> (M)
	(M) <i>B. 'Abd Manāf</i>	= <i>B. Sahm</i> (A)
	(M) <i>B. 'Abd al-'Uzzā</i>	= <i>B. 'Adī</i> (A)
	(M) <i>B. 'Abd al-'Uzzā</i>	= <i>B. Sahm</i> (A)
III.-G.:	(M) <i>B. 'Abd Manāf</i>	= <i>B. Makhzūm</i> (A)
	(M) <i>B. 'Abd Manāf</i>	= <i>B. Zuhra</i> (M)

⁴⁷⁾ *Watt*: 1953, 4 ff.; concerning *ḥilf al-fuḍūl* (*Pellat*). Concerning the formation of factions, I refer to the causal factors indicated by *Claessen*: 1976, 568: 1. an unclear, ill-defined position of the ruler; 2. the presence of alternate leaders; 3. an unstable or metastable balance of power; 4. an immediate cause.

⁴⁸⁾ *Watt*: 1953, 6.

Mecca before the time of the prophet

209

IV.-G.:	(F) B. 'Abd al-'Uzzā	=	B. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (F)
	(F) B. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib	=	B. Zuhra (F)
	(F) B. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib	=	B. Makhzūm (A)
	(F) B. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib	=	B. 'Abd <u>Shams</u> (?)
V.-G.:	(C) B. 'Abd al-Dār	=	B. 'Abd al-Dār (C)
	(B) B. 'Abd <u>Shams</u>	=	B. 'Abd <u>Shams</u> (B)
	(B) B. 'Abd <u>Shams</u>	=	B. 'Abd <u>Shams</u> (B)
	(B) B. 'Abd <u>Shams</u>	=	B. Hāshim (A)
	(A') B. Hāshim	=	B. 'Abd al-'Uzzā (?)

legend: A = *al-Ahlāf*; M = *al-Mutayyabūn*; F = *Hilf al-Fudūl*; A' = (Watt: A) B. Hāshim; B = (Watt: B) B. 'Abd Shams; C = (Watt: C) B. Makhzūm; N = neutral; ? = undetermined partisan; -G. = descending generation from *Qusayy*; = affinal relation.

The presentation of marriage forms is by no means exhausted. First of all, the category of *inter-marriages* merits our attention. As opposed to the previously described forms of marriages, the network of affinal relationships has now shifted over to those *Quraysh* groups that do not belong to the descendency group of *Qusayy*, but nevertheless are associated with a fictional genitor (*Fihr*). Hence, qualitative distinctions such as assuming a guarantee of protection for the wife and the transfer of estates associated with the marriage (for *type 2*) can only be seen from the view of a larger (fictitious) genealogical distance.

Now it is finally time to take up the matter with *exogamous marriages*, which nevertheless claim a frequency value of 57,95% ($n = 51$) from a total of 88 marriages. The difference from the previously considered marriage categories lies in the crucial accentuation of two characteristics: different descendency from the *Quraysh* and satisfaction of normative claims, concerning a marriage, i. e. proof of pure bloodedness (*ṣarīḥ*), including the claim of *mu'imm* and *mukhwil* as well as the attestation of a marriage partner from a foreign tribe to being born free. Thus, we achieve an insight into an essential shift of essential characteristics hitherto discussed. The wife enjoys the protection of a group alien to her descent, namely that of her husband. These guarantees of protection, embedded in the *djiwār* condition, are based on customary law, which provides for personal protection as well as for the estate.⁴⁹⁾ For this reason, a wife from an alien tribe will be addressed many times by her husband as "*djārati*", my protégé.⁵⁰⁾ Trans-

⁴⁹⁾ vgl. *Tyan*: 60 ff., *Dostal*: 1989.

⁵⁰⁾ *al-'A'sha*, nr. 41, 1 (*Geyer*: 183); *Wellhausen*: 1893, 450, n. 3.

fers of estate effected by a marriage take place on a level of two different groups of descendency. It should be emphasized that marriage alliances were concluded not only with to a large extent directly adjacent Northern Arabian tribes (62,8%: n = 32), but also with Southern Arabian tribes (37,2%: n = 19). In this manner, the assistance of those tribal groups is secured, with which affinal relationships had been associated. With this circumstances, irrespective of certain political aims, a brisk activity was able to start up in the area of individual commercial journeys, which were broadened regionally over the various surrounding areas of Mecca. One should not overlook the fact that providing protection is included in affinal commitments of assistance, which was one of the most decisive requirements for the commercial activity of the Meccans outside of their settlement and the holy months, namely the time of the pilgrimages to Mecca. For the sake of completeness, it should be added that at the same time the protection necessary for these enterprises was able to be guaranteed by inter-tribal treaties.

I would like to recapitulate our hitherto existing information:

Marriage alliances formed without a doubt an important social instrument for the agnates of *Qusayy*, which facilitated the continuation of their social aims and goals. In general, four types of marriage alliances can be ascertained: the *bint 'amm* marriage, the multi-generational extended PPC-marriage, inter-marriages between the agnates of *Qusayy* and the remaining *Quraysh* and finally exogamous marriages. The initial situations that influence a decision concerning the choice of a marriage partner, cannot be gathered from the sources, however, we may surmise that – and this applies also to the PPC-marriage particularly *type 2* – political aims were likely to have played an important role.

Now I should like to direct the attention to the normative regulations concerning marriageability. These have to do with genealogical legitimacy (*mu'imm – mukhwil, šarih*, pure bloodedness) and the social status of free-born. The first instance refers to the integral and selective function of genealogy that serves a socially privileged class in justifying their social claims of recognition towards groups that are not considered to be of equal descent. The second factor, the status of the free-born, emphasizes the already indicated social differentiation into free groups of equal descent and into those that are not genealogically legitimate as well as slaves. In other words: Meccan society represented a type of tribal class society.⁵¹⁾

⁵¹⁾ The essential characteristics of a tribal, i. e. pre-capitalistic class society in Arabia can be outlined in the following manner: formation of a society limited by

Its social stratification, however, cannot be elucidated more precisely due to a lack of sources; it was probably distinct in the following manner: 1. tribes of equivalent descent; 2. clientele groups whose descent is not always clear; 3. probably, certain craftsmen and 4. slaves.⁵²) Within the

social stratification; the ruling class establishes its social status, on the one hand, through ideology of heredity, on the other, by right of disposal and control over the most important means of production; it claims the sole political right of self-determination and indicates different developmental degrees of the social division of labour. To be sure, this type of society has lacked by large the impulse of economic exploitation, since the less privileged classes were evaluated from the point of view of their economic usefulness that was judged from the view point of tribal autarky, which was derived from the idea of the sovereignty of a tribal society. The less privileged classes were hierarchically organized in various ways according to the criterium of unequal origin and its professional specialization; the political right of self-determination was refused to them; they were under the protection of the ruling class (*Dostal*: 1985, 195, 217, 228f., 315f., 345-366).

The tribal class society of Mecca is distinguished by the following characteristics: accumulation of cult offices and political institutions within the ruling class; accumulation of the ideology of origin, connected with rules on endogamy, right of disposal and control of the means of production (land, possession of cattle) and commercial capital — the members of this group saw themselves forced by ecological considerations to devote themselves to commercial activity (*Donner*: 251, 154); entitlement to political self-determination, the less privileged social groups were excluded from participating in consultations in the *dār al-nadwa*; these were under the protection of the *Quraysh* on the basis of the *djīwār*-relation.

⁵²) A problem that hitherto has not been solved yet is the one involving clientele.

According to *Wolf* (p. 335) it is a question et al. of freed slaves. By all appearances, *Wolf* has confused two legal concepts, i. e. obligation based on a *walā'*-relationship (*Tyan*: 23ff.) which establishes a kind of kindred relationship (*mawlā 'l-wilāda*, *Mufaḍḍaliyāt* nr. XII, 2; *Lyll*: 1921, 104) and the *djīwār*-relationship, which mostly includes groups of unequal descent (*Tyan*: 60ff.). A *walā'*-relationship pledges mutual aide, cf. for example, *Hudhaylite* songs nr. 151, 1 (*Wellhausen*: 1884): ". . . ilā 'l-mawālī taṣkhabu, you have cried for convenantors (cf. *Wall*: 1953, 17). Another kind of contract is *hīlf*-relationship (*Tyan*: 36), by which a partnership alliance has been established on the basis of equal origin (*mawlā 'l-yamin*, *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, *ibid.*).

The social evaluation of groups of craftsmen is also unclear. In Mecca, both *Ash-rāf* as well as slaves are said to have plied the smith's trade (*Dallw*: 99). Provided this detail is correct, a developmental process within Meccan society which cannot be more closely explained might have to be reckoned with, because on the basis of its nomadic foundation, the *Quraysh* would not have devoted themselves to this trade (*Dostal*: 1964, 191f.; *Jacob*: 150f.).

Concerning slavery (*Dallw*: 168f.; *Jacob*: 137f.).

free tribes as for example the *Quraysh*, an aristocracy developed on the base of a rank and function acquired by birth. An explanation of the causing factors that led to the development of this stratified society is not at present possible.

Significant for the political situation is the formation of political factions among the *Quraysh*, which brought an element of tension into the Meccan of that time. The trend toward factional development was probably favoured by processes of segmentation inherent in patrilineal systems of society. It was brought about, however, by the differentiation of cultic, political and administrative functions that happened in the second generation, which *Qusayy* had united. In order to imagine the extent of the division between the *Mutayyabūn* and *Ahlāf*, caused by factional formation, we should refer to the fact that there was in Mecca a separate cemetery for the deceased members of both of these parties.⁵³⁾

What does this increasing differentiation of political parties that we have established mean? First of all, the factions lorded over the collective identity that was based on common descent by bringing about a new group identity that had been formed from diverse claims to power. In connection with the conflict causing situation resulting from this, we should not overlook the fact that this was intensified by a growing difference between rich and poor that was furthered by the commercial activities of the privileged class.⁵⁴⁾ If we can picture all these difficulties, what ensues is if and how

⁵³⁾ *Kister*: 1972, 83.

⁵⁴⁾ In the sources, it is indicated that with the appearance of commercial capital the profile of social differences between rich and poor became keener. The distribution of a value added ratio for needy Meccans acted as an off-setting mechanism to this extremely unequal distribution of wealth (*Kister*: 1965, 123 ff.). It is not a question of surplus distribution, because this represents those quantities of goods which were left over after the sidereal year and after biological needs and social obligations had been satisfied (*Haas*: 202 f.). This practice of redistribution is especially lauded in the traditions; it was considered a sign of piety among the *Quraysh*, because from the perspective of Muslims, positive traits of the kinship group of the Prophet, in this case their capacity for empathy, had to be emphasized. A glance at ancient Arabian poetry tells us however that this practice as generally employed as a means of enhancing one's honour and hence it was a matter of social prestige (*Bravmann*: 1963, 32, 38, 42, 44; the same: 1972, 229 ff.). The conclusion is obvious that because of the Prophet, this custom was divested of any honorable associations and was enjoined in the form of the *zakāt*-tax as a common duty for all believers.

Interesting is the differentiation among the poor into three groups: *tā'ifa 'l-khulā'a*, the outcasts; *tā'ifa 'l-aqhraba*, meaning probably bastards and *tā'ifa 'l-ṣa'ālik al-fuqarā'*, beggars (s. *Dallw*: 163 f.).

under these circumstances a new collective identity, positioned beyond the group identity of political factions, was able to have been formed among the *Quraysh*.

In answering this we come upon the cult union of the *Hums*, who we would like to devote our attention to. The ideology of this cult union is not revealed as a break with traditional religious concepts, it merely represents a modification, in as far as it places the cult practised by the *Quraysh* in the center, the observance of which is viewed by the members of the union as being binding. Not only the prescribed cult activities and the tabus associated with them were held, but the members, the *Quraysh* and the other tribes that were bound to this cult union were encouraged to observe the commandment of endogamy, that forbade the inter-marriage of *Hums* and non-members, the so-called *Hilla*.⁵⁵) To be sure, this rule of endogamy was

⁵⁵) The *Hums* observed certain precepts of avoidance in their cultic practices during the consecrated state of *ihram* in the holy months: they did not prepare any curds or butter, they did not eat any clarified butter (*saman*), they practised sexual abstinence, wore only clothes that had been made of camel hair and did not use these as protection against the sun; they avoided tents made out of goat's hair; they did not seek out any shade; during the *ihram*-state, they did not enter homes through the house door, but through specially made opening at the rear of the house; they shunned the meat of game and marriages with the *Hilla*, those tribes that rejected their cults regulations (*al-Azraqi*: 123 f.; *Ibn Sa'd*: 72; *Kister*: 1965, 132-142; *Wüstenfeld*: 1861, 89 f.; *Watt*: 1971).

With respect to the *Hums*, we should look at the connection that has been maintained in the traditions, according to which *Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf* initiated the settlement of "ilāf-contracts", naturally with those tribes who did not belong to the *Hums*. On the basis of these contracts, the commercial enterprises of the *Quraysh* were able to be carried out (*Kister*: 1965, 141, 143; *Simon*: 216 ff.). It might also be added that scholars have never been clear as to the function of the "ilāf". In tribal customary law, as contradictory interpretations of this concept seem to indicate (*Marsden*: 15-21). As seen from the point of view of customary law, this type of contract represents one of protection, by which the safety of life and property while passing through the tribe's area is guaranteed to a member of another tribe for an agreed amount of compensation (*Tyan*: 67 f.). It is more than questionable as to whether the introduction of this type of contract can be attributed to *Hāshim*, as it is postulated. My own ethnographic data taken from the *Ḥijāz* speak against such an assumption. Firstly, the term "ilāf" is established in present day tribal customary law and is derived from the tribe's claim of sovereignty. This requires unalterable rules for the transit and residency of members of another tribe in the tribe's sovereign territory in order that guarantees of protection might be made. Secondly, an "ilāf" cannot only be concluded with the *shaykhs* of the tribes, as *Hāshim* had done, but there are also possibilities of entering into a contract agreement with the

handled flexibly enough so that in case of an intermarriage, the membership of the children to the *Hums* would be secured. In this way, a collective identity was established; this was represented not by the figure of a common ancestor nor by the membership to a political faction, but by the acceptance of the cult of the *Quraysh*. The following passage from a poem attests the social significance of the *Hums*. The poem has been ascribed to *al-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf*: "If there were not any *Hums*, men would not be able to don a gown of honor their whole life long."⁵⁶) It should not pass unmentioned that the *Hums* had their own military troupe, the *Dhāda Muḥrimūn*.⁵⁷) This factor demonstrates what means of power the *Quraysh* could avail themselves of to establish their goals. This does not

personable members of an alien tribe. In such a case, for example, a merchant enters into an "ilāf" with a nomad, by virtue of which the nomad assumes not only the transport of goods, but also guarantees the safety (*kufāla*) of the goods that he has been entrusted with. From this state of affairs, I believe we can assume that *Hāshim* had recourse to an already established custom of customary law.

For the integration of Mecca into the commercial network of that time in Arabia, essentially two conditions form a crucial prerequisite, they result from the confrontation between the two great powers of the Near East, the Byzantines and the Sasanides. These are two situations that above all have to be emphasized: firstly, a shift in the Mesopotamian trade route towards northwest Arabia, an area that the Meccans by virtue of the geographic location of their settlement could easily find access to; secondly, the stipulations of paragraph 5 in the peace treaty of 561 A. D. between Byzantium and the Sasanide Empire. They touched upon the regulation of the duty payment of goods that were brought in by Arabian merchants. The Arabs were urged to bring in their goods only by way of established localities, i. e. Byzantine *Daras* and Sasanide *Nisibis*. This regulation of controlling goods coming from Arabia was adhered to by the two great powers even when they were involved in conflicts. These regulations formed a most essential prerequisite for contract settlements between the *Quraysh* and representatives of the governments from both empires, on the basis of which the transfer of goods could be finally secured (*Kawar*: 184, 192 ff.).

Hāshim was the first one to conclude such a treaty ('*ahd*') with the representatives of the Byzantine government in Syria; accordingly, his brothers made the same arrangements with the central governmental authorities in Sasanide Mesopotamia, in Yemen and in Abessinia.

⁵⁶) "*wa-lawlā al-ḥumsi lam yilbas ridjalun thiyāba 'azzati ḥallā yamūtū*, quoted according to *Ibn Sa'id al-Andalusī*: "*Nashwat al-tarab fi tarikh djahiliyat al-'arab*". I am very much indebted to Prof. *Hasan al-Shamma'* (University of Riyadh) for the approval to look at a manuscript that is being jointly prepared for edition by Prof. *Aḥmad Kamāl Zaki* (University of Riyadh).

⁵⁷) *Kister*: 1965, 143.

warrant a further discussion, since with the foundation of the *Hums*-Union, an important requirement for the intensified integration of Mecca into a network of Arabian foreign commerce of that time had been established.

U. Fabietti, recently, undertook an attempt to pursue the question of the origin of the *Hums*. His interpretation is based on the acquisition of "ritual kinship" explained by *E. Wolf*. This author, who wrote the first anthropological study on the social organization of pre-Islamic Mecca, interpreted the patron-clientele-relationship on the basis of an oath that seals this as meaning "ritual kinship", whereby the term "*mawla 'l-yamin*", literally meaning "relative by oath" was probably decisive for him.⁵⁸⁾ From this basis assumption, *U. Fabietti* develops the following interpretation: "*The pre-Islamic institution of the Hums can be interpreted as a more or less unconscious answer by the Quraysh to the unreliability of a system based on the kinship model. This answer consisted in coupling a form of solidarity based on genealogical "proximity" (real or fictitious) with a type of cohesion based on a common "faith" (din).*"⁵⁹⁾

Thus, an anthropologist has presented a thoroughly plausible interpretation that you, to be sure, can only accept if one is ready to accept the logic postulated for development, according to which the search for a new collective identity is based on a reference back to a postulated "ritual kinship". A process that has recourse to an available potential of social knowledge. One could also legitimately raise the question as to whether other factors might have led to an evolutionary challenge that resulted as a reaction to the formation of the *Hums*. The second question connected with this is whether social cultural factors other than the ones underlying up to now the term "ritual kinship" are at the root of this reaction.

In my ensuing argument, I will be using the idea that societies utilize certain concepts decisive in cultural traditions for reorganizing their system or its partial areas. It is advisable to recall that one connects the origin of the *Hums* with a certain historical context, namely the second military expedition of *Abraha*, the Abessinian viceroy of Yemen, against Mecca (570 AD.)⁶⁰⁾ This factor forms the basis for my course of argumentation. In an article published by *J. M. Kister* "Some reports concerning Mecca" (1972), an interesting reference is found as to the religious goals of this enterprise

⁵⁸⁾ *Wolf*: 335; the "ritual kinship", postulated by him, can only refer to the category of *mawla 'l-yamin* (*Mufaddaliyat*, nr. XXII, 3; *Lyall* 1921, 104). Concerning the taking of an oath (*Wellhausen*: 1897, 186).

⁵⁹⁾ *Fabietti*: 32.

⁶⁰⁾ *Kister*: 1972, 71 ff.; *Müller*: 130; *Beeston*.

and its causes. If this tradition, perhaps from a muslim point of view, explains religious components in favour of eventual economic interests, they, nevertheless, contain some information that cannot be considered simply as being made up; even legends always contain a kernel of historical truth. If you pass over the stories about the alleged pollution of the church *Šan'ā'* by allied partners of the *Quraysh* as being the primary cause for *Abraha's* venture, the clash between the pagan religion of the Meccans and christianity can be explained as the chief motive in the traditions.⁶¹⁾ The prayer of *'Abd al-Muṭṭalib* before the *Ka'ba* indicates a situation that was considered threatening by the *Quraysh*, which was at that time determined by a claim to recognition on the part of christianity in Abessinian Yemen. "O Lord! Man protects his house. Protect your house that their cross and power don't vanquish your glory."⁶²⁾ The religious conflict originating in this way from this is also discernible in the reply of the *Muḍar* to *Abraha's* efforts to winning them over to christianity: "we follow the traditions that are anchored in the customs of our people."⁶³⁾ The verse "*fi dīni qawminā*", i. e. in the customs of our people, also includes religion. Against this background, the following interpretation might be possible: the *Quraysh* or to be more exact the aristocracy with *Quṣayy's* agnates reacted to the religious challenge after *Abraha's* failure by forming a religious collective identity, the *Hums*. In order to secure their dominant social status in Meccan society they recognized the necessity of such an institution. Recourse to a cult observed by them as well as to the religious concepts associated with it presented itself as a counterweight to the imperative claim of the religion of the authority in power at that time in Yemen. In other words: the *Hums* represent the successful attempt of a pre-state society to secure and strengthen the central power of the *Quraysh* by means of the ideology of a pronounced cultural tradition.⁶⁴⁾

⁶¹⁾ Kister: 1972, 70.

⁶²⁾ *al-Azraqī*: 96; *Wüstenfeld*: 1861, 47.

⁶³⁾ Kister: 1972, 72.

⁶⁴⁾ Regarding the pre-state character of Meccan society, the following arguments may be cited: 1. in that certain functions accumulated originally by *Quṣayy* split up, a central leadership group was not able to be established among his agnates, if one disregards the cult-functions; 2. there is no codified law and no central court of jurisdiction; the jurisdiction regarding the seasonal markets situated outside of Mecca, i. e. *'Ukāz*, was incumbent on the members of other tribes, as for example the *Tamīm* (Kister: 1965, 156; cf. also *Tyan*: 1960, 41 ff., 55); 3. there is no proof as to any spatial extension of Meccan territorial sovereignty; the often mentioned *Fidjār* wars did not bring about any increase of power for the *Quraysh* (Crone:

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ABBREVIATIONS

A	Anthropos
A.A.	American Anthropologist
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
C.A.	Current Anthropology
E.I.	The Encyclopædia of Islam (New Edition)
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
ÖAKW	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien
SWJA	Southwestern Journal of Anthropology
W.B.K.L.	Wiener Beiträge für Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik
ZDMG.	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
Z.f.E.	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie

al-AZRAQĪ, *Abi al-Walid Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad: Kitāb akhbār Makkatu sharaf-hā Allahu ta'ālā wa mādjā'a fi-hā min al-athār*. Edit.: Wüstenfeld, F.: Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka. Bd. I. Leipzig 1858.

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1987, 147). This situation does not touch upon the fact that Meccans outside of their settlement had any ownership title to land, as for example *'Abd al-Muḥallib* in *al-Tā'if* (Kister: 1972, 74); 4. the Meccans did not have their own currency as was customary in contemporary states. There were only Sasanide, Byzantine and Himyarite coins in circulation (*Dallw*: 143f.).

Concerning the anthropological discussion (*Claessen & Skalnik*: 17ff., 619-650). It is also questionable as to whether Meccan society can be considered a "republique marchande" (*Lammens*), because a corresponding constitution was missing that conferred sovereignty on the entire population. In this context, one should not overlook that socially less privileged groups in the population were excluded from the council meeting (*malā'*) as a tribal institution, i. e. a denial of their political right to self-determination.

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219

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220

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221

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APPENDIX I

Marriages of the agnates of *Qusayy b. Kilāb*.Source: *Ibn al-Kalbi (Caskel: 1966)*Roman numerals with -G denotes the descending generation from *Qusayy* (O.G.).

Abbreviations:

- A. *Abū, Abi*, . . . , father from
 b. *bin*, son of . . .
 Br brother
 Bt., bt. *binl*, daughter of . . .
 Da daughter

222

Walter Dostal

Fa father
 U umm, mother of
 So son
 ? uncertain origin

Husband	Wife	Wife's tribe
O.G.		
<i>Qusayy</i>	<i>Hubbā bt. Ḥulayl b. Ḥabishīya b. Salūl</i>	<i>Khuzā'a</i>
	<i>b. Ka'b b. 'Amr¹⁾</i>	

I.-G.

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|-------------------|
| 2. 'Abd al-Dār b. <i>Qusayy</i> | <i>Bt. Buway b. Milkān²⁾</i> | <i>Khuzā'a</i> |
| | <i>al-Nafīda bt. Dha'ayba b. Fuṣayya</i> | <i>Qays</i> |
| | <i>b. Naṣr b. Sa'd b. Bakr</i> | |
| | <i>b. Hawāzin³⁾</i> | |
| 3. 'Abd Manāf b. <i>Qusayy</i> | woman from <i>Thaqīf⁴⁾</i> | <i>Thaqīf</i> |
| | <i>Wāqida bt. A. 'dī b. 'Abd. Nuḥm/</i> | <i>Qays</i> |
| | <i>Māzin b. Ṣa'ṣa'a⁵⁾</i> | |
| | <i>'Ātika bt. Murra b. Hilāl b. Fālidj</i> | <i>Sulaym</i> |
| | <i>b. Dhakwān⁶⁾</i> | |
| 4. 'Abd al-'Uzzā
b. <i>Qusayy</i> | <i>al-Ḥuzayyā Rayṭa bt. Ka'b b. Sa'd</i> | <i>FaFaBrSoSo</i> |
| | <i>b. Taym b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy⁷⁾</i> | <i>Da</i> |

II.-G.

- | | | |
|------------------------------|---|----------------|
| 5. 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd al-Dār | <i>Thumādir bt. 'Abd Manāf b. Qusayy⁸⁾</i> | <i>FaBrDa</i> |
| 6. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Dār | <i>Ḥuḍayba bt. 'Amr b. 'Utwāra b.</i> | <i>Quraysh</i> |
| | <i>'Ā'ish b. Ṣarīb b. al-Hārith b. Fīhr⁹⁾</i> | |
| | <i>Bt. Khalaf b. Ṣaddād of 'Adī b. Ka'b¹⁰⁾</i> | <i>Quraysh</i> |

¹⁾ Mo: 'Abd al-Dār (C. II. 123), 'Abd Manāf (C. II. 126), 'Abd al-'Uzzā (C. II. 133), 'Abd (C. II. 105).

²⁾ Mo: 'Abd Manāf (C. II. 126), Kalada (C. II. 368), 'Uthmān (C. II. 578), Wahb (C. II. 582).

³⁾ Mo: *al-Sabbāq* (C. II. 492).

⁴⁾ Mo: *Rayṭa* (C. II. 484).

⁵⁾ Mo: *Umayma* (C. II. 567), 'Ubayd (C. II. 560), *Nawfal* (C. II. 447), *Qilāba* (C. II. 469).

⁶⁾ Mo: 'Abd Shams (C. II. 131), *Hāshim* (C. II. 280), *al-Muṭṭalib* (C. II. 439), *Thumādir* (C. II. 546).

⁷⁾ Mo: *Asad* (C. II. 194).

⁸⁾ Mo: *Hāshim* (C. II. 280), 'Uthmān (C. II. 578).

⁹⁾ Mo: *al-Hārith* (C. II. 314), 'Abd al-'Uzzā (C. II. 153).

¹⁰⁾ Mo: *Shurayh* (C. II. 533).

Mecca before the time of the prophet

223

7. *al-Sabbāq* b. 'Abd al-Dār Bt. 'Umayr b. Ḥāritha b. Sa'd b. Taym FaFaFaBrSo
b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy¹¹⁾ SoSoSoDa
Bt. 'Ā'idh b. Mālik b. Djadhīma Khuzā'a
al-Muṣṭaliq¹²⁾
al-Nāfiqa bt. 'Amir b. Dhu'ayba Qays
b. Fuṣayya b. Naṣr b. Sa'd b. Bakr
b. Hawāzin¹³⁾
8. *Hāshim* b. 'Abd Manāf Bt. 'Adī b. 'Abdallāh of B. Salāmān¹⁴⁾ Quḍā'a
Qayla al-Djazūr bt. 'Āmir b. Mālik Khuzāzā'a
b. Djadhīma (al-Muṣṭaliq)¹⁵⁾
Salmā bt. 'Amr b. Zayd b. Labid al-Anṣār
b. Khidāsh b. 'Āmir b. Ghanm b. 'Adī
b. al-Nadīdjār¹⁶⁾
Hind bt. 'Amr b. Tha'laba b. Salūl/'Awf Khazradj
b. al-Khazradj¹⁷⁾
9. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf 'Abla bt. 'Ubayd b. Djadhīl b. Qays Tamīm
b. Ḥanzala b. Mālik
b. Zayd Manāt¹⁸⁾
wife from Kinda¹⁹⁾ Kinda
'Ātika = Ta'djuz bt. 'Ubayd b. Ru'ās²⁰⁾ Kilāb
Fātima = Da'd from the Ḥidjna²¹⁾ Azd
10. *al-Muṭṭalīb* b. 'Abd Manāf 'Ātika bt. 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Ṣubāh²²⁾ Dabba
'Antara bt. 'Amr b. Ṭarīf al-Ṭayyī²³⁾ Ṭayyī
Hind bt. 'Amr b. Tha'laba b. Salūl²⁴⁾ Iyād
Khadijja bt. Sa'id b. Saḥm²⁵⁾ FaFaFaFaBr
SoSoSoDa
Umm al-Ḥārith bt. al-Ḥārith of Salīf Tamīm
b. Yarbū²⁶⁾

¹¹⁾ Mo: 'Awf (C. II. 212), 'Umayla (C. II. 567), 'Ubayd (C. II. 561).

¹²⁾ Mo: 'Abdallāh (C. II. 117), 'Ubayda (C. II. 564).

¹³⁾ Mo: al-Ḥārith (C. II. 312).

¹⁴⁾ Mo: Naḍla (C. II. 440), al-Shifā' (C. II. 529).

¹⁵⁾ Mo: Asad (C. II. 194).

¹⁶⁾ Mo: 'Abd al-Muṭṭalīb (C. II. 126).

¹⁷⁾ Mo: 'Amr (C. II. 174), Ṣayfī (C. II. 536).

¹⁸⁾ Mo: al-'Abalāl/Umayya al-Aṣghar, 'Abd Umayya, Nawfal (C. II. 101).

¹⁹⁾ Mo: 'Abdallāh (C. II. 106).

²⁰⁾ Mo: Ḥabīb (C. II. 288), Umayya al-Akbar (C. II. 569).

²¹⁾ Mo: Rabī'a (C. II. 476).

²²⁾ Mo: 'Amr (C. II. 180), 'Alqama (C. II. 154).

²³⁾ Mo: 'Abbād (C. II. 102), Ruḥm al-Aṣghar (C. II. 490).

²⁴⁾ Mo: Makhrama (C. II. 383), Unays (C. II. 572).

²⁵⁾ Mo: Hāshim (C. II. 280).

²⁶⁾ Mo: al-Ḥārith (C. II. 310).

224	Walter Dostal	
11. <i>Nawfal</i> b. 'Abd. <u>Manāf</u>	<i>Kuhayfa</i> bt. <u>Djandal</u> b. <u>Ubayr</u> b. <u>Nahshal</u> b. <u>Dārim</u> ²⁷⁾ <i>Qilāba</i> bt. <u>Djābir</u> b. <u>Naṣr</u> b. <u>Mālik</u> b. <u>Hw̄l</u> b. 'Āmir b. <u>Lu'ayy</u> ²⁸⁾ <i>Hind</i> bt. <u>Nuṣayb</u> b. <u>Zayd</u> of <u>Manṣūr</u> b. 'Ikrima ²⁹⁾	<u>Dārim</u> / <u>Tamim</u> <u>Quraysh</u> <u>Qays</u>
12. <i>Asad</i> b. 'Abd al-' <u>Uzzā</u>	<i>Qubbal</i> al- <u>Dibādj</u> <u>Khālida</u> bt. <u>Hāshim</u> b. 'Abd <u>Manāf</u> ³⁰⁾ <i>Rayta</i> bt. al- <u>Huwayrith</u> ³¹⁾ <i>Barra</i> bt. 'Awf b. 'Abid b. 'Awidj b. 'Adi b. Ka'b ³²⁾ <i>Umm walad</i> ³³⁾ <i>Zuhra</i> bt. 'Amr b. <u>Hanthara</u> b. <u>Dhu'ayba</u> <u>Asad</u> b. <u>Qirfa</u> b. 'Amr b. 'Awf b. <u>Māzin</u> b. <u>Kāhil</u> b. <u>Asad</u> ³⁴⁾ <i>Nāhiya</i> bt. Sa'id b. <u>Sahm</u> ³⁵⁾ <i>al-Ṣa'ba</i> bt. <u>Khālīd</u> b. Sa'l (<u>Zub Ṣuql</u>) b. <u>Mālik</u> b. <u>Ama</u> b. <u>Dubay'a</u> b. <u>Zayd</u> (b. <u>Mālik</u>) b. 'Awf b. 'Amr b. 'Awf b. <u>Mālik</u> b. al- <u>Aws</u> ³⁶⁾	<u>FaBrSoDa</u> <u>Thaqif</u> <u>FaFaFaFaBr</u> <u>SoSoSoDa</u> ? <u>FaFaFaFaBr</u> <u>SoSoSoDa</u> <u>al-Anṣār</u>
III.-G.		
13. <i>Habib</i> b. 'Abd <u>Shams</u>	<i>Fāḩima</i> bt. al- <u>Hārith</u> b. <u>Shidīna</u> ³⁷⁾ wife from <u>Sahm</u> ³⁸⁾	<u>Quraysh</u> <u>Quraysh</u>
14. <i>Rabī'ā</i> b. 'Abd <u>Shams</u>	Bt. al- <u>Muḩarrab</u> from 'Āmir b. <u>Lu'ayy</u> ³⁹⁾	<u>Quraysh</u>

²⁷⁾ Mo: 'Āmir (C. II. 162).

²⁸⁾ Mo: 'Amr (C. II. 180), 'Abd 'Amr (C. II. 122).

²⁹⁾ Mo: 'Adī (C. II. 140).

³⁰⁾ Mo: *Nawfal* (C. II. 447), *Ṣayfī* (C. II. 536), *Habib* (C. II. 228).

³¹⁾ Mo: al-*Huwayrith* (C. II. 337).

³²⁾ Mo: 'Abd (C. II. 104), al-*Hārith* (C. II. 304), al-*Muḩḩalib* (C. II. 439), 'Uḩmān (C. II. 578).

³³⁾ Mo: *Khālīd* (C. II. 340).

³⁴⁾ Mo: *Khwaylid* (C. II. 350).

³⁵⁾ Mo: 'Amr (C. II. 170), *Muhashshim* (C. II. 421), *Hāshim* (C. II. 280).

³⁶⁾ Mo: *Tālib* (C. II. 556), *Tulayb* (C. II. 559).

³⁷⁾ Mo: *Rabī'a* (C. II. 478).

³⁸⁾ Mo: 'Amr (C. II. 174).

³⁹⁾ Mo: *Shayba* (C. II. 523), 'Uḩba (C. II. 578).

Mecca before the time of the prophet

225

15. *Umayya al-Akbar* b. 'Abd Āmina bt. *Abānb. Kulayb*⁴⁰⁾ *B. 'Āmir*
Shams ('Āmir
b. *Ša'sa'a*)
Ama bt. *A. Hamhama* b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā *Quraysh*
b. 'Āmira b. *Waḍi'a* b. *al-Ĥārith*
b. *Fīhr*⁴¹⁾
wife from *Lakhm*⁴²⁾
'Ātika bt. *A. Uzayhir al-Dawsī*⁴³⁾ *Azd/Daws*
16. 'Abd al-Muḥṭalib *Hāla* bt. *Uhayb* b. 'Abd Manāf b. *Zuhra* *FaFaFaBr*
b. *Hāshim* b. *Kilāb*⁴⁴⁾ *SoSoDa*
Mumanna'a bt. 'Amr b. *Mālik* *Khuzā'a*
b. *Mu'ammal* b. *Suwayd* b. *As'ad*
b. *Mashnū* b. 'Abd b. *Habtar*⁴⁵⁾
Fāṭima bt. 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Imrān *FaFaFaFaBr*
b. *Makhzūm*⁴⁶⁾ *SoSoSoSoDa*
Unm Sulaymān Nutayla bt. 'Amr *Rabī'a*
b. 'Āmir (al-*Dahyān*) al-Namir
b. *Qāsi*⁴⁷⁾
Šafīya (or *Asmā'*) bt. *Djunaydib* *B. 'Āmir*
b. *Hudjāyr* b. *Habīb* b. *Suwā'a*
b. 'Āmir b. *Ša'sa'a*⁴⁸⁾
Lubnā bt. *Hādjir* b. 'Abdmanāf b. *Dāfir* *Khuzā'a*
b. *Ḥabashīya*⁴⁹⁾
17. *Hāshim* b. al-Muḥṭalib *al-Šhifā'* bt. *Hāshim* b. 'Abd Manāf⁵⁰⁾ *FaBrDa*
b. 'Abd Manāf
18. al-'Awwām b. *Khūwaylid* *Šafīya* bt. 'Abd al-Muḥṭalib⁵¹⁾ *FaFaFaBrSo*
b. *Asad* b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā *SoDa*

⁴⁰⁾ Mo: al-'Āṣi, *A. al-'Āṣi* (C. II. 202).⁴¹⁾ Mo: *Ḥarb*, *A. Ḥarb* (C. II. 300), 'Amr (C. II. 186).⁴²⁾ Mo: *A. 'Amr* (C. II. 186); for *Lakhm* (C. II. 375).⁴³⁾ Mo: 'Anbasa (C. II. 189).⁴⁴⁾ Mo: *Mughīra* (C. II. 419), *Ḥamza* (C. II. 297), al-Muḥawwam (C. II. 431), al-'Awwām (C. II. 216).⁴⁵⁾ Mo: *Nawfal* (C. II. 447).⁴⁶⁾ Mo: 'Abdallāh (C. II. 105), 'Abd Manāf (C. II. 126), 'Abd al-Ka'ba (C. II. 125), *Zubayr* (C. II. 608).⁴⁷⁾ Mo: 'Abbās (C. II. 103), *Dirār* (C. II. 242).⁴⁸⁾ Mo: al-*Ĥārith* (C. II. 301), *Qutham* (C. II. 473).⁴⁹⁾ Mo: 'Abd al-'Uzzā (C. II. 132).⁵⁰⁾ Mo: 'Abd Yazīd (C. II. 134).⁵¹⁾ Mo: al-*Zubayr* (C. II. 608).

226		Walter Dostal	
19. 'Utba b. Rabi'a b. 'Abd <u>Shams</u>	<i>Bt. Şafwān b. Muḥarrith</i> or <i>Şafiya bt. Umayya b. Hāritha</i> <i>b. al-Awqaş al-Sulaymī⁵²⁾</i> <i>Bt. Mālīk b. al-Muḍarrab from</i> <i>'Āmir b. Lu'ayy⁵³⁾</i>	<i>Kināna</i> <i>Sulaym</i> <i>Quraysh</i>	
20. <i>Harb b. Umayya al-Akbar</i> <i>b. 'Abd Shams</i>	<i>Şafiya bt. Hazn b. Budjajr</i> <i>b. al-Huzam⁵⁴⁾</i>	<i>Hilāl</i>	
21. <i>al-'Aşī b. Umayya</i> <i>al-Akbar b. 'Abd Shams</i>	<i>U. Kulthum bt. 'Amr b. Abdallāh</i> <i>b. A. Qays b. 'Abd Wadd b. Naşr</i> <i>b. Mālīk b. Hīsl b. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy⁵⁵⁾</i>	<i>Quraysh</i>	
22. <i>Ulhātha b. 'Abbād</i> <i>b. al-Muḥtalīb</i>	<i>U. Mīstah bt. A. Ruhm b. al-Muḥtalīb</i> <i>b. 'Abd Manāf⁵⁶⁾</i>	<i>FaBrDa</i>	
23. 'Abd Yazīd b. Hāshim <i>b. al-Muḥtalīb</i>	<i>al-'Adjila bt. Adjilān al-Bayyā'</i> <i>b. 'Abd Yalīl/'Abd Manāf</i> <i>b. Kināna⁵⁷⁾</i>	<i>Kināna</i>	
24. <i>al-'Abbās b. 'Abd</i> <i>al-Muḥtalīb b. Hāshim</i>	<i>Lubāba bt. al-Hārith b. Hazn b. Budjajr</i> <i>b. al-Huzam b. Ru'ayba b. 'Abdallāh</i> <i>b. Hilāl⁵⁸⁾</i> <i>wife from Hudhayl⁵⁹⁾</i> <i>Umm walad⁶⁰⁾</i>	<i>Hilāl</i> <i>Hudhayl</i> <i>?</i>	
25. 'Abd Manāf (A. Tālib) <i>b. 'Abd al-Muḥtalīb</i> <i>b. Hāshim</i>	<i>Fātima bt. Asad b. Hāshim⁶¹⁾</i>	<i>FaBrDa</i>	

⁵²⁾ Mo: *A. Hudhayfa* (C. II. 328).

⁵³⁾ Mo: *al-Walīd* (C. II. 586).

⁵⁴⁾ Mo: *Şakhr* (C. II. 536).

⁵⁵⁾ Mo: *Sa'id* (C. II. 500).

⁵⁶⁾ Mo: *Mīstah* (C. II. 409).

⁵⁷⁾ Mo: *Rukāna* (C. II. 491).

⁵⁸⁾ Mo: 'Abdallāh (C. II. 105), *Qutham* (C. II. 473), 'Ubaydallāh (C. II. 562), *Mab'ad* (C. II. 379), 'Abd al-Raḥmān (C. II. 127), *al-Faḍl* (C. II. 243).

⁵⁹⁾ Mo: *al-Hārith* (C. II. 300).

⁶⁰⁾ Mo: *Kathīr* (C. II. 370), *Tammām* (C. II. 544).

⁶¹⁾ Mo: 'Alī (C. II. 153), 'Aqīl (C. II. 191), *Dja'far* (C. II. 254), *Tālib* (C. II. 556).

Mecca before the time of the prophet

227

26. <i>Hamza b. 'Abd al-Muḥḥalib Salmā bt. 'Umays</i> ⁶²⁾ <i>b. Hāshim</i>	<i>Khawla bt. Qays b. Qahd/Mālik b. al-Nadjdjār</i> ⁶³⁾ wife from <i>al-Anṣār</i> ⁶⁴⁾	<i>Khath'um al-Anṣār</i>
27. <i>'Abdallāh b. Abd al-Muḥḥalib b. Hāshim</i>	<i>Āmina bt. Wahb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhra b. Kilāb</i> ⁶⁵⁾	<i>FaFaFaFaBr SoSoDa</i>
28. <i>al-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muḥḥalib b. Hāshim</i>	<i>'Ātika bt. Wahb b. 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. Makhzūm</i> ⁶⁶⁾	<i>FaFaFaFaFa BrSoSoSoSo Da</i>
29. <i>'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Abd al-Muḥḥalib b. Hāshim</i>	<i>U. Djamīl bt. Harb b. Umayya al-Akbar b. 'Abd Shams</i> ⁶⁷⁾	<i>FaFaBrSoSo Da</i>
30. <i>al-Hārith b. 'Abd al-Muḥḥalib b. Hāshim</i>	<i>Ghazīya bt. Qays b. Tarīf b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Āmira b. Wadī'a b. al-Hārith b. Fīhr</i> ⁶⁸⁾	<i>Quraysh</i>
31. <i>'Uthmān b. A. Ṭalha b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Dār</i>	<i>Bl. 'Umayr b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd al-Dār</i> ⁶⁹⁾	<i>FaFaFaBrSo SoDa</i>
32. <i>al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām b. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā</i>	<i>al-Rabāb bt. Unayl b. 'Ubayl b. Maṣād b. Ka'b b. 'Ulaym</i> ⁷⁰⁾	<i>Kalb</i>
33. <i>Asīd b. A. al-'Īs b. Umayya al-Akbar b. 'Abd Shams</i>	<i>Zaynab bt. A. 'Amr b. Umayya</i> ⁷¹⁾	<i>FaBrDa</i>
34. <i>A. Mu'ayṭ b. A. 'Amr b. Umayya al-Akbar b. 'Abd Shams</i>	<i>Sālīma bt. Umayya b. Hāritha b. al-Awqaṣ</i> ⁷²⁾	<i>Sulaym</i>

⁶²⁾ Mo: *Umāma* (C. II. 570).⁶³⁾ Mo: *'Umāra* (C. II. 571).⁶⁴⁾ Mo: *Ya'lā* (C. II. 590), *'Āmir* (C. II. 159).⁶⁵⁾ Mo: *Muḥammad* (C. II. 421).⁶⁶⁾ Mo: *'Abdallāh* (C. II. 121), *al-Tāhir* (C. II. 554), *Qurra* (C. II. 472).⁶⁷⁾ Mo: *'Ulayba*, *'Ulba* (C. II. 577), *Mu'attib* (C. II. 411).⁶⁸⁾ Mo: *al-Mughira* (C. II. 419), *'Abdallāh* (C. II. 111), *'Abd Shams* (C. II. 131), *Rabī'a* (C. II. 478), *Nawfal* (C. II.447), *Umayya* (C. II. 570).⁶⁹⁾ Mo: *Shayba* (C. II. 523).⁷⁰⁾ Mo: *Muṣ'ab* (C. II. 437).⁷¹⁾ Mo: *Khālīd* (C. II. 341), *'Attāl* (C. II. 204).⁷²⁾ Mo: *'Uqba* (C. II. 573).

228

Walter Dostal

35. *Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb b. Umayya al-Akbar b. 'Abd Shams* *Bt. A. 'Amr b. Umayya*⁷³⁾ *FaBrDa*
*'Ātika bt. A. Uzayhir b. al-Dawṣi*⁷⁴⁾ *Daws/Azd*
*Hind bt. 'Utba b. Rabi'a b. 'Abd Shams*⁷⁵⁾ *FaFaBrSo*
Da
*Zaynab bt. Hāshim b. Nawfal b. Qawwāla Kināna b. Djadhīma b. Djidhl b. al-Ṭṭān*⁷⁶⁾
*Rayhāna bt. A. al-'Āṣi b. Umayya al-Akbar*⁷⁷⁾ *FaBrDa*
36. *al-Ḥakam b. A. al-'Āṣi b. Umayya al-Akbar b. 'Abd Shams* *Āmina bt. 'Alqama b. Safwān b. Umayya Kināna b. Muḥarrith*⁷⁸⁾
37. *'Affān b. A. al-'Āṣi b. Umayya al-Akbar 'Abd Shams* *Arwā bt. Kurayz b. Rabi'a b. Ḥabib b. 'Abd Shams*⁷⁹⁾ *FaFaBrSoSo*
Da
38. *Sa'id b. al-'Āṣi b. Umayya al-Akbar b. 'Abd Shams* *Djuwayriya bt. Sufyān b. 'Uwayf al-Kināni*⁸⁰⁾ *Kināna*
39. *A. al-'Āṣi b. al-Rabi'a b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Abd Shams* *Zaynab, daughter of the prophet*⁸¹⁾ *FaFaFaBrSo*
SoSoDa
40. *Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim* *Khadijja bt. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy*⁸²⁾ *FaFaFaFaBr*
SoSoDa

⁷³⁾ Mo: 'Amr (C. II. 184).⁷⁴⁾ Mo: *Muḥammad* (C. II. 424), *'Anbasa* (C. II. 189).⁷⁵⁾ Mo: *Mu'āwiya* (C. II. 415), *'Utba* (C. II. 578).⁷⁶⁾ Mo: *Yazid* (C. II. 596).⁷⁷⁾ Mo: *Hanzala* (C. II. 298).⁷⁸⁾ Mo: *Marwān* (C. II. 400).⁷⁹⁾ Mo: *'Uthmān* (C. II. 578).⁸⁰⁾ Mo: *Abān* (C. II. 101).⁸¹⁾ Mo: *'Alī* (C. II. 152).⁸²⁾ Mo: *'Abdallāh* (C. II. 115), *al-Qāsim* (C. II. 466), *Fāṭima* (C. II. 246), *U. Kul-thum* (C. II. 573), *Zaynab* (C. II. 605). *Ibrāhim* was born by a the coptic slave *Māriya* (C. II. 352).

Mecca before the time of the prophet

229

41. 'Alī b. A. Tālib ('Abd	Faḩima bt. Muḩammad ⁸³)	FaBrSoDa
Manāf) b. 'Abd al-Muḩḩalīb	Layla bt. Mas'ūd b. Khālīd b. Rib'i/ Nahshal ⁸⁴)	Darīm/ Tamīm
b. Hāshim	Asmā' bt. 'Umayy ⁸⁵)	Khath'am
	Khawla bt. Dja'far b. Qays b. Maslama	ḩanīfa
	b. Tha'laba b. Yarbū' b. Tha'laba b. al-Dūl ⁸⁶)	
	U. al-Banayn bt. ḩizām b. Khālīd	Kilāb
	b. Rabi'a b. al-Wahīd ⁸⁷)	
	al-Ṣahbā', from Taghlib ⁸⁸)	Taghlib b. Wā'il

Abbreviations concerning the notes of Appendix I and II:

C. Caskel, 1966
Mo. Mother of . . .

APPENDIX II

Marriages of the agnates of 'Abd al-'Uzzā.
(from the 3rd-5th descending generation of Quṣayy b. Kilāb).
Source: *al-Zubayr b. Bakkār*

Abbreviations:

nr. = number of passage in the edition of *al-Zubayr b. Bakkār*'s manuscript
(edit.: M. M. Shākīr).

For other abbreviations cf. Appendix I.

Husband	Wife	Wife's tribe
III.-G.		
1. ḩuwayrīth b. Asad	Tumādīr bt. 'Umayr b. Uhayb b. ḩudhāfa Quraysh/ b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā	Taym
	b. Djumah ¹)	

⁸³) Mo: *al-ḩasan* (C. II. 319).

⁸⁴) Mo: *A. Bakr* (C. II. 222), 'Abdallāh (C. II. 106).

⁸⁶) Mo: 'Awn (C. II. 213), Yaḩyā (C. II. 589).

⁸⁶) Mo: *Muḩammad* (C. II. 422).

⁸⁷) Mo: *al-'Abbās* (C. II. 103), 'Abdallāh (C. II. 106), *Dja'far* (C. II. 253), 'Uḩmān (C. II. 578).

⁸⁸) Mo: 'Umar (C. II. 571).

¹) Mo: *al-Muḩḩalīb*, 'Uḩmān (nr. 736).

230

Walter Dostal

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| 2. <i>al-Hārith b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā</i> | <i>Hind bt. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy²⁾</i> | <i>FaBrSoDa</i> |
| 3. <i>Ḥabīb b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā</i> | <i>al-Ṣa'ba bt. Khālīd b. Ṣa'l³⁾</i> | ? |
| 4. <i>al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā</i> | <i>Bt. 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm⁴⁾</i>
<i>Fuhayra bt. Abī Qays Rakib al-Barīd b. 'Abd Manāf al-Zuhra⁵⁾</i> | <i>Quraysh/
Makhzūm
FaFaFaBrSo
SoDa</i> |
| 5. <i>Nawful b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā</i> | <i>Amayya bt. Djābir b. Sufyān⁶⁾</i> | <i>'Amr/Fahm
b. Qays</i> |
| IV.-G. | | |
| 6. <i>Umayya b. al-Hārith b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā</i> | <i>Zaynab bt. Khālīd b. 'Abd Manāf b. Ka'ab b. Sa'd b. Tamīm b. Murra⁷⁾</i> | <i>Tamīm</i> |
| 7. <i>Hāshim b. al-Hārith b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā</i> | <i>'Urwa bt. al-Hārith b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy⁸⁾</i> | <i>FaFaFaBrSo
SoSoDa</i> |
| 8. <i>Ḥizām b. Khuwaylīd b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā</i> | <i>Fākhīta bt. Zuhayr b. al-Hārith b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā⁹⁾</i> | <i>FaBrSoDa</i> |
| 9. <i>Nawfal b. Khuwaylīd b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā</i> | <i>al-Qarayba'a bt. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy¹⁰⁾</i> | <i>FaFaFaBrSo
Da</i> |
| 10. <i>al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā</i> | <i>Arwa bt. Hudhayfa b. Muhashsham b. Sa'id b. Sahm¹¹⁾</i>
<i>Fākhīta bt. 'Āmir b. Qurṭ al-Qushayri¹²⁾</i> | <i>Quraysh/
Sahm
Qushayri
b. Ka'b/'Āmir
b. Ṣa'ṣa'a</i> |

²⁾ Mo: *Umayya*, 'Abdallāh, Sufyān (nr. 752).

³⁾ Mo: *Tuwayt* (nr. 746).

⁴⁾ Mo: A. *Hubaysh* (nr. 875).

⁵⁾ Mo: *al-Aswad* (nr. 799).

⁶⁾ Mo: 'Adī (nr. 728).

⁷⁾ Mo: 'Amr (nr. 770).

⁸⁾ Mo: A. *al-Bakhtari*/'Aṣ (nr. 771).

⁹⁾ Mo: *Hakīm*, *Khālīd*, *Ḥishām* (nr. 621, cf. nr. 757).

¹⁰⁾ Mo: *al-Aswad* (nr. 708).

¹¹⁾ Mo: *Zama'a*, 'Aqīl (nr. 806); for *Sa'id/Zayd b. Sahm* cf. (C. II. 501).

¹²⁾ Mo: *Habbār* (nr. 863).

Mecca before the time of the prophet

231

V.-G.

11. *Abī al-Bakhtari b. Hāshim 'Ātika bt. Umayya b. al-Hārith b. Asad FaBrDa*
b. al-Hārith b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā¹³⁾
b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā
12. *Hakīm b. Hizām wife from B. Firās b. Ghanam¹⁴⁾ Kināna*
b. Khuwaylid b. Asad
b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā
Zaynab bt. al-'Awwām b. Khuwaylid¹⁵⁾ FaBrDa
13. *'Abd al-Rahmān Bumabna bt. 'Abd al-'Uzzā/B. Khuzā'a*
b. al-'Awwām b. Khuway- al-Muṣṭaliq = al-Mabāyāl¹⁶⁾
lid b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā
14. *al-Sā'ib b. Abī Hubaysh 'Ātika bt. al-Aswad b. al-Muṣṭalib FaBrDa*
b. al-Muṣṭalib b. Asad b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā¹⁷⁾
b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā
15. *Zama'a b. al-Aswad Qarība al-Kubrā bt. Abī Umayya Quraysh/*
b. al-Muṣṭalib b. Asad b. al-Mughira al-Makhzūmi¹⁸⁾ Makhzūm
b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā

¹³⁾ Mo: *al-Aswad* (nr. 773/74).¹⁴⁾ Mo: *Hishām* (nr. 661).¹⁵⁾ Mo: *'Abdallāh* (nr. 664).¹⁶⁾ Mo: *'Ubaydallāh, 'Uthmān* (nr. 614-16).¹⁷⁾ Mo: *'Abdallāh* (nr. 870).¹⁸⁾ Mo: *Yazīd, al-Hārith, Wahb, 'Abdallāh* (nr. 812, 814/15), for the latter cf. also (nr. 805).

THE "SACRED OFFICES" OF MECCA FROM JĀHILIYYA TO ISLAM

Gerald R. Hawting

After Quṣayy had won control of Mecca and its sanctuary from Khuzā'a, we are told by Muslim tradition, he settled his fellow Qurashīs in the town. He then distributed certain important offices associated with the service of the sanctuary and the wielding of political authority in the town among some of his sons. These sons in their turn transmitted the offices to their posterity, and in time certain families descended from Quṣayy came to have hereditary rights to certain offices.

My aim here is to discuss, in part at least, the origin of the material on Quṣayy and these offices, and its function in Muslim tradition. I am especially concerned with two characteristics of the Quṣayy traditions (including the traditions about the history of the offices). First, I have been struck by the lack of contact between these traditions and other traditional material relating to Mecca and the sanctuary, the way in which the material about Quṣayy and the offices seems irrelevant to the other material and vice versa. Secondly, concerning the office known as the *siqāya*, it seems that the traditions about it and traditions about the well of the sanctuary have become so entangled that it often appears that possession of the *siqāya* and control of the Zamzam well are the same thing. I hope it will become clear that originally the traditions about the *siqāya* had nothing to do with Zamzam. Discussion of these features of the traditions suggests some more general conclusions about the material on the "sacred offices".

The traditions differ in the information they give about the number of offices involved, their names, and which particular

Gerald R. Hawting

63

descendants of Quṣayy came to possess them.¹ A frequently reported saying of the Prophet seems to indicate that only two of them were to survive into the Islamic period – the *hijāba* (which tradition identifies with, and sometimes refers to as, the *sidāna*) and the *siqāya*. Making an exception to his general insistence that all of the "glories" (*ma'āthir*) of the Jāhiliyya were to be suppressed (literally, "they are beneath my feet"), the Prophet is said to have confirmed the *hijāba* in the possession of 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa of the family of 'Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy, and the *siqāya* either in the possession of the descendants of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy generally, or else, more specifically, in that of the descendants of 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.²

In the Islamic period, we are told, these two offices continued to exist and to be transmitted. The *hijāba* is identified with the guardianship of the key to the door of the Ka'ba and is the prerogative of a group known as B. Shayba. These last are held to be descendants of Banū 'Abd al-Dār, the family to which 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa belonged. The *siqāya*, which came to be associated with the provision of Zamzam water for the pilgrims, is said to have remained with the descendants of 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib for some time but then, at a time and in circumstances which are obscure (the sources seem to tell us nothing about it), it was taken over by the non-hereditary (at least in theory) guild of the Zamāzima.³

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- 1 For a fairly coherent and full summary of the transmission of the various offices, see Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Azraqī, *Akhhbār Makka*, Beirut 1389/1969, i, 109ff. Azraqī lists six offices which were transmitted among the descendants of Quṣayy: (i) the *hijāba/sidāna*, (ii) the *dār al-nadwa*, (iii) the *liwā'*, (iv) the *siqāya*, (v) the *rifāda*, and (vi) the *qiyāda*. (i) and (iv) are traced down until the time of the Prophet, the name of the descendant of Quṣayy who possessed it in each generation being given. The information on the others is not so complete, the possessor of (ii) and (iii), for example, being named only for one or two generations before the office passes to "all of the descendants of so-and-so." In all cases Azraqī's reports become quite vague and blurred regarding the fate of the offices in the transition from pre-Islamic to Islamic times. Material in other sources sometimes fills out Azraqī's account without conflicting with it, and sometimes contradicts it.
- 2 E.g., Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1313, ii, 36, 103, v, 411-12, vi, 401; Abū 'Ubayd, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, Hyderabad 1964, i, 287-8.
- 3 For the B. Shayba and the Zamāzima, see, e.g., R. Burton, *Personal*

Unfortunately this concise summary leaves out of account some problems which are suggested by the information in the traditions. For example, there is mention of a third office which seems to be an anomaly. The *rifāda*, identified as the provision of food for the pilgrims to Mecca and named as one of the legacies of Quṣayy to his descendants, is sometimes mentioned as having survived into the Islamic period, even though it was not named by the Prophet among the exceptions to his suppression of the *ma'āthir al-jāhiliyya*. Some reports say that the provision by the caliph or sultan of food for the pilgrims was the continuation of the office of the *rifāda*.⁴ Modern reports, however, do not mention the *rifāda*, and it seems to have disappeared at some stage like the other offices said to have been handed down by Quṣayy.

Another office mentioned is the *qiyāda* (variantly referred to as the *riyāsa*), which seems to be identified with leadership in war. The remarkable thing here is the lack of information about the office in the sources – sometimes it is not even mentioned as one of the offices handed down from Quṣayy. It could be that the name of this office was elaborated in order to fill out the reports about Quṣayy's legacy, or because from a later point of view Quṣayy was seen as both a religious and political leader, as the ruler of Mecca and the controller of the sanctuary, while the information about the other offices, apart from the *qiyāda* / *riyāsa*, seems to have a strong, perhaps even exclusive, religious bias.

narrative of a pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Mekkah, 2 vols., London 1893, ii, 161, 206; M. Gaudetroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923, 65, 87; G.E. von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan Festivals*, Chicago 1951, 24; David Long, *The Hajj Today*, SUNY Albany 1979, 33f.

4 Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, Cairo 1955, i, 130 (*sulṭān*); Azraqī, i, 112 (*khulafā'*); Abū Ubayd, *Gharīb*, i, 289 (*khulafā'*).

Gerald R. Hawting

65

Finally, one might mention that the transition from B. 'Abd al-Dār to B. Shayba in connection with the possession of the *hijāba* is a problem which does not seem to have been commented on. Muslim tradition offers various explanations of why it is that the *hājibs* of the Ka'ba are now called B. Shayba, whereas the Prophet is said to have given the *hijāba* to 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa of B. 'Abd al-Dār. But whether the explanations are convincing is another matter.⁵

The fragmentary and generally sparse material on the "sacred offices" has given rise to some interesting but, I think, ultimately inconclusive suggestions on the part of some modern scholars. In spite

5 The fullest explanation seems to be that 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa b. Abī Ṭalḥa, of the family of 'Abd al-Dār, after being confirmed in possession of the *hijāba* by the Prophet, made the *hijra* to Medina (after the *fath!*) and conferred the office on his cousin Shayba b. 'Uthmān b. Abī Ṭalḥa. Later, when 'Uthmān or his descendants returned to Mecca, it was agreed that the *hijāba* should be shared by all the descendants of Abū Ṭalḥa equally (see e.g., Azraqī, i, 110-11). But other reports see the eponym of B. Shayba as another Shayba b. 'Uthmān, a son of 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa (see, e.g., Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, Cairo 1953, 252, which gives both versions).

There exists a third, completely different version, according to which the B. Shayba are the descendants of a certain "grey haired woman" (*shayba*) who owned a house on the spot where Abraham wished to build the Ka'ba. In exchange for her agreement to surrender her house, Abraham promised that her offspring would be the keepers of the keys of the Ka'ba forever (R. Burton, *Pilgrimage*, ii, 161, n.1). This could easily be explained as a late and popular etymology inspired merely by the connotations of the word *shayba*, but it is curiously reminiscent of the story, found in the early sources, that, at the time when the Prophet conquered Mecca and wished to take control of the Ka'ba, the keys were in the possession of an old woman, the mother of 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa, who refused to give them up. There does not seem to be any explanation of why she had them. It seems worth wondering, therefore, about the claim that the B. Shayba are simply the natural descendants of the old B. 'Abd al-Dār.

Note that in Ṭabari's *Tafsīr* on Q. 9:19 there are three versions of a sort of boasting contest between al-'Abbās, 'Alī, and a representative (or representatives) of the family of the *hājibs*. In the traditions the representative(s) of the *hājibs* are variously named 'Uthmān and Shayba, Ṭalḥa b. Shayba, and Shayba b. 'Uthmān. The names seem insecure, and are perhaps merely symbolic. For Shayba as the "real" name of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, see below.

inconclusive suggestions on the part of some modern scholars. In spite of their somewhat radical nature, these suggestions were made within the framework provided by Muslim tradition – it was accepted that there were various offices associated with the Meccan sanctuary in the pre-Islamic period and that the offices which we hear about in the Islamic period are fundamentally a continuation of them. The basic continuity which Muslim tradition posits for the Meccan sanctuary is accepted. Within this framework, however, it was suggested that it is possible to obtain a better understanding of the nature of the offices in pre-Islamic Mecca and hence of the nature of the Meccan sanctuary before Islam.

For example, Martin Hartmann and, following him, Henri Lammens, argued for a reinterpretation of the material on the office which involved control of *dār al-nadwa* (sometimes simply called the *nadwa*). The reports lead us to believe that there was some sort of building in Mecca called the *dār al-nadwa* and that this building had an important place in the daily life of the Meccans. We hear of Quraysh meeting there for consultations, war banners (*liwā*) being assigned there, caravans departing from and returning to it, women who were menstruating (for the first time?) being segregated there, and boys being circumcised there. Control of the *nadwa* was one of the offices which Quṣayy, who had founded the *dār al-nadwa*, bequeathed to his sons. We are also given some information about the *dār al-nadwa* in the early Islamic period.

Hartmann and Lammens argued that the prominence which the *dār al-nadwa* had in the life of the pre-Islamic Meccans was not consistent with the purely secular image which we have of it. What seems to have particularly impressed Hartmann was the occurrence of the name Quṣayy in a Nabatean inscription, apparently with reference to a deity, and the fact, according to Muslim tradition, that one of Quṣayy's "sons" bore the name 'Abd Quṣayy. In addition, the family which is said to have had hereditary authority over the sanctuary (in Muslim tradition, the Ka'ba) was known as B. 'Abd al-Dār and not, for example, as B. 'Abd al-Ka'ba. Taking everything together, the suggestion was made that Quṣayy was originally a deity who had been transformed in tradition into a mythical ancestor figure (a sort of reverse euhemerism!) and that the *dār al-nadwa* was a sanctuary devoted to him which survived at Mecca under the care of its

Gerald R. Hawting

67

guardians until the time of the Prophet. Embarrassed by this pagan survival, and wishing to show that the Ka'ba was the only important sanctuary in Mecca before Islam, Muslim traditionists then covered up the true nature of the *dār* and transferred the service of B. 'Abd al-Dār to the Ka'ba (of which they are portrayed as the hereditary *hājibs*).⁶

As for the *siqāya*, much of the material about it associates it, as we shall see, with the drinking of *nabīdh*, which may not necessarily be intoxicating (depending upon how long it has been fermented) but which is usually a reference to an alcoholic beverage. Impressed by this association and by the fact that the *siqāya* is often connected with the end of the pilgrimage rituals, M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes suggested that the *siqāya* was a remnant of a pagan desacralisation ceremony, perhaps even linked with ritual prostitution.⁷

The *liwā'* is also mentioned as an office which was given to his son 'Abd al-Dār by Quṣayy. In the sources the word usually occurs with the meaning of "banner" or "standard," indicating types of flags carried into battle and so called because they originated in the practice of wrapping a piece of cloth around the end of a pole or spear. According to this explanation, the word derives from *lawā*, "to twist," "to turn around." The office is variously portrayed as either the privilege of assigning, or that of carrying, the war banners of Quraysh, and it is sometimes associated with the *dār al-nadwa* where the assigning of the *liwā'* took place. H. Grimme, however, has suggested that there may be a connection between the *lw'n* who are mentioned in Minaean texts in connection with the service of the deity and the Levites of the Hebrew sanctuary in Jerusalem. If this is feasible, and bearing in mind Hartmann's suggestion about the *Dār al-Nadwa*, it might be that we should reconsider the office of the *liwā'* in the Quṣayy tradition. It seems just possible that the *liwā'* might have been a sanctuary office entrusted to the B. 'Abd al-Dār in connection with their sanctuary, the *dār al-nadwa*.⁸

6 M. Hartmann, 'Qusaij', *ZA*, 27 (1912), 43-9; H. Lammens, "Les sanctuaires préislamites," *MUSJ*, ix, 63/27ff.; see also *Et*², s.v. Dār al-Nadwa.

7 M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Pèlerinage*, 74ff., esp. 98-9.

8 Cf. H. Grimme, "Der südarabische Levitismus und sein Verhältnis zum Levitismus in Israel," *Le Muséon* 27 (1924), 169-99; G. Ryckmans, *Les religions arabes préislamiques*, Louvain 1951, 31.

If the theories summarized in the previous section have any validity, their general significance would be to suggest that tradition has tended to "secularize" the character of the offices handed down by Quṣayy. In particular, the suggestions made about the *nadwa* and the *liwā'* would point to a fundamentally priestly function for these offices which Muslim tradition describes in political and military terms, while the rather elusive information about the one apparently undeniably political office – the *qiyāda* – has been mentioned. This may be relevant for the way in which the tradition about the offices is used in the Muslim literature on Mecca and the Meccan sanctuary, which is what I wish to discuss in this section. First, however it seems important to illustrate the disjunction between the tradition about the "sacred offices" and other traditional material on Mecca and the sanctuary. The point I want to make is that we should envisage the material as a whole as deriving from a variety of sources and being put together, not entirely coherently, at a secondary stage.

It is striking, for example, that we do not hear about specific offices associated with control over Mecca and its sanctuary in the traditions relating to the period before Quṣayy. In the earlier period, when Jurhum and Khuzā'a controlled Mecca and the Ka'ba, we hear only of a generalised *wilāyat al-bayt* which, in the traditions, appears to be identical with the *wilāyat al-amr bi-Makka*. Control over the sanctuary is presented as the same thing as control over the town, there is no division between political and priestly authority, and to that extent the material on the period of the domination of Jurhum and Khuzā'a does coincide with that on the domination by Quṣayy, but of the multiple, more specialised, offices which Quṣayy is said to have passed to his descendants we hear nothing. It is not impossible, naturally, that this reflects an actual historical development. It may indeed have happened that the various offices were inaugurated by Quṣayy, but we are not told so explicitly and tradition has little to say about the origins of such offices as the *hijāba*, *siqāya*, *riḥāda*, etc.

That what we have is an attempt to marry together originally distinct bodies of traditions, rather than a reflection of a

Gerald R. Hawting

69

development, seems confirmed by what appear to me to be attempts to blur the differences between the material on the period before Quṣayy and that afterwards. For example, one of the several stories which attempt to explain exactly how it was that Quṣayy obtained control over the sanctuary tells us that Ḥulayl b. al-Ḥabashiyya, the last Khuẓā'ī to control it, had the key in his possession.⁹ Possession of the key is, in the tradition, a prerogative of the *ḥājib* and thus, although Ḥulayl is never described as the *ḥājib* only as *wālī 'l-bayt* and *wālī 'l-amr bi-Makka*, the *ḥijāba* and the *wilāya* are made to seem the same thing. On occasion the identification of the two is made even more explicitly.¹⁰ It seems likely that these are devices intended to overcome the apparent disjunction in the traditional material, since other explanations of how Quṣayy obtained control over the sanctuary – as that he bought it from a certain Abū Ghubshān for a skin of wine – contain no mention of a key, and since, so far as I know, the words *ḥājib* and *ḥijāba* do not occur in the material prior to Quṣayy.

This impression of a lack of coherence in the tradition as a whole is strengthened when one considers even some of the material about the period between Quṣayy and the time of the Prophet. The well known story about the vow made by the Prophet's grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, that he would sacrifice one of his sons, for example, might seem an obvious place for references to the offices attached to the Ka'ba.¹¹ The story involves 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib entering the Ka'ba to consult the divining arrows there before the god Hubal. We might expect that he would have had to call on the *ḥājib* to open up for him, and some students of the Jāhiliyya have even suggested that one

9 Azraqī, i, 105.

10 *Idem*, i, 107: the *ḥakam* who has been asked to arbitrate on the claims of Quṣayy to the *bayt* says, *qad ḥakamtu li-Quṣayy bi-ḥijābati 'l-Ka'ba wa-wilāyati amri Makka*; Ibn Sa'd, i/1, 67-8.

11 Ibn Hishām, i, 151ff.; *Sīra* of Ibn Ishāq in the *riwāya* of Yūnus b. Bukayr (*K. al-Siyar wa'l-maghāzī*), Damascus 1978, 32ff.; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1954 ff., ix, 513f.

of the functions of the *hājib* was to work the oracle inside the Ka'ba.¹² But there is no mention here of any such "doorkeeper," and the man who works the oracle by manipulation of the arrows is simply called the *ṣāhib al-qidāh*.

Again, one might turn to the accounts about the rebuilding of the Ka'ba in the youth of the Prophet, expecting to find there references to the offices passed down from Qusayy. But again there is no indication in them that B. 'Abd al-Dār, or any of the other descendants of Qusayy, had special privileges at the Ka'ba. Indeed a leading role in the building is ascribed to al-Walīd b. Muḡhīra, a Makhzūmī who is a member of Quraysh not descended from Qusayy. In these reports the Ka'ba is portrayed as being of concern to all of Quraysh, and it is because none of the families have any special prerogatives there that they cannot agree who should have the honour of restoring the Black Stone to its place. This is why they need to have recourse to the strategem whereby it eventually happens that it is the Prophet himself who restores it.¹³ It might be objected that stories such as that of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's vow or the Prophet's restoration of the Black Stone are obviously of a pious rather than historical origin and that they would not be likely to reflect any reality. But the point is that such stories seem to have developed without any awareness of the tradition of the "sacred offices," indicating that that tradition is not really predominant in the material on Mecca and its sanctuary as a whole.

Regarding the function of the tradition about Qusayy and the offices in the Muslim literature, it seems to me that it serves to bring together four entities which are essentially separate: the sanctuary (the Ka'ba), the town (Mecca), the "priests" of the sanctuary (Qusayy and his

12 J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2nd ed., Berlin 1897, 131ff.; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, German tr. Leipzig 1930, 81-2.

13 Ibn Hishām, i, 192ff.; Ibn Bukayr, 103ff.; Azraqī, i, 157 and especially 163. Note, however, that in the reports about the rebuilding of the Ka'ba by Ibn al-Zubayr in the Islamic period, the B. Shayba are referred to and seem to play a part of some importance: Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv b, 56; Azraqī, i, 207, 208.

Gerald R. Hawting

71

descendants), and the people of the town (Quraysh). The effect of the stories about Quṣayy and the control by his descendants of the "sacred offices" is to blur the distinctions: control of the sanctuary is equated with control of the town, the founder of the "priesthood" is virtually the founder of Quraysh, and Quraysh become both the people of the town and the people of the sanctuary.

The Quṣayy tradition is essentially a sanctuary tradition. Fundamentally, it is the *wilāyat al-bayt*, the control of the sanctuary, around which the story of Quṣayy revolves. It is authority over the sanctuary to which he considers he is the legitimate claimant and which he either buys, is given, or wins with help from his allies, according to the variant reports. The reports about the offices handed down to his descendants have the character of a "priestly" tradition in spite of the fact that, as we have seen, certain of the offices seem to have a more political or secular function in the reports. The offices all derive from the authority which Quṣayy established over the sanctuary and they all belong to the lines of descent from Quṣayy. Yet this is confused with the reports which say that after winning control over the sanctuary he brought his fellow Qurashīs to Mecca, settled them there, and they recognised him as their "king" (*malik*). Of course, this would not be entirely inconceivable or inexplicable – it could have happened – but it does not seem entirely logical: it is not simply that political authority and spiritual leadership are indivisible as in the early Islamic period, but that the traditions seem to shift from one category (priestly authority) to another (political power). Some scholars have argued that priestly lines in the Jāhiliyya tended to remain distinct from the political powers, and priestly lines tended to continue while political authority changed with tribal movements.¹⁴ Whether or not this may be generally true, it is not the picture which we get from the Quṣayy tradition.

The Quṣayy tradition also seems to be vital for establishing the superiority of Quraysh over the other Arabs. When we ask why Quraysh were accepted as more "noble" than the others, we are

14 F. Buhl, *Leben*, 73-4, 81-2; J. Henninger, "Nilus-Bericht," *Anthropos*, 50 (1955), 119.

frequently brought back to their control of the Meccan sanctuary. Other explanations, such as the excellence of their language or the purity of their descent, are mentioned but are more elusive and more difficult to document. It was because Quṣayy was instrumental in bringing them to the sanctuary and Mecca that he, in effect, appears as their patriarch. One of the most common etymologies of the name Quraysh actually associates it with Quṣayy's achievement in "gathering" (*taqarrush*) them at Mecca.¹⁵ But tradition also has to reconcile this with the fact that Quraysh are already supposed to have been recognizable as a group, under the name Quraysh, and superior to the other Arabs, before Quṣayy's great achievement. When Quṣayy was growing up away from Mecca under the Qudā'a, into whom his mother had married following the death of his Qurashī father, his mother told him that he was better than the Qudā'is because he was a Qurashī and that Quraysh were the purest descendants of Ismā'īl and lived around (*hawla*) the sanctuary.¹⁶ The *taqarrush* etymology is not the only explanation of the name of Quraysh, and even that one does not always link it with Quṣayy – sometimes it is associated with another possible ancestor, Fihri b. Mālik. Again we have the impression of inconsistencies and the possible marrying up of traditions with different origins.¹⁷

Quṣayy appears (like 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib) as an outsider coming to claim his Qurashī birthright – possibly a sign of the welding of originally distinct traditions. But it was not possible to present all of Quraysh as his descendants – for example, the important clan of Makhzūm – and when one considers the Prophet, the feeling of unease, the sense of the inconsistencies in the tradition, becomes stronger. After all the reports in the *sīra* about Quṣayy, his descendants and the

15 E.g., Azraqī, i, 108–9.

16 Idem, i, 104–5; *anta khayru minhu wa-akramu. . . wa-qawmuka 'inda 'l-bayti 'l-ḥarāmi wa-mā ḥawlahu.*

17 Ibn Sa'd, i/1, 71: 'Abd al-Malik asked Muḥammad b. Jubayr when Quraysh came to be so called? – "When they were gathered to the *ḥarām* from their dispersion, and that was *al-tajammu' al-taqarrush.*" 'Abd al-Malik replied that he had never heard this, only that Quṣayy was called al-Qurashī and Quraysh were so called before him.

Gerald R. Hawting

73

offices which they possessed, one fully expects to find stress put upon the Prophet as a member of this "priestly" family. But that is not so. Muḥammad, although the grandson of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the possessor of the *siqāya*, is not himself in the direct line of descent for this office and he does not seem to be honoured for any connection with the "sacred offices." To that extent, the traditions about Quṣayy and the offices do not relate directly to the story of the Prophet.

In spite of its important role in the *sīra* material, therefore, the tradition about Quṣayy and the offices does not seem especially well integrated into that material.

The office on which we have most material, and the only one to which there seems to be a reference in the Qur'ān,¹⁸ is the *siqāya*. The most remarkable thing about the *siqāya* in the traditions is the way in which it somehow comes to be assimilated to Zamzam, as if possession of the *siqāya* and control of Zamzam were the same thing. Essentially, it seems, the two were not the same.

In the period before 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, tradition tells us, Zamzam was lost. Its site had been hidden by Jurhum when they had to give up control of the sanctuary and abandon Mecca. During the period of its loss, nevertheless, references to the *siqāya* are frequent. Sometimes it is linked with the *rifāda*, and the two together appear as the obligation to provide food and drink for the visitors to the sanctuary.¹⁹ We are told of receptacles (*hiyād*) of skin which were placed near the Ka'ba for the *siqāya* and that 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy used to fill these *hiyād* with water from wells near Mecca.²⁰ Here the *siqāya* is obviously distinct from control of the Zamzam well.

But 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who came to possess the *siqāya* by virtue of his descent from 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy, was also the man who rediscovered the well of Zamzam, and from this point on, the traditions often imply that the *siqāya* was identical with control of

18 Q. 9:19: *a-ja'altum siqāyata 'l-ḥājjī wa-'imārata 'l-masjidi 'l-ḥarāmi ka-man āmana bi 'llāhi wa'l-yawmi 'l-ākhirī* .

19 E.g., Ibn Hishām, i, 135-6; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, Beirut 1970, i, 239; Ibn Sa'd, i/1, 41.

20 Azraqī, i, 112; Ya'qūbī, i, 242; Ibn Sa'd, i/1, 45.

Zamzam. Sometimes it is explicitly stated that when 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib discovered Zamzam he abandoned the old *siqāya*, but generally the assimilation of that office with Zamzam is merely implied.

In Ibn Hishām's recension of the *Sīra*, for example, the whole section which is concerned with Quṣayy and the line of descent from him to Muḥammad begins with a reference to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's discovery of the Zamzam well. There then follows a selection of the material on Quṣayy, 'Abd Manāf and Hāshim, and then a detailed account of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's discovery of the sacred well. In turn this leads into the story of the sacrificial vow (presented as a pendant to the Zamzam story) and then the birth of the Prophet. The effect is that the Zamzam story overshadows this whole section of the *Sīra*, including the information on Quṣayy and the offices, among them the prominent *siqāya*.²¹ (The surviving part of Ibn Bukayr's recension of the *Sīra*, it may be remarked, actually opens with the story of the discovery of Zamzam.)

Frequent use of the root *s-q-y* also contributes to the assimilation. In the stories about the finding of Zamzam we are told that Quraysh refused to accept that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's finding of it gave him any rights over it because, "It is the well of our father Ismā'il and we have a right to it, so share it with us". In order to settle the dispute, the opinion of a *kāhina* was sought, but on the way to her, while passing through the desert, water ran out and it seemed that death was imminent. It was only avoided when a spring of water appeared beneath the hoof of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's mount. When they saw this, Quraysh abandoned their opposition to him and recognized his rights, "He who gave you this water to drink (*saqāka hādhā 'l-mā*) in this desert, He it was who gave you Zamzam to drink (*saqāka Zamzam*). We will not contest Zamzam with you, so return to your *siqāya* in integrity."²² Ibn Sa'd summarizes 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's achievement thus: "When Zamzam was provided as drink (*lammā suqiya Zamzam*), 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib abandoned the provision of drink

21 Ibn Hishām, i, 110ff.

22 Ibid., i, 144-5 (=Azraqī, ii, 45-6); cf. Ibn Sa'd, i/1, 50 and Ya'qūbī, i, 248, where the vocabulary is not so suggestive of the *siqāya*.

Gerald R. Hawting

75

in the *ḥiyād* at Mecca and gave drink to them from Zamzam ... Zamzam was a *saqī* from God".²³ According to Azraqī, " 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib succeeded his father in control of the *siqāya* and did not cease until he excavated Zamzam, which then displaced all the other wells and became the source of what the pilgrims drink (*wa-kāna minhā mashrabu ʾi-ḥājj*)".²⁴ In all of these cases the impression is given that the *siqāya* was subsumed into Zamzam.

A similar effect is sometimes achieved by simply mentioning Zamzam and the *siqāya* in close proximity with no indication that they were not the same thing. A variant of a tradition which, in fuller versions, tells of the Prophet visiting Zamzam and the *siqāya*, reads, "After he had made the *ifāda*, the Prophet called for a *sajl* of Zamzam water, made *wuḍūʾ* with it and said, 'Draw from your *siqāya*, Oh B. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib _".²⁵ One of Azraqī's sections is headed: *Mā kāna 'alayhi ḥawḍu Zamzam fī 'ahdi 'bni 'Abbāsi wa-majlisuhu*. The section begins: *wa-innamā kānat siqāyatuhum allatī yasqūna bihā* _²⁶

But, if it was simply a case of the old *siqāya* being abandoned and replaced by the well of Zamzam, why is this only rarely stated explicitly? Why is the assimilation more usually only implied in some of the ways just illustrated? Furthermore, there is material which seems to indicate that there was something called the *siqāya* which continued to exist independently of Zamzam even down into the Islamic era. There are even hints of some sort of struggle between the adherents of this *siqāya* and those of Zamzam.

In the histories of Mecca and the accounts of travellers and geographers there are descriptions of the buildings which stood in the area known as al-Masjid al-Ḥarām (understood here as the large mosque enclosing the Ka'ba). These descriptions are sometimes difficult to follow on account of their detail and the terms which they use, but it is clear that there are sometimes references to a building containing a *hawḍ* or *ḥiyād* for the *siqāya* apart from the well of Zamzam. One's

23 Ibn Sa'd, i/1, 49.

24 Azraqī, i, 113.

25 *Idem*, ii, 55.

26 *Idem*, ii, 59.

first thought is that Zamzam water must have been taken there and that the *siqāya* refers to the distribution of Zamzam water, and this is in fact how Ibn al-Jubayr seems to describe it in the 12th century. However, it is sometimes clearly said that the *siqāya* was connected with the drinking of *nabīdh* indicating that it was something separate from the drinking of Zamzam water.

In 229/844, for example, we are told that 'Umar b. Faraj al-Rakhajī, when he demolished and rebuilt the structure known as *siqāyat al-'Abbās*, "put inside it a large basin of teak, inside which there was a basin of skin, and in it the drink for the pilgrims on the days of the festival was fermented (?) (*ja'ala fī baṭnihā ḥawḍan kabīran min sāj fī baṭni 'l-ḥawḍi ḥawḍun min adam yunabbadhu (?) fīhi al-sharābu li'l-ḥājji ayyāma 'l-mawsim*)".²⁷ In the 4th/10th century al-Muqaddasī seems to refer to this too, but indicates that the practice had died out. He mentions a *qubbat al-sharāb* behind Zamzam where *sawīq* was formerly provided to drink.²⁸ Evidently *sawīq* is not the same as *nabīdh*, but one might explain the substitution as the result of puzzlement regarding the use of such a legally dubious drink as *nabīdh* in the *ḥaram*. Ibn Jubayr also refers to the *qubba* as *qubbat al-sharāb* as well as *qubbat al-'Abbās*.²⁹ One might deduce from this, therefore, that the institution of the *siqāya* disappeared some time between 844 and al-Muqaddasī, although some caution is desirable in the reading of the report about 'Umar al-Rakhajī.

Ibn al-Zubayr, we are told, moved, at the time of his conflict with the Umayyads, *al-siqāyatu 'llatī li'l-nabīdh* from between the Rukn and Zamzam to the 'place where it is today,' thereby provoking the anger of Ibn 'Abbās.³⁰ A report about Mu'āwiya does not indicate what the *siqāya* was, but says that he wished it to be administered to him (? - *an yusqā*) in the *Dār al-Nadwa*. Ibn 'Abbās refused his

27 *Idem*, ii, 106; al-Fākihī, *Tarīkh Makka*, ms. Leiden Or. 463, 345a.

28 Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, Leiden 1906, 44.

29 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, Leiden 1852, 89.

30 Azraqī, ii, 60; Fākihī, 348a; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Pèlerinage*, 92.

Gerald R. Hawting

77

request, however, and Mu'āwiya had to receive it, like everyone else, at al-Muḥaṣṣab and later at Minā³¹

The *ḥadīth* already referred to, in which the Prophet drinks Zamzam water and tells 'Abbās to draw from his *siqāya*, exists in versions where it is made clear that he visited both Zamzam and the *siqāya*, where he insisted on drinking *nabīdh* in spite of 'Abbās' attempts to dissuade him because he thought the *nabīdh* might be too impure.³² Tā'ūs is reported as saying, "drinking of the *nabīdh* is part of the *ḥajj*".³³ 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ is said to have always drunk Zamzam water even if he was not thirsty, but, as for the *nabīdh*, sometimes he drank it, sometimes not.³⁴ In a somewhat contradictory and puzzling report, however, 'Aṭā' was asked if it was true that intoxicating drink was given in al-Masjīd al-Ḥarām. He replied that in his lifetime (he died in 114/732) he had seen the drink (*sharāb*) – it was so sweet that the lips of a man became stuck together when he drank it, but when the *hurriyya* passed away and the 'abīd ruled, they did not care about the *sharāb*, and treated it lightly.³⁵

In spite of the problems in the interpretation of some of this material, it does seem that Muslim tradition knows of a *siqāya* existing independently of the Zamzam well. The *siqāya* no longer exists and, as I have suggested, there is a frequent tendency in the sources to blur the distinction between it and Zamzam.

On the other hand, there is some information which could be taken to show that Zamzam itself did not immediately obtain the recognition which we know that it has now. Much of the material in the traditions which is in praise of Zamzam can, no doubt, be accounted for as the natural growth of *fadā'il* ideas around a feature of the sanctuary. The tradition in which the Prophet urges that it is the drinking of Zamzam water which distinguishes the Muslim from the

31 Azraqī, *loc. cit.*; Fākihī, 345b; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *loc. cit.*
Al-Muḥaṣṣab is said to be a name for the place of the stoning ceremony – Yāqūt, *Buldān*, Leipzig 1866 ff., iv, 426.

32 Azraqī, ii, 55.

33 Fākihī, 346a.

34 *Idem*, 345b.

35 *Idem*, 345b; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Pèlerinage*, 97.

Munāfiq,³⁶ though, could point to a need at some stage to encourage the acceptance of Zamzam as a part of the sanctuary. That Zamzam, unlike the *siqāya*, is not mentioned in the Qur'ān may not be especially significant, but the fact that it has no official status in the rituals of the *hajj*, that all the ideas and practices associated with it are marginal so far as Muslim law is concerned, might again point to a relatively late acceptance of the sacred well. Traditions report that some of the Companions did not drink Zamzam water.³⁷ This might merely be a way of underlining the fact that it is not a part of the *hajj*, but the well known tradition that Khālīd al-Qasrī tried, on the orders of the caliph, to provide a supply of sweet water by the Ka'ba, and thus aroused hostility by denigrating Zamzam, might be an indication that even by the 90s of the first century of the *hijra* the Zamzam well was not a secure feature of the sanctuary.³⁸

It seems, then, that both the *siqāya* and Zamzam existed independently in the early Islamic era, with the former gradually becoming assimilated to the latter but perhaps not without a struggle. The process might also help us to understand why we have so little information about how it was that the 'Abbāsids, as the descendants of Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy, lost control of the *siqāya*. The reasons for this loss seem to have been little discussed, one suggestion being that it had to do with the loss of the caliphate by the 'Abbāsids.³⁹

It has generally been assumed that control of the *siqāya* was the same thing as control of Zamzam, or, if their essential distinctness was felt, that the 'Abbāsids controlled both. However, if we understand that it was the *siqāya* alone which was associated with the 'Abbāsids, and that this had nothing to do with Zamzam, then it makes sense to assume that their association with it withered and died at the same rate

36 Azraqī, ii, 52; Fākihī, 341b.

37 Fākihī, 346b: Ibn 'Umar never drank the *nabīdh* and never *Zamzam*.

38 Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 1199-1200; Azraqī, ii, 107-8; K. *al-Aghānī*, Būlāq 1868-9, xix, 60. (Note the use of *s-q-y* in the traditions).

39 Cf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Pèlerinage*, 87ff.; the editor of the *Dār al-Andalus* edition of Azraqī remarks on ii, 106: *al-siqāyatu bi-yadi Banī 'l-'Abbāsi - ilā an inqadāt khilāfatuhum*.

Gerald R. Hawting

79

as did the old *siqāya*. Given the relative prominence of the link between al-'Abbās and the *siqāya* in the *sīra* and similar material, we might expect that the 'Abbāsīd caliphs would have emphasized their inheritance of this "sacred office" as one way of establishing or underlining their legitimacy as possessors of the caliphate. But in historical sources concerning the rise of the dynasty and its early years, references to its prerogative of the *siqāya* seem notably scarce.⁴⁰ It is just possible that such things as the provision of watering stations for pilgrims along the Darb Zubayda by the wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, or the decorative work carried out at Zamzam by the early 'Abbāsīd caliphs,⁴¹ have something to do with the *siqāya* idea, although I do not know that this is ever stated explicitly. One does not have the impression that the early 'Abbāsīds were more interested in Zamzam than in other features of the sanctuary, and in the later 'Abbāsīd period there do not appear to be any public claims to prerogatives involving either Zamzam or the *siqāya*. Indeed, it is interesting that when the later 'Abbāsīds wished to establish some prerogative concerning the Meccan sanctuary they chose to do so by sending decorative keys for the Ka'ba.⁴² They do not seem to have been aware of, or they conveniently forgot, that the Prophet had specifically refused the request made by al-'Abbās that he should be given the *hijāba* in addition to the *siqāya*.

The way in which, in the traditions, the *siqāya* and the sacred well overlap, compete and generally get in the way of each other, suggests to me that one of them is an intrusion as an important institution at the sanctuary. And the evidence makes it more likely that Zamzam is the intruder, although it is not absolutely necessary, in theory, that either of them should have been an original feature of the Meccan sanctuary. Both the idea of the sacred well and the tradition of the "sacred offices" could have originated without reference to the sanctuary at Mecca and subsequently have been attached to that

40 There seems to be no mention of it, for example, in the *Akhbār al-dawla al-'abbāsiyya*, Beirut 1971.

41 *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum*, Leiden 1871, 268; Azraqī, ii, 61.

42 J. Sourdel-Thomine, 'Clefs et serrures de la Ka'ba', *REI*, 39, (1971), 29-86.

sanctuary, but, for reasons I hope to explain, I am inclined to think that the "sacred offices" tradition might not be quite so foreign.

As already suggested, there are signs that the status of Zamzam needed to be supported in the early Islamic period, and its role in the ceremonies associated with the Meccan sanctuary is largely "unofficial" and marginal (cf. the statement that "drinking the *nabīdh* is part of the *hajj*"). Furthermore, Muslim tradition itself tells us that Zamzam was a relative newcomer to the Meccan sanctuary – in spite of its association with Ismā'īl, it was only its discovery by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib which gave it any place at the sanctuary, and in this sense it is secondary to the "sacred offices." According to Muslim tradition, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib is only two generations before the Prophet, although one would be unwise to accept the chronology too readily.⁴³

The traditions about 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, too, strongly suggest an intrusion into the tradition about Quṣayy's descendants. Allegedly a son of Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf who had been brought up by his mother in Medina, the discoverer of Zamzam is said to have been brought to Mecca by his paternal uncle, al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf, after Hāshim's death, and this is said to be how he acquired his name: his real name was Shayba (perhaps an abortive attempt to link the *hijāba* in the possession of B. Shayba, with him?), but when the Meccans saw him with al-Muṭṭalib, the latter passed him off as his "slave" (*abd*). Naturally, the apparent artificiality of this account has been remarked, and attempts have been made to explain the name (Muṭṭalib is problematic from a grammatical viewpoint too) as a theophoric.⁴⁴

43 The acute al-Fāsī, author of the 15th century *Shifā'*, makes the point that some traditions actually have 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, before his discovery of Zamzam, on which occasion we are told that only one of his sons had been born, involved in the events of the Year of the Elephant. Since his son 'Abd Allāh, the father of the Prophet, was the youngest of his ten sons, this hardly gives time for the Prophet to be born in the Year of the Elephant, as is often stated in the tradition. (*Shifā' al-gharām*, Cairo 1956, 248).

44 See the articles s.v. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib in *EJ*¹ (F. Buhl) and *EJ*² (W.M. Watt); A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed* – , Berlin 1861–5, iii, p.cxlx; the *Tāj al-'Arūs* explains *muṭṭalib* as a fifth form which has been assimilated (*muṭṭalib* > *muṭṭalib*).

Gerald R. Hawting

81

The two major events connected with 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib in the *sīra* tradition are his discovery of Zamzam and his vow that he would sacrifice one of his sons if God would give him ten. Elsewhere,⁴⁵ I have already suggested that, in form at least, the tradition about the finding of Zamzam is a reworking of a tradition found in Judaism about the loss and rediscovery of certain sanctuary vessels or treasures. In its Jewish versions the story has Messianic overtones – it will be the Messiah who rediscovers the lost sanctuary treasures – and one is inclined to connect it with the belief that the Messiah will restore the Temple. It could be argued that the tradition of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's discovery of Zamzam began as a tradition about the restoration of the sanctuary as such and that the connection with the well of Zamzam dilutes its significance, but in some ways Zamzam does function as a symbol for the sanctuary as a whole – note how, in the Muslim versions of the story of Hagar and Ishmael, the appearance of Zamzam in effect begins the history of the Meccan sanctuary. I will come back to the question of the importance of Zamzam shortly.

The story of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's vow is linked in the *sīra* with the story of the discovery of Zamzam. The vow was made because, at the time when he was digging Zamzam, and Quraysh contested his right to it, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib had only one son and felt that he needed more to support him; he therefore vowed to God that he would sacrifice one of them if He would give him ten. This does not make obvious sense, and the story sounds like a reworking of the *'Aqedah*: it centres on the fact that the son selected for sacrifice, and subsequently freed, is the father of the Prophet himself. The link with the digging of Zamzam would seem to be a secondary feature.

Taken together, therefore, it seems possible to suggest that both 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and the two important stories about him have been grafted on to the tradition about Quṣayy and his descendants – that they are not an original part of the latter tradition.

45 'The disappearance and rediscovery of Zamzam and the "well of the Ka'ba"', *BSOAS*, 43 (1980).

Now, consideration of the importance of Zamzam in Muslim tradition also underlines its distinctness from the Quṣayy material and suggests why it might have been felt necessary to fuse the different traditions. Of all the features of the Meccan sanctuary as we know it, with the possible exception of the Ka'ba itself, it is Zamzam which establishes the Abrahamic associations of the sanctuary. As is well known, Zamzam is identified with the "well of water" which, according to Genesis 21, saved Ishmael from death by thirst after he and his mother Hagar had been driven out into the wilderness by Abraham.⁴⁶ Muslim traditions about the coming of Hājar and Ismā'īl to Mecca, and the gushing forth for them there of Zamzam, are clearly types of midrashic elaboration on Genesis 21, exploiting and developing in much the same way some of the very same details which the Jewish midrashim seized upon.⁴⁷ In addition, in Muslim tradition Zamzam is identified with, or linked with, various other Abrahamic wells or springs – with Beersheba (Gen. 21: 25ff., 26: 23ff.)⁴⁸ and with Beer-lahai-roi (Gen. 16: 7, 14).⁴⁹ Among the various explanations offered for the name of Zamzam, one derives it from the *zāy* and *mīm* of *hazma* in the expression *hazmat Jibra'īl*, a name applied to the well because it had originally appeared for Hagar and Ishmael when Gabriel made a depression in the ground with his heel.⁵⁰

46 This is clear from the traditions about the first appearance of Zamzam for Hagar and Ishmael.

47 E.g., the trees or shrubs of the biblical narrative, used to make a point in the midrashim, appear as *'idāh* or *dawha* in the Muslim traditions; the water bottle of the biblical narrative reflected in the basin formed by Hagar; etc.

48 Azraqī, ii, 52: Zamzam was called *Shabā'a* in the Jāhiliyya (Fākihī, 342a: *Sabā'a*, *Shabā'a*); Fākihī, 337b (=Fāsī, 247): Abraham's dispute with Abimelech concerning Beersheba (Genesis, 21: 25ff.) is transformed into a dispute between Ibrāhīm and Dhū 'l-Qarnayn over Zamzam.

49 This is why Zamzam is an *'ayn* rather than a *bī'r* in the traditions about Hagar and Ishmael. Note Ibn Ezra's identification of Beer-lahai-roi with Zamzam (M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leiden 1893, 106).

50 Fākihī, 328a; Azraqī, ii, 50.

Gerald R. Hawting

83

The association of Zamzam with Abraham and his family is even said to have been recognized by Quraysh before Islam. As already noted, when Quraysh contested the possession of Zamzam with 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, they argued, "this is the well of our father Ismā'īl ...".⁵¹ According to the *Sīra*, "Zamzam displaced the other wells from which drink had been given to the pilgrims previously ... because of its position in al-Masjid al-Ḥarām, its superiority over other waters, and because it was the well of Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm".⁵²

The Abrahamic associations of Zamzam are, therefore, striking, as are the lack of such associations in the case of the *siqāya* and the other sanctuary offices. This not only supports my argument about the essential separateness of the material on Zamzam and that on the *siqāya*, it also suggests why the Zamzam traditions were introduced into the sanctuary traditions as a secondary development. It is a part of the transformation by Islam of the Meccan sanctuary into an Abrahamic institution. In this process of transformation, Abrahamic sanctuary ideas were laid over an older layer. I suggest that the tradition of Quṣayy and the offices handed down from him were a part of this older layer – perhaps even a genuine part of the pre-Islamic history of the Meccan sanctuary. When the sacred well idea was introduced during the process of Islamization (Abrahamification!), the *siqāya*, perhaps because of the possibility of adapting it to the sacred well idea, was able to co-exist for some time with Zamzam before it was eventually driven out by the latter. With the possible exception of the *ḥijāba*, the other offices seem to have died out, or have been suppressed, more quickly.

This discussion of the "sacred offices" traditions and their relationship to other Muslim sanctuary material may be summarized by the

51 Ibn Hishām, i, 144.

52 *Idem*, i, 150.

to other Muslim sanctuary material may be summarized by the following suggestions, some of which seem more incontrovertible than others.

- i.* The tradition about Qusayy and the offices handed down from him, originally self-contained and independent, has been joined, but not successfully integrated, with material from different sources and reflecting different sanctuary ideas.
- ii.* The Qusayy tradition is a priestly one which has been taken over by Islam and an attempt has been made to encompass it within the framework of material which describes the Meccan sanctuary as an Abrahamic one.
- iii.* The Qusayy priestly tradition was perhaps attached to the sanctuary which we now know as the Ka'ba at Mecca before that sanctuary was taken over by Islam.
- iv.* The Qusayy priestly tradition has become deformed in the process of Islamization, in particular by the attempt to give Qusayy and his descendants political as well as priestly authority.
- v.* The Qusayy priestly tradition has been manipulated in order to associate Quraysh with the sanctuary and thus to provide Quraysh with a quasi-priestly status among the Arabs.

ḤANĪFIYYA AND KA'BA: AN INQUIRY
 INTO THE ARABIAN PRE-ISLAMIC
 BACKGROUND OF *DĪN IBRĀHĪM*

Uri Rubin

Modern scholars usually treat Muslim reports concerning the pre-Islamic *ḥunafā'* (sing. *ḥanīf*), who allegedly followed the monotheistic religion known as *dīn Ibrāhīm*, with a great deal of scepticism. W.M. Watt, for instance, stresses the apologetic nature of these reports, suggesting that the term *ḥanīf* in its monotheistic sense was never actually used before the Quran. This means that traditions about pre-Islamic monotheistic *ḥunafā'* are merely the result of an apologetic projection of Quranic concepts.¹ Casual examination of the Muslim sources seems at first to justify this sceptical approach. There is, for instance, a whole series of traditions presenting Muḥammad's genealogical ancestors (e.g., Ma'add, Muḍar, al-Ya's, Asad b. Khuzayma), as following the *ḥanīfiyya* of Abraham; in these traditions Muslims are requested not to curse these persons.² The apologetic nature of these traditions is obvious, their chief aim being to present the prophet as descended from noble monotheistic ancestors who allegedly never practiced idolatry. In other cases, however, the apologetic motive is not quite self-evident. Some western scholars have already noted that among those persons whom Muslim sources describe as *ḥunafā'* are some bitter opponents of Muḥammad. The reports concerning these persons must be taken as authentic, because, as

1 *Et*² s. v. "Ḥanīf". See also *Hagarism*, 13-14. And see Wansbrough, *Milieu*, 6, where the stories about the *ḥanīfs* and other seekers of the true faith are labelled as *praeparatio evangelica*, and p. 7, where they are said to represent "a myth devised to interpret the spiritual, intellectual, and social transformation brought about by the mission of an Arabian prophet."

2 Abū l-Baqā', 48, 55-56, 59; Ḥalabī, I, 17; Kalā'ī, I, 68; *Munammaq*, 4. See also Rubin, "Nūr", 77.

already noted by Fueck, no Muslim could have had any interest in characterizing these opponents of the prophet as *ḥunafā'*.³ In the following pages an attempt is made at elucidating the basic elements of the *ḥanīfiyya* professed by these opponents of Muḥammad and the reasons for their strife with the prophet. This may give us a better insight into the Arabian background of the *ḥanīfiyya* and *dīn Ibrāhīm*.

1. The *ḥanīfiyya* of Muḥammad's enemies

Some reports deal with Abū 'Āmir 'Abd 'Amr b. Ṣayfī,⁴ who was one of the prominent leaders of the Aws in Medina and an implacable enemy of Muḥammad. Shortly after the latter's arrival in Medina, Abū 'Āmir reportedly set out to Mecca with fifty or fifteen people of the Aws, all refusing to embrace Islam. Abū 'Āmir is said to have taken an active part on the Meccan side in the battle of Uḥud. In fact, he is said to have been the first to attack the Muslims along with the Aḥābīsh of Quraysh.⁵ Following the expulsion of Banū al-Nadīr to Khaybar (3H/625), Abū 'Āmir is again said to have gone to Mecca along with some Jews and certain people of Aws. They reportedly urged Quraysh to attack Muḥammad, and made an alliance with the Quraysh in order to fight the prophet and destroy him.⁶ After the conquest of Mecca (8H/630), Abū 'Āmir is said to have fled to Ṭā'if, and when Ṭā'if surrendered to Muḥammad (9H), Abū 'Āmir went off to Syria, where he eventually died.⁷

The name of Abū 'Āmir is connected with the affair of the building of the mosque known as *masjid al-shiqāq*,⁸ or *masjid al-dīr*.⁹ It is related that on the eve of Muḥammad's raid on Tabūk (9H/630), some people built a mosque in Medina and asked

3 Fueck, 98 n. 11, concerning Abū l-Qays b. al-Aslat.

4 See about him Gil, 87 ff.

5 Ibn Hishām, III, 71. See also Wāqidī, I, 205-206; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 313; Ḥalabī, II, 240. It is related that the prophet fell into one of the ditches which were dug by Abū 'Āmir. See Ḥalabī, II, 232, 240.

6 Wāqidī, II, 441-442.

7 Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 282 (from al-Wāqidī); *Uyūn al-athar*, I, 222.

8 Cf. Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 146.

9 Cf. Quran IX/107 ff. See Gil, 70 ff.

Ḥanīfiyya and Ka'ba

87

Muhammad to pray with them in it. At first the prophet intended to oblige, but eventually found out that the people had mischievous intentions, the nature of which is not disclosed in the sources. Whatever their motives, it is stressed that they had contacts with Abū 'Āmir who was at the time in Syria. They reportedly prepared the mosque as headquarters for Abū 'Āmir's supporters who expected his return. When their plans were exposed the prophet ordered that the mosque be torn down and set on fire.¹⁰ Some reports say that Abū 'Āmir himself ordered his supporters to build that mosque and collect weapons in it, telling them that he was about to bring Byzantine troops who would expel Muḥammad and his Muslims from Medina.¹¹

The sources contain important details concerning the spiritual orientation of this enemy of Muḥammad. Ibn Ishāq (d. 150H/767) says about him:¹²

wa-kāna qad tarahhaba fī l-jāhiliyya wa-labisa l-musūḥa wa-kāna yuqālu lahu l-rāhibu

He used to practice *tarahhub* and wore hair mantles and was called "*al-rāhib*"

A good insight into the meaning of this report may be gained from a verse by Ḥassān b. Thābit, Muḥammad's poet, who, mourning the death of the prophet, describes his sorrowful wives "like nuns putting on hair mantles" (*mithla l-rawāhibi yalbasna l-musūḥa*).¹³ From Ḥassān's description it may be inferred that Abū 'Āmir was known as "*al-rāhib*" mainly because of his hair mantle which, like those of Muḥammad's mourning wives, resembled the garments of the *rāhibs*, i.e., the Christian monks. In other words, Abū 'Āmir's *tarahhub* was not necessarily a Christian practice as suggested by Wellhausen,¹⁴ but merely a kind of ascetic conduct resembling Christian manners only in its outer manifestations.

10 Wāqidī, III, 1046; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 282, 283; *Bidāya*, V, 21ff.

11 Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 276; *Qiṣas*, 212; 'Adawī, 253^a.

12 Ibn Hishām, II, 234. See also 'Uyūn *al-athar*, I, 221; Ibn Sa'd, II, 37; *Istī'āb*, I, 380; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 281; Wāqidī, II, 441; Suyūṭī, *Durr* III, 276; Halabī, II, 240; *Murūj*, I, 74.

13 Ibn Sa'd, II, 321. Cf. Ibn Hishām, IV, 322.

14 *Reste*, 239. Cf. Gil, p. 91, note 60.

Al-Balādhurī (d. 279H/892) reports that Abū 'Āmir wished to present himself as a prophet,¹⁵ which seems to indicate that he probably used to recite certain prophetic utterances. The content of his utterances may be deduced from the report of Ibn Ḥajar to the effect that Abū 'Āmir used to speak about the resurrection and the *ḥanīfiyya*.¹⁶ There seems to be no reason to suspect this report. Themes dealt with in the prophetic utterance of Muḥammad could very well be included in the preachings of other contemporaries having similar prophetic claims.

The relation of Abū 'Āmir to the *ḥanīfiyya* is indicated in a report of al-Wāqidī (d. 207H/823) concerning a conversation between the Jews of Medina and Muḥammad b. Maslama of the Aws,¹⁷ which took place before Muḥammad's arrival in Medina. The Jews told Ibn Maslama that nothing seemed to prevent him from embracing their religion, except for the fact that it was the religion of the Jews. They claimed that he probably preferred the *ḥanīfiyya* about which he had heard, but, they stressed, Abū 'Āmir had already abandoned it.¹⁸ This report implies that both Muḥammad b. Maslama and Abū 'Āmir, who were fellow tribesmen, used to adhere to a kind of monotheistic *ḥanīfiyya*, not too far removed from the Jewish religion, and that Abū 'Āmir eventually abandoned it, unlike Ibn Maslama who stuck to it. From the general context of this conversation it is clear that the Jews actually alluded to Muḥammad's message, which, in their view at least, was based on that *ḥanīfiyya* which was eventually rejected by Abū 'Āmir, but supported by Ibn Maslama.

Abū 'Āmir's rejection of the kind of *ḥanīfiyya* which Muḥammad adopted as "Islam" is also indicated in a direct confrontation between him and the prophet. Gil describes it quite rightly as an "encounter between two *ḥanīfs* of different

15 Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 282.

16 *Iṣāba*, II, 137: *wa-kāna yadhkuru l-bā'itha wa-dīna l-ḥanīfiyya*.

17 See about him *Iṣāba*, VI, 33ff.

18 *ka-annaka turīdu l-ḥanīfiyyata llatī samīta bihā. ammā inna Abū 'Āmir qad sakhiṭahā wa-laysa 'alayhā* (Wāqidī, I, 367).

Hanīfiyya and Ka'ba

89

persuasions."¹⁹ Ibn Ishāq reports that Abū 'Āmir came to Muḥammad when the latter arrived in Medina, and asked him what was the religion he had brought. Muḥammad said: "I have brought the *hanīfiyya*, the *dīn* of Abraham." Abū 'Āmir said: "That is what I follow." Muḥammad said: "You do not." Abū 'Āmir said: "Yes, I do," and added that Muḥammad had introduced in the *hanīfiyya* things which did not belong to it (*innaka adkhalta, ya Muḥammad, fī l-hanīfiyya ma laysa minhā*). Muḥammad said: "I have not. I have brought it pure and white."²⁰ The break between these two *hanīfs* was never bridged, and it is reported that Muḥammad changed Abū 'Āmir's appellation from "*al-rāhib*" to "*al-fāsiq*."²¹

What was the origin of the dispute between Muḥammad and Abū 'Āmir? The sources examined thus far do not allow a clear-cut answer. Gil's conclusion, following a thorough examination of a wide range of source material, is that Abū 'Āmir was a leader of a group of dissenters with "a kind of pacifistic orientation", who were also opposed to "the new system of justice personified by Muḥammad", and hence "to the very essence and foundations of the Muslim *umma*."²² It seems, however, that the roots of the conflict must be looked for within the *hanīfiyya* which occurs in the above-cited dialogue as the main issue disputed by Abū 'Āmir and Muḥammad. In order to elucidate the origin of this "inter-*hanīfī*" conflict, one has to study the reports concerning other rivals of Muḥammad who are likewise presented as monotheistic *hunafā'*.

The poet Abū Qays b. al-Aslat²³ was the leader of the Medinan tribe Aws Allāh of the Aws, i.e., Abū 'Āmir's tribe. Ibn Ishāq reports that he kept his people back from Islam until after the battle of the Khandaq (5H/627). This was the only section of

19 Gil, 90.

20 Ibn Hishām, II, 235. See also *Uyūn al-athar*, I, 222; *Qiṣas*, 212.

21 Ibn Hishām, II, 235, III, 71; Ibn Sa'd, II, 37; *Uyūn al-athar*, I, 222; *Qiṣas*, 212.

22 Gil, 91.

23 See about him Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 287.

the Anṣār in which there were no Muslims at all.²⁴ According to another report, Abū Qays fled to Mecca and stayed there with Quraysh until the submission of Mecca.²⁵

This opponent of Muḥammad is said to have been known in Yathrib as "*al-ḥanīf*."²⁶ Ibn Sa'd (d. 230H/845) stresses that he was more eager in observing the *ḥanīfiyya* than anyone else in Medina. He allegedly used to say: "I adhere to the religion of Abraham, and will not cease till I die."²⁷ The *ḥanīfiyya* of Abū Qays, like that of Abū 'Āmir, seems to have been at variance with the *ḥanīfiyya* of Muḥammad, although they had a lot in common. Ibn Sa'd reports that Abū Qays "almost" embraced Islam, and used to refer to the *ḥanīfiyya* in his poems and to describe the prophet who was about to appear in Mecca.²⁸ The circumstances which hindered Abū Qays from embracing Islam are elucidated in a report recorded by Mughulṭāy.²⁹ It says that Abū Qays resembled Qays b. al-Khaṭīm in poetic vigour and courage; he was God-fearing, a follower of the *ḥanīfiyya* and urged Quraysh and the Aws to follow the prophet. 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy (the leader of the Munāfiqūn in Medina and a relative of Abū 'Āmir) heard about it and said to Abū Qays: "You have abandoned our party (*ludhta min ḥizbinā kulla malādh*). Once you seek alliance with Quraysh and once you wish to follow Muḥammad." (*marratan taṭlubu l-ḥilfa fī Quraysh wa-marratan bi-ittibā'i Muḥammad*). Abū Qays became angry and swore that he would not embrace Islam for a whole year. He died before the end of that year. Some say that before his death he was heard uttering the *shahāda*. This report indicates that Abū Qays was wavering between attraction to Muḥammad and loyalty to Quraysh. His faithfulness to Quraysh and, in fact, his devotion to Mecca, is clearly indicated in some poetic verses recorded on his authority,

24 Ibn Hishām, II, 80. See also Ibn Sa'd, IV, 384; Sam'ānī, 345.

25 *Istī'āb*, IV, 1734; *Iṣāba*, VII, 335.

26 Ibn Sa'd, IV, 383, 384.

27 *Ibid*, IV, 384.

28 *Loc. cit.* See also *Iṣāba*, VII, 334.

29 Mughulṭāy, 32^a-32^b. Cf. also Ibn Sa'd, IV, 385; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 274; *Iṣāba*, VII, 334.

Hanīfiyya and Ka'ba

91

where the basic tenets of his *hanīfiyya* are set out. The verses have already been noted by Wellhausen³⁰ and others,³¹ but no attention has been drawn to their special significance. Though Wellhausen cavils at the authenticity of these verses, his doubt does not seem justified. As pointed out above, themes like *hanīfiyya* and monotheism in general, which are treated at length in the Quran, may very well occur independently in the poetic utterances of other contemporaries of Muḥammad. The verses to which we refer are recorded by Ibn Ishāq.³² The first four run as follows (tr. Guillaume, 201):

1. Lord of mankind, serious things have happened /
the difficult and the simple are involved.
2. Lord of mankind, if we have erred /
guide us to the good path.
3. Were it not for our Lord we should be Jews /
and the religion of the Jews is not convenient.³³
4. Were it not for our Lord we should be Christians /
along with the monks on Mount Jalīl.

The final two verses read [tr. U. R.]:

5. *wa-lākinnā khuliqnā idh khuliqnā /*
ḥanīfan dīnunā 'an kulli jilī
6. *nasūqu l-hadya tarsufu mudh'inātin /*
mukashshafata l-manākibi fī-l-julūlī
5. But when we were created, we were created /
with our religion distinct from (that of) any other generation
6. We lead the sacrificial animals walking obediently in iron /
their shoulders bare under the clothes.

The fifth verse suggests that the *hanīfiyya* is a primordial, natural religion preserving the basic monotheism inherent in man since

30 *Reste*, 238, note 1.

31 E.g., Buhl-Schaeder, 69.

32 Ibn Hishām, II, 80. See also Ibn Sa'd, IV, 384-385.

33 Better: has no counterparts.

creation, and is thus distinct from any other acquired religion. The sixth line sheds light on the ritual practices of the *ḥanīfs*. They lead sacrificial animals which are called *hady*. This term, which occurs also in the Quran (e.g. V/2, 95, 97), stands for sacrificial animals consecrated to the Ka'ba. They were usually slaughtered near the Ka'ba, especially during the 'Umra. In the above verse, the animals are described as *tarsufu mudh'inātin*. *Rasaḥa* means to walk heavily with iron fetters and the like.³⁴ It seems that an allusion is here being made to a special feature of the sacrificial animals which used to be brought to Mecca. The Arabs used to hang on each animal a pair of iron horse-shoes, an act referred to in Muslim sources as *taqlīd al-na'l*.³⁵ Muslim scholars explain that the horse-shoes symbolized travels.³⁶ In the same verse the sacrificial animals are also described as being covered with clothes named *julūl* through which their shoulders are seen. This again is characteristic of animals led to the Ka'ba during the pilgrimages. The act of covering the animals with these clothes is named *tajlīl al-hady*.³⁷ The pilgrims sometimes used to make holes in the clothes so that the special scars made on the skin of the animal remained visible. The scars signified that the animal was consecrated to Allāh.³⁸

The verses of Abū Qays indicate that the ritual practices observed by *ḥanīfs* like Abū Qays were focused on the pilgrimage to Mecca, and on the veneration of the Ka'ba.³⁹ In some further verses of Abū Qays recorded by Ibn Ishāq,⁴⁰ the attitude of the

34 E.g., Ibn Hisham, III, 332: *...idh jā'a Abū Jandal b. Suhayl b. 'Amr yarsufu fī l-hadīd.*

35 E.g., *Qirā*, 566.

36 *Faḥ al-bārī*, III, 438.

37 E.g., *Qirā*, 569.

38 *Faḥ al-bārī*, III, 438-439.

39 Buhl-Schaeder (p. 69-70) contend that these verses were composed by a follower of Muḥammad who wished to glorify the religion of Abraham as having the pilgrimage at its centre. But even so, this does not necessarily mean that the pilgrimage was not really a central element in *dīn Ibrāhīm*.

40 Ibn Hishām, I, 302 ff.

Hanīfiyya and Ka'ba

93

former towards the Ka'ba, as well as towards Quraysh, is stated very clearly. Introducing these verses Ibn Ishāq says that Abū Qays used to love Quraysh, being their relative by his wife, Arnab bint Asad. Ibn Ishāq adds that in this *qaṣīda* the poet magnifies the sanctity of Mecca. A few verses addressed to Quraysh may illustrate the attitude of Abū Qays: ⁴¹

aqīmū lanā dīnan ḥanīfan fa-antumū /
lanā ghāyatun qad yuḥadā bi-l-dhawā'ibī
 Raise up for us a *ḥanīfī* religion /
 you are our object; one is guided in travel by heights
fa-qūmū fa-ṣallū rabbakum wa-tamassahū /
bi-arkāni hādihā l-bayti bayna l-akhāshibī
 Rise and pray to your Lord and rub yourselves /
 against the corners of this house between the mountains
fa-in tahlīkū nahlik wa-tahlīk mawāsīmū /
yū'āshu bihā, qawlu mri'in ghayri kādhibī
 If you perish we shall perish, and the fairs by which men live / these are
 the words of a truthful man.

In these verses the people of Quraysh feature as representing the *ḥanīfiyya*; they are urged by the poet to go on observing it, while they are also requested to worship their Lord, i.e. Allāh, and to venerate the Ka'ba which functioned as His sanctuary, and was usually known as "*baytu llāhi l-ḥarām*." The poet states that the existence of Quraysh is vital for the survival of the entire Meccan ritual system; this means that *ḥanīfs* like Abū Qays regarded Quraysh as the legitimate custodians of the main centre of *ḥanīfī* worship.

At this point one may cast another look at the material concerning Abū 'Āmir. It seems that his *ḥanīfiyya* too was based on the veneration of the sanctity of Mecca and the Ka'ba, as well as on loyalty to Quraysh. Apart from his personal relations with Meccan leaders like Abū Sufyān,⁴² Abū 'Āmir greatly admired the

41 Tr. Guillaume, 128 ff.

42 Abū 'Āmir once presented Abū Sufyān with a *mawlā* of his. See Ibn Sa'd V, 311.

ritual position of Quraysh. Al-Wāqidī reports that when Abū 'Āmir left for Mecca with fifty people of Aws Allāh, following Muḥammad's *hijra* to Medina, he said to Quraysh that their ritual conduct was right, whereas what Muḥammad had brought was wrong.⁴³ Furthermore, after the expulsion of the Jews of al-Naḍīr to Khaybar, some of their leaders came to Mecca along with Abū 'Āmir and asked Quraysh to conclude a treaty against Muḥammad (see p. 86 above). The way in which the oath of this alliance was taken is most instructive. All parties reportedly entered behind the hangings of the Ka'ba and pressed their bodies against its walls.⁴⁴ This ceremony could not have taken place were it not for the deep devotion to the sanctity of the Ka'ba on the part of Abū 'Āmir as well as on the part of the Jewish leaders.⁴⁵

Another rival of Muḥammad known as a *ḥanīf* was the poet Umayya b. Abī l-Ṣalt from Ṭā'if.⁴⁶ His monotheistic orientation is indicated, to begin with, in the fact that some considered him a Jew.⁴⁷ But it seems that he was closer to people of the sort of Abū 'Āmir. This is implied by the fact that his name occurs alongside that of Abū 'Āmir in the commentaries on Quran VII/175 which deals with "him to whom we gave Our signs, but he cast them off and Satan followed after him..." (tr. Arberry). According to Ibn 'Abbās, the Anṣār claimed that the verse referred to the *rāhib* for whom *masjid al-shiqāq* was built (i.e., Abū 'Āmir), whereas Thaḳīf claimed that the verse dealt with Umayya b. Abī al-Ṣalt.⁴⁸ According to another tradition, the persons meant by this verse were people from among the Jews, the Christians and the *ḥunafā'*.⁴⁹

43 Wāqidī, I, 205-206.

44 Ibid, II, 442.

45 On the attitude of the Jews of Arabia towards the Ka'ba see more below.

46 See about him Buhl-Schaeder, 97 ff; Sezgin, GAS, II, 298 ff. For the traditions concerning him see already Sprenger, I, 110 ff.

47 *Faḥ al-bārī*, VII, 116.

48 Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 146. See also *Iṣāba*, I, 250; *Aghānī*, III, 187; *Bidāya*, II, 221; *Faḥ al-bārī*, VII, 116.

49 Suyūṭī, loc. cit.

Ḥanīfiyya and Ka'ba

95

It is noteworthy that the *ḥunafā'* are mentioned in this interpretation alongside other monotheistic groups who "cast off" the "signs" of Allāh, i.e., rejected Muḥammad.

Like Abū 'Āmir, Umayya, too, used to wear rough hair clothes (*musūḥ*). Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (d. 256H/870) reports that Umayya was well versed in holy books, wore *musūḥ*, was God fearing and used to mention Abraham and Ishmael and the *ḥanīfiyya* in his poems. He prohibited wine-drinking and did not believe in the idols. He was a seeker looking for the true religion.⁵⁰

The nature of the poetry of Umayya b. Abī al-Ṣalt may be deduced from the fact that Muḥammad reportedly stated that Umayya "almost" embraced Islam in his poetry.⁵¹ The most characteristic verse recorded on his authority is perhaps the following⁵² (tr. Guillaume p. 30):

kullu dīnin yawma l-qiyāmati 'inda l- /
-lāhi illa dīna l-ḥanīfati būrū

In God's sight at the resurrection every religion /
but that of the *ḥanīf* is doomed to perdition.

The authenticity of the verses attributed to Umayya has been doubted more than once.⁵³ The above quoted verse is described by Watt as "presumably of Islamic inspiration".⁵⁴ Against this supposition it may again be pointed out that the same themes may have been treated independently by the prophet as well as by various contemporary poets with a similar monotheistic orientation. As a rule, if one does not suspect the authenticity of the Quran one does not have any immediate reason for rejecting the authenticity

50 *Aghānī*, III, 187. Cf. also *Iṣāba*, I, 250; *Fath al-bārī*, VII, 116; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 28.

51 Muslim, VII, 48-49; Bukhārī, V, 53; *Iṣāba*, I, 249; *Bidāya*, II, 228.

52 Ibn Hishām, I, 62. See also *Iṣāba*, I, 251; *Aghānī*, III, 187.

53 See for details Buhl-Schaeder 70; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 299.

54 Watt, "Ḥanīf", *ET*².

of other utterances containing a similar religious or ethical message.⁵⁵

Umayya b. Abī al-Ṣalt apparently never embraced Islam. There is a tradition recorded by Ibn 'Asākir on the authority of al-Zuhrī (d. 124H/742) to the effect that Umayya met Muḥammad in Mecca before the *hijra* and being deeply impressed by his preachings decided to embrace Islam. But in the meantime the battle of Badr took place, in which many Meccan leaders, including some of Umayya's relatives, were killed. He thereupon abandoned his former intention to embrace Islam and returned to Ṭā'if.⁵⁶ He also composed a special *qaṣīda* lamenting the death of the Meccans at Badr,⁵⁷ and Muḥammad reportedly forbade its recitation.⁵⁸ From that time on, Umayya used to stir up Quraysh against Muḥammad.⁵⁹

Umayya, like the former *hanīfs*, doubted whether Muḥammad represented the true *hanīfiyya*. On his death-bed he reportedly said: "I know that the *hanīfiyya* is true, but I have my doubts concerning Muḥammad" (*...wa-anā a'lamu anna l-hanīfiyya haqqun wa-lākinna l-shakka yudākhilunī fī Muḥammad*).⁶⁰ Muḥammad, on his part, said about him: "*āmana shi'ruhu wa-kafara qalbu*."⁶¹ To this must be added the personal rivalry between them. Umayya, like Muḥammad, tended to consider himself a prophet, and was jealous of Muḥammad's prophetic success.⁶²

55 Not even *Hagarism* seems to produce conclusive evidence that the Quran is not authentic, i.e., did not come into existence in Arabia in Muḥammad's days.

56 *Bidāya*, II, 226. See also Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 146; *Faḥ al-bārī*, VII, 116-117; *Isāba*, I, 250.

57 Ibn Hishām, III, 31 ff.; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 306ff.

58 *Aghānī*, III, 187.

59 *Loc. cit.*

60 *Ibid.*, III, 191; *Isāba*, I, 252; *Faḥ al-bārī*, VII, 116.

61 *Aghānī*, III, 191; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 28; *Isāba*, I, 251; *Bidāya*, II, 228; *Faḥ al-bārī*, VII, 116.

62 Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 28; *Aghānī*, III, 187; *Isāba*, I, 250; *Murūj*, I, 70-71. Cf. Suyūṭī, *Khaṣā'is*, I, 60. Umayya, like Muḥammad, features in the sources as being subjected to a miraculous opening of his breast. See e.g. *Bidāya*, II, 224 ff.; *Aghānī*, III, 188 ff.; *Isāba*, I, 252.

Hanīfiyya and Ka'ba

97

The reports concerning the above mentioned *ḥunafā'* lead to the conclusion that their *hanīfiyya* consisted mainly of: (i) adherence to what they used to call "the religion of Abraham" (Abū Qays, Umayya); (ii) close contacts with Mecca and Quraysh, and devotion to the sanctity of the Ka'ba (Abū 'Āmir and Abū Qays). The link between these two elements seems to have been the conviction that Mecca was an Abrahamic *ḥaram*, and that the Ka'ba was the House of Abraham. This idea was shared by Muḥammad, as is attested in the numerous Quranic passages stressing the relation of Mecca and the Ka'ba to Abraham and Ishmael (e.g. II/125, 126, 127; XIV/35).

The break of these *hanīfs* with Muḥammad seems to have been the result of a change in Muḥammad's practical attitude towards Quraysh and Mecca, following the *hijra*. The act of the *hijra* from Mecca to Medina came after Muḥammad had lost his last hope of establishing monotheism in Mecca through peaceful preaching to Quraysh. When the opposition of Quraysh became unbearable, for reasons which cannot be treated here, the prophet not only left Mecca, but started launching military attacks on Meccan caravans. Thus he violated the pre-Islamic sacredness of Quraysh as *ahlu llāh* which he had previously recognized.⁶³ For him Quraysh were no longer under God's protection, nor were they the legitimate agents of the Abrahamic sacredness of Mecca and the Ka'ba. Moreover, shortly before leaving Mecca, Muḥammad stopped praying towards the Ka'ba and appointed Jerusalem as *qibla* instead, but only for a limited time. Soon afterwards he resumed the *qibla* of the Ka'ba, and from then on, his prophetic message was directed not only against *shirk*, but also and foremost against the *mushrikūn* themselves, i.e., Quraysh. In Muḥammad's perception, they deviated from the true Abrahamic ideals, or, from the original *hanīfiyya*, which he had set out to restore.

At this stage, Arabian *hanīfs* had to decide with which side they should throw in their lots. Upholding Muḥammad would have meant supporting the struggle against *shirk*, but it would also have

63 This is seen in *Sūrat Quraysh*. See Rubin, "Ilāf".

meant admitting that Quraysh had no longer any Abrahamic sacredness, and no longer deserved to be the custodians of the House of Allāh. In practical terms, it would have forced them to sever their connections with the central *hanīfī* sanctuary in Mecca. Those *hanīfs* whose personal ties with Quraysh were strong and whose devotion to the Pre-Islamic sacredness of Quraysh and the Ka'ba was great could not choose Muḥammad's side. So they became his enemies, and accused him of distorting the basic principles of the true *hanīfiyya*. They were persons of the sort of Abū 'Āmir, Abu Qays and Umayya b. Abī al-Šalt.

But there were also some other *hanīfs* who eventually did embrace Islam. One of them was the poet Abū Qays Širma b. Abī Anas of Banū 'Adiyy b. al-Najjār.⁶⁴ His ascetic conduct resembled that of Abū 'Āmir. Ibn Ishāq reports that Širma used to practice *tarahhub* in the Jāhiliyya, and to wear *musūh*. He abandoned the idols, purified himself with water, and avoided menstruating women. He once contemplated becoming a Christian, but gave it up. He set up a private sanctuary of his own, into which impure people were not allowed. He used to say: "I worship the Lord of Abraham." When Muḥammad came to Medina, Širma embraced Islam at a very advanced age.⁶⁵ His attachment to Muḥammad is demonstrated in a special *qaṣīda* he composed in praise of the prophet.⁶⁶ Širma's relations with Quraysh and Mecca seem to have been less predominant than his wish to support a leader who, in his view, had good chances to succeed as a *hanīfī* prophet preaching the religion of Abraham in Medina. Or, one may suppose that the stress laid on the fact that when he became a Muslim he was already a very old man, indicates an apologetic elaboration typical of *akkbār* relating to several pre-Islamic poets who actually passed away before they had any real chance to embrace Islam.

64 See about him Buhl-Schaeder, 98; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 294.

65 Ibn Hishām, II, 156. See also Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 28; *Istī'āb*, IV, 1735, II, 737; *Iṣāba*, III, 422-423; *Murūj*, I, 74.

66 Ibn Hishām, II, 157 ff.; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 268; Ibn Qutayba *Ma'ārif*, 28; *Istī'āb*, II, 738.

Other names of pro-Muḥammadan *ḥunafā'* are mentioned by al-Tha'labī in his commentary on Quran III/113. This verse deals with members of *ahl al-kitāb* who were "a nation upstanding" (*umma qā'ima*). Al-Tha'labī quotes a report to the effect that before Muḥammad came to Medina, there were there people like As'ad b. Zurāra, al-Barrā' b. Ma'rūr, Muḥammad b. Maslama and Abū Qays Ṣirma b. al-Aslat(!), monotheists practicing ablution and the *sharā'i'* of the *ḥanīfiyya*. When Muḥammad arrived, they believed in him and rallied round him.⁶⁷

2. *Ḥanīfiyya* in pre-hijra Mecca

Muḥammad's attachment to the idea of *dīn Ibrāhīm* started already before the *hijra*, while he was still at Mecca.⁶⁸ Here there were some older *ḥunafā'* who probably introduced this idea to the young Muḥammad. The most notable of them was Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl.⁶⁹ The name of this *ḥanīf* appears, to begin with, in a report recorded by Ibn Ishāq and others, mentioning four persons

67 Al-Tha'labī, *al-Kashf wa-l-bayān*, MS Tel Aviv University, 508750, p. 148.

68 Since the days of Snouck Hurgronje western scholars believed that the idea connecting the history of Mecca and the Ka'ba with Abraham appears only in verses labelled *Medinan*. But later on, scholars like E. Beck and others showed that the idea appears already in Meccan verses (for details see R. Paret, "Ibrāhīm", *ET*²). In fact, there is striking evidence for the early possible date of the introduction of *dīn Ibrāhīm* in Arabia. Sozomenos (fifth century A.D.) who was born near Gaza and had a good knowledge of the Arabs, describes them as descendants of Ishmael who, due to the influence of their pagan neighbours, had corrupted the old "discipline" of their ancestor, according to which the old Hebrews used to live prior to Moses. Sozomenos even knows of a certain group among the Arab descendants of Ishmael who eventually came in contact with the Hebrews, and by learning from them resumed their original conduct. See *Sozomeni historia ecclesiastica* Lib. VI, 38, in *Patrologia Graecia* Vol.LXVI, 1411-1412. This reference was given to me by my student G. Algazi, who also translated the relevant passages. And see also a reference to the same source in M. Cook, *Muḥammad*, Oxford, 1983, 81, 92. And cf. the (unjustified) criticism of H. T. Norris in *BSOAS*, XLVIII 1985, p. 131.

69 Most of the traditions concerning this person were already gathered and translated by Sprenger (I, 119, ff.).

including Zayd, who decided to abandon the idolatry of Quraysh and left Mecca in search of the true religion. Zayd b. 'Amr is said to have been the only one who did not adopt Judaism or Christianity but rather insisted that he worshipped the Lord of Abraham.⁷⁰ The monotheistic attitude of Zayd is implied in some poetic verses attributed to him in which he voices his aversion to the worship of the Daughters of Allāh and other deities.⁷¹ In other verses he professes his exclusive devotion to Allāh.⁷² A purely monotheistic *talbiya* which he is said to have uttered during the *hajj* is also attributed to him.⁷³ Some reports describe a strife between Zayd and his fellow tribesmen. His paternal uncle, al-Khaṭṭāb (father of 'Umar) is said to have forced him out of Mecca so that he had to remain on Mount Ḥirā', being able to enter Mecca only secretly. Al-Khaṭṭāb reportedly feared lest other Meccans should follow Zayd in abandoning the old *dīn* of Quraysh.⁷⁴

Tradition lays special emphasis on Zayd's attachment to *dīn Ibrāhīm*. Asmā' bint Abī Bakr reportedly said that she had seen Zayd leaning his back against the Ka'ba saying: "Oh Quraysh, by Him in whose hand is the soul of Zayd, not one of you follows the religion of Abraham but I".⁷⁵

70 See Ibn Hishām, I, 237 ff.; *Muḥabbar*, 171-172; *Munammaq*, 175 ff.; *Bidāya*, II, 237 ff.

71 Ibn Hishām, I, 241; *Bidāya*, II, 242; *Aghānī*, III, 15-16; Zubayr b. Bakkār, I, 416-417.

72 Ibn Hishām, I, 246: *wa-aslamtu wajhī li-man aslamat / lahu l-arḍu tahmilu ṣakhran thiqālā*. See also Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 27; *Aghānī*, III, 17; Zubayr b. Bakkār, fol. 167^b; *Bidāya*, II, 242; Bayhāqī, *Dalā'il*, I, 400.

73 Ibn Sa'd, III, 380; Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, I, 384; *Bidāya*, II, 240; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 117.

74 Ibn Hishām, I, 246; *Aghānī*, III, 15; Zubayr b. Bakkār, fol. 166^b; *Murūj*, I, 70; *Bidāya*, II, 238.

75 Ibn Hishām, I, 240: *—mā aṣbaḥa minkum aḥadun 'alā dīni Ibrāhīma ghayrī*. See also Ibn Sa'd, III, 381; *Iṣāba*, II, 614; Bukhārī, V, 51; *Aghānī*, III, 15, 16; *Mughulīyāy*, 107^a; Zubayr b. Bakkār, fol. 166^b-167^a; Khargushī, *Brit. Lib.*, 29^a; *Bidāya*, II, 237; Suhaylī, I, 256.

Hanīfiyya and Ka'ba

101

Of special interest are the traditions recounting the meeting between Zayd b. 'Amr and the young Muḥammad, which took place shortly before the latter's first revelation.⁷⁶ In the earliest versions of these traditions Muḥammad presents Zayd with a bag of meat which he, Muḥammad, had sacrificed to the idols. Zayd refuses to partake of it explaining to him that he does not eat what has been offered to idols. He also explains that he has searched for the true religion and is now a follower of the religion of Abraham.⁷⁷ The immediate motivation for the circulation of such a tradition was to highlight the virtues (*faḍā'il*) of Zayd as Muḥammad's mentor. On the other hand, however, one must remember that even *faḍā'il* traditions may more often than not contain a grain of authenticity. This seems to be the case with the tradition about Zayd which implies that he was a monotheistic adherent of *dīn Ibrāhīm*, while Muḥammad was still an idolater. Such a tradition could never have been invented, not even for the mere purpose of glorifying Zayd. From this tradition, which Muslim scholars indeed tried to reshape, one must, therefore, conclude that Zayd was indeed a *ḥanīf* who introduced to Muḥammad the monotheistic idea of *dīn Ibrāhīm*.

The Abrahamic *ḥanīfiyya* of Zayd is described in the sources as being focused on the veneration of the Ka'ba. Many traditions assert that the Ka'ba served as Zayd's *qibla*. Ibn Sa'd (d. 230H/845) has recorded a tradition relating that Zayd used to pray facing the Ka'ba, saying: "This is the *qibla* of Abraham and Ishmael. I do not worship stones and do not pray towards them and do not sacrifice to them, and do not eat that which was sacrificed to them and do not draw lots with arrows. I will not pray towards anything but this House till I die."⁷⁸ According to another tradition Zayd used to say: "I follow the religion of Abraham and I prostrate

76 See a thorough examination of these traditions, Kister, "A bag of meat", passim.

77 E.g., Khargūshī, Brit Lib. 27^b-28^a; Kister, "A bag of meat", 270, with further references.

78 Ibn Sa'd, III, 380. See also *Bidāya*, II, 240; Zurqānī, VII, 27.

myself towards the Ka'ba which Abraham built." So he used to prostrate himself towards the Ka'ba in the Jāhiliyya.⁷⁹ A similar tradition recorded by al-Khargūshī (d. 406H/1015) relates that Zayd b. 'Amr used to pray towards the Ka'ba saying: "my Lord is the Lord of Abraham and my *dīn* is the *dīn* of Abraham." Warāqa b. Nawfal also used to pray towards the Ka'ba saying: "My *dīn* is the *dīn* of Zayd and my Lord is the Lord of Zayd."⁸⁰ People like Zayd believed that already Abraham himself used to pray towards the Ka'ba. The following *rajaz* verse is reported to have been uttered by Zayd when praying towards the Ka'ba:⁸¹

'udhu bi-mā 'ādha bihi Ibrāhīm /
mustaqbila l-qiblati wa-huwa qā'im
 I seek refuge in what Abraham sought refuge /
 when he was facing the *qibla* while standing (in prayer).⁸²

Muḥammad himself used the Ka'ba as *qibla* during the first years of his prophetic activity in Mecca, before adopting, for a limited time, the *qibla* of Jerusalem. The prophet is said to have prayed towards the Ka'ba in general,⁸³ or towards the Black Stone in particular,⁸⁴ or towards Maqām Ibrāhīm.⁸⁵

The authenticity of all these traditions which imply that the Ka'ba functioned as a *hanīfī* and Islamic *qibla* ever before Jerusalem replaced it, is self-evident in view of the fact that no one in early Islam was interested in fabricating traditions implying that the *qibla* of the Ka'ba could ever be replaced in favour of another *qibla*, be it only for a short time. Muslim theologians tried

79 Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, I, 400.

80 Khargūshī, Brit Lib. 28^b. See also *Bidāya*, II, 237, 241.

81 Ibn Hishām, I, 245; *Aghānī*, III, 15; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 117; Zubayr b. Bakkār, fol. 166^b.

82 For Abraham's prayer towards the Ka'ba see also Ibn Sa'd, I, 162, III, 379; *Iṣāba*, II, 616; *Bidāya*, II, 239; *Fatḥ al-bārī*, VII, 108.

83 Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, I, 401; Suyūṭī, *Khaṣā'iṣ*, I, 233-234; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, II, 4.

84 Ḥalabī, I, 264.

85 Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXX, 164, 165; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, 369; Muqātil, II, fol. 26^b.

rather to tone down these traditions, labelling them as *da'if*.⁸⁶ They gave predominance as *ṣaḥīḥ* to other traditions stating that Muḥammad, while at Mecca, never used the Ka'ba as *qibla*, but prayed always towards Jerusalem.⁸⁷ In this manner, the Ka'ba could never have been abrogated by the *qibla* of Jerusalem; there was only one abrogation, which occurred after the *hijra*, when the Ka'ba replaced Jerusalem forever.⁸⁸

3. The Abrahamic sacredness of the Ka'ba and Quraysh

The observation that the *hanīfiyya* at both post-*hijra* Medina and pre-*hijra* Mecca was focused on the veneration of the Ka'ba, entails the conclusion that the Abrahamic sacredness of the Ka'ba is pre-Islamic by origin. This may be confirmed through some further reports concerning this sanctuary.

The pre-Islamic deity of the Ka'ba was Hubal. His was the one and only statue situated inside the Ka'ba. The rituals performed in front of this statue contained typical Abrahamic elements, circumcision in particular. Ibn Ishāq reports that when the Arabs wanted to circumcise a boy, or to marry someone, or

86 See for instance, *Fath al-bārī*, I, 88: *wa-qāla ākharūna: kāna yuṣallī ilā l-Ka'ba fa-lammā taḥawwala ilā l-Madīna istaqbala Bayta l-Maqdis. wa-hādhā da'if wa-yalzamu minhu dāwā l-naskhi marratayni.*

87 E.g., *ithāf al-akhiṣṣā'*, I, 183: *wa-l-ṣaḥīḥ alladhī aṭbaqa 'alayhi l-aktharūna annahu lam yuṣalli bi-Makkata illā ilā Bayt al-Maqdis.*

88 For these matters see further Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, II, 287 ff.; *Bidāya*, III, 252 ff.; Zurqānī, I, 399 ff.; *Uns*, I, 193-194; Suyūṭī, *Khaṣā'is*, I, 486; Rubin, "Ka'ba", note 29. A reference to the history of the *qibla* is made in *Hagarism*, 23-24, with the attempt to prove that originally the *qibla* was located not in Mecca but rather "somewhere in north-west Arabia". But the adduced archeological and literary evidence seems to prove nothing of the sort. It shows merely that in many cases, *qiblas* of certain mosques were not built in the mathematically exact direction of the Ka'ba but rather faced the general direction of Arabia. In Iraq it was, of course, west, whereas in Egypt it was east. In Judaism as well, it is not obligatory to search the exact direction of Jerusalem, the general direction of the "mizrāh" (east) being perfectly sufficient.

bury a body, or when they doubted someone's descent, they would take the person to Hubal with a hundred dirhams and a sacrificial animal and would cast the arrows of Hubal and thus know what their conduct should be.⁸⁹ That circumcision was common among the Arabs since pre-Islamic times is a well-established fact.⁹⁰ Muslim tradition, like the Jewish one, connects it with Abraham who was the first to be circumcised.⁹¹ The link between circumcision in Arabia and Abraham dates back to the pre-Islamic times. This link was already known to Josephus Flavius who says in his *Antiquities* that the Arabs "circumcise after the thirteenth year, because Ishmael, the founder of their nation, who was born to Abraham of the concubine, was circumcised at that age..."⁹²

The ritual of casting arrows in front of Hubal was in itself Abrahamic. The image of Abraham holding these arrows was actually painted inside the Ka'ba, and when Mecca was conquered by the Muslims, Muḥammad ordered it to be erased.⁹³

The Ka'ba was the site where the offering of Abraham's son was believed to have taken place. This is indicated, to begin with, in the reports about an ancient, dried up, pair of horns of the ram (*kabsh*) which Abraham had allegedly hung on the spout of the Ka'ba till the days of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr when they disintegrated.⁹⁴ A similar pair of horns, claimed to be of the same significance, was hung in the Dome of the Rock since the days of 'Abd al-Malik, which reflects, of course, the view locating the Abrahamic sanctuary in Jerusalem. The 'Abbāsids, however, are said to have transferred these horns to the Ka'ba.⁹⁵ That the motive of the offering of Abraham's son was well-known already

89 Ibn Hishām, I, 160-161. See also Azraqī, 73; 'Adawī, 41^a.

90 E.g., Wellhausen, *Reste*, 174 ff.

91 E.g., Ibn Sa'd, I, 47, 51; 'Abd al-Razzāq, XI, 175. Cf. also *Fath al-bārī*, XI, 74 ff.; Bukhārī, VIII, 81; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 114 ff.; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, I, 416.

92 Flavius, *Antiquities of the Jews*, book I, chap. XII/2.

93 Ibn Hisham, IV, 55; Azraqī, III, 113; Wāqidī, II, 834.

94 E.g., Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, I, 189, 194; idem, *Tafsīr*, XXIII, 53; 'Adawī, 60^b; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, 284; *Qīṣaṣ*, 80, 82; Rubin, "Ka'ba", note 142.

95 Wāsiṭī, 75-76; *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣā'*, I, 225, 244; *Uns*, I, 275.

Ḥanīfiyya and Ka'ba

105

in pre-*hijra* Mecca is indicated by the fact that it occurs in a Meccan sūra (XXXVII/102-111). It is also dealt with in poetic verses of Umayya b. Abī l-Šalt, which appear to be entirely independent of the Quran.⁹⁶ Muslim tradition is not unanimous concerning the exact place of the sacrifice. One tradition states that Abraham slaughtered the ram "at the *Maqām*",⁹⁷ but most traditions locate the whole scene in Minā, the most notable Arabian slaughter area near Mecca, where sacrificial rites were performed on each pilgrimage since pre-Islamic times.⁹⁸ As is to be expected, another set of traditions locates this crucial Abrahamic episode in *Bayt al-Maqdis*.⁹⁹

96 Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, I, 195; *Qīṣaṣ*, 83.

97 Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXIII, 55.

98 Some traditions mention specific sites at Minā, e.g., Mount Thabīr, the *Jamarāt*, etc. For these traditions see the commentaries on Quran XXXVII/107, and especially Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXIII, 51 ff.; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, 280 ff. See also Fākihī, 515^b; Azraqī, 401; *Qirā*, 540, 665 (where Masjīd al-Kabsh in Minā is mentioned). The prophet is said to have slaughtered in Minā in the slaughter place of Abraham. See *Qirā*, 448. Some of the traditions do not specify the name of Abraham's son, whereas others say it was Isaac, in contrast to traditions naming Ishmael. For traditions naming Isaac see also Zurqānī, I, 98; Azraqī, 401; Khargūshī, Brit. Lib. 192^a; *Qirā*, 448. For traditions naming Ishmael see also *Mustadrak*, II, 556; *Qīṣaṣ*, 82, 83; Khargūshī, Brit. Lib. 74^a. The view identifying Abraham's son with Ishmael was the origin of Muḥammad's epithet: *Ibn al-Dhabīḥayni* (son of the two offered persons, namely Ishmael and 'Abdallāh). See e.g., Khargūshī, Brit. Lib. 74^a; idem, Tübingen, 70^a; 'Ajlūnī, *Kashf*, I, 199; Ḥalabī, I, 37; Zurqānī, I, 97-98; Rāzī, XXVI, 153; *Mustadrak*, II, 554; *Qīṣaṣ*, 81; *Uns*, 41; Suyūṭī, *Khaṣā'is*, I, 112-113.

99 E.g., Muqātil, II, 112^b; Rāzī, XXVI, 155. Cf. Zurqānī, I, 98. Partisans of this view would, of course, name Isaac as the offered son, claiming that he was never in Arabia. For the discussion of these matters see Rāzī, XXVI, 153; Zurqānī, I, 98; *Mustadrak*, II, 555; *Uns*, I, 41.

The pre-Islamic Abrahamic sacredness of the Ka'ba is clearly demonstrated in the belief that Abraham's footprints could be seen on one of its sacred stones. This belief is reflected in the very early verses attributed to Abū Ṭālib in which numerous pre-Islamic places of worship are described in a manner which is totally independent of the phraseology of later Islamic sources. The verse referring to Abraham's footprints reads:¹⁰⁰

wa-mawṣī'i Ibrāhīma fī l-ṣakhri raṭbatun /
'alā qadamayhi ḥāfiyan ghayra nā'ilī

By Abraham's footprint in the rock still fresh /
with both feet bare, without sandals

Later on, Muslim tradition applied to the stone bearing Abraham's footprints the Quranic epithet "*Maqām Ibrāhīm*".¹⁰¹

Even the view that the *ḥaram*, i.e., the sacred territory of Mecca, was founded by Abraham may be regarded as pre-Islamic in origin. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (d. 245H/859) has recorded in his *Munammaq* a remarkable report saying that Quraysh once asked Thaḳīf to become their partners in the Meccan *ḥaram*, in return for equal partnership of Quraysh in the territory of Wajj which was owned by Thaḳīf. Thaḳīf refused saying: "How can you be partners in a land in which our father settled, and dug it out of the rocks with his bare hands, without iron tools. And you have not founded the *ḥaram* by yourselves. It was Abraham who founded it."¹⁰² In other words, Thaḳīf maintained that Quraysh had no right to make transactions with the Meccan land due to its Abrahamic sacredness. Later on, Muḥammad established the *ḥaram* of Medina on the model of the Abrahamic *ḥaram* of Mecca.¹⁰³

100 Ibn Hishām, I, 292. Tr. Guillaume, 123.

101 For the Islamic legends explaining the circumstances of these footprints see *Et*², s.v. "Maqām Ibrāhīm" (M.J. Kister).

102 *Munammaq*, 280: ...*kayfa nushrikukum fī wādin nazalahu abūnā wa-ḥafarahu bi-yadayhi fī l-ṣakhri lam yaḥfirhu bi-l-ḥadīd_wa-antum lam taḥalū l-ḥarama innamā ja'alahu Ibrāhīm_*

103 E.g., Wāqidī, I, 22, before Badr.

Hanīfiyya and Ka'ba

107

The pre-Islamic sacred position of Quraysh as *ahlu llāh* (above, note 63) was also based on Abrahamic elements. Some early verses ascribed to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib deal with the divine protection under which Mecca, the Ka'ba and Quraysh were put. One of these verses reads:¹⁰⁴

nahnu ahlu llāhi fī baldatihī /
lam yazal dhāka 'alā 'ahdi [A]braham
 We are the people of Allāh in His town /
 this has always been according to Abraham's covenant.

Generally speaking, the pre-Islamic Arabs seem to have been well aware of their genealogical descent from Abraham and Ishmael, and, in fact, the authority of Quraysh among the rest of the Arab tribes was based on this descent. Ibn Ḥabīb, for instance, reports that the people of Muḍar used to say: "Quraysh carried out for us the obligation of the *dīn* which Ishmael bequeathed us" (*qaḍar 'annā Quraysh madhammata mā awrathanā Ismā'il mina l-dīn*).¹⁰⁵ Similarly, Ibn Ishāq reports that the Arabs recognized that Quraysh were their leaders and that they were the noblest descendants of Ishmael (*ṣarīḥ wuld Ismā'il*).¹⁰⁶ The immediate motivation for the circulation of such reports may have been the apologetic wish to stress the *faḍā'il* of Quraysh, but it may again be stressed that even *faḍā'il* material does not have to consist only of lies. In view of the rest of the material adduced in this paper there does not seem to be any serious reason for doubting the authenticity of the reports about the pre-Islamic Abrahamic sacredness of the Ka'ba and Quraysh.

4. The origin of the idea of the "House of Abraham"

The view that the Ka'ba was the sacred "House of Abraham" is indeed very early. Its origins may be traced back to the *Book of*

104 Ya'qūbī, I, 253. See also Azraqī, 96; Fākihī, 416'; 'Adawī, 52'. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 69.

105 *Muḥabbar*, 264; Kister, "Mecca and Tamīm", 128.

106 Ibn Hishām, IV, 205.

Jubilees.¹⁰⁷ In chapter XXII Abraham addresses Jacob (!) saying (verse 24 ff): "This house have I built for myself that I might put my name upon it on the earth; it is given to thee and to thy seed for ever, and it will be named the house of Abraham; it is given to thee and to thy seed for ever; for thou wilt build my house and establish my name before God forever..." It seems that in this passage Jacob is actually ordered to build an eternal sanctuary named "the House of Abraham."¹⁰⁸ In chapter XXXII Jacob actually sets out to accomplish this task. The place he chooses is Beth El. He plans to build this place and to surround it with a wall and make it an eternal sanctuary for himself and for his seed. But that night he has a vision. An angel shows him seven tablets on which is written the history of all generations to come. The angel says to him (verse 22): "...do not build this place, and do not make it an eternal sanctuary, and do not dwell here, for this is not the place..."¹⁰⁹ In this passage it is stressed that Beth El was not destined to be the place for the eternal Abrahamic sanctuary, but the right place is not specified. The appropriate place for it, according to the prevalent Jewish concept, was on Mount Moriah in Jerusalem, where Solomon built the Temple (2 Ch, III/1). This place was said to have been the site of the sacrifice of Isaac (Gen. XXII/1). The messianic idea of the building of the "House of Abraham" as formulated in *Jubilees* could easily have been known in pre-Islamic Arabia through the Abyssinian Christians for whom

107 R.H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, London 1917. Some of the relevant passages in *Jubilees* were already noticed by S.D. Goitein. See his *Ha-islām shel Muḥammad*, Jerusalem, 1966 (in Hebrew), pp. 166-167.

108 Charles, op. cit., 126 note 3, remarks that "House" throughout this passage means "family"; but the general context implies that the passage deals with the actual building of a sanctuary. And see also Goitein, loc. cit.

109 The Hebrew translation by Hartom (Tel Aviv, 1969) reads: ואל תשב... במקום הזה, כי לא יהיה המקום הזה לך לבית אברהם אביך... "Do not dwell in this place; for this place will not be for you the House of Abraham your father." This seems most plausible, but the Ethiopic version as translated by Charles reads: "...and do not dwell here; for this is not the place. Go to the house of Abraham thy father..." This seems to imply לך לבית אברהם instead of Hartom's לבית אברהם.

this book was sacred. Thus the Arabian monotheistic adherents of "*dīn Ibrāhīm*" in the vicinity of Mecca and Medina could quite naturally locate their own "House of Abraham" in the most notable sanctuary of the area, the Ka'ba.

This location was also shared by some Jews. 'Abdallah b. Salām, a well known Jew of Medina, (Qaynuqā')¹¹⁰ belonged to those monotheistic groups who finally embraced Islam. He seems to have been closer to the *hanīfs* than to the majority of the Jews in this, that he regarded the Ka'ba as the House of Abraham. This is indicated in the following tradition which says that 'Abdallāh b. Salām once told the Jewish leaders of Medina: "I wish to visit the mosque of *our father Abraham*." Thereupon he went to Mecca where he happened to meet Muḥammad by whom he was deeply impressed.¹¹¹ But for the majority of the Jews of Arabia, the "House of Abraham" was not in Mecca. When Muḥammad diverted his *qibla* from Jerusalem to Mecca, the leaders of the Medinan Jews reportedly told him that if he claimed to be an adherent of *dīn Ibrāhīm* he must return to the former *qibla*.¹¹² This means that for those Jews the *qibla* of the true religion of Abraham was Jerusalem.¹¹³

110 See about him *Iṣāba*, IV, 118 ff.

111 Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, 410. See also Rubin, "Ṣamad", 208. For other traditions in which some Arabian Jews refer to the Ka'ba as the House of their father Abraham see Ibn Hishām, I, 25 (Jews of Medina addressing the Tubba'). Some other Jews who collaborated with Abū 'Āmir took part in a ritual ceremony in which they entered under the clothes of the Ka'ba pressing their bodies against its walls (see p. 94 above). Christians as well may have venerated the Ka'ba, towards which some of them reportedly used to pray. See Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 143: *...ṣallat al-naṣārā naḥwa l-Ka'ba ḥawlayni qabla quḍūmi l-nabī (ṣ)*.

112 Ibn Hishām, II, 199. See also Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 142.

113 And see *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣā'*, I, 181: *...li-annahum kānū yaz'umūna qiblat Ibrāhīm kānat Bayt al-Maqdis*.

110

Uri Rubin

ABBREVIATIONS

- 'Abd al-Razzāq - 'Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaḥ*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A'zamī, Beirut 1970.
- Abū l-Baqā' - Abū l-Baqā' Hibatu llāh, *al-Manāqib al-mazyadjiyya fī akhbār al-mulūk al-asadiyya*, provisional edition by M. J. Kister, Jerusalem 1969.
- 'Adawī - Abū l-Baqā' Muḥammad Bahā' al-Dīn al-'Adawī, *Aḥwāl Makka wa-l-Madīna*, MS, Brit. Lib., Or. 11865.
- Aghānī - Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, Cairo 1285H/1868, repr. Beirut 1970.
- 'Ajlūnī, *Kashf* - Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-'Ajlūnī, *Kashf al-Khafā' wa-muzīl al-ilbās*, Beirut, 1351H/1932.
- Azraqī - al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka*, in F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, repr. Beirut n.d.
- Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I - al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, Vol. I, ed. M. Hamidullah, Cairo 1959.
- Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il* - al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad 'Uthmān, Cairo 1969.
- Bidāya* - Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, repr. Beirut 1974.
- Buhl-Schaeder - F. Bull, *Das Leben Muhammeds* tr. by H. Schaeder, Heidelberg, 1961.
- Bukhārī - al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1958.
- Fākihī - al-Fākihī, *Tārīkh Makka*, MS Leiden, Or. 463.
- Fatḥ al-bārī* - Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Fatḥ al-bārī sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Būlāq, 1310H/1883, repr. Beirut n.d.
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- Guillaume - A. Guillaume, *The life of Muhammad*, Oxford 1955.
- Hagarism* - P. Crone, M. Cook, *Hagarism*, Cambridge 1977.
- Ḥalabī - al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, Cairo 1320H/1902 repr. Beirut n.d.
- Ibn Hishām - Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. al-Saqqā, al-Abyārī, Shalabī (I-IV), repr. Beirut 1971.
- Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* - Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif*, ed. al-Ṣāwī, repr. Beirut 1970.
- Ibn Sa'd - Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Beirut 1960.
- Iṣāba* - Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamayiz al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. al-Bijāwī, Cairo 1971.
- Istī'āb* - Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb fī ma'rifat al-aṣḥāb*, ed. al-Bijāwī, Cairo n.d.
- Ithāf al-akhiṣṣā'* - al-Munāhijī al-Suyūṭī, *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣā' bi-faḍā'il al-masjid al-aqṣā*, ed. A.R. Aḥmad, Cairo 1982.

Hanīfiyya and Ka'ba

111

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- Khargūshī, Brit. Lib. - al-Khargūshī, *sharaf al-nabī*, MS Brit. Lib., Or. 3014.
- , Tübingen - al-Khargūshī, *Sharaf al-nabī*, MS Tübingen, M.a. VI 12.
- Kister, "A bag of meat" - M.J. Kister, "A bag of meat", *BSOAS*, XXXIII, 1970, 267-275.
- , "Mecca and Tamīm" - M.J. Kister, "Mecca and Tamīm", *JESHO*, III, 1965, 113-162.
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- Munammaq - Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq fī akhbār Quraysh*, Hyderabad, 1964.
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- Muslim - Muslim, *Ṣaḥīh*, Cairo 1334H/1915.
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- Qirā - Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *al-Qirā li-qāsid Umm al-Qurā*, ed. M. al-Saqqā, Cairo 1970.
- Qīṣaṣ - al-Tha'labī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, repr. Beirut n.d.
- Rāzī - al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, Cairo, n.d., repr. Tehran, n.d.
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- , "Ṣamad" - U. Rubin, "al-Ṣamad and the High God", *Der Islam*, LXI 1984, 197-217.
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- , *Khaṣā'is* - al-Suyūṭī, *al-Khaṣā'is al-kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad Khalīl Harās, Cairo 1967.
- Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* - al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qurān*, Būlāq, 1323H/1905, repr. Beirut 1972.
- , *Tārīkh* - al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa-l-mulūk*, Cairo 1939.
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- 'Uyūn al-athar - Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *'Uyūn al-athar*, repr. Beirut n.d.
- Wansbrough, *Milieu* - J. Wansbrough, *The sectarian milieu*, Oxford, 1978.
- Wāqidī - al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, ed. J.M.B. Jones, London 1966.

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PRE-ISLAMIC MONOTHEISM IN ARABIA

Hamilton A.R. Gibb

THE search for the presumed "sources" of Muḥammad's religious ideas, as these are expressed in the Qur'an, has inspired a considerable range of studies, varying in tone from tentative to polemical. Most writers on the topic seek to demonstrate either a predominantly Jewish or a predominantly Christian "influence." It is relatively easy, of course, to compile a catena of passages from the Qur'an which can be paralleled by Scriptural texts or by haggadic or apocryphal materials or compared with the practices of Jewish or Christian communities. The argument tends to become inconclusive on the whole; Jewish scholars who argue for a Jewish source or sources are apt to forget that the Old Testament was as much a part of Christian as of Jewish Scripture and that even haggadic supplements had long since been taken up into Christian writings; Christian scholars who argue for a Christian source or sources are somewhat embarrassed by Muḥammad's decisive rejection of Christological doctrine; and each side can produce valid arguments against the other.

Muslim doctrine, for its part, has never denied a relationship of Islam with Judaism and Christianity and their community of origin (and, to a certain extent, of historical tradition), but explicitly rejects any "influence" from either side on the Qur'an, declaring it to be the verbally inspired Word of God, directly communicated to the Prophet by angelic mediation. Parallels and deviations from the earlier Scriptures therefore need no explanation. For myself, I unhesitatingly accept the term 'Revelation' (in Arabic *tanzīl*, "sending down" or *wahy*, "inner communication") as the description of Muḥammad's personal experience, although Islam, like the other monotheistic religions, is faced with the necessity of reinterpreting the no longer tenable mediaeval concepts of 'revelation.'

Even on the basis of the orthodox Muslim view, however, there is still room for an investigation of the 'prehistory' of Islam in the Arabian peninsula. If the teaching of the Qur'an was to be

understood by its first hearers, as is rightly assumed by Muslim scholarship, there must have been not only in existence, but widely enough known in Mecca, an Arabic religious vocabulary applicable to the monotheistic content of the Qur'an. Since this vocabulary, by its use in the Qur'an, was merged into the common stock of classical Arabic, the problem that it sets was obscured for the Muslim scholars, even when they recognized that a number of Qur'anic terms were of non-Arabic origin. The term *Qur'an* itself is a case in point. Whether or not *qara'a* already existed in Arabic in the sense of 'to read,' the technical sense of *Qur'an* in its primitive use as "liturgical recitation" clearly betrays an external source, somehow related to the Syriac *qeryāna*.¹ It is self-evident that these elements of technical religious vocabulary could have come only from the language of the surrounding monotheistic communities; it is not surprising therefore that on examination they prove to be almost wholly of Syriac/Aramaic origin (including terms of Greek or Persian origin adopted into Syriac), although a considerable proportion appear to have entered the Qur'anic vocabulary indirectly through Ethiopic/South Arabian channels. Equally significant is the observation that a number of these terms were already Arabized, or correlated with Arabic semantics. *Injīl*, 'gospel,' *Mūsā*, 'Moses,' and *Īsā*, 'Jesus' are examples of the first; *tazakkā*, 'purify oneself (by giving alms)' and the terms associated with *baraka* 'blessing' are examples of the second. Since the original languages were cognate to classical North-Arabian and had parallel roots in Arabic, there is, of course, every excuse for the Arabic philologists in failing to recognize many of them as loanwords with a special technical sense.

Although a number of these loanwords are common to Christian Syriac and Jewish Aramaic, detailed comparative study may help to determine the Christian or Jewish coloring of their source in Arabic — *not* of their use in the Qur'an. (Only in the early Medinian suras of the Qur'an is there evidence of direct adoption of *Hebrew* terms in certain special contexts.) It is a far cry from

¹ Cf. A. Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an* (Baroda, 1938), 233-234, and the Introduction to the same work, pp. 2-12, for the argument among Muslim scholars for and against the presence of foreign terms in the Qur'an.

PRE-ISLAMIC MONOTHEISM IN ARABIA

271

this, however, to infer that pre-Islamic monotheism in Arabia was directly connected with the institutionally organized Jewish or Christian communities. Such communities certainly existed in Arabia, but there is considerable evidence both from Muslim texts and from external sources that other monotheistic groups were to be found in Arabia, independently of the organized churches and hence 'heretical' in their eyes. Such groups may have been offshoots not only of Christianity, but also of Judaism, or Judaeo-Christian.² The relation of Islam to the official Jewish and Christian churches and doctrines via these deviant groups is thus to some extent parallel to that between the early Christian church and orthodox Judaism. The 'prehistory' of Christianity has now been almost miraculously illuminated by the discovery of the Essene documents, which demonstrate that several of the structural elements and rituals in Christianity were related, either by adoption or by rejection or reinterpretation, to those of the Dead Sea community. It is improbable that the 'prehistory' of Islam in Arabia will ever be revealed in such detail, and the evidences are reduced to the fragments preserved in the Islamic tradition and the Qur'an itself. The much-disputed problem of identifying those whom the Islamic tradition calls *hanīfs* displays at once the fact of the existence of such groups and the slender nature of the evidence for their character. Furthermore, there are many details in the Qur'an which relate evidently to a prophetic tradition that is purely Arabian, even while it links on to the Jewish and Christian traditions. In these circumstances, it is absurd to postulate, even as a hypothesis, a "Jewish foundation" for Islam; the phrase "Christian environment" has the merit of being at least less assertive, and leaves room for an intermediate group or groups.

While the existence of a group or groups representing a local monotheistic tradition can be regarded as historically certain, it

² There are numerous discussions of the possible rôle of such sects as the Collyridians and Docetists in pre-Islamic Arabia. The Elxaites (Elchasaites) and Mandaeans have also been brought under contribution, and Dr. Chaim Rabin, in his *Qumran Studies* (Oxford U.P., 1957, pp. 112-130) has argued that the Qur'an may provide evidence for the existence of a non-Rabbinic Jewish sect in Arabia. Dr. Edward Ullendorff has produced suggestive evidence that Christianity in South Arabia and Ethiopia was built upon a foundation of Judaic elements established in South Arabia in the early post-Christian centuries (*Journal of Semitic Studies*, I [Manchester, 1956], 216-236).

has sometimes been argued that none of them had gained much of a hearing in Mecca. According to this view, Muḥammad's preaching would in effect have confronted the Meccans with a body of new ideas that they found hard to accept. There are solid reasons to reject this assumption, as will be seen presently. In what follows, however, no attempt will be made to comb through the Qur'an to discover all the allusions to, or assumptions of pre-Islamic monotheistic elements. In many instances the facts can be established only by lengthy examination of related passages and argument based upon them.³ The passage now to be discussed is one that has received surprisingly little attention — surprisingly, because it is the passage in which the existence of pre-Islamic monotheism is most openly acknowledged and its character most clearly and fully presented. This passage is a self-contained section at the end of Sūra LIII (vv. 33–54), and is clearly to be dated in the early Meccan period of Muḥammad's mission.

33. What thinkest thou of him who turned his back
34. having given little and then run dry?
35. Does he possess knowledge of the Unseen, such that he knows of his own observation?
36. Has he not been told of what is in the Tablets of Moses
37. and of Abraham, who kept faith?
38. That no burdened soul shall bear the burden of another,
39. And that man has nothing to his credit save what he has striven for,
40. And that [the object of] his striving shall surely come to light,
41. And thereafter he shall be recompensed for it with most faithful recompense;
42. And that to thy Lord is the final end,
43. And that it is He who has given laughter and weeping,
44. And that it is He who has given life and given death,
45. And that it is He who has created the two sexes, the male and the female,
46. from a drop of seed when it is passed into the womb;

³ See especially the studies of Rev. T. O'Shaughnessy, S.J.: *The Koranic Concept of the Word of God* (Rome, 1948), *The Development of the meaning of Spirit in the Koran* (Rome, 1953), and 'The Seven Names for Hell in the Qur'an' in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental & African Studies* XXIV (London, 1961), pp. 444–469.

PRE-ISLAMIC MONOTHEISM IN ARABIA

273

47. And that with Him rests [the determination of] the latter creation,
48. And that it is He who has given wealth and possessions,
49. And that it is He [and none other] who is the lord of Sirius,
50. And that it is He who brought destruction from the former 'Ād
51. and upon Thamūd and spared not,
52. and upon the tribesmen of Noah before [them] — truly these were yet more impious and more rebellious,
53. And [that it is He who] overthrew the Overturned Cities
54. and overwhelmed them with His overwhelming.
55. Which therefore of the bounties of thy Lord wilt thou dispute?
56. This is a warning, one of the former warnings.

Verses 33–36 set the situation of the passage with unmistakable clarity and precision. Muḥammad turns on a Meccan opponent, and pointedly asks if he does not know “what is in the Scriptures of Moses.” The obvious inference is that the “Scriptures of Moses” were so familiar in Mecca that one could scarcely imagine any Meccan being ignorant of them. So far from presenting a body of completely new ideas, therefore, the Qur’anic Revelation was (in its early stages) basically dramatizing and expanding certain well-known religious teachings. But of course Muḥammad was not preaching to the converted; the assumption from the context, supported by the known general course of events, is that the Meccans in general were rather cold, even contemptuous, towards these religious ideas, and their first attitude was probably one of surprise that one of their own people should take them so seriously and profoundly. The opposition is not yet active, but passive, “turning their backs.”

In reply to this attitude of disregard, the evident object of the passage is to demonstrate the identity of Muḥammad’s preaching with the content of previous revelations, and it proceeds to summarize briefly the positive content of these revelations. The description “tablets of Moses” is evidently a recognized term, and ‘tablets’ (*ṣuḥuf*) unmistakably implies written documents. But there is no indication that Muḥammad had read or seen these documents, or derived his revelations from them; the following series of quotations implies only the existence of an oral teaching. But why were they called the “Tablets of Moses”? It is per-

fectly clear that the following verses are not quoted from the Torah; and it might be supposed that there is some vague reminiscence of the "tables of Moses" containing the Ten Commandments, or of the Mosaic Law as a whole. Primarily, however, the significance of the phrase must be related to the concept of Revelation, Moses being for both Jews and Christians the grand exemplar of the inspired prophet. That the reference is not a precise allusion to the Torah is further indicated by the addition of "and of Abraham," which also conveys (since 'tables' or 'tablets' of Abraham is neither a Jewish nor a Christian phrase) a first suggestion of a deviant tradition.⁴ Although Abraham is frequently mentioned in later passages of the Qur'an, the actual phrase for "who remained faithful" (*alladhī waffā*) does not recur, and I shall return to it later.

The maxim in verse 38, "No burdened soul shall bear the burden of another," while reflecting a general scriptural theme, is not found in the Torah. The closest parallel is in St. Paul's Epistles (Galatians vi, 5), "For every man shall bear his own burden." So also the maxim in verses 39 and 41 reflects another passage from St. Paul (I Corinthians iii, 8), "Every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labor." Verse 40 has no recognizable scriptural parallels and recalls rather a verse from the poet Zuhair.⁵

The maxim in verse 42, "To thy Lord is the final end" is again scriptural but with no precise parallel. A phrase which occurs in a parallel early Medinian summary (LVII, 3), however, "He is the First and the Last," suggests that it rests upon a popular interpretation of "Alpha and Omega," "the beginning and the end," in Revelation xxi, 6.

"He it is who has given laughter and weeping" (verse 43) again has no precise biblical parallel. From the exposition of the Muslim commentators it appears to be an argument for the special creation of man, on the ground that man is the only creature with these capacities, and presumably therefore reflects a monotheistic argument against the pagans.

⁴ It may possibly contain an allusion to the apocryphal *Apocalypse of Abraham*, which seems to have circulated more widely in Christian than in Jewish circles.

⁵ *Mu'allaqa*, v. 58: "Whatever a man possesses of inward nature, though he think it hidden from men, shall surely be made known."

PRE-ISLAMIC MONOTHEISM IN ARABIA

275

The maxim in verse 44, "He it is who has given life and death" is obviously another argument of the same kind, of more general reference, and common scriptural ground. The closest verbal parallel is to be found in the Song of Hannah (I Samuel ii, 6) *YHWH memith um'hayyeh*; but it seems surprising, if this is the text referred to, that the second half of the same verse, "He bringeth down to the grave (Sheol) and bringeth up," should not be included in the quotation when it is so aptly applicable to a doctrine of resurrection.

Verses 45-46 go back to Genesis i, 27: "Male and female created He them," with a rider evidently designed to counter sophisticated Arab scepticism, which probably accounts for the frequent reiteration of the same idea in the Qur'an. Nevertheless, the orthodox Muslim interpretation goes even further, and rejects any suggestion of an automatic process of fertilization by giving to "passed into the womb" (*tumnā*) the rare (and philologically dubious) meaning of 'decreed' or 'potentialized.'

Verse 47: "With Him lies the latter creation" (or "coming into existence"), i.e., the resurrection, is remarkable for the peculiar phrase employed: *al-nash'at al-ukhrā*. The term is derived from *nasha'a*, 'rise up,' and is a literal Arabic rendering of *anástasis*.

Verse 48: "He it is who has given wealth and possessions," i.e., by endowing men with possessions or the means of wealth, although again reflecting a general theme, differs from the biblical parallels that more immediately come to mind (in the Song of Hannah, I Samuel ii, 7: "The Lord maketh poor and maketh rich," and its development in the Magnificat, Luke i, 52-53) by omitting the alternative. The closest text is that in Ecclesiastes v, 19: "Every man to whom God hath given riches and wealth, and hath given him power to eat thereof . . . this is the gift of God."

With verse 49 there is introduced a short group of verses that present extra-biblical arguments. In the first, "It is He who is the lord of Sirius," the argument is directed against some form of star-worship. But no evidence has yet been found either for the significance of Sirius in the ancient star-cults of Southern Arabia, or for the existence of a contemporary star-worshipping commu-

nity in Arabia. The early Islamic tradition is equally at a loss and produces what are no more than guesses, such as that Sirius was worshipped by the tribe of Ṭayy, in the Syrian desert, or by some ancestor of Muḥammad himself. It is also no more than a guess that behind this, as behind one or two other passing allusions in the early Meccan sūras, there may be dimly discerned some obscure Gnostic teaching.

Verses 50 and 51, on the other hand, are amply illustrated not only by other Qur'anic passages but also by extra-Qur'anic references. They represent the most obvious native Arabian supplement to the "Tablets of Moses," and it is clear from surviving references in pre-Islamic poetry that the disappearance or destruction of 'Ād was a popular theme of moralistic reflection. This popularity had one peculiar consequence, which can, however, be paralleled by numerous instances in popular religious tradition in the Near East.⁶ 'Ād was historically a tribe on the borders of Midian and southern Transjordan, where the ruins of the temple, Iram, with which its name was associated still exist.⁷ Already before the rise of Islam, however, the tradition of its destruction had been transferred to the great sands of southern Arabia, and the grave of the monotheistic prophet Hūd associated with it in the Arabian tradition is still commonly located in Hadhramaut.

The history of Thamūd is relatively well attested. The tribe had been established for about a thousand years in the northern Hijaz, in the region of El-'Elā and Madā'in Sālih, where large numbers of their inscriptions and rock tombs have been found. The disappearance of what had been a powerful tribe about the fifth century A.D. (probably under the pressure of nomadic expansion) became an impressive symbol of impermanence, frequently cited by the old poets who lived within the ambiance of the monotheistic Arab communities in the North.

Verse 52 returns to biblical materials of a related character. The story of Noah was evidently as popular a theme with the itinerant preachers in Arabia as with our own mediaeval preach-

⁶ Cf. for example, my translation of the *Travels of Ibn Battūtā*, vol. I (1958), p. 85, notes 68, 69, 72, and p. 143, n. 286, for parallel transpositions.

⁷ See *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 73 (Feb., 1939), pp. 13-15.

PRE-ISLAMIC MONOTHEISM IN ARABIA

277

ers and church decorators, and was no doubt embellished with the sensational detail at which the Qur'anic trailer merely hints. This is followed in verses 53-54 by the other ever-popular theme of Sodom and Gomorrah. There is, however, a significant linguistic detail in the term translated by "Overturned Cities." Its origin is the Hebrew *mahpēka*, but it has passed through Aramaic/Syriac to a naturalized Arabic form *mu'tafīka*. The term in itself has no such meaning in Arabic, nor can it be attached to the Arabic root. It can therefore have been understood only if it was already current in Arabic (and Meccan) usage.

Verse 54 presents in maxim form what appears to have been a traditional phrase for the conclusion of a monotheistic argument, and reflects the dialect of South-western Arabia. It reappears in the Qur'an in a rather remarkable *sūra*, *Sūra LV*, as a drum-beat refrain punctuating an elaborately constructed argument.

Verse 55 sums up the passage by restating in more general form the argument of verse 36 and the implication that Muḥammad's preaching is identical with the content of previous revelations. The term "warning," *nadhīr* (which may also mean "warner"), adds, however, a further small detail in the implication that the content here reproduced is that of missionary homilies, presumably of itinerant preachers.

From the angle of content, one remarkable feature of the discourse is the absence of any dogmatic slant. Its theme is the lordship of God, the personal responsibility of the created being, and God's reward and punishment. There would seem to be an almost deliberate avoidance of the distinctive confessional elements of either Judaism or Christianity, and an emphasis on the basic themes of a monotheistic faith divorced from both the rival creeds. How bitter that rivalry had been in South Arabia is known from historical data. Arab tradition connects these religious rivalries with the political designs of the surrounding imperial powers, but even had there been no political overtones there could well have been good reason for a native monotheistic movement in Arabia to seek an independent middle course. And such was in fact to become a cardinal element in Islam.⁸

⁸ *Sūra II*, v. 137/143: 'We have made of you a median Community' (*ummatan wustā*).

A second no less remarkable feature is the linguistic form of the discourse. It has already been argued that the religious vocabulary of the Qur'an presupposes the existence of a common fund of religious terms with a monotheistic reference. This passage suggests that the argument can now be carried further, to presume the existence of an established style of religious discourse. Like all early Qur'anic revelations it is rhymed throughout (in long ā) but not in metre; it is the kind of rhyming prose called *saj'* ("cooing"), and used in Arabia for oracular utterances, proverbial sayings and the like. One obvious advantage of this style is that it facilitated memorizing (a matter of capital importance in a non-literate society), and there are evident indications that much of the material used in public preaching was cast into a form which aimed precisely at this result. Thus a tradition, professedly reported on the authority of Muḥammad himself (al-Jāhiz, Bayān, I, 247), quotes a discourse by the preacher Quss b. Sā'ida at the fair of 'Ukāz: *man 'āsha māt, waman māta fāt, wa-kullu mā huwa ātin āt* ("Whoso lives will die, whoso dies will pass away, and everything that is to come will come"). The verbal authenticity of this and similar phrases attributed to him may perhaps be questioned, but the record at least indicates a reminiscence of the use of what we may call rhymed slogans in such discourses.

The earliest sections of the Qur'an also offer numerous examples of this linguistic style, usually in single verses within a wider or more general context. Together with this there appear fragments of conventional Arabic poetic technique in the Qur'anic descriptions of Paradise and Hell and narratives relating to former prophets, sometimes fitting easily into their context, sometimes in surprising contrast to it. Thus the destroyed tribes of 'Ād and Thamūd are described as "like the trunks of uprooted palmtrees" and "like the dry twigs gathered by the shepherd for his sheepfold" (LIV, 20, 31); and in the middle of the story of Noah we find, instead of the simple 'vessel,' "a thing of planks and nails" (LIV, 13). The traditional stories that circulated in Arabia certainly contained touches of this kind. But this fact does not in itself lay Muḥammad open to the charge of "borrowing." A preacher, if he is to be effective, must preach in terms which,

PRE-ISLAMIC MONOTHEISM IN ARABIA

279

on the one hand, are understood by his hearers, and on the other hand appeal to their emotions. So also the Revelation must, *in its early stages*, use familiar language and traditional imagery, until its hearers have become receptive to a fuller development of religious thought. That these early passages included materials recognized by the Meccans as related to poetry is evidenced by the charge (quoted and vigorously rebutted in the Qur'an) that Muḥammad was a poet. It was not long, however, before the Qur'an discarded both of these adaptations to traditional style, and moved on to its own original and inimitable linguistic technique as its range of both religious thought and vocabulary expanded.

In connection with this discussion of the early content and vocabulary of the Qur'an, it is pertinent to look briefly at the productions ascribed to the contemporary poet Umayya ibn Abi's-Salt. Umayya was a citizen of the neighboring town of Ṭā'if, and his collected *dīwān* contains a rather incongruous mixture of panegyrics addressed to a prominent Meccan citizen and of religious poems which are strikingly similar in subject, treatment, and vocabulary to the Qur'anic descriptions of Paradise and Hell and prophetic narratives. He was, however, an opponent of Muḥammad and died without embracing Islam. Critical opinion, among both Muslim and Western scholars, regards these religious poems as forgeries, probably composed in the first century of Islam. There can be little doubt that some of the pieces are unauthentic and post-Qur'anic. But to reject them all on the ground of similarities of subject and vocabulary to the Qur'an is an *a priori* and inadmissible judgment. It is difficult to see how such forgeries could have been circulated under his name if there had not been something of this kind to attach them to in his genuine production. The Qur'anic passage discussed in this study has shown clearly that warnings of the divine Judgment, pointed by narratives of former prophets and peoples, were central themes of Arabian monotheism. It has been noted that Umayya's narratives occasionally diverge from the Qur'anic narratives in small details, and one small but not unimportant example of parallels to the Qur'anic vocabulary,⁹ by the addition in his poem on

⁹ Ed. Schuithess (see the following note), poem XXIX, v. 9.

Abraham of "to a vow" (*binadhrin*) to the verb (*waffā*) which in verse 37 above is left undefined, indicates again a traditional phrase. The evidence supplied by Umayya's poetry therefore remains ambiguous pending further investigation.¹⁰ It may, however, be added that in spite of its monotheistic content the general tone of much of his verse is profoundly pessimistic, reflecting in this respect the dominant tendency of pre-Islamic poetry as a whole.

Finally, the whole passage quoted from Sūra LIII, taken in conjunction with parallel Qur'anic passages, brings out the immense difference between the Qur'an and such productions as those of Umayya ibn Abi's-Salt. This is the vibrant moral tone that permeates it. While the poems may echo the same moral lesson, there is nothing of the urgency and passion of the Qur'anic presentation. However vivid and sensuous Umayya's descriptions (of Paradise and Hell, for example) may have been, they do not seem to have had any marked effect upon his fellow-citizens of Ṭā'if, let alone the Meccans. Similar materials presumably circulated among other monotheistic circles and in other parts of Arabia, and of course take their place within the total content of the Qur'an. But what gave them their effect in their Qur'anic presentation was that they were linked up with the essential moral core of its teaching. The Qur'an is not content to talk about "burdened souls" in relation to a distant hereafter — this was the sort of thing to which men "turned their backs" — but drives home again and again, in glowing eloquence, what it means to be a "burdened soul" in *this* life, in relation to one's own actions and one's fellowmen. Then, and then only, were men ready to listen to what the Qur'an had to say about the Judgment, reward and punishment.

¹⁰ In addition to the introduction by Friedrich Schulthess to his edition of the diwan of Umayya (Beiträge zur Assyriologie, VIII, 8, Leipzig, 1911) there is a fuller discussion of the relation of his poetry to the Qur'an by Tör Andrae (French translation, *Les Origines de l'Islam et le Christianisme*, Paris, 1955, 55-63). While I wholly agree with the view that the poems ascribed to Umayya cannot be regarded as a source of Qur'anic materials or doctrine, Andrae's scepticism on the ground of the expansion of Qur'anic narratives in Umayya's poems does not appear to me wholly convincing. It is natural to suppose that the preachers often embellished their themes with luxuriant detail which finds no place in the corresponding Qur'anic passages (cf. the remarks on v. 52 above).

BELIEF IN A "HIGH GOD" IN PRE-ISLAMIC MECCA

W. Montgomery Watt

It has been recognized by various writers from Julius Wellhausen onwards that there is evidence in the Qur'ān that some persons in Mecca, while continuing to recognize the pagan deities and to worship them, regarded *Allāh* or God as creator of the world and a "high god" superior to the other deities. Wellhausen unfortunately linked his statements on this point with the hypothesis that *Allāh* was a kind of abstraction from local deities.¹ Wellhausen's hypothesis was rejected, but the evidence for belief in a "high god" has been more and more fully admitted as time went on, for example, by Frants Buhl,² Tor Andrae,³ Rudi Paret,⁴ Josef Henninger⁵ and Toshihiko Izutsu.⁶ The purpose of this paper is not to propound any fresh view on the question, but merely to show how extensive the Qur'ānic material is.

The first point to be made is that there are several passages where the pagans are described as acknowledging *Allāh* as creator of the heavens and the earth. Thus 29. 61-65 runs:

If you ask them who created the heavens and the earth, and made the sun and moon subservient, they will certainly say, *Allāh*. . . And if you ask them who sent down water from heaven and thereby revived the earth after its death, they will certainly say, *Allāh*. . . And when they sail on the ship they pray to *Allāh* as sole object of devotion, but when he has brought them safe to land they "associate" (*yushrikūn* - *sc.* others with him).

Similarly in 39. 38/9 it is said:

If you ask them who created the heavens and the earth, they will certainly say, *Allāh*. Say: Do you then consider that what you call on apart from God, those (female beings), are able, if God wills evil to me, to remove this evil, or, if he wills mercy for me, to hold back this mercy?

¹ *Reste arabischen Heidentums*² (Berlin, 1927), pp. 217-24.

² *Das Leben Muhammeds* (Leipzig, 1930), p. 94.

³ *Mohammed, the Man and his Faith*, tr. Menzel (New York, 1936), pp. 24-7.

⁴ *Mohammed und der Koran* (Stuttgart, 1957), pp. 15-17.

⁵ "La religion bédouine préislamique", in F. Gabrieli (ed.), *L'antica società beduina* (Rome, 1959), pp. 115-40, esp. pp. 133 f.

⁶ *God and Man in the Koran* (Tokyo, 1964), pp. 97-105.

BELIEF IN A "HIGH GOD" IN PRE-ISLAMIC MECCA

There are a number of other passages where similar questions are asked and a similar answer given. In one, 31. 25/4, there is no reference to other deities, but in others some such reference is implicit. Thus 43. 87 follows a verse which asserts that those they call on apart from God have no power of intercession. The passage 43. 9/8-15/14 concludes with a statement that those who have admitted various signs of God's power nevertheless (according to the usual interpretation) place some of God's servants on a level with him. In another passage, 23. 84/6-89/91, the opponents admit that the earth and what is in it belong to God, that he is the Lord of the seven heavens and the mighty throne, that the kingdom of all things is in his hand, and that he protects others whereas none protects against him. This last clause is almost certainly to be understood of pagan deities in the light of statements about the inability of these deities to avert the evil willed by God. (Incidentally this clause has frequently been misunderstood by European translators.)¹

A second point is that, even though God is acknowledged as creator, some men set up "peers" (*andād*) or "partners" (*shurakā*) for him. In 2. 21/19 f. men in general are called on to serve their Lord who created them and their predecessors, who placed the earth beneath them and the heaven above, who sent rain to give a provision of fruits; knowing this they are not to set up peers for God.² Later in the same sura (v. 165/0) it is stated that "some people take apart from God peers whom they love as they love God". Yet again it is said to unbelievers (40. 12): "when God alone is called on, you disbelieve; but if he is given partners (*in yushrak bi-hi*), you believe".

Other verses speak of the pagan deities acting as intermediaries between men and God, and in particular interceding with God on behalf of men. Thus, "those who take patrons (*awliyā*) apart from God" are described as saying "we serve them only that they may bring us near to God in intimacy" (39. 3/4). Another description of the pagans is that "they serve apart from God what neither harms nor benefits them, and they say, These are our intercessors (*shufa'ā*) with God" (10. 18/19). Again it is said of the sinners on the Day of Judgement that "among their partners (*shurakā*) they have no intercessors, and they believe no more in their partners" (30. 12/11). The phrase "their partners"

¹ For the correct rendering see Lane, *s.v.*; and also R. Paret's German translation.

² Cf. 41. 9/8. Other references to *andād*: 14. 30/35; 34. 33/32; 39. 8/11.

BELIEF IN A "HIGH GOD" IN PRE-ISLAMIC MECCA

here does not seem to imply that the deities were partners of their worshippers in any sense, but merely that the deities were those whom "they" alleged to be partners of God.¹ In the parable of the unbelieving town (36. 13/12-29/28) the man who exhorted his fellow-citizens to follow the messengers said: "Shall I take apart from him gods (*ālīha*) whose intercession, if the Merciful wills evil to me, will not avail me aught and will not deliver me?" (v. 23/22). In 43. 86 it is similarly emphasized that the pagan deities have no power of intercession.²

The prevalence of the idea that the pagan deities intercede with the high god on behalf of their worshippers confirms the truth of the story of the "satanic verses" (added after 53. 20), and also shows more clearly the nature of the temptation to which Muḥammad partially succumbed. The story is that after the verses "Have you considered al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā, and Manāt, the third, the other?", Satan inserted the words "these are the exalted *gharānīq*; their intercession is hoped for".³ The word *gharānīq*, often translated "swan" or "crane", is obscure; there is something to be said for the suggestion mentioned by Lane that they were Numidian cranes, reputed to fly very high, and so the epithet was appropriate to those who interceded with the supreme God. Whatever the precise interpretation of this word, it is clear that the temptation for Muḥammad was to acknowledge the pagan goddesses as capable of interceding with God, in accordance with the belief of many of his contemporaries. The Qur'ān sometimes speaks of the deities as angels and criticizes the pagans for giving them female names (53. 27/28). A verse just before this (53. 26) speaks of many angels whose intercession is of no avail. The occurrence of these ideas in close proximity to the passage into which the satanic verses were inserted gives strong support to the view that Muḥammad's temptation was to interpret *Allāh* as the high god already acknowledged by many in Mecca.

A curious verse (6. 136/7) about the actual practice of making offerings may be noted at this point:

They have assigned to God a portion from the grain and the cattle he has produced, and have said, "This is for God" – as they allege – "and this for our partners"; but what is for their partners does not reach God, whereas what is for God does reach their partners.

¹ Cf. al-Bayḍāwī, *ad. loc.*; elsewhere God speaks of "my partners" (e.g. 18. 52/50).

² Cf. also 6. 94.

³ Cf. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, p. 102; Nöldeke-Schwally, I, 100 n. 4.

BELIEF IN A "HIGH GOD" IN PRE-ISLAMIC MECCA

The exact interpretation of this verse is uncertain. The commentary of the Jalālayn suggests that God's portion went to the guests and the needy, whereas that for the pagan deities went to the *sadana*, the persons in charge of the shrine. This is not altogether convincing, since the giving of God's portion to the guests and the needy sounds like Islamic usage; but the difficulty may well have been that there was no specific shrine at which God's portion could be offered (though this in turn leads to difficulties about the Ka'ba).

The material examined so far presents a fairly consistent picture of a widespread belief in pagan deities accompanied by a belief – perhaps not so widespread – in *Allāh* as a high god. An important function of the lesser deities is to intercede with the high god on behalf of men. In this aspect they are sometimes regarded as angels. In contrast to all this material, however, there are some passages where men in great danger, though presumably pagans, do not call on their deities to intercede, but appeal directly to *Allāh*.

When evil touches the people, they call upon their Lord, coming back to him in penitence; then when he lets them experience a mercy from him, a party of them give partners to their Lord (30. 33/32; cf. 39. 8/11).

When they sail on the ship, they call on *Allāh* as sole object of devotion, but when he has brought them safe to land they give partners (*yushrikeūn* – *sc.* to him) (29. 65; already quoted).

The phrase here rendered "as sole object of devotion" is *mukbliṣīn la-hu d-dīn*, more literally "making the religion for him alone". In the context it seems to imply abandoning the pagan deities, at least for the moment. There are two other verses (10. 22/23; 31. 32/31) where this phrase occurs in connexion with prayers on a ship, although after the crisis is over the men are said to turn to evil actions, not to go back to the partner-gods. The former may be quoted for its description of a storm.

He it is who makes you travel by land and sea; and when you are on the ships, and the ships run before a favouring wind with the voyagers and these rejoice at it, a squally wind strikes the ships and waves come at the people from every quarter and they think it is all over with them; then they call on God as the sole object of devotion, "If you save us from this, we shall indeed be grateful"; but when he has saved them, see, they act unscrupulously and unjustly in the land.

Presumably this pursuit of their own ends by fair means or foul was characteristic of the pagans.

BELIEF IN A "HIGH GOD" IN PRE-ISLAMIC MECCA

It is possible that *Allāh* was specially invoked in storms because he was held to be in control of the sea. Whether this is so or not, however, there seems to be no doubt that in times of danger supplication was made to *Allāh* by men who normally recognized pagan deities. It further appears likely that the phrase *mukbliṣīn la-hu d-dīn*, which with variants occurs eleven times in the Qu'rān, is contrasting monotheism with belief in a high god rather than with an undifferentiated polytheism. The same is probably true of the nine instances of the phrase *'ibādi-nā l-mukblaṣīn* or *mukbliṣīn*, and the latter reading seems preferable.¹

Too much should not be made of the contrast between the direct appeal to the supreme God and the indirect approach to him through intermediaries. It is likely that there were several different shades of opinion among the pagans and the believers in a high god, so that the inconsistency on this point – if indeed there is one – may be authentic. What is to be emphasized is rather the extent to which there was some recognition among pagans of *Allāh* as a high god. This attitude may even have been more prevalent than strict polytheism, but our meagre sources make it impossible to be certain about this. We are justified, however, in holding that many verses are to be interpreted in terms of belief in a high god even when there has been no mention of partners in the verse or its context. An example of this would be the statement in 112. 4 that "match (*kufū*)" for him was there none".

Some other verses to be interpreted of belief in a high god are the following:

Those who gave partners said, "If *Allāh* had willed, we had not worshipped aught apart from him, neither we nor our fathers, nor had we made aught forbidden apart from him" (16. 35/37).

They swore by *Allāh* most solemnly, "*Allāh* will not raise up him who dies" (16. 38/40).

They swore by *Allāh* most solemnly, that if a warner came to them they would follow the guidance more than any other people; but when a warner came to them they only rejected the more (35. 42/40).

It is not clear how the view that belief in a high god was widespread affects the interpretation of the phrase "the Lord of this House" in Sūrat Quraysh (106. 3). The House is the Ka'ba, and the Qu'rān must be taken to imply that its Lord is God monotheistically conceived. The sura implies that the Lord has both provided for the Meccans and protected them; and these are

¹ Cf. al-Bayḍāwī on 12. 24.

BELIEF IN A "HIGH GOD" IN PRE-ISLAMIC MECCA

functions of God according to the Qur'ānic view. It would seem that Muḥammad's contemporaries must at the least have regarded the Ka'ba as a shrine of *Allāh*, the high god, even if other deities were worshipped there.¹ From this basis the Qur'ān went on to proclaim a strict monotheism.

It remains to look at some of the general conclusions to be drawn from all this Qur'ānic material. One salient point is that little remains of what had presumably once been a vigorous paganism. The pagan deities have ceased to be the natural forces they represented in pre-nomadic agricultural times. The peasant is aware of his dependence on the powers of life, but the nomad depends much more on himself and his human allies, though he knows that his plans are often overridden by inscrutable forces which he describes as Time or Fate (*dahr*, etc.). Thus for the nomad it was not incongruous that *Allāh* rather than the pagan deities should send rain and supply man with his *rizq* or provision. The Qur'ān implies that the chief function left to the pagan deities is that of intercession with the high god; and this may well have corresponded with the practice of their worshippers. The cases of direct appeal to *Allāh* in moments of danger are further evidence of the powerlessness of the pagan deities. On the other hand, by frequently mentioning numerous signs of *Allāh*'s power the Qur'ān gives a richer content to that power of creating which the pagans acknowledged.

The lack of power and function thus exhibited in the pagan deities fits in well with the view expressed in *Muḥammad at Mecca* that the effective religion of the nomads was a tribal humanism. The deities were relics of an agricultural period, and of little meaning to nomads in a country where nature showed few signs of regularity. The townsmen of Mecca were perhaps more inclined to acknowledge a supreme god since they had some knowledge of the great empires surrounding them. Certainly the Qur'ān sets out from the position that there is a widespread acknowledgement of *Allāh* in some sense, and then shows how this acknowledgement leads by logical developments to a genuinely monotheistic conception of God.²

¹ There is some evidence of recognition of *Allāh* at the Ka'ba by Christians; cf. Andrae, p. 25; Izutsu, p. 104.

² This article contains the substance of a paper which was read at the 12th Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions, Stockholm, August 1970, and at the 5th Congrès International d'Arabisants et d'Islamisants, Brussels, September 1970.

THE KA'BA: ASPECTS OF ITS RITUAL FUNCTIONS AND POSITION IN PRE-ISLAMIC AND EARLY ISLAMIC TIMES

Uri Rubin

The history of the Ka'ba in pre-Islamic times, as recorded in the Arab sources, is, in many cases, related from a specific Islamic viewpoint, and formulated in a special Islamic terminology, which has, sometimes, undergone a process of adaptation and re-adaptation. But, in spite of these disadvantages of the Muslim records, which have already been noticed by western scholars,¹ one may still come across many passages which seem to reflect the authentic pre-Islamic reality of the Ka'ba. Even passages containing details which appear to be contradictory, or, inconsistent, or even legendary, are, more often than not, most revealing with respect to the history of the Ka'ba.

The present study is based upon the assumption that much of the inconsistency in the information about the Ka'ba, as recorded in our sources, is essentially the result of real changes and developments which took place in the structure, ritual functions and position of the Ka'ba in pre-Islamic times, and in the attitude of the worshippers towards this sanctuary since it became part of Muslim worship. Some of these changes and developments are studied in the present article, the outline of which is as follows:

1. The structure of the Ka'ba
2. The ritual functions of the Hġjr
3. The sacredness of the Hġjr in Islam
4. The Haġġm
5. The position of the Ka'ba in relation to other places of worship in Mecca.

¹ See, e.g., Hawting, "Origins", 23ff.

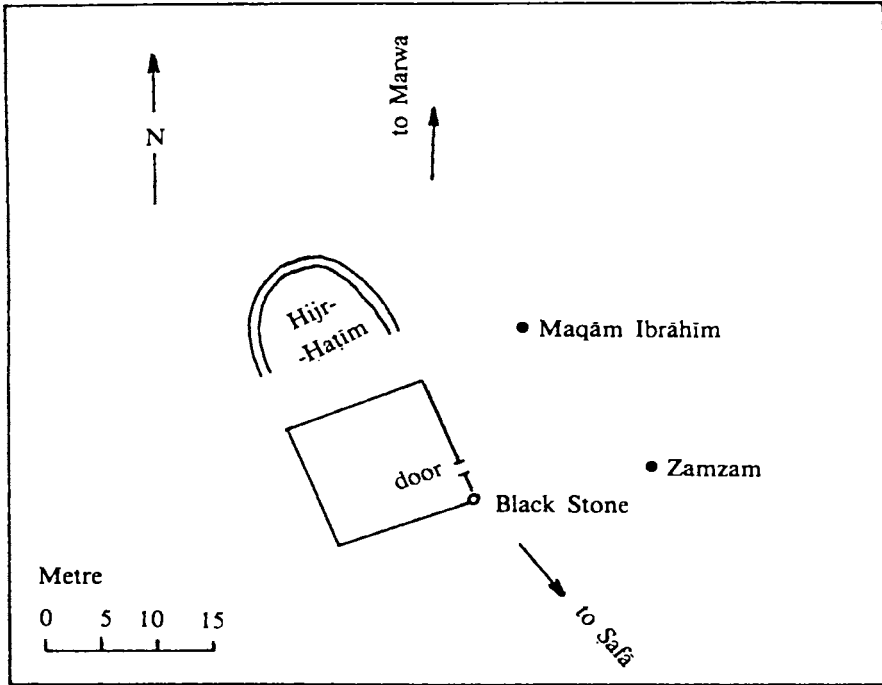


Fig.1: The Ka'ba and its surroundings

(Fig. 1 and fig. 2 have been prepared according to the groundplan of the Ḥaram in C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, tr. by J.H. Monaham, Leiden 1970. Scale in metres was calculated according to map in *National Geographic Magazine* vol. 154, 1978, pp. 584-585).

1. The structure of the Ka'ba

Some Muslim sources contain instructive information concerning the original state of the Ka'ba in pre-Islamic times. Ibn Jurayj (d. 150H/767), who was born in Mecca and had an excellent knowledge of the history of his home town, relates that the Ka'ba was originally an *ʿarīsh* into which cattle could burst, and it remained in this condition till Quraysh built the Ka'ba, 15 years before Muḥammad's first revelation.² The

² ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 98.

The Ka'ba

99

term “*‘arīsh*” has a profound ritual significance. This was, in fact, the word by which the Arabs used to refer to the Tabernacle which was built in the wilderness by the Children of Israel, in the time of Moses.³ The report of Ibn Jurayj seems to imply that the Ka'ba was originally built and treated like a similar sacred tabernacle, in which the dominant element was the *kiswa*.⁴

The structure of the ancient, pre-Qurashī, Ka'ba was determined by a most crucial environmental factor – floods. These were quite frequent in that area. The rain water used to flow into the valley of the Ka'ba from the area of the Ṣafā and the Marwa (= upper Mecca).⁵ In fact, it is reported that the water used to flow down the area of Bāb Banī Shayba which is situated opposite the façade of the Ka'ba.⁶ In order to protect the Ka'ba from the damage of these floods, a barrier (*jidār*) was built near the Ka'ba at a very early period which, in order to be effective, must have been situated between the façade of the Ka'ba and the area of the Ṣafā and the Marwa. The reports about the building of the *Jidār* relate that it took place during the time of the ancient tribe of Jurhum, after the Ka'ba had been damaged by a flood which had come from upper Mecca. The builders of the *jidār* were called “al-Jadara”.⁷ The barrier, which is also referred to as “*radm*”, was inadequate, and according to Mūsā b. ‘Uqba (d. 141H/758), it was eventually overflowed, which urged Quraysh to turn the Ka'ba itself into a massive building.⁸

A further report concerning the builders of the *jidār*, i.e., the “Jadara”, was recorded by Mughultāy to the effect that the “Jadara” were

³ According to Muslim sources, the length of the *‘arīsh* of Moses was seven cubits and its height equalled that of Moses. See Khargūshī, 201^b. These dimensions are identical with the dimensions of the Tabernacle as recorded in Tha‘labī 208. The *‘arīsh* of Moses served as the model for the mosque of the prophet in al-Madīna. See ‘Abd al-Razzāq, III, 154; Bayhaqī, II, 262. And see also M.J. Kister, “A booth like the booth of Moses”, *BSOAS*, XXV, 1962, pp. 150 ff.

⁴ On the *kiswa* of the Ka'ba in pre-Islamic times see e.g., *Qirā*, 515 ff.; Ḥalabī, I, 173; ‘Adawī, 78^b ff.; Wellhausen, 73; Von Grunebaum, 24. The original state of the Ka'ba seems to be reflected in Muslim legends relating that in Adam's time the Ka'ba was a tent (*khayma*). See e.g., Azraqī, 8, 357–358; Khargūshī, 192^b; Shāmi, I, 233–234; *Qirā*, 653; Ḥalabī, I, 149 ff.; Von Grunebaum, 19.

⁵ For the boundaries of upper Mecca see Azraqī, 477, 478 ff.

⁶ Azraqī, 275.

⁷ See Shāmi, I, 192; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, I, 53–54; Suhayli, I, 128; ‘Adawī, 76^b. And cf. Azraqī, 48; *Aghānī*, XIII, 109; Ibn Hishām, I, 109; Ya‘qūbī, I, 204.

⁸ Bayhaqī I, 331; Kalā‘ī, I, 267; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, I, 51–52; Zurqānī, I, 203; Ḥalabī, I, 141.

thus named because they had built the "Hijr" which was part of the House.⁹ This report indicates that the *jidār* formed part of something known as "Hijr", which was regarded as an integral part of the Ka'ba. The term "Hijr" refers nowadays to a semi-circular open air enclosure situated opposite the north-western wall of the Ka'ba (see fig. 1), and it is indeed regarded as an integral part of the Ka'ba. The report of Mughul-tāy must, therefore, refer to a similar enclosure which, however, lay between the *jidār* and the façade of the Ka'ba, and was likewise called "Hijr". In fact, there is evidence in Muslim sources that the enclosure to which the term "Hijr" was originally applied was indeed situated opposite the front wall of the Ka'ba, i.e., in the area where the Black Stone, Maqām Ibrāhīm and Zamzam are found.¹⁰ In several early verses recorded on the authority of pre-Islamic composers, the Hijr is located in precisely this area. One of these verses mentions women lamenting the death of 'Abdallāh b. Jud'an, "between Zamzam and the Hijr."¹¹ More current are the verses composed by a man of Zubayd who, in pre-Islamic times, came to Mecca in order to perform the 'Umra, and his merchandise was taken from him unjustly by one of the Meccans. The Zubaydī ascended the mountain of Abū Qubays and recited some verses in which he asked for the help of Quraysh. He stated that he had been cheated *bayna l-hijri wa-l-hajari*, i.e., between the Hijr and the Black Stone.¹² In another version of the same verse, this event is set "between the Maqām, the Rukn, and the (Black) stone" (*bayna l-maqāmi wa-bayna l-rukni wa-l-hajari*).¹³

Another instructive report concerning the original structure of the Ka'ba has been recorded on the authority of Ma'mar b. Rāshid (d. 154H/770). It runs as follows:¹⁴

⁹ Mughul-tāy, 54^b: *wa-'inda Ibn Mākūlā: "summū 'l-Jadara' li-annahum banaw l-Hijra wa-huwa mina l-bayt.*

¹⁰ It follows that there is not much ground to Lüling's view (p. 132 ff.) according to which the Hijr was originally a Christian apse situated on the north-western side of the Ka'ba, being directed towards Jerusalem.

¹¹ Ibn Habib, *Munammaq*, 173.

¹² E.g., *Aghāni*, XVI, 65; *Kalā'ī*, I, 146; *Khargūshi*, 183^a; 'Iṣāmī, I, 190; *Suhaylī*, I, 156; *Nahj*, III, 472; *Ibn Kathir*, II, 291.

¹³ *Aghāni*, XVI, 64, l. 4 from bottom.

¹⁴ *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, III, 350; 'Abd al-Razzāq, V, 102. See also *Halabī*, I, 159; *Zurqānī*, I, 205; 'Adawī, 60^b. And cf. further 'Iṣāmī, I, 167; *Ibn Hishām*, I, 205; *Bayhaqī*, I, 328; *Tabarī*, *Tārikh*, II, 37; *Azraqī*, 104, 106.

The Ka'ba

101

The Ka'ba was built in the Jāhiliyya with loose stones (*radm*), without clay. Its height was such that young goats could burst into it. It had no roof, and its clothes (*thiyāb*, i.e., the *kiswa*) were merely laid upon it, hanging down. . . It had two corners, like this ring: ◻

This report seems to provide a further indication that the enclosure between the *jidār* and the Ka'ba, i.e., the semi-circular Ḥijr, was an integral part of the sanctuary, so that both the Ḥijr and the Ka'ba formed one unit, being a sacred ring-like enclosure, made of loose stones and covered with the *kiswa*.

The next stage in the history of the structure of the Ka'ba was only a few years before Muḥammad's first revelation, when the ancient *ʿarish* was turned into a permanent roofed structure.¹⁵ The exact date of the foundation of this structure is not clear,¹⁶ but, at any rate, it is related that the timber for it was taken from the ship of a Byzantine merchant named Bāqūm which had been cast ashore near Jeddā.¹⁷ According to al-Fākihī, Bāqūm agreed to deliver the timber to Quraysh on condition that they transported his merchandise to Syria with their trade caravan.¹⁸ Another tradition relates that Quraysh agreed that the people of the ship would sell their merchandise in Mecca itself, without paying the usual taxes which Quraysh used to collect from Byzantine tradesmen.¹⁹ Other reports maintain that the ship was carrying marble, timber and iron from

¹⁵ Lüling (p. 140 ff.) maintains that already before Quraysh the Ka'ba was a permanent, roofed building. This assumption is not borne out by the sources.

¹⁶ It is reported that the Ka'ba was built 5 or 15 years before Muḥammad's first revelation. Muḥammad's age is said to have been 15, 25, 30 or 35. See Bayhaqī, I, 334; ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 98, 103; *Fath al-bārī*, III, 351; Mughultāy, 97*; Ibn Hishām, I, 204; Nahrawālī, 52; Ḥalabī, I, 141; Zurqānī, I, 203. According to al-Bayhaqī (I, 331), the Ka'ba was built 15 years after the Fijār. It is also reported that the building of the Ka'ba took place 25 years after the Year of the Elephant (Mughultāy, 97*). According to al-Zubayr b. Bakkar (fol. 129^b), it took place 55 years after the Elephant, and 15 years before the Hijra. An earlier construction is reported to have been made in the days of Quṣayy. See Shāmi, I, 192; Nahrawālī, 43-44; ʿAdawī, 76^b; ʿIṣāmī, I, 162; Zurqānī, I, 206; Ḥalabī, I, 162. In some early verses it is stated that Jurhum participated with Quraysh in the building of the Ka'ba. See Zuhayr, *Muʿallaqa*, 16; Aʿshā Maymūn, *Diwān*, ed. M.M. Husayn, Beirut n.d., p. 161 (XV, 44)). One tradition reports that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib as well carried out some construction work in the Ka'ba. See Zurqānī, I, 206. It is also reported that one of the names of the Ka'ba was "*baniyyat Abi Tālib*" (ʿAdawī, 81b).

¹⁷ Ibn Hishām, I, 205; Ibn Saʿd, I, 145; ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 102; Azraqī, 104-105, 107; Zurqānī, I, 204; Suhaylī, I, 225. See further *ET*², s.v. "Ka'ba"; Lüling, 145.

¹⁸ *Fath al-bārī*, III, 351 (from al-Fākihī).

¹⁹ ʿAdawī, 61^a.

Byzantium for the restoration of a church in Abyssinia, which had been burnt by the Persians.²⁰ A unique report recorded by Ibn Ḥajar relates that Quraysh asked Bāqūm (who is reported to have been an architect or a carpenter) to build the Kaʿba for them, “on the model of churches” (*ʿalā bunyān al-kanāʿis*).²¹ According to another version, they asked him to build the Kaʿba on the Syrian model (*bunyān al-Shām*).²²

These reports indicate that the new building of the Kaʿba was inspired by certain Christian models, but it may be supposed that this applied to the inner decoration rather than to the structure of the building. We know that the interior of the Kaʿba was decorated with the images of some prophets, angels, and trees,²³ as well as with the images of Jesus and Maria. On the conquest of Mecca, the prophet himself ordered to leave the images of Jesus and Maria untouched,²⁴ and in the days of ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 114H/732) these images were still in existence.²⁵ The roofed building of the Kaʿba as constructed by Quraysh seems to have been of a square shape, not including the semi-circular space called Ḥijr, which was left out, opposite the façade of the new building. In fact, it is related that Quraysh were unable to finance the construction of the Ḥijr as a section of the Kaʿba.²⁶

The next stage in the history of the Kaʿba was in the days of ʿAbdalāh b. al-Zubayr. In the year 65H/684 he rebuilt the Kaʿba after it had been damaged in the recent battles with the Umayyads. Ibn al-Zubayr made some changes in the structure of the Kaʿba, the most notable of which was the extension of the building on its north-western side, where the area known nowadays as “Ḥijr” is situated.²⁷ In so doing, he relied

²⁰ Ḥalabi, I, 143; Nahrawālī, 50.

²¹ Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, I, 266. See also Zurqānī, I, 203; Ḥalabi, I, 144.

²² Azraqī, 114; Lüling, 145.

²³ Azraqī, 110-111; ʿIṣāmī, I, 166; ʿAdawī, 64^b.

²⁴ Azraqī, 113: ...*fa-amara rasūlu llāhi (s) an yamhū tilka l-ṣuwara illā mā kāna min ṣūratī ʿĪsā wa-Maryam*. See also ʿAdawī, 64^b-65^a.

²⁵ Azraqī, 111-112. Lüling (p. 130) states that the images of Jesus and Maria were erased by Muḥammad's order on the conquest of Mecca, together with the rest of the pagan images. This statement is based upon a mis-interpretation of the Arabic text of al-Azraqī.

²⁶ ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 104, 129, 131; Kalāʿī, I, 115; ʿAdawī, 63^a; Nahrawālī, 82; Azraqī, 105, 109, 115, 142; Ḥalabi, I, 144.

²⁷ Lüling's postulate is that the Ḥijr always formed part of the roofed Kaʿba, i.e., also before Ibn al-Zubayr. He bases his view (pp. 156-157) upon a passage in Azraqī 137, in which he believes to find a statement that the ancient Ḥijr was destroyed together with the rest of the

The Ka'ba

103

upon a tradition of the prophet favouring such a proceeding. This section was later demolished by al-Ḥajjāj (74H/693), who restored the Ka'ba to its pre-Zubayrī dimensions.²⁸ The inclusion of the area north-west of the Ka'ba in its new building was the result of the unearthing of some old rocks in this area which were identified by Ibn al-Zubayr and his contemporaries as the ancient foundations of the Ka'ba, dating back to the times of Abraham. They were accordingly named *qawā'id Ibrāhīm*, i.e., the foundations of Abraham. Wishing to restore the Ka'ba to its assumed original dimensions, Ibn al-Zubayr decided to include this area in the new building.

It seems that in Ibn al-Zubayr's days the area north-west of the Ka'ba was already known as "Hijr". The application of this term to that area was the result of some ritual functions which this area shared with the area originally called Hijr, which lay opposite the façade of the Ka'ba. As will be seen below, the latter area functioned as a place of prayer, the front wall of the Ka'ba being, in fact, Muḥammad's first *qibla* during the Meccan period. After the Hijra to Medina, however, when Muḥammad abandoned the temporary *qibla* of Jerusalem,²⁹ and

Ka'ba when the Umayyads attacked Ibn al-Zubayr, which means that the Hijr had been part of the Ka'ba before that event. But as a matter of fact, Lüling misreads the Arabic text of al-Azraqī which actually has "*al-ḥajar*", and not "*al-hijr*". This passage merely describes the stoning of the Ka'ba by the *manjaniq* which was set on Abū Qubays, while each stone shot at the Ka'ba was immediately followed by another one: *wa-la-qad ra'aytu l-ḥajara yamurru fa-yahwī l-ākharu 'alā atharihi* (not "*āthārihi*", as rendered by Lüling). Lüling (p. 157) similarly misreads "*al-hijr*" instead of the correct "*al-ḥajar*" in Azraqī, 151, where the passage evidently deals with the Black Stone (*al-ḥajar*) which was cracked (*infalaqa*), and blackened (*iswadda*), in the fire in Ibn al-Zubayr's days.

²⁸ E.g., 'Abd al-Razzāq, V, 104, 124-132; Azraqī, 114-115, 138-154, 218-221; Khargūshī, 175^a ff.; 'Adawī, 67^a ff.; Shāmi, I, 192-196; Nahrawālī, 80-85; *Qirā*, 508-513; Suhayli, I, 221-222; 'Iṣāmī, I, 167 ff.; Ibn Kathīr, I, 165-166; Ḥalabī, I, 169 ff.; *Fath al-bārī*, III, 354 ff.; *ET*², s.v. "Ka'ba". Cf. Lüling, 149 ff., an implausible assessment of these reports.

²⁹ According to some reports, Muḥammad started to pray towards Jerusalem right after the Hijra, in order to please the Jews of al-Madīna. See Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, II, 4, 13; Rāzī, IV, 104. See also *Fath al-bārī*, I, 88, 90; Rāzī, IV, 110. According to other reports, however, Muḥammad had started praying towards Jerusalem already before the Hijra. According to Ḥalabī, I, 264, he had done so since the *isrā'*. According to others, Jerusalem became Muḥammad's *qibla* 18 months before the Hijra (*Fath al-bārī*, I, 90, from Ibn Māja). Still others maintained that Muḥammad prayed towards Jerusalem since his first revelation. See 'Adawī, 151^a (in *Hirā'*); *Fath al-bārī*, I, 88. The latter opinion seems to be secondary, its aim being to suppress the fact that Muḥammad, at a certain stage, abandoned his original *qibla* (the Ka'ba) in favour of Jerusalem. In fact, most of the traditions describing his prayer towards Jerusalem, while in

resumed the *qibla* of the Ka^cba,³⁰ he prayed, of course, towards the only wall facing Medina, namely, the north-western one. This wall became the new Muslim *qibla*, the exact direction of which was fixed according to the waterspout (*mi'zāb*) located in this wall.³¹ Some traditions actually recount the virtues of prayers held opposite the *mi'zāb*.³² In this manner, the entire area opposite the wall of the new *qibla* could eventually take on the title "Ḥijr", which had been originally applied to the area next to the wall of the first *qibla*, i.e., the façade of the Ka^cba.

2. The ritual functions of the Ḥijr

As seen above, the Ka^cba was originally an open air enclosure, including the section known as Ḥijr, which was situated opposite the façade of the Ka^cba itself. It seems that the main function of the entire enclosure containing the Ka^cba and the Ḥijr was to mark the boundaries of a sacred ground in which several idols were worshipped. Most of the statues of these idols seem to have been placed within the section of the Ḥijr. This observation is derived from numerous reports locating several Meccan idols opposite the façade of the Ka^cba, or in the vicinity of the Black Stone, and more frequently, near the well of Zamzam. The statue of Hubal is reported to have been situated opposite the façade of the Ka^cba, next to its door.³³ The statue of the idol Manāf was, reportedly, situated opposite the Black Stone,³⁴ and the statues of Isāf and Nā'ila were located near Zamzam.³⁵ It is reported that the area surrounding Isāf

Mecca, maintain that he used to stand opposite the south eastern wall of the Ka^cba, so that the Ka^cba was between him and Jerusalem. See e.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 319, 372; Bayhaqī, I, 439; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 183; Ḥalabī, I, 264, 332, 414; Ibn Sa^cd, I, 243.

³⁰ Muḥammad's return to the *qibla* of the Ka^cba was criticised by *ahl al-kitāb* as a setback toward the *din* of his fellow tribesmen. See Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 148; Rāzī, IV, 91. See also ^cAskarī, I, 332.

³¹ Fākīhī, 329^a: ...*fa-kāna (s) yuṣallī ilā l-mi'zāb wa-huwa bt-l-madina*... See also Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 119-120.

³² Khargūshī, 168^a; Fāsī, I, 218. On the *qibla* of the *mi'zāb* see further Azraqī, 249; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, II, 14; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 147.

³³ Waḳīdī, II, 832: *wa-huwa wujāha l-ka^cba 'alā bābihā*. This report contradicts the usual accounts locating Hubal inside the Ka^cba.

³⁴ Yāqūt, IV, 185; Fahd, *Panthéon*, 39.

³⁵ E.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 84-85; Ibn al-Kalbī, 29; Azraqī, 75; Fāsī, II, 53. Other reports maintain that Isāf and Nā'ila were situated opposite the Black Rukn and the southern Rukn. See Ya^cqūbī, I, 254; Muḳāṭil, II, 210^b; Kister, "Labbayka", 57.

The Ka'ba

105

and Nā'ila was considered pure, so that menstruating women were not allowed to enter it.³⁶

It seems that in the Ka'ba itself there were no statues at all. This may seem strange at first sight, but one must take into consideration the fact that the Ka'ba was actually considered as "the sacred House of Allāh". Allāh was worshipped by the Meccans as the High God, and for him there was no statue. The lesser deities were apparently worshipped outside the Ka'ba, in the area of the Ḥijr, where their statues were situated.

The actual worship of the idols in the Ḥijr consisted of sacrificial slaughter which was performed near the well of Zamzam. It is reported that this well was situated in the place where Quraysh used to slaughter their sacrificial animals.³⁷ Zamzam is also said to have been situated "bayna l-farth wa-l-dam",³⁸ i.e., between the intestines and the blood (of sacrificial animals).³⁹ In one report it is stated that Zamzam was located near the idols (*aṣnām*) of Quraysh, which had intestines (*farth*) upon their heads.⁴⁰ The actual slaughter was performed near special stones called *anṣāb* (sing. *nusub*). This is indicated in further reports stating that Zamzam was located near the "red sacrificial stones" (*al-anṣāb al-ḥumr*).⁴¹ The red colour of the stones implies that the blood of the sacrificial animals was shed or smeared upon them.⁴² Further reports indicate that the sacrificial meat was sliced and also laid upon the stones,⁴³ but some of it was cooked and eaten by the worshippers in a communion feast.⁴⁴ It seems that those Meccans who first practiced sacrificial slaughter in the Ḥijr belonged to the tribe of Khuzā'a. This is indicated in some additional reports stating that Zamzam was situated near the

³⁶ Azraqī 75. This prohibition is already mentioned in an early verse dealing with Isāf. See Ibn al-Kalbi, 29; Azraqī, 75. The same verse is also recorded in relation to Manāf. See Wellhausen, 56-57; Fahd, *Panthéon*, 122.

³⁷ E.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 154, 84.

³⁸ Ibn Hishām, I, 154.

³⁹ For the ritual significance of this phrase see also Dozy, 181-182; Fahd, *Panthéon*, 108, n. 2.

⁴⁰ Fākihi, 338^b (Sa'īd b. Jubayr).

⁴¹ Fākihi, 338^b; 'Adawī, 93^a; 'Abd al-Razzāq, V, 314; Azraqī, 282; Bayhaqī, I, 73; Khargūshī, 194^a.

⁴² On the implication of blood and the red colour see e.g., I. Lichtenstädter, "A note on the *gharāniq*", *IOS (Israel Oriental Studies)*, V, 1975, 59, n. 20.

⁴³ E.g., Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, VI, 48 (Ibn Jurayj).

⁴⁴ See Bayhaqī, I, 385.

nuṣub of Khuzā^ca,⁴⁵ or near the *mawḍi*^c of Khuzā^ca,⁴⁶ or near their *majlis*.⁴⁷ In fact, it is reported that there were in Mecca 360 *ansāb*, 300 of which were in the territory of Khuzā^ca.⁴⁸

The statues of Isāf and Nā'ila which were situated in the Hījr functioned as *ansāb*. It is reported that shortly before the conquest of Mecca, Abū Sufyān shaved his head near these idols and slaughtered animals for them, and smeared their heads with the blood. He vowed to worship them forever.⁴⁹ The staining of Isāf and Nā'ila with the blood means that it was regarded as consecrated to them, but from other reports one may conclude that the blood was consecrated not only to the idols, but to the Lord of the Ka^cba as well, i.e., to Allāh. Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150H/767) reports that when the pre-Islamic Arabs slaughtered their sacrificial animals near Zamzam, they used to sprinkle the blood towards the Ka^cba, saying: "O, Lord, accept it from us!"⁵⁰ Other reports as well imply that the sacrificial blood was smeared upon the idols, as well as upon the walls of the Ka^cba.⁵¹ Human sacrifice may have also been performed in that area. At least it is reported that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib once intended to slaughter 'Abdallāh, his son, between Isāf and Nā'ila, or near Isāf.⁵²

The term "Hījr" itself⁵³ has a profound ritual significance which is connected with sacrificial slaughter. This term means "inviolable", "sacrosanct", and the basic function of the area to which this term was applied is elucidated in a Muslim tradition relating that Abraham built the Hījr next to the Ka^cba, as *'arīsh* made of *arāk* trees, into which goats could burst. It served as a pen (*zarb*) for Ishmael's sheep.⁵⁴ This legend seems to reflect an authentic reality, namely, that the Hījr, or the area between the ancient *jidār* and the Ka^cba, served as a pen, or fold for

⁴⁵ Fākihī, 338^a; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 415.

⁴⁶ Fākihī, 338^a.

⁴⁷ Ibn Sa^cd, I, 84.

⁴⁸ Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, VI, 48.

⁴⁹ Wāqidi, II, 795; Wellhausen, 77.

⁵⁰ Muqātil, *Khams mi'a*, 95-96. See also *idem.*, II, 25^b.

⁵¹ Rāzī, XXIII, 37. And see further, Suyūṭī, *Durr*, IV, 363.

⁵² E.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 162; Bayhaqī, I, 82; Kalā'ī, I, 224; Ḥalabī, I, 36; Nahrawālī, 48. see also Wellhausen, 115-116.

⁵³ On this term see Hawting, "Origins," 33ff.

⁵⁴ Azraqī, 31; Kalā'ī, I, 114; Shāmi, I, 181; 'Adawī, 15^b; Fāsī, I, 211; *Fath al-bāri*, VI, 289. Cf. also Lūling, 372 n. 47.

sheep. The same is suggested by the term "*jidār*" which already in ancient Hebrew denotes quite often a fold for sheep.⁵⁵ The term "Ḥijr" appears in a similar context in the Quran. Sūra VI/138 deals with cattle and cultivated fields which the pre-Islamic Arabs used to consecrate to their idols by labelling them as "Ḥijr", i.e., sacrosanct. In view of this, one may conclude that "Ḥijr" signifies a fold for sacred animals which were regarded as belonging to the idols. Such a fold was situated opposite the façade of the Ka'ba, where the animals consecrated to this sanctuary were kept. Various kinds of consecrated animals are mentioned in Quran V/103 which refers to the *Bahīra*, the *Sā'iba* and the *Ḥāmī*.⁵⁶ These animals were eventually slaughtered, and it is reported that the *Bahīra* was slaughtered next to the Ka'ba, near Isāf and Nā'ila.⁵⁷ These sacrificial ceremonies could be seen from the mountain of Abū Qubays. It is related that a leader of the tribe of Jurhum ascended this mountain and watched the camels being slaughtered and eaten in the valley.⁵⁸ It seems that he was actually watching the sacrificial rites in the Ḥijr.

The Ḥijr functioned also as a public square where various ritual, legal and other matters were discussed and announced. In pre-Islamic times, whenever a leap year was to be observed, one of those in charge of the calendar (the *qalāmisa*) would stand at the door of the Ka'ba, and another – in the Ḥijr, and proclaim the intercalation of the year to come.⁵⁹ When Muḥammad adopted Zayd b. Ḥāritha he announced it in the Ḥijr.⁶⁰ Various political matters, for instance the measures which Quraysh should have taken against the prophet, were discussed in the Ḥijr.⁶¹

3. The sacredness of the Ḥijr in Islam

In Islamic times, the Ḥijr continued to function as a place of worship which henceforth was devoted exclusively to the Lord of the Ka'ba, i.e., to Allāh. For Muḥammad, this area served mainly as a place of prayer.

⁵⁵ See *Numbers*, XXXII/16, 24, 36; *I Samuel*, XXIV/3; *Zephaniah*, II/6. On the *jidār* cf. also Dozy, 80 ff.

⁵⁶ For these terms see Wellhausen, 112 ff.

⁵⁷ Fāsi, II, 54.

⁵⁸ Azraqī, 56; 'Iṣāmī, I, 181; 'Adawī, 29^a.

⁵⁹ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 156-157.

⁶⁰ Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, I, 469.

⁶¹ E.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 309-310; Waqidi, I, 120, 125; Ibn Sa'd, IV, 199-201.

Some traditions indicate that the prophet used to pray in the Ḥijr during the early Meccan period.⁶² According to some more specific traditions he used to pray opposite the Black Stone, which served as his first *qibla*.⁶³ Other reports, however, imply that in the early Meccan period, Muḥammad prayed opposite Maqām Ibrāhīm.⁶⁴ In any case, it is clear that the façade of the Kaʿba was his first *qibla*.⁶⁵ Later on, when Mecca was conquered, Muḥammad again prayed near the Maqām, and even declared that this was to become the official Muslim *qibla*.⁶⁶ In later days, the Ḥijr continued to function as a place for public prayers. Some traditions indicate that in the first decades after Muḥammad's death the Jumʿa service was held in the Ḥijr, and this was also the place of the *minbar*.⁶⁷ Already Muḥammad himself, reportedly, delivered the ceremonial *khuṭba* "between the House and Zamzam",⁶⁸ and some further traditions indicate that the *minbar* was set close to the Rukn (= the Black Stone).⁶⁹

A special sacredness is attributed in Muslim tradition to that part of the Ḥijr which lies between the Rukn and the Maqām. The prophet told ʿĀ'isha that this area was the best of all places, the purest, and the closest to Allāh. It was a garden (*rawḍa*) of Paradise, and whoever prayed in

⁶² Bukhārī, I, 58; Khargūshī, 107^b; Ḥalabī, I, 332; Fāsī, I, 220.

⁶³ Ḥalabī, I, 264 (from *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*); ...*wa-kānat ṣalātuḥu (ṣ) naḥwa l-Kaʿba wa-istaqbalā l-ḥajara l-aswada*... For Muḥammad's prayer towards the Black Stone see further Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, 139.

⁶⁴ Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXX, 164, 165; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, 369; Muqātil, II, 26^b.

⁶⁵ Other traditions as well imply that since his first revelation Muḥammad used to pray towards the Kaʿba. See Bayhaqī, I, 401; Suyūṭī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, I, 233-234. And see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, II, 4: *qāla Ibn Jurayj: ṣallā rasūlu llāhi (ṣ) awwala mā ṣallā ilā l-Kaʿba*... Lüling (p. 136-140) maintains that the pre-Islamic Meccans (including Muḥammad) used to pray towards Jerusalem, till the prophet adopted the *qibla* of the Kaʿba, some months after the Ḥijra. This assumption must be rejected in view of the fact that Muḥammad himself prayed towards the Kaʿba since his first revelation. Quraysh as well, being in charge of the regular operation of the Kaʿba, were regarded as *sadana* of the *dīn*, and as *umanāʾ* of the *qibla* (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 182; Kister, "Mecca and Tamim", 146).

⁶⁶ Fāsī, I, 219, 222; *Qirā*, 349; Ḥalabī, III, 87. See also Wāqidi, II, 832. It is related that already Abraham used the Maqām as a *qibla*, when he prayed towards the door of the Kaʿba. See Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 119; ʿAdawī, 86^a; *Qirā*, 342. Adam as well is said to have prayed in the direction of the door of the Kaʿba. See Ḥalabī, I, 152. In some early verses of the *ḥanīf* Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl it is stated, likewise, that Abraham prayed towards the *qibla* of the Kaʿba. See Ibn Hishām, I, 245; Zubayr b. Bakkār, fol. 166^b.

⁶⁷ ʿAbd al-Razzāq, III, 176, 178;

⁶⁸ Fākihī, 414^b.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 415^a

The Ka'ba

109

that place was pardoned by God.⁷⁰ Several traditions indicate that this area functioned as a place for oaths. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh declared that if he had to swear between the Rukn and the Maqām, he would have sworn that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī was the most trustworthy traditionist.⁷¹ According to some reports the Maḥdī himself was to receive his pledge of allegiance between the Maqām and the Rukn.⁷² Another eschatological event which would take place between the Rukn and the Maqām was the emergence of the mythical *dābbat al-ard*.⁷³ Invocations against evil-doers were, likewise, held between the Rukn and the Maqām.⁷⁴ The same vicinity was in fact the place where oaths connected with all kinds of criminal issues were taken.⁷⁵ Executions were carried out in the same area. On the conquest of Mecca, Muḥammad executed one of the Meccans ('Abdallāh b. Khaṭal) between Zamzam and the Maqām.⁷⁶ According to another report, he was executed between the Rukn and the Maqām.⁷⁷

The sacredness attached in Muslim tradition to the Ḥijr is focused on the idea that this area was the burial place of noble dead, especially Ishmael, who is connected in Muslim legend with the history of the Ka'ba. The tomb of this patriarch is located nowadays in the present Ḥijr, i.e., opposite the north-western wall of the Ka'ba,⁷⁸ but this location is secondary. Originally, Ishmael's tomb was located opposite the façade of the Ka'ba, i.e., within the original area called Ḥijr. 'Abd al-Razzāq has recorded a tradition on the authority of Ibn Jurayj which is traced back to Ka'b al-Aḥbār. The latter reportedly stated that Ishmael was buried in the area spreading between Zamzam, the (Black) Rukn, and

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 333^b. See also Fāsi, I, 197; Kister, "Maqām", 482.

⁷¹ Ibn Ḥibbān, I, 52.

⁷² Kister, "Maqām", 482.

⁷³ 'Adawī, 65^b.

⁷⁴ E.g., Kalā'ī, I, 124; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, II, 40.

⁷⁵ Azraqī, 271; Kister, "Maqām", 482.

⁷⁶ *Fath al-bāri*, VIII, 13 (from *Kitāb Makka* of 'Umar b. Shabba).

⁷⁷ Wāqidi, II, 859. On Ibn Khaṭal see also Zubayr b. Bakkār, 200^a.

⁷⁸ See *EI*², s.v. "Ka'ba". This location dates back to the days of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr who reportedly "discovered" in this area the tombs of Hagar and Ishmael. See Azraqī, 220, 142-143, 149; Shāmi, I, 194-195; for the graves of prophets in this area see further Azraqī, 39; *Qirā*, 654-655; Fāsi, I, 198, 218; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 14; Ibn Sa'd, I, 52.

the Maqām.⁷⁹ Al-Masʿūdī reports that Ishmael was buried “opposite the place of the Black Stone”.⁸⁰ According to a tradition of Ibn ʿAbbās as recorded by al-Fākihī, Ishmael’s burial place was “in the Ḥijr, opposite the Black Rukn”.⁸¹ According to al-Kalāʿī, Ishmael was buried “inside the Ḥijr, next to the door of the Kaʿba”.⁸² According to al-Shāmī, Ishmael’s tomb was located “in al-Ḥajūn (!), next to the door of the Kaʿba”.⁸³ The reason why the Ḥijr was chosen by Muslim tradition to be Ishmael’s burial place seems to have been connected with the fact that this area was very close to the well of Zamzam, which is regarded in Muslim tradition as the well of Ishmael. It is related that this well was revealed by Gabriel for Hagar and her son, when they were wandering in the wilderness of Mecca.⁸⁴ It means that Zamzam is regarded in Muslim tradition as an ancient well dating back to biblical times, so that most traditions about its actual digging, which was carried out by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Muḥammad’s grandfather, are based upon the assumption that he merely re-discovered this supposedly ancient well, after it had disappeared, for one reason or another.⁸⁵ It is believed, in fact, that Zamzam was mentioned in the Bible,⁸⁶ being evidently identified with the well of Lahai Roi, where Hagar had a vision about the forthcoming birth of Ishmael (*Gen. XVI/11ff.*). It seems that this connection between Zamzam

⁷⁹ ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 119-120: *dufina Ismāʿil bayna Zamzam wa-l-Rukn wa-l-Maqām.*

⁸⁰ Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, 48: ...*ḥiyāla l-mawḍiʿi lladhi fihi l-Ḥajar l-Aswad.* See also Fāsi, I, 218 (from al-Masʿūdī); Ḥalabī, I, 154, 170.

⁸¹ Fākihī, 357^a ...*fa-qabru Ismāʿil fi l-Ḥijr, muqābila l-Rukn l-Aswad.*

⁸² Kalāʿī, I, 119: ...*dākhila l-Ḥijr mim mā yalī bāb al-Kaʿba.*

⁸³ Shāmī, I, 187.

⁸⁴ See e.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 116; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, I, 177, 178-179, 180; Bukhārī, IV, 173 ff.; Azraqī, 23, 280 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Ithbāt*, 38-39; Thaʿlabī, 72; Bayhaqī, I, 323; Shāmī, I, 175; Fāsi, I, 247 ff.; Hawting, “Zamzam”, 44 ff. According to some verses attributed to Khuwaylid b. Asad (Khadija’s father), Zamzam existed since the days of Adam. See e.g., Kalāʿī, I, 222; *Nahj*, III, 468-469; Mughultāy, 57^a.

⁸⁵ E.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 152, 153. For the various reasons given for the disappearance of Zamzam, see Yāqūt, III, 149; *Nahj*, III, 469; Ḥalabī, I, 32; ʿAdawī, 91^b; Azraqī, 52; Khargūshī, 194^a; Zurqānī, I, 92. See also Hawting, “Zamzam”, 45-46. It may be noted that in some earlier versions about the digging of Zamzam there is not yet any allusion to the relation between this well and Ishmael. See Fākihī, 338^a, the traditions of ʿIkrima, Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab and Saʿīd b. Jubayr.

⁸⁶ E.g., ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 115ff.; Azraqī, 289-290, 292-293; Khargūshī, 196^a, 197^a; *Qirā*, 487; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 222.

The Ka'ba

111

and the biblical well of Ishmael eventually brought about the idea that Ishmael's tomb was situated close to Zamzam, i.e., in the Hġjr.

The term "Hġjr" is identical with the name of a place in northern Hġjāz, which is mentioned also in Quran XV/80 as the abode of an ancient sinful people who rejected the prophets. This people is identified in Muslim *tafsīr* with the people of Thamūd who rejected Šāliġ. Consequently, the Hġjr of the Ka'ba was, too, associated with the Quranic prophets who had been rejected by Thamūd, as well as by 'Ād and other *umam khāliya*. The Meccan Hġjr was made the asylum and burial place of these prophets. A tradition of Muqātil says that between Zamzam and the Rukn there were buried 70 prophets, including Hūd, Šāliġ, and Ishmael.⁸⁷ Another tradition which is traced back to the prophet states that the graves of Nūġ, Hūd, Shu'ayb, Šāliġ, and Ishmael were located between Zamzam and the Maqām.⁸⁸ In a further tradition, the number of prophets buried between the Rukn, the Maqām, and Zamzam is said to have been 77 or 99.⁸⁹ Another tradition speaks of 70 prophets buried between the Rukn and the Šafā.⁹⁰ These large numbers were considered exaggerated by some Muslim scholars who seem to have been responsible for such traditions as the one recorded by al-Fākihī to the effect that in the "Sacred Mosque" there were only two tombs – those of Ishmael and Shu'ayb.⁹¹ Moreover, it was claimed that Hūd and Šāliġ had been constantly preoccupied with their peoples till they died, so that they had never made the pilgrimage to Mecca.⁹²

Not only the Hġjr as a whole, but also the well of Zamzam features in Muslim tradition as the home of the spirits of noble dead. This is suggested in a series of Muslim traditions comparing the well of Zamzam, as a blessed water source, and the well of Barahūt in Ḥaḍramawt, as a cursed one.⁹³ 'Alī reportedly stated that the best well upon earth

⁸⁷ Azraqī, 39. See also Fāsi, I, 197.

⁸⁸ Khargūshī, 167^b. Cf. Suyūti, *Durr*, I, 136. The prophet also reportedly stated that around the Ka'ba there were buried 300 prophets, and between al-Rukn al-Yamānī and al-Rukn al-Aswad there were buried 70 prophets. See Khargūshī, 167^b; Ḥalabī, I, 154.

⁸⁹ Azraqī, 34, 363; Fāsi, I, 197, 218; *Qirā*, 53, 654; Damīrī, II, 355; Ḥalabī, I, 154. Cf. Goldziher, II, 280-281.

⁹⁰ Ibn Shahrāshūb, I, 188.

⁹¹ Fākihī, 357^a.

⁹² Azraqī, 38; Ḥalabī, I, 154.

⁹³ On Barahūt see G. Rentz, "Barhūt", *EI*². "Barahūt" appears also as the name of an idol. See *Nawādir al-makhtū'āt*, I, 288.

was Zamzam, and Barahūt was the worst; it was well in Barahūt where the spirits (*arwāh*) of the unbelievers used to assemble.⁹⁴ A similar statement is recorded on the authority of Ibn Jurayj,⁹⁵ and another version is traced back to the prophet himself.⁹⁶ This comparison is probably designed to imply that unlike Barahūt which was inhabited by evil spirits, Zamzam was the home of the spirits of the righteous. In this context it must be noted that Barahūt is contrasted with other places as well, which are explicitly presented as the home of virtuous spirits. For instance, a tradition traced back to Ibn ʿAbbās says that the spirits of the believers are at al-Jābiya, in al-Shām, whereas the spirits of the unbelievers are at Barahūt, in Ḥaḍramawt.⁹⁷ As indicated by Goldziher,⁹⁸ dead heroes were regarded as a source of blessing for nearby springs and wells, so that one may suppose that the famous curative effects of Zamzam⁹⁹ were also ascribed to the spirits which resided in it, or in its vicinity.

Believed to be the home of blessed dead, the Ḥijr features in Muslim tradition as a place where divine inspiration could be obtained through incubation dreams.¹⁰⁰ Various persons are reported to have been guided by such dreams while sleeping in the Ḥijr. It is related that Kināna heard a voice while sleeping in Ḥijr, telling him about his future.¹⁰¹ Al-Naḍr b. Kināna dreamt in the same place that a cosmic luminous tree was emerging from his loins which symbolized his noble descendants, and especially Muḥammad.¹⁰² ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib dreamt in the Ḥijr that a cosmic chain grew out of his body and turned into a green tree.¹⁰³ He also dreamt there that he was dressed in a beautiful

⁹⁴ ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 116; Azraqī, 290; Khargūshī, 196^a; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 222; *Qirā*, 488-489.

⁹⁵ ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 116-117; Azraqī, 292; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 222; *Qirā*, 489.

⁹⁶ Mundhiri, III, 45-46.

⁹⁷ Yāqūt, I, 406. See also Muqātil, II, 224^b.

⁹⁸ Goldziher, II, 313.

⁹⁹ E.g., ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 115 ff.; Fākihī, 340^a ff.; ʿAdawī, 99^b ff.; Khargūshī, 196^a ff.; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 221 ff.; Azraqī, 289 ff.; *Qirā*, 488; Fāsi, I, 252 ff.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Fahd, *Divination*, 363-364. And see, on the other hand, Fāsi, I, 219 (concerning the Ḥijr): *wa-yanbaghi tawaqqi l-nawmi fihī*. And see also Azraqī, 306, a tradition favouring this practice.

¹⁰¹ Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, I, 35: *wa-raʿā Kināna wa-huwa nāʿimun* (printed: "qā'im") *fi l-Ḥijr, qā'ilan yaqūl*: ...

¹⁰² Khargūshī, 12^a-12^b.

¹⁰³ Khargūshī, 17^b-18^a; Masʿūdi, *Ithbāt*, 104; Zurqānī, I, 90-91; Suyūṭī, *Khaṣāʿiṣ*, I, 98-99.

The Ka'ba

113

robe which meant that it was time for him to marry.¹⁰⁴ In the same place, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was also inspired by a series of dreams to dig Zamzam.¹⁰⁵ 'Āmina, Muḥammad's mother, dreamt in the Ḥijr that she was about to give birth to "Aḥmad", the lord of mankind.¹⁰⁶ The prophet himself received the vision of the *isrā'* while sleeping in the Ḥijr,¹⁰⁷ or, according to another version – in the Ḥaṭīm.¹⁰⁸

4. The Ḥaṭīm

The area of the Ḥijr is often referred to in Muslim sources as "al-Ḥaṭīm".¹⁰⁹ This term, like "Ḥijr", is applied nowadays to the semi-circular enclosure opposite the north-western wall of the Ka'ba, but it seems to have been originally applied to the area opposite the front wall of the Ka'ba. This is attested in some early traditions relating that the Ḥaṭīm was situated between the Black Rukn, the door of the Ka'ba, Maqām Ibrāhīm, and Zamzam.¹¹⁰ The Black Rukn itself was known as "Rukn al-Ḥaṭīm".¹¹¹

The term "Ḥaṭīm", like "Ḥijr", occurs in Muslim sources as the residence of sacrosanct animals. One of the descendants of Khālid b. al-Walīd, for instance, expressed his yearning for the gazelles which were inhabiting the area between al-Ḥaṭīm, al-Ḥaṭhma and al-Ḥajūn.¹¹²

The term "Ḥaṭīm" seems to have been applied to the area of the Ḥijr as a reflection of some ritual ceremonials performed in it. The root

¹⁰⁴ Khargūshī, 13^b. See also 'Iṣāmī, I, 226; Zurqānī, I, 81-82 (from al-Khargūshī); Mas'ūdi, *Ithbāt*, 101.

¹⁰⁵ E.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 116, 150, 151; Fahd, *Divination*, 262-263. See also Hawting, "Zamzam", 44-45.

¹⁰⁶ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 422.

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Hishām, II, 38; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 256. See also Fahd, *Divination*, 258.

¹⁰⁸ Bukhārī, V, 66. See also Lammens, 147.

¹⁰⁹ It is reported that when Quraysh erected the stone building of the Ka'ba, the area of the Ḥijr was left outside the new building, and henceforth it was allegedly known as "Ḥaṭīm", i.e., wrecked, unrestored. See *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, s.v. "ḥ.t.m"; Fāsi, I, 197; *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, VI, 268-269; *Qirā*, 314. On the Ḥaṭīm see further, Hawting, "Origins", 34ff.

¹¹⁰ E.g., Yāqūt, II, 273; Azraqī, 267; *Qirā*, 314; Fāsi, I, 197; *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, VI, 268; Khargūshī, 189^a; 'Adawī, 122^b-123^a.

¹¹¹ See *Aghānī*, XIV, 78 l. 15. The expression "*rukn al-ḥaṭīm*" refers, no doubt, to the Black Stone, contrary to Lammens 148-149.

¹¹² Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 202, lines 19-20.

“h.t.m.” means a crush, or crowding,¹¹³ and it was explained that the term “Ḥaṭīm” stood for a place where the people used to crowd for the purpose of oaths or supplications.¹¹⁴ Ibn Jurayj explains that each imprecation uttered in the Ḥaṭīm against an evil-doer was instantly responded to, and the evil-doer only seldom escaped an immediate punishment. Whoever took a false oath in that place could not avoid an instant penalty. This held people back from sins, and they were afraid of taking false oaths in the Ḥaṭīm. This state of affairs lasted until the emergence of Islam.¹¹⁵ The Ḥaṭīm was, in fact, the place where the pre-Islamic Arabs used to practice the *qasāma*.¹¹⁶ In Islamic times as well people continued to take oaths in the Ḥaṭīm. Ibn Muḥjam, for example, vowed in the Ḥaṭīm to execute ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.¹¹⁷

The term “Ḥaṭīm” was explained by Muslim philologists in some further different ways which shed light on some more ritual functions of the area to which this term was applied. It is reported that the pilgrims used to cast their sacred clothes between Isāf and Nā’ila, at the end of the *tawāf* around the Ka‘ba. These clothes became *laqan*, i.e., were put under taboo, and no one was allowed to touch or to use them, and they remained there till they fell apart.¹¹⁸ Muslim philologists explained, accordingly, that this place was named “Ḥaṭīm” because the clothes remained there till they crumbled (*ḥuṭima*).¹¹⁹

Another explanation also takes the term “Ḥaṭīm” in the sense of a place where the broken remains of various objects of cultic significance accumulated. Ibn ‘Abbās said that the Ḥaṭīm was thus called because the people of the Jāhiliyya used to take oaths there, while casting their whips or their shoes or their bows (as a token of sincerity).¹²⁰

¹¹³ See for example, the phrase “*ḥaṭmat al-nās*”, i.e., the crush of the people (during the ceremonies of the *hajj*), Bukhārī, II, 203; Wāqidi, III, 1106. And cf. also Azraqī, 58.

¹¹⁴ *Tāj al-‘arūs*, s.v. “h.t.m”: ...*aw bayna l-rukn l-aswad ilā l-bāb ilā l-maqām. haythu yataḥaṭṭamu l-nāsu li-l-du‘ā’, ay yazdahimūna, fa-yaḥṭimu ba‘duhum ba‘dan*. See also Azraqī, 267; *Qirā*, 314; *Faḥ al-bārī*, VI, 268; ‘Adawī, 123^a. Dozy’s attempt (p. 182) to explain the term “Ḥaṭīm” according to the Hebrew “*ḥattā’im*” is not convincing.

¹¹⁵ Azraqī, 267; *Qirā*, 314; ‘Adawī, 123^a.

¹¹⁶ ‘Adawī, 122^b-123^a.

¹¹⁷ Wellhausen, 74 n. 1; Lammens, 148, n. 4.

¹¹⁸ Azraqī, 121. For the practice of *laqan* see further *ibid.*, 118ff.; Ibn Hishām, I, 215ff.

¹¹⁹ *Tāj al-‘arūs*, VIII, 251; *Qirā*, 314; *Faḥ al-bārī*, VI, 268.

¹²⁰ Bukhārī, V, 56. See also Wellhausen, 74, n. 1. Cf. further *Faḥ al-bārī*, VII, 120-121.

The Ka'ba

115

In a further explanation, the term "Ḥaṭīm" is again connected with the casting of objects, this time, in relation to the worship of Isāf and Nā'ila, which were situated near Zamzam. Al-Azraqī¹²¹ reports that the people used to cast between the statues of these idols the votive gifts which were donated to the Ka'ba, and this place was named "al-Ḥaṭīm". This report, which confirms that the area called "Ḥaṭīm" was situated opposite the façade of the Ka'ba, implies that the ground of this area functioned as a treasury for the votive gifts which were donated either to the idols of the Hījr, or to the Ka'ba itself. The nature of the votive gifts which were laid in the Ḥaṭīm is illuminated by the reports concerning the digging of the well of Zamzam by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.¹²² He reportedly dug this well in the days of the Sāsānī ruler, Kisrā Qubādh (488-531).¹²³ 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib is said to have excavated, during the digging, some significant objects. In one report, reference is made to some stones with ancient inscriptions,¹²⁴ but according to most versions, he actually discovered a treasure.¹²⁵ 'Ikrima (d. 105H/723) relates that the treasure contained a golden image of a gazelle (*ghazāl*) decorated with a pair of earrings, as well as jewellery of gold and silver, and some swords wrapped up in garments. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's fellow tribesmen demanded a share in the treasure, and therefore he cast a lot by arrows, according to which the jewellery had to be donated to the Ka'ba, the swords had to be granted to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and the gazelle – to Quraysh.¹²⁶ According to Sa'īd b. Jubayr (d. 95H/713), the treasure contained some swords and a golden gazelle. The swords were attached to the door of the Ka'ba, and the ga-

¹²¹ Azraqī, 75.

¹²² On Zamzam see e.g., Wellhausen, 76; Fahd, *Panthéon*, 210ff. According to Wellhausen, 76, n. 2, Zamzam was "die einzige Quelle von Mekka und also wahrscheinlich der Ursprung sowohl des Heiligtums als der Stadt." This observation which has been shared by other scholars as well (e.g., Snouck Hurgronje, as quoted by Wensinck in *Handwörterbuch des Islam*, s.v., "Ka'ba"). See also Von Grunebaum, 21; Fahd, *Panthéon*, 40) seems to be inaccurate. Muslim sources contain detailed accounts of wells which existed outside and inside Mecca prior to the digging of Zamzam. See e.g., Fākihi, 486^bff.; Azraqī, 68-70, 436ff.; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 61; Hamdāni, II, 33-34; Kalā'ī, I, 223; Ḥalabi, I, 35. It is interesting to note that a well called Zamzam existed in al-Madīna as well. See Samhūdī, II, 254; Nahrawālī, 34-35.

¹²³ Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 127. Some Qurashī rivals of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, especially from Nawfal, objected to the digging. See Balādhuri, *Ansab*, I, 78; Ḥalabi, I, 35.

¹²⁴ Fākihi, 339^a.

¹²⁵ Cf. Dozy, 91-92; Hawting, "Zamzam", 45ff.

¹²⁶ Fākihi, 338^a-338^b. Cf. also Ibn Habīb, *Munammaq*, 415-416.

zelle was hung inside.¹²⁷ According to Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab (d. 94H/713), ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib excavated a golden gazelle, a sword and jewellery which were all consecrated to the Kaʿba.¹²⁸ According to al-Zuhrī (d. 124H/742), the treasure contained some swords which were donated to the Kaʿba.¹²⁹ These objects seem to have been part of the votive gifts which used to be cast in the Ḥaṭīm. The fact that they contained an image of a gazelle accords with the fact that the same area was also considered as the residence of sacred animals. One may even suppose that some of the sacred stones in this vicinity were shaped in the form of cattle or sheep.¹³⁰

The origin of the objects which were excavated by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib is said to have been Persian. In a unique report quoted by Mughulṭāy from *Kitāb al-buldān* by Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204H/819), it is related that the Persian king Bābāk b. Sāsān set out for al-Yaman, and (as he passed through Mecca) he buried (*dafana*) some swords and jewellery “in the place of the well of Zamzam” (*fī mawḍiʿi biʿr Zamzam*). These objects were excavated later on by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.¹³¹ This tradition which alludes to a certain involvement of the Persians in the Meccan cult in pre-Islamic times,¹³² indicates clearly that the objects which were discovered by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib were, indeed, votive gifts which had been buried in the Ḥaṭīm, or more accurately, in the “place of Zamzam” i.e., at the site where this well was to be dug later on.¹³³ The custom of burying

¹²⁷ Fākihi, 338^b-339^a.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 338^b. See also *Nahj*, III, 469.

¹²⁹ ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 315-316; Azraqī, 282-283; Bayhaqī, I, 72; Khargūshī, 194^a-194^b; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 219ff.; Yaʿqūbī, I, 246; ʿAdawī, 93^b.

¹³⁰ A Muslim legend relates that five rams (*akbush*) testified to Dhū l-Qarnaynī, who came to Mecca, that Abraham and Ishmael built the Kaʿba according to a divine decree (e.g., Ibn Kathīr, I, 165; ʿAdawī, 14^b). Commenting on this tradition, al-Fākihi suggests that these rams were actually stone statues. See *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, VI, 271 (from al-Fākihi): ...*wa-azunnu l-akbusha l-madhkūrata hijāratan*... See also Ḥalabī, I, 159.

¹³¹ Mughulṭāy, 57^a.

¹³² In fact, there is evidence that the Meccans had close relations with Persia which included also cooperation in ritual matters. In the commentaries on Quran VI/121 which condemns the relations of the polytheists with “their devils” one finds, for instance, the following statement: *inna mushriki Quraysh kātabū Fārisa ʿalā l-Rūm wa-kātabathum Fārisu* (Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, VIII, 13). In the same context it is stated that the Persians and the Meccans were allies in pre-Islamic times (*ibid.*, 12: *wa-kānat awliyāʾahum fī l-jāhiliyya*).

¹³³ Hawting (“Zamzam”, 46) holds that the objects discovered by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib were of fundamental importance for the Kaʿba, and not merely votive offerings brought by pilgrims. But in view of the tradition just quoted it is clear that whatever their importance to the Kaʿba may have been, these objects were originally votive gifts.

The Ka'ba

117

votive gifts was connected in many zones of the ancient world with the veneration of the dead.¹³⁴ The existence of a similar practice in the vicinity of the Ḥaṭīm indicates, therefore, that here too some noble dead were worshipped. This observation seems to be supported by the Muslim traditions mentioned above about various prophets being buried in exactly the same area. These traditions apparently reflect a pre-Islamic idea concerning the functions of this area as the dwelling of noble dead, in honour of whom, votive gifts were laid upon, or buried in, the ground.

Once dug by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Zamzam itself began to function as a treasury for votive gifts, i.e., a kind of *ghabghab*.¹³⁵ This seems to be the reason for the existence of a further version about the Sāsānī presents. This version says that Sāsān b. Bābak brought to Mecca two golden gazelles, jewellery, swords, and a lot of gold which he cast *into* Zamzam.¹³⁶ This version is based upon the assumption that votive gifts of pilgrims were not only buried in the ground of the Ḥaṭīm, but also cast into Zamzam. In reality, this could have been done only since the digging of the well by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

The Ḥaṭīm and Zamzam were not the only places where votive gifts were collected. Inside the Ka'ba there was a pit which had a similar function. It served as a treasury (*khizāna*) in which votive gifts donated to the Ka'ba were placed.¹³⁷ In a way, this pit was parallel to the Ḥaṭīm outside the Ka'ba, and this is illustrated most clearly by the fact that this indoor pit is sometimes called "Ḥaṭīm".¹³⁸ In some further versions about the votive gifts which were allegedly brought by the Persians to Mecca it is related that these objects, including a golden gazelle, were donated to the Ka'ba,¹³⁹ which probably means that they were deposited in the indoor *khizāna*.¹⁴⁰ Various precious objects which were donated to

¹³⁴ Robertson Smith, 114; K.C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods*, 1959, 17ff.; Y.M. Grinz, *Studies in early biblical ethnology and history*, Jerusalem 1969, 209ff. (in Hebrew).

¹³⁵ Cf. Fahd, *Pantheon*, 40.

¹³⁶ Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 242.

¹³⁷ Azraqī, 73, 169-170; ʿAdawī, 76^bff. See also ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 99; Wellhausen, 75. For the history of the treasure of the Ka'ba see Azraqī, 170ff. Hawting's doubts as to the real existence of this pit ("Zamzam", 53) seem unjustified.

¹³⁸ *Fath al-bārī*, VII, 120: *al-Ḥaṭīm huwa bi'ru l-Ka'ba llati kāna yulqā fihā mā yuḥdā li-l-bayt*.

¹³⁹ Halabī, I, 32; Suhaylī, I, 166; ʿAdawī, 92^a. See also ʿAskarī, I, 66.

¹⁴⁰ It is related further that these objects were later on taken out from the Ka'ba by the last leader of Jurhum and hidden in the place of Zamzam, where they remained till ʿAbd

the Ka'ba were hung upon its door or its walls, and details about these objects have been recorded by al-Azraqī.¹⁴¹ The most notable among these objects was a pair of ram's horns which were believed to have belonged to the ram that Abraham had slaughtered as a ransom for Ishmael. They existed till the days of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr.¹⁴²

5. The position of the Ka'ba in relation to other places of worship in Mecca

The Ka'ba was not always the primary place of worship in Mecca. In fact, some elements which are usually regarded as an integral part of this sanctuary, did not belong to it by origin. The Black Stone (= the Black Rukn¹⁴³), for instance, which, according to Wellhausen,¹⁴⁴ was the first kernel of the Ka'ba, was originally located and worshipped in an entirely different place. The original location and ritual functions of this famous stone are indicated in a most instructive report recorded by al-Fākihī¹⁴⁵:

... 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ from Ibn 'Abbās. He said: 'Quraysh discovered in the first period of their Jāhiliyya two stones on the summit of Abū Qubays. They were brighter and more beautiful than any other stones Quraysh had ever seen before. One of them was yellow and the other was white. They said: "by God, these stones do not belong to the stones of our country, nor to the stones of any other country we know. They must have descended from the sky." Later on, the yellow one was lost. Quraysh used to name it "al-Safir". They kept the white one till they built the Ka'ba, and then placed it in it. This is the Black Rukn'.

al-Muṭṭalib excavated them. See Azraqī, 52-53; *Aghānī*, XIII, 109. Other traditions maintain that the leader of Jurhum buried the objects, including the Black Rukn, inside Zamzam (e.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 120, 154; Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, I, 38; Shāmi, I, 217; Mughultāy, 58^b; Ḥalabī, I, 32; Kalā'ī, I, 126; Hawting, "Zamzam", 46). These versions are based on the view that in the time of Jurhum, Zamzam, being the well of Ishmael, was already existent. The stories about the hiding of these objects outside the Ka'ba seem to be based on a Jewish model, as indicated by Hawting ("Zamzam", 47ff.). 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib himself, reportedly, placed the gazelle in the Ka'ba again, and it was later on stolen and demolished by Abū Lahab and others. See e.g., Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, II, 37, 39; Ibn Hishām, I, 205; Ibn Sa'd, I, 145; Ḥassān b. Thābit, I, 135, 370, 213, II, 115ff.; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 54-67; 'Askarī, I, 64-66; Ḥalabī, I, 34-35.

¹⁴¹ Azraqī, 156ff.

¹⁴² Azraqī, 156; *EI*² s.v. "Ka'ba". See further 'Iṣāmī, I, 165. Others maintained that the horns belonged to the ram which was sacrificed by Abel. See Ḥalabī, I, 168.

¹⁴³ Cf. Hawting, "Origins", 38ff.

¹⁴⁴ Wellhausen, 74.

¹⁴⁵ Fākihī, 276^a.

The Ka'ba

119

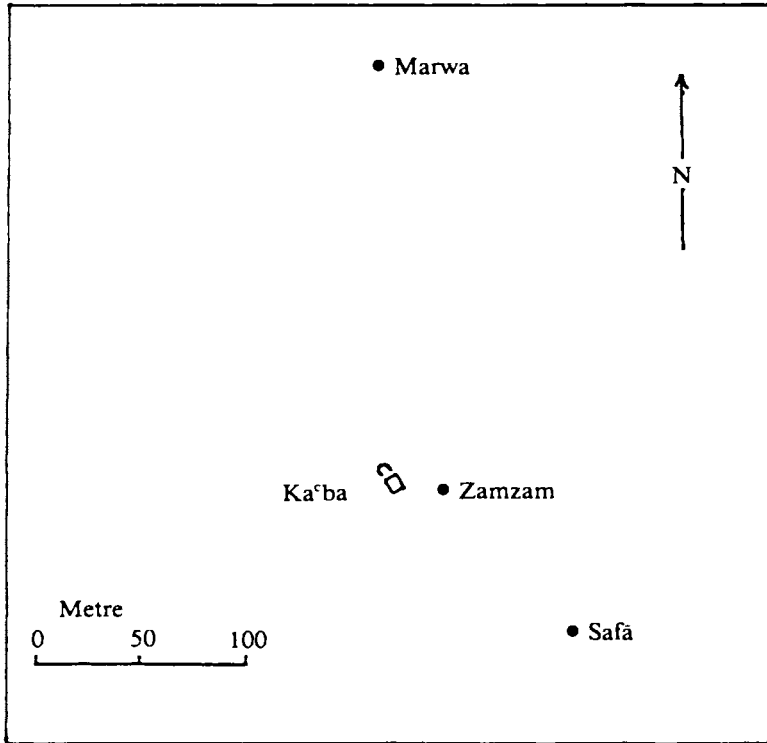


fig. 2. The Safa and the Marwa

This passage indicates clearly that the Black Stone was originally located on the mountain of Abū Qubays, where it became an object of veneration thanks to its unusual brightness, which was explained by its alleged celestial origin. Ibn Sa'd¹⁴⁶ as well, relates that the Black Stone was origi-

¹⁴⁶ Ibn Sa'd, I, 35. And see also Lammens, 102-103. Muslim traditions contain detailed descriptions of the actual installation of the Black Stone into its place in the Ka'ba. The main role in this act is played by young Muhammad. See e.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 209ff.; Ḥalabi, I, 145; *Fath al-bāri*, VII, 111; Bayhaqī, I, 333ff. According to Ma'amar b. Rashid, the stone was in the Ka'ba already before its building by Quraysh, being situated upon one of its unroofed walls. See 'Abd al-Razzāq, V, 102. One tradition relates that it was already al-Ya's b. Mudar who placed the Rukn in the corner of the Ka'ba. See Ḥalabi, I, 158 (but see *ibid.*, 17, where the same tradition refers to Maqam Ibrāhim); Abū l-Baqā', 56. Later legendary traditions say that the Black Stone was removed from Abū Qubays already in the days of Abraham and Ishmael. See 'Abd al-Razzāq, V, 96, 112; Azraqī, 32, 477-78; Suhaylī, I, 223-224; 'Adawī, 14^b; Muqātil, *Khams mi'a*, 81; *Qirā*, 294; Nahravālī, 30, Kalā'ī, I, 114-115; Khargūshī, 172^b; Ḥalabi, I, 158; *Et*¹, "Ka'ba".

nally located on Abū Qubays; the people used to ascend the mountain in order to stroke that stone, till it blackened. Quraysh removed it from Abū Qubays four years before Muḥammad's first revelation.¹⁴⁷

The real reason why the "Black Stone" lost its original brightness seems to have been preserved in the explanation of Mujāhid (d. 104H/722) as recorded by al-Fākihī. Mujāhid says that the stone became black because the *Mushrikūn* used to stain it with blood.¹⁴⁸ Others explained that the people of the Jāhiliyya used to stain it with intestines (*farth*) when they slaughtered.¹⁴⁹ It follows that the ritual functions of this stone were quite similar to those of the rest of the *anṣāb*.

An ancient inscription was also found upon the Black Stone; it was considered by Quraysh to be a Syrian one, and was deciphered for them by a Jew.¹⁵⁰

The mountain of Abū Qubays, where the Black Stone was originally situated and worshipped, was in itself a most sacred place. Here the pre-Islamic Arabs used to pray for rain. A tradition recorded by al-Fākihī says that people from the ancient tribe of ʿĀd prayed for rain on this mountain.¹⁵¹ The people of Quraysh headed by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, reportedly climbed the same mountain and prayed for rain upon its summit. They were answered immediately.¹⁵² The elevated position of Abū Qubays was fully preserved in some Muslim legendary traditions. In one of them, it is related that this mountain was the first to be set by Allāh upon earth.¹⁵³ Some traditions stress the superiority of Abū Qubays over

¹⁴⁷ And see also ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 40; *kāna al-Rukn yūdaʿu ʿalā Abī Qubays fa-tuḍīʿu l-qaryatu min nūrihi kullahā*. Later Muslim traditions reflect the view that the Black Stone actually descended from heaven, but these traditions were refuted by Muḥammad b. al-Hanafīyya who stressed that the stone had been of an earthly origin. See ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 38-39; Ibn Qutayba, *Tāwil*, 287ff.

¹⁴⁸ Fākihī, 277^a: *qāla Mujāhid: innamā swadda mā zahara minhu li-anna l-mushrikūn (sic.) kānū yalṭakhūnahu bi-l-dami fi-l jāhiliyya*.

¹⁴⁹ Fākihī, 276^b: ... *wa-kāna ahlu l-jāhiliyya idhā naharū laṭakhūhu bi-l-farth*. Others explained that this stone became black because of fire in the days of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr. See Fākihī, 282^b; ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 38; Azraqī, 153.

¹⁵⁰ Ibn Hishām, I, 208; Azraqī, 43; Kalāʿī, I, 270; Ḥalabī, I, 142.

¹⁵¹ Nahrawālī, 442 (from al-Fākihī).

¹⁵² Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, I, 82-83; Bayhaqī, I, 300ff.; Ibn Saʿd, I, 89-90; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munam-maq*, 166ff.; Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, 7ff.; Suyūṭī, *Khaṣāʾis*, I, 198-200; Suhaylī, II, 28-29.

¹⁵³ *Mustadrak*, II, 512; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, 306; ʿAdawī, 5^a, 142^b; Nahrawālī, 443; Azraqī, 478; Ḥalabī, I, 146.

The Ka'ba

121

other mountains. It is related, for example, that Abū Qubays and Jabal al-Bukā', which is another mountain in Mecca, had a race with each other, and Abū Qubays was the first to reach the vicinity of the Ka'ba. Jabal al-Bukā', which remained outside that area, has been weeping ever since.¹⁵⁴

Abū Qubays is also believed to be the sepulchre of some noble dead. Muslim tradition refers to Adam, Eve and Sheth as being buried in a cave there.¹⁵⁵ It follows that not only the area of the Ka'ba, but also other places in Mecca, such as Abū Qubays, were regarded as the dwelling of noble dead, and functioned as places of worship since pre-Islamic times.

It seems that places such as Abū Qubays diverted many worshippers from the Ka'ba, so that, at a certain stage, Quraysh undertook to establish the position of the Ka'ba as the leading place of worship in Mecca. For this purpose, they decided, first of all, to turn the Ka'ba into a permanent stone building. For the construction of the building, they reportedly used stones taken from various mountains, including Abū Qubays.¹⁵⁶ But apart from the actual building of the sanctuary, Quraysh apparently decided to affiliate into its cult all objects of veneration which had been worshipped at other places in Mecca, for instance, on Abū Qubays. This seems to have been the reason for the removal of the Black Stone from this mountain to the new building of the Ka'ba. It may be supposed that the stone was placed in its present location, i.e., on the outside surface of the eastern corner of the Ka'ba.¹⁵⁷ It is perhaps noteworthy that this particular corner is directed towards Abū Qubays, the original place of the stone.

Another object of veneration which was transferred to the Ka'ba when it was built by Quraysh, was the sacred stone known in Islam as

¹⁵⁴ Khargūshī, 174^b.

¹⁵⁵ Nahrawāli, 442-443; 'Adawī, 20^a, 142^b-143^a; Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, I, 109, 110; 'Isāmī, I, 74; Mas'ūdi, *Ithbāt*, 17.

¹⁵⁶ Ḥalabī, I, 153; *Faḥ al-bāri*, VI, 290. For the origin of the stones which Quraysh used for the building of the Ka'ba see further Azraqī, 154-155. Some legendary traditions related that the Ka'ba was built of stones taken from mountains in Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Sinai and Arabia. See Ḥalabī, I, 153, 159; Azraqī, 7, 30; *Faḥ al-bāri*, VI, 289-290; Suhaylī, I, 223; 'Adawī, 14^a; *El*², "Ka'ba"; Von Grunebaum, 19.

¹⁵⁷ In later days the Black Stone was removed more than once from its place in the Ka'ba, and was even taken out of Mecca. For details see 'Adawī, 128^{bff}.

“Maqām Ibrāhīm.”¹⁵⁸ The original location of this stone is indicated in a legendary Muslim tradition which is recorded on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 110H/728). It relates that the Rukn (= the Black Stone) and the Maqām were two sapphires which descended from heaven and were placed by Allāh upon the Ṣafā. Later on, Allāh took away their brightness, and set them in their present place.¹⁵⁹ This tradition is unique in indicating that the stone of Maqām Ibrāhīm was originally situated upon the Ṣafā, and, in this respect, it seems to be authentic.

“Al-Ṣafā” is the name of a well known sacred hill. In fact, it is the foothill of Mount Abū Qubays, and it is usually mentioned in the sources alongside another sacred hill – the Marwa. The latter is the foothill of Mount Qu‘ayqī‘ān.¹⁶⁰ It follows that Maqām Ibrāhīm was originally located very close to the Black Stone, and, like the latter, it probably served as an object of veneration, due to its unusual brightness which was considered divine. The above tradition of Wahb indicates that Maqām Ibrāhīm remained upon the Ṣafā till it was transferred to the Ka‘ba, together with the Black Stone.

Upon being transferred to the Ka‘ba, the Maqām was placed close to its front wall. Nawfal b. Mu‘āwiya declared that in the days of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib he saw the Maqām adjacent (*mulṣaq*) to the Ka‘ba, shining like a diamond (*mahāt*).¹⁶¹ In Muḥammad’s days, the Maqām is reported to have been situated close to the Ka‘ba, at a distance allowing only one she-goat to pass.¹⁶² On the conquest of Mecca the Maqām is again reported to have been adjacent to the Ka‘ba.¹⁶³ Only in the days of ‘Umar was the Maqām put in its present place, some metres away from the door of the Ka‘ba.¹⁶⁴ In later days, however, the Maqām was placed

¹⁵⁸ On Maqām Ibrāhīm see e.g., Wellhausen 76; Kister “Maqām”; Hawting, “Origins”, 30ff.

¹⁵⁹ Fākihī, 277^a.

¹⁶⁰ On the location of the Ṣafā at the foot of Abū Qubays see Muqātil, II, 21^b; *idem.*, *Khams mi‘a*, 82; Fāsi (Wüstenfeld), 84; ‘Adawī, 142^a; Azraqī, 477; Ḥalabī, I, 142; G. Rentz, “Abu Qubays”, *EI*². On the Marwa being at the foot of Qu‘ayqī‘ān see Fāsi (Wüstenfeld), 95. On the Ṣafā and the Marwa in general, see Wellhausen, 76ff.; Fahd, *Panthéon* 105; D.B. Joel, “al-Ṣafā”, *EI*¹; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, “Sa‘y”, *EI*¹.

¹⁶¹ Fākihī, 329^a. Cf. ‘Adawī, 86^a.

¹⁶² Fākihī, 331^a: ... *kāna bayna l-maqām wa-bayna l-ka‘ba mamarru l-‘anza*.

¹⁶³ Wāqidi, II, 832.

¹⁶⁴ See Bayhaqī, I, 335; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 120 (from al-Bayhaqī). See also *Faḥ al-bārī*, VIII, 129; Wellhausen, 76. The reasons for the removal of the Maqām from the Ka‘ba by

The Ka'ba

123

inside the Ka'ba for short periods of time. When al-Khargūshi (d. 406H/1015) visited Mecca, he saw the Maqām inside the Ka'ba, and was even able to see the footprints of Abraham upon it. According to his report, the custodians of the Ka'ba used to place the Maqām inside the Ka'ba during each *mawsim*, in order to protect it.¹⁶⁵ Like the Black Stone, Maqām Ibrāhīm also carried an ancient inscription.¹⁶⁶

The whole area lying between the hills of the Ṣafā and the Marwa seems to have been abundant with stones of special qualities, which could be turned into objects of veneration. This is reflected in the names which were given to these hills. "Ṣafā" means broad smooth stones,¹⁶⁷ and "Marwa" means a bright glittering stone which may produce fire.¹⁶⁸ In fact, this area seems to have formed a cultic zone of its own, with many objects of veneration.

In some early poetic verses ascribed to Abū Ṭālib, reference is made to images (*ṣūra*) and statues (*tamāthil*) situated in the vicinity of the Ṣafā and the Marwa.¹⁶⁹ In another verse, ascribed to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, he refers to his camels which were grazing between the Ṣafā and the Marwa, and the "black ritual stones" ("*al-marwatayni wa-l-mashā'iri l-*

'Umar are not clear. According to Ibn Jurayj, 'Umar wished to secure the Maqām from the damage of the crowds (during the *ṭawāf*). See Fākihi, 331^a. According to Mujāhid, 'Umar wanted to protect the Maqām from the torrents. See 'Abd al-Razzāq, V, 47-48.

Whatever the reason, the removal of the Maqām from the Ka'ba had to be legitimized, and appropriate traditions were introduced in due course, claiming that 'Umar merely restored the Maqām to its original place after it had been washed away by a torrent. This was the place of the Maqām since Abraham's days. See *Qirā*, 345-346; 344-345; Azraqi, 275, 276; 'Adawi, 86^b-87^a. One tradition relates that it was already Muḥammad himself who placed the Maqām in its present place, following the advice of 'Umar. See Suyūṭi, *Durr*, I, 119 (Ibn Abi Dāwūd); *Fath al-bāri*, VIII, 129 (Ibn Mardawayhi); cf. Ḥalabi, I, 161. Some scholars, however, objected to the removal of the Maqām from the Ka'ba, claiming that its original place was rather close to the Ka'ba. See Fākihi, 331^a, 331^b; 'Abd al-Razzāq, V, 48; Azraqi, 277; *Qirā*, 345. Some traditions relate, accordingly, that the Maqām was attached to the Ka'ba by no other than Abraham himself. See *Fath al-bāri*, VIII, 129 ('Abd al-Razzāq), VI, 289; Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, II, 49; Shāmi, I, 182; Kalā'ī, I, 115; Ḥalabi, I, 161; Ibn Kathīr, I, 164. A harmonizing tradition holds that the Maqām was adjacent to the Ka'ba since the days of Muḥammad, then was transferred by 'Umar to its present place, then it was swept away by a flood towards the Ka'ba, and then 'Umar put it again in its previous place. See *Fath al-bāri*, VIII, 129 (Ibn Abi Ḥatim). For further data on this matter see M.J. Kister, "Maqām Ibrāhīm", *EI*².

¹⁶⁵ Khargūshi, 190^a.

¹⁶⁶ See Dozy, 155ff., 195ff.; Kister, "Maqām", 486ff.

¹⁶⁷ *Tāj al-'arūs*, s.v. "*ṣ.f.w.*".

¹⁶⁸ *Tāj al-'arūs*, s.v. "*m.r.w.*".

¹⁶⁹ Ibn Hishām, I, 292.

sūd”).¹⁷⁰ A report recorded by al-Fākihi relates that when Muḥammad conquered Mecca, there were in it 36 (!) idols; one was upon the Ṣafā, one upon the Marwa, and the rest covered the area between them.¹⁷¹ Some reports mention the names of two idols which were upon the Ṣafā and the Marwa in pre-Islamic times – Isāf and Nā’ila. The one who set them there is said to have been ‘Amr b. Luḥayy from Khuzā’a.¹⁷² This means that Isāf and Nā’ila, like the Black Stone and Maqām Ibrāhīm, had been worshipped in the area of the Ṣafā and the Marwa, before Quraysh transferred them to the vicinity of the Ka’ba, i.e., to the Hijr.

The removal of Isāf and Nā’ila from the Ṣafā and the Marwa is ascribed to Quṣayy, the one who established Quraysh as the leading power in Mecca.¹⁷³ It is reported that he placed one of these idols next to the Ka’ba, and the other – in the place where the well of Zamzam was to be dug later on. Others say that he set both of them in the place of Zamzam, where they remained till the conquest of Mecca.¹⁷⁴

The worship of the idols at the Ṣafā and the Marwa consisted in the *ṭawāf* (circumambulation) which was performed between these two hills. In so doing, the worshippers reportedly used to stroke the statues of these idols.¹⁷⁵ Other reports say that the Arabs used to recite a certain ritual utterance from which it may be concluded that they actually used to strike at the stones of the Ṣafā and the Marwa.¹⁷⁶ The *ṭawāf* itself was performed by running,¹⁷⁷ but only during one of its stages, upon crossing

¹⁷⁰ Muqātil, II, 251^b. See also Mughultāy, 26^a (from Muqātil).

¹⁷¹ Fākihi, 380^a.

¹⁷² E.g., Azraqī, 74-75; 49-50. And see also, Fākihi, 380^a; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 311; Yāqūt, I, 170; Waḥidi, 25. And see further, Wellhausen, 77-78; Fahd, *Pantheon*, 103ff.; Lüling, 172-173. According to some reports, Isāf and Nā’ila were made of copper (*Fath al-bāri*, III, 400). Some reports say that the idols upon the Ṣafā and the Marwa were named Mujāwid al-Riḥ and Muṣ’im al-Ṭayr. See Fākihi, 380^a; Ya’qūbi, I, 254; Azraqī, 78; ‘Adawī, 42^b. Cf. Wellhausen, 78; Fahd, *Pantheon*, 106ff. In a peculiar tradition recorded by Muslim (IV, 68), “Isāf and Nā’ila” are mentioned as a pair of idols at the seashore.

¹⁷³ See Kister “Khuzā’a”, 77ff.

¹⁷⁴ Azraqī, 74-75. See also, *ibid.*, 49-50; ‘Adawī, 41^b. And cf. Ḥalabi, I, 12, where the transfer of these idols to the place of Zamzam is attributed to ‘Amr b. Luḥayy. A divergent report relates that Isāf and Nā’ila were originally near the Ka’ba, and only later on were transferred by Quraysh to the Ṣafā and the Marwa. See Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 344-345.

¹⁷⁵ *Fath al-bāri*, III, 400 (Nasā’i).

¹⁷⁶ Fākihi, 380^a. The verse was: *al-yawma qarri ‘aynan/bi-qar’i l-marwataynā* (!).

¹⁷⁷ Fākihi, 380^a: ...*fa-kāna ahlu l-jāhiliyya yas’awna baynahumā*. See also *Fath al-bāri*, III, 400; Suyūti, *Durr*, I, 160; Wellhausen, 76.

The Ka'ba

125

the valley between the Ṣafā and the Marwa. Al-Bukhārī has recorded a tradition to the effect that the people of the Jāhiliyya used to say: "we only cross the valley running."¹⁷⁸ The reason for the running in the valley seems to have been the fear of floods which were quite frequent and dangerous in that area.

The *ṭawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa seems to have formed the major threat against the position of the Ka'ba as a dominant place of worship in Mecca. Therefore, those Meccan circles who considered themselves devoted to the Ka'ba, objected to this practice. These circles included the tribe of Quraysh, as well as the entire organization of the Ḥums, in which Quraysh formed the dominant part. The main object of this organization was to maintain the elevated position of the sacred territory of Mecca, in general, as well as the position of the Ka'ba inside this territory, in particular. The devotion of the Ḥums to the Ka'ba is indicated clearly in the explanation that the term "Ḥums" was derived from "al-Ḥamsā", being one of the names of the Ka'ba, referring to the grey colour of its stones.¹⁷⁹ The objection of the Ḥums to the *ṭawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa is demonstrated in the following report of Muqātil b. Sulaymān:

The Ḥums – they were Quraysh, Kināna, Khuzā'a and 'Āmir b. Ṣafsa'a – said: 'the Ṣafā and the Marwa do not belong in the sacred sites (*sha'ā'ir*) of Allāh'. In the Jāhiliyya there was on the Ṣafā an idol named Nā'ila (!), and on the Marwa there was an idol named Isāf (!). They (i.e., the Ḥums) said: 'it is improper for us to make the *ṭawāf* between them', and therefore they did not make the *ṭawāf* between them. . .¹⁸⁰

The report that the Ḥums did not make the *ṭawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa, which contradicts the information recorded by Ibn Ḥabīb,¹⁸¹ is mentioned by al-Marzūqī as well.¹⁸² It indicates that the Ḥums wished to confine the Meccan rituals to the area of the Ka'ba, which, according to the view of the Ḥums, was to become the only appropriate place for

¹⁷⁸ Bukhārī, V, 55-56: *lā nuḥizu l-baḥā'a illā shaddan*. See also *Qirā*, 369.

¹⁷⁹ Fāsī, II, 41, 43; *Qirā*, 381; *Fath al-bārī*, III, 412. And see Kister, "Mecca and Tamim", 139: "That the idea of the Ḥums was in fact connected with the cult of the Ka'ba is plainly attested by the fact that the Ka'ba was called al-Ḥamsā'."

¹⁸⁰ Muqātil, I, 25^b. See also *idem.*, *Khams mi'a*, 90.

¹⁸¹ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 180.

¹⁸² Marzūqī, II, 237: *wa-kānat al-Ḥums tada'u 'Arafāt tahāwunan bihā wa-ikhālān, wa-tada'u l-Ṣafā wa-l-Marwa*.

the performance of the *ṭawāf*.¹⁸³ In fact, since the transfer of Isāf and Nā'ila from the Ṣafā and the Marwa, their worship was affiliated into the cult of the Ka'ba, and the *ṭawāf* around them became part of the *ṭawāf* around this sanctuary. It is reported that when the Arabs made the *ṭawāf* around the Ka'ba, they started near Isāf, whom they used to touch, and concluded it near Nā'ila, whom they, likewise, stroked.¹⁸⁴

The attempts of the Ḥums to turn the Ka'ba into the primary place of worship in Mecca were not entirely successful. The Meccan rites were attended not only by the Ḥums, but also by tribes belonging to the organization of the Ḥilla, for some of whom there was no point in avoiding the ceremonies at the Ṣafā and the Marwa. It seems that certain idols continued to be worshipped by the latter at the Ṣafā and the Marwa, even after the removal of Isāf and Nā'ila from this area. Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (d. 256H/870) reports that those people of the Ḥilla who kept on coming to the Ṣafā and the Marwa belonged to Khindif.¹⁸⁵

With the advent of Islam, the last hopes for maintaining the leading position of the Ka'ba were lost. Muḥammad, although one of the Ḥums, attended the rites of the Ṣafā and the Marwa during each pilgrimage to Mecca.¹⁸⁶ His first 'Umra from al-Madīna was 'umrat al-qadiyya (7H/629), and during this 'Umra Muḥammad not only made the *ṭawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa, but also slaughtered sacrificial animals near the Marwa, declaring that this was the place of slaughter, together with the rest of the Meccan ground.¹⁸⁷ In fact, some reports state that the Muslims performed the *ṭawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa during this 'Umra, while the pre-Islamic idols were still situated upon these hills.¹⁸⁸ The *ṭawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa was eventually provi-

¹⁸³ The Aws and the Khazraj from al-Madīna, too, refrained from performing the *ṭawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa because they adhered to the worship of Manāt in Qudayd. See Muslim, IV, 68ff.; Bukhārī, II, 193-194; Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, II, 29; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 159; Azraqī, 78-79; *Qirā*, 361; Abū Dāwūd, I, 438-439; *Fath al-bārī*, III, 398ff.; *Mustadrak*, II, 270. Cf. also Wellhausen 28.

¹⁸⁴ Azraqī, 75, 121; 'Adawī, 41^b.

¹⁸⁵ Fāsī, II, 42 (from al-Zubayr b. Bakkār).

¹⁸⁶ E.g., Wāqidi, III, 959 ('Umrat al-Ji'rāna), 1098-1099 (Ḥajjat al-Wadā'); Ibn Sa'ad, II, 173 (Ḥajjat al-wadā').

¹⁸⁷ Wāqidi, II, 736: *hādha l-manḥaru wa-kullu fījaj Makka manḥar*. See also Ibn Sa'ad, II, 122; *Qirā*, 620; Wellhausen, 77.

¹⁸⁸ Ṭabarsī, II, 45: *fa-kāna l-nāsu yas'awna wa-l-aṣnāmu 'alā ḥalihā*. The pre-Islamic idols, including Isāf and Nā'ila, were demolished only after the conquest of Mecca (8H/630). See Azraqī, 75, 77; Wāqidi, II, 841-842; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, IV, 199.

The Ka'ba

127

ded with a proper Quranic rehabilitation.¹⁸⁹

The practice of running during some parts of the *ṭawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa was adopted intact by Islam, and the pre-Islamic saying about this practice (see above) was eventually circulated as a *ḥadīth* of the prophet.¹⁹⁰ In order to legitimize this practice, Islam connected it with Abraham, who, allegedly, had run in that area in order to escape the devil, or, with Hagar, who, allegedly, had run to and fro while looking for water.¹⁹¹ In adopting the *ṭawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa, Muḥammad's chief aim seems to have been to turn Islam into a religion which would be acceptable to all the Arabs, and not just to Quraysh and the Ḥums. With this object in mind, the prophet took some measures which were designed to break the old ritual restrictions of the Ḥums, and, consequently, he rehabilitated the *ṭawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa. The result of this was that the rites near the Ka'ba were reduced to merely one stage in the whole process of the pilgrimage, and the Ka'ba thus lost much of its exclusive status.

In fact, Muḥammad took another measure which had a considerable effect on the position of Mecca as a whole. The Ḥums, wishing to stress the elevated position of the *ḥaram* of Mecca, never went out of it for ritual purposes, and avoided the ceremonies of 'Arafa which lay outside the Meccan *ḥaram*. The prophet, however, attended these rites,¹⁹² thus making them an integral part of the Islamic pilgrimage. In this manner, Islam actually rendered void the ritual priority of the Meccan sacred territory.

¹⁸⁹ See Quran, II/158. Some Muslim scholars maintained, however, that the *ṭawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa was not obligatory. See *Qirā*, 363-364. The majority of the scholars, however, defined this practice as *rukṅ*, whereas others labeled it merely as *wājib*, or *sunna*, or *mustahabb*. See *Fath al-bārī*, III, 398; *Qirā*, 362; Tirmidhī, IV, 95.

¹⁹⁰ E.g., *Qirā*, 369 (Nasā'i). But running during the *ṭawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa was not always regarded as obligatory, and some maintained that the prophet used to run only to demonstrate his strength to the polytheists. See Bukhārī, II, 195; Tirmidhī, IV, 96ff.

¹⁹¹ *Et'* s.v. "Sa'y"; Von Grunebaum, 30-31. It is related that Moses, too, performed the *sa'ī* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa. See Fākihī, 377b; Azraqī, 34-35, 37, 38. Cf. 349.

¹⁹² E.g., Wāqidi, III, 1102. See also, *ibid.*, 1077-1078 (Abū Bakr); Azraqī, 128. It is reported that Muḥammad started to take part in the rites of 'Arafa already during the first year of his prophethood (Azraqī, 130), or, even earlier (Wāqidi, III, 1102).

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The Ka'ba

129

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131

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THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE ORGANIZATION OF THE "ḤUMS" IN THE EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL IDEAS IN PRE-ISLAMIC MECCA

Ugo Fabietti

I

Insufficient attention has been paid to the pre-Islamic organization of the Ḥums as a political type of institution. Traditional studies leave little doubt about this point. Wellhausen, for example, describes the organization of the Ḥums in terms of ritual association (Wellhausen 1887:85). In this respect he is followed by Caetani (1905 :148), who sees that institution however as an instrument of ritual rule by the Quraish over the rest of the Arabian tribes. Lammens, in a work dedicated to cults in pre-Islamic Mecca, dismisses the Ḥums in a few words as "les familles cléricales de la Mecque" and "les desservants de la Ka'ba" (Lammens 1919:130). Gaudefroy-Demombynes, in line with Lammens, defines the Ḥums as "une sorte de confrérie religieuse" (Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1923:171), being careful, however, in the wake of the previous authors, to describe their pilgrimage rites. O'Leary, in a celebrated book on pre-Islamic Arabia, talks about the Ḥums as a "clan" (O'Leary 1927:200) but does not elaborate. Arendonk, in the article "Ḥums" in the Encyclopaedia of Islam of 1936, writes that "The Ḥums is the name traditionally given to the inhabitants of Mecca at Muḥammad's appearance in so far as they were distinguished by special customs during the Iḥrām from other tribes". In the next edition of the same Encyclopaedia, Montgomery Watt takes up the "ritualist" interpretation of the organization. Finally, E.Wolf, perhaps the first anthropologist to concern himself explicitly with the Meccan society on the eve of Hegira, goes back to the idea already expressed in 1905 by Caetani: "The religious society of the Ḥums...headed by the Koreish, further served to reinforce their dominance in the religious sphere" (Wolf 1950:337).

Prominent in this panorama is an article by M.J.Kister (1965) on relations between Mecca and the Banī Tamīm tribe in pre-Islamic times. Kister presents the Ḥums as a religious association. But since his purpose is to illustrate the role performed by the Tamīm in the system of Mecca's economic and political interests, he is inclined to consider that association - of which some sections of the Tamīm themselves were part - in a wider perspective than usual. Although Kister is not primarily interested in analysing the organization of the Ḥums, he does offer a description of it through the presentation of Arab texts. From an

anthropological point of view this is of considerable interest because, contrary to what had happened in the past, the organization of the Hums is no longer defined by means of the observer's categories but in terms of self-description. The first important point to emerge from these texts is in fact a classification of tribal groups based on self-descriptive categories.

II

The pre-Islamic Meccan haram was frequented, as we know, by a large number of "tribal groupings" practising different forms of worship. This diversity of cults was not obstructed by the Quraish. Indeed the Quraish saw the great variety of groups frequenting the haram as an element favourable to their policy of commercial expansion (Wolf 1950:338). For that matter, there are no grounds whatever for affirming that the affiliation of a tribe or tribal group to a given haram was subject, in pre-Islamic Arabia, to any specific cult.

Tribes who declared themselves tied to a haram essentially recognized its "sacredness", without however being obliged to worship particular divinities. Thus, for example, absolutely no proof exists that tribes affiliated to the Meccan haram had to worship al-'Uzzā, tutelary goddess of the Quraish. What really mattered was that groups frequenting a particular haram were bound to recognize its "sacredness" and to abide by certain regulations governing the periods of truce and frequentation of areas influenced by the sanctuary.

Every haram, or better, every group controlling a haram, therefore adopted categories by which the type of relationship between the various groups and the sanctuary could be defined. As regards pre-Islamic Mecca - almost nothing is known about the other sanctuaries of the same period - the definition of tribal groups took the form of what might safely be called "social cosmologies". These were really the product of a particular "point of view": that of the Quraish, who occupied an absolutely central position in the context of inter-tribal relations founded on respect for the sanctuary.

One of these 'cosmologies' can be related to the distinction of groups into muhrimūn and muḥillūn. The muhrimūn category included all those who recognized the sanctity of the Meccan haram, performed pilgrimage, and complied with the regulations governing frequentation of the city and its markets. The muḥillūn category, on the other hand, included all those groups that did not adhere to the idea of the sanctity of the haram (Ibrahim 1982:343). These were considered "dangerous" since the majority of them were affiliated to other harams, and therefore did not respect the truce during the holy months; and also because no established form of cooperation existed with them. Indeed they were on effectively or potentially hostile terms.

The distinction between muhrimūn and muḥillūn corresponded therefore to a classification of all the Arab groups - both nomadic and sedentary - according to whether or not they recognized the "sacredness"

of the Meccan ḥaram. The distinction expressed on the other end the maximum of cohesion on a politico-religious plane (muḥrimūn), whilst on the other it was intended to signify the maximum conceivable gap between the sanctuary and those affiliated to it (muḥillūn). From the texts presented by Kister, next to the muḥrimūn/muḥillūn distinction, emerges that relating to another social cosmology: namely the distinction between Ḥums and ḥillah.

III

The Ḥums, of which the Quraish themselves were a part, was an "association" made up of those tribal groupings (both nomadic and sedentary) who recognized the sanctity of the ḥaram, totally complied with the regulation governing periods of truce, and professed the same faith. They are in fact defined as devout people, "devoted to their dīn" (Kister 1965:137). The term ḥums in fact denotes strict ideas about religion, devotion to a faith and courage in its defence. Any definition of the Ḥums as a group comprising those who recognized the sacredness of the ḥaram must be qualified by pointing out that, unlike the generic muḥrimūn who also respected the ḥaram, the ḥums recognized themselves as belonging to one "faith". The ḥums category appears in fact less extensive than that of the muḥrimūn.

Nevertheless the definition of the Ḥums poses less problems than does that of the rules which governed their recruitment. The organization of the Ḥums came into being by the initiative of the Quraish themselves, apparently during the period immediately following 570 AD (the Year of the Elephant), when they exploited the prestige gained in the overcoming of political difficulties which had put the independence of Mecca at risk. After 570 AD, a marked expansion of Meccan commerce occurred. Moreover the fact that this was achieved through the establishment of cooperative relations with tribes living in regions distant from Mecca may be said to coincide with the foundation of the Ḥums organization.

The Ḥums were in fact formed by the Quraish (almost certainly by those Quraish lineages responsible for the administration of the ḥaram, who were known as the Quraish al-baṭā'ih, cf. Ibrahim 1982:351) and by a certain number of tribal groups of whom only some resided in the Mecca area. A large part of the Ḥums were in fact scattered all over the Peninsula, especially in places where the Meccan merchants had interests involved in caravan traffic. It is very probable that the Ḥums residing in regions far away from Mecca were groups with whom the Quraish stipulated agreements substantially similar to the ilāf (economic cooperation pacts), and which were then "integrated" into an association composed of chosen elements. These groups came from different tribes and no entire tribe ever joined the Ḥums.

Although they were part of the Ḥums, the Quraish were distinguishable from the other groups in the association by a number of characteristics. Noteworthy among these, at least from an anthropological point of view, seem to be the fact that the Quraish "did not give their daughters

in marriage unless on the condition that the children would become ḥums" (Kister 1965:137). From an examination of the arab sources introduced by Kister it may furthermore be deduced that the Quraish were prepared to marry, apart from women belonging to their own tribe, only women originating from groups that were already part of the Ḥums. The marriage policy pursued by the Quraish reflected their position of superiority over the groups gravitating towards the Meccan ḥaram. This marriage policy was designed to strengthen their position vis-à-vis other groups, from whom they would take women but to whom they would not give their own except against precise guarantees of faithfulness to the system centred on the ḥaram of which they were the administrators and custodians. At the same time however, the marriage policy of the Quraish was also aimed at the acquisition of an ever large number of allies. The ḥums organization was by no means a closed group. Recruitment of its members was not based only on the ascriptive criterion of descendancy, but also on a voluntary basis, sanctioned moreover by the policy of marriage alliances put into effect by the Quraish. The latter in fact gave away their women to groups displaying the desire to join their organization but on condition, as we have seen, that "nobles" would embrace the idea of the Ḥums or that the children of Quraish women would likewise become Ḥums.

It may therefore reasonably be held that after 570 AD, that is to say after the foundation of the Ḥums, participation by the Quraish (or at least by those lineages that were part of the Ḥums) in a system of marriage exchanges with other groups was subject to acceptance by the latter of the Quraish "religion". Adhesion to the Quraish religion (dīn) was a complex act, accompanied by the establishment of marriage and political as well as economic ties. It is therefore normal that on the basis of these alliances and common interests, the Ḥums should have ended up thinking of themselves as a group of persons "strong in their conviction of the sanctity of Mecca, admitting the distinguished position of Quraish....and ready to struggle for their ideas" (Kister 1965: 135).

Contrasting with the Ḥums category is that of Ḥillah. Ḥillah were usually defined as those groups distinguished from the Ḥums as regards the performance of certain rites during the Meccan pilgrimage. From the iḥrām (ritual consecration on the boundaries of the ḥaram) to the ceremony of the ṭawāf (circumambulation of the Ka'bah), the Ḥillah observed ritual rules and restrictions different to those followed by members of the Ḥums. These differences of ritual were apparently not related to religious beliefs different to those of the Ḥums. Rather, the ritual differences were sought and imposed by the Ḥums themselves, this being a fact that has struck the majority of authors, inducing them to see the Ḥums simply as a "religious organization".

Gaudefroy-Demombynes has this to say: "On sait que le culte de la Ka'bah était aux mains des Coréichites qui organisaient, comme ils l'entendaient, le rite des tournées de la Maison Sainte. Ils avaient formé, au moins dans les années qui ont précédé l'Islam, une sorte de confré-

rie religieuse, les Homs, dont je ne sais si elle les comprenait tous ou si elle ne comptait qu'une partie d'entre eux...Gardiens jaloux de la Ka'ba, ils ne permettaient point aux non-initiés de conserver leurs vêtements pour accomplir le rite des ṭawāf. Ceux-ci devaient emprunter aux Coréichites des vêtements usagés et les revêtir pour la cérémonie" (Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1923:171).

During the visit to places within the ḥaram territory, the Hillah also had to follow a different route to that of the Hums. The Hillah were furthermore taxed and had to buy food and water for themselves and for their animals from the Quraish, who prevented them bringing these provisions with them into the ḥaram and controlled the institutions of the riḥādah and the siqāyah, that is to say the supplying of food and water to the pilgrims.

The ritual difference between Hums and Hillah consisted not only in impositions by the former over the latter; for they were also asserted through various behavioural restraints to which the Hums conformed during the period of pilgrimage: "Pendant que les Homs étaient en iḥrām ils obéissaient à des tabous spéciaux: quand venait la date des cérémonies du pèlerinage d'automne...ils ne sortaient point du ḥaram et ne prenaient point part aux cérémonies de 'Arafa; ils faisaient wuqūf au sanctuaire de Qozah (al-'Uzza), à El Mozdalifa" (Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1923:171). During the same period furthermore, the Hums "did not eat meat, nor did they prepare curd, they did not stay in the shade of house, they did not enter their houses through their doors" (Kister 1965:138). Kister maintains that "by the hardship imposed on themselves they wanted to express their veneration for the Ka'bah and the ḥaram" (*ibidem*), though it may be better to say that their protocol, the observation of certain eating tabous and the adoption of abnormal behaviour was aimed at ritually asserting their identity as a group distinct from the others (Hillah). Those groups which recognized the sanctity of the Meccan ḥaram, submitted to the rules for frequentation of Mecca and its markets, but did not perform the same ritual as the Hums when visiting the sanctuary in the holy months, were thus classified as Hillah.

IV

In the texts presented by Kister however, a certain ambiguity in the use of the term Hillah can be noticed. It is sometimes used to indicate those groups which, whilst ritually differing from the Hums, were nevertheless part of the Muḥrimūn, faithful to the idea of the Meccan ḥaram as a "sacred" and inviolable shrine; whilst at times it indicates a no better clarified number of tribes only part of whom recognized the sanctity of the ḥaram.

The Muḥrimūn, one of the two categories of the first cosmology, again according to sources, included "the hums and those tribes of the Hillah who in fact performed the pilgrimage" (Kister 1965:142). The sources thus give us to understand that a part of the Hillah did not perform the pilgrimage and that they thus came under the category of the Muḥillūn, characteristic of the first cosmology.

According to the texts presented by Kister the Hillah were furthermore those groups with whom the ilāf pacts were stipulated by the Quraish with other tribes and founded on exclusively economic interests. Indeed the ilāf seem to have been "intended for tribes who did not respect the sacred months, or - although performing the pilgrimage - were in the sphere of influence of the client kingdoms" (Kister 1965:134), that is to say vassals of the Byzantine, Persian and Abyssinian empires. The ilāf pacts were therefore complementary to the policy of marriage alliances put into effect by the Quraish, since both were designed to ensure the operating of the Meccan economic system, and where the ilāf acted as a "safety system" against the tribes with whom the Quraish had no other kind of relationship.

Hillah were however also those groups with whom it was possible for the Quraish to establish marriage alliance relationships. As we have said, this possibility was subject to acceptances by the Hillah of the "Hums religion". For whilst the name Hillah designated those groups outside the system of marriage alliances (not by definition part of the Hums), it also stood for a category of groups with whom such relations could be established. At the same time the term Hillah served to indicate groups not affiliated to the haram on the same model as that of the Hums, regardless of whether or not they frequented it or did not frequent it at all. In our opinion, the terminological inexactitude with which these groups were designated reflected the widely "fluid" nature of the model of interaction between the latter on the one hand, and the Meccan haram and the Quraish on the other. The Hillah category in fact included a number of groups among which it was possible to find both enemies (Muḥillūn) and potential future allies (Hums). We maintain that these incongruences at linguistic level stem from conceptual ambiguities inherent in social cosmologies that reproduce different models of interaction between a centre (in this case the Meccan haram and the Quraish) and its social periphery .

v

The first cosmology contemplated, as we have seen, the existence of Muḥrimūn and Muḥillūn. Here the distinction between groups was based on whether or not they adhered to the idea of the sacredness of the Haram. It was, if you like, a rigid distinction, but a very clear one. The second cosmology on the other hand envisaged a distinction between Hums and Hillah and was, at least in part, founded on a ritual type of discrimination. Unlike the first however, it was a conceptually "fluid" cosmology. In it the Hillah category included both groups that attended the Mecca and its haram, as well as those groups that did not recognize its sacredness. The Hillah, however, together represented a social area over which it was possible for the Quraish to extend their influence. The establishment of simple commercial agreements with groups that did not recognize the sacredness of the haram and the welcoming of groups into the association of Hums were two ideal starting and arrival points respectively, of the Quraish policy aimed at attracting the largest possible number of tribes into the orbit of the Meccan haram. Hillah were therefore those groups that could be expected to be won over

to the cause of the Hums: in practice, all groups.

If it is true, as believed, that the association was born in the years following 570 AD and that those same years saw a major commercial expansion of Mecca, then it is also possible to affirm that the cosmology which distinguished between Muħrimūn and Muħillūn came earlier than that founded on the distinction between Hums and Hillah. We cannot rule out the possibility that the previous rigid distinction between groups favourable or hostile to the haram may have been accompanied by a later, more "possibilistic" cosmology, in view of a steady extension of the influence exerted by the Meccan haram. A similar development of the ideas concerning relations between tribal groups and the Meccan haram would in fact tally with the purpose for which the association of Hums was founded: to defend the haram not only with the strength of faith, but also by means of diplomacy in converting different tribal groups to the Quraish cause.

VI

In the light of these considerations the constitution of the Hums can be related to the evolution of political ideas in the Mecca of the last quarter of the 6th century AD. In his work on the social organization of the pre-Islamic Mecca, E. Wolf has underlined the great importance here of kinship at an ideological level. He has pointed up the tendency to conceptualize, in terms of kinship, forms of social relations different in nature to those founded on genealogical bonds. Kinship, even if fictitious, became the principal ideological motive for cohesion among individuals and among groups, in the shadow of which forms of social aggregation, including elements not interrelated by kinship, could arise. The client-patron relationship, which developed on a large scale in the pre-Hegirian Mecca, was one of those aggregations modelled on kinship: "The client-patron relationship in its pure form involved a tie of ritual kinship, sealed by cummingling of blood and by an oath sworn at the central religious sanctuary, the Ka'ba.... Just as settlement in Mecca was nominally organized on a genealogical basis, so the functioning of social groups within Meccan society tended to be formally organized on the principle of the fiction of kinship by blood. This fiction was the only means by which, apart from slavery, individuals could be related to each other..." (Wolf 1950:335).

Furthermore, as Wolf points out, "The mechanism of kinship between patron and client provided backing for the individual who was poor or or powerless. It put the weight of powerful group of ritual kin behind him" (Wolf 1950:356), legally assimilating him to the individuals in the group on whom he depended. This institution however had limits: "Yet the same mechanism was also potentially disruptive of social stability. If a client was attacked, the protecting group had to make a show of force. This demonstration of force, in turn, involved the protecting group in ever-widening circles of conflict...the relations between patron and client acted as a double-edged sword. The extension of kinship bond to the individual merely increased the possibility of conflict between groups organized on the kinship model (Wolf 1950:336).

The kinship model therefore showed its drawbacks in its incapacity to ensure social stability. Moreover, in a composite society like that of Mecca in 6th century AD, characterized by the presence of heterogeneous statuses and anxious to establish steadily wider and more reliable links with the outside world, the kinship model must have appeared quite inadequate. Kinship is known to be a high unstable and unpredictable element when it is called upon to act as a criterion for regulating forms of cooperation. Moreover it does not constitute a model for such cooperation among individuals or groups that are not interrelated by kin.

The pre-Islamic institution of the Hums can, from this point of view, be interpreted as a more or less unconscious answer by the Quraish to the unreliability of a system based on the kinship model. This answer consisted in coupling a form of solidarity based on genealogical "proximity" (real or fictitious) with a type of cohesion based on a common "faith" (dīn). As often happens at the birth of an institution, this one, however explicit and innovative its purposes may be, is forced to follow the models of interaction already available to a society, and the conceptual forms familiar to it. So we need not be surprised if the pervasiveness of the kinship model in the Meccan society of that period ultimately supplied the bonework for the organization of the Hums itself. Indeed the Quraish, as we have seen, conceived the establishment of alliances with possible Hums groups in terms of marriage. It was marriage which in practical terms actually sanctioned the alliance, since it seemed more than anything else to offer assurances of stability and continuity to a politico-economic relationship. In fact, however, the marriage strategies adopted by the Quraish were inspired by a search for a form of solidarity based on something different to that of kinship.

In that way, besides creating an effect explicitly desired, which was to set up an increasingly wide network of functional alliances encouraging Meccan commercial expansion, the Quraish marriage strategies gave rise to a form of political organization profoundly different to that of the mechanism that ensured its reproduction. The quest for alliances, which made the kinship the central element of the Hums recruitment system and the means of widening the organization, ended up creating something new: a type of supra-tribal organization whose members - the Hums - considered themselves less united by blood ties than by the belief in a same religion (dīn).

It could therefore be suggested that the organization of the Hums, as membership of one faith, may have coincided with the rough outline of a political organization based on recognition of an authority different to the traditional one founded upon membership of one tribal group and as such, hinged to genealogical criteria.

It is often said that the birth of Islam represented a quality step forward in the conception of political life among the populations of Arabia in the 7th century, since its appearance is thought to have

marked the passage from a society founded on the tribal conception of solidarity and authority, to a form of organization based on recognition of the authority of what, lacking a better word, could be called "state".

We believe that, in a perspective aimed to underline the continuativeness of historical processes, a transformation of such magnitude can be better understood if we consider how the search for a system of alliances based on kinship had a partly paradoxical outcome: that of having started a kind of organization which puts the affiliation of through kinship into a decidedly second place. Instead, it gives prominence to a type of "community" based on standards of politico-economic cooperation expressed (conceived) in the language of religion. From this point of view, the Meccan organization of the Hums affords a good example of how ideas and expectations already present in pre-hegiran Arab society may, on a par with others, have paved the way for the developments of the epoch that followed immediately afterwards.

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THE CAMPAIGN OF ḤULUBĀN:
A NEW LIGHT ON THE
EXPEDITION OF ABRAHA

M.J. Kister

The record of the expedition of Abraha against the Ma'add and especially against the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a deserves special mention. The record of this expedition found on an inscription on a rock in the vicinity of the well of al-Murayghān refers to a tribal division of Tamim. It is the only case — as yet — in which a tribal division of Tamīm has been mentioned in an inscription.

This inscription « Ry 506 », found by the expedition of Professor G. Ryckmans, was published by him with a French translation and comments ¹. It was published with a German translation and valuable comments by W. Caskel ², rendered into English with notes and remarks by Sidney Smith ³ and by F. Beeston ⁴, who gave a penetrating analysis of the text. Of importance are the remarks and studies of J. Ryckmans ⁵. A comprehensive study of the inscription was given in Russian by A.G. Lundin ⁶. The inscription was partly translated into Arabic and furnished with notes by Jawād 'Alī ⁷. The text given by Sidney Smith was translated into Arabic by Iḥsān 'Abbās ⁸.

The rendering of F. Beeston of the inscription is here given in full :

« By the power of the Merciful One and His Messiah, the king Abraha (etc.) wrote this inscription when he had raided Ma'add in the spring razzia in the month *ḏḥbn* (and) when all the Banū 'Āmir had revolted. Now the king sent 'BĠBR with the Kindites and 'Alites and BŠR son of ḤṢN with the Sa'dites and these two commanders of the army did battle and fought, (namely) the Kindite column against the Banī 'Āmir and the Murādite and Sa'dite column against... in the valley on the TRBN route and they slew and made captive (the enemy) and took

¹ *Le Muséon*, 66 (1953), pp. 275-284.

² W. CASSEL, *Entdeckungen in Arabien*, pp. 27-31.

³ SIDNEY SMITH, *Events in Arabia in the 6th century A.D.*, BSOAS, 1954, pp. 435-37.

⁴ A.F.L. BEESTON, *Notes on the Muraighān inscription*, BSOAS, 1954, pp. 389-92.

⁵ *Le Muséon*, 66 (1953), pp. 339-42; B.O. XIV, p. 94.

⁶ A.G. LUNDIN, *Yujnaya Arabia w VI weke (Palestynski Sbornik)*, 1961, pp. 73-84.

⁷ JAWĀD 'ALĪ, *Ta'rikh al-'Arab qabla 'l-Islām*, IV, 396-98.

⁸ IḤSĀN 'ABBĀS, *Sharḥ Diwān Labid b. Rabi'a*, Introduction, p. 8 (al-Kuwayt, 1962).

satisfactory booty. The king, on the other hand, did battle at Ḥalibān and the (troops?) of Ma'add were defeated and forced to give hostages. After all this 'Amr son of al-Mundhir negotiated with Abraha⁹ and agreed to give hostages to Abraha from al-Mundhir, for al-Mundhir had invested him ('Amr) with the governorship over Ma'add. So Abraha returned from Ḥalibān by the power of 'the Merciful One (etc.). »

Beeston's comment¹⁰ shows clearly that the description deals with two campaigns : the campaign of the king, Abraha, at Ḥalibān¹¹ and the campaign of Kinda and Sa'd - Murād at TRBN¹². It is evident that we are concerned here with an enormous encounter in which many tribal forces participated.

Caskel remarks that the expedition might be considered a sa « Vor-übung » for the expedition of Abraha towards the North of the Arabian peninsula, which stopped near Mecca¹³. J. Ryckmans states : « Cette expédition aurait partiellement servi de base à la tradition d'une campagne de Abraha contre la Mecque »¹⁴. Altheim and Stiehl state that the expedition of Abraha recorded in the inscription « Ry 506 »

⁹ The phrase : *wb'dnhw/ws'hmw/'mrm/bn/mqrm/wrhnmw/bnhw/wahtlfw/'aly/m'dim is obscure. *ws* may probably denote — as pointed out by Caskel, *op. cit.*, p. 29, ad *Z* 7 — « aus einer drückenden Lage befreien ». A verse of Zabbān b. Sayyār may be consulted : *Wasi'nā, wasi'nā fi umūrin tamahhalat : 'alā 'l-ṭālibi 'l-mautūri ayya tamahhuli* (al Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Nasab Quraysh*, ed. SUĀKIR, p. 15). Perhaps the translation may be : Afterwards 'Amr b. al-Mundhir gave them sufficient succour; his son ('Amr — see CASKEL, *op. cit.*, p. 29, ad *L* 7) gave hostages for them and he (i.e. Abraha) made him governor over Ma'add.

¹⁰ BSOAS, 1954, p. 391.

¹¹ So vowelled in al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā 'sta'jam*, s.v. Ḥlībān. Yāqūt vowels : Ḥalabān (*Buldān*, s.v. Ḥlībān). Al-Bakrī states that it is « a city in al-Yaman, in the lowland of al Ḥaḍūr ». Yāqūt states that it was « a place in al-Yaman in the vicinity of Najrān ». He also quotes another opinion, that it was a water-place of the Banū Qushayr. Thilo locates the place according to Yāqūt and states that it is a wādī starting in the mountain-chain of 'Arwā and flowing into the Rikā' Sirra. It is located in the vicinity of Yadhbul — see THILO, *Ortsnamen*, s.v. Ḥalabān.

¹² See BEESTON, *op. cit.*, p. 391; LUNDIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77 (n. 66-67). See esp. al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā 'sta'jam*, s.v. Turāba : « It is a place in the territory of the Banū 'Āmir »; see 'Arrām b. al-Asbagh, *Asmā' jibāl Tihāma (Nawādir al-makḥṣūfāt)*, ed. HĀRŪN, VIII, 146).

¹³ CASKEL, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹⁴ J. RYCKMANS, *Inscriptions historiques Sabéennes, Le Muséon*, 1953, p. 342; LUNDIN, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

THE CAMPAIGN OF HULUBĀN

427

is in fact the « Expedition of the Elephant » mentioned in the Qur'ān ¹⁵. Lundin devotes a comprehensive discussion to the proposition of Altheim - Stiehl and refutes their assumption stating that the « Expedition of the Elephant » is not connected with the events of 547 A.D., recorded in the inscription « Ry 506 » ¹⁶. He assumes that the « Expedition of the Elephant » took place about 563 A.D. ¹⁷.

Some remarks concerning this controversy may be made here.

The tradition of Ibn al-Kalbī stating that the Prophet was born 23 years after the « Expedition of the Elephant » is not « an isolated one » (« Danniye Muh. b. al-Kalbī stoyat osobnyakom ») - as Lundin claims. There are many traditions stating that the Prophet was not born on the « Day of the Elephant » or in the year of « the Elephant »; these can, however, not be discussed here. One of these traditions, an important one, may be quoted here.

Ḥaddathanā al-Zubayru qāla : wa-ḥaddathanī 'Umaru bnu Abī Bakrin al-Mu'ammilī 'an Zakariyā 'bni Abī 'Īsā 'an 'bni Shihābin anna Qurayshan kānat tn'uddu qabla 'adadi rasūli 'llāhi (ṣ) min zamani 'l-filī. Kānū ya'uddūna bayna 'l-filī wa-bayna 'l-fijāri arba'ina sanatan. Wa-kānū ya'uddūna bayna 'l-fijāri wa-bayna wafāti Hishāmi 'bni l-Mughīrati sitta sinīna. Wa-kānū ya'uddūna bayna wafāti Hishāmin wa-bayna bunyāni l-ka'batī tis'a sinīna. Wa-kānū ya'uddūna bayna bunyāni l-ka'batī wa-bayna an kharaja rasūlu 'llāhi ilā l-madinati khamsa 'ashrata sanatan. Minhā khamsu sinīna qabla an yunzala 'alayhi. Thumma kāna l-'adadu yu'addu.

... « Ibn Shihāb (i.e. al-Zuhrī - K) : Quraysh counted, before the chronology of the Prophet, from the time of the 'Elephant'. Between the Elephant and the (battle of the) Fijār they counted 40 years. Between the Fijār and the death of Hishām b. al-Mughīra they counted 6 years. Between the death of Hishām and the building of the Ka'ba they counted 9 years. Between the building of the Ka'ba and the departure of the Prophet for al-Madīna (i.e. the Hijra - K) they counted 15 years; he stayed 5 years (of these 15) not receiving the revelation. Then the counting (of the usual chronology) was as follows. »

This tradition of al-Zuhrī is recorded by al-Zubayr b. Bakkār in

¹⁵ F. ALTHEIM - R. STIEHL, *Araber und Sassaniden (Edwin Redslob zum 70 Geburtstag, Berlin 1954, pp. 200-207 : Mohammeds Geburtsjahr)*; F. ALTHEIM - R. STIEHL, *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike*, pp. 145-148 and 353-355.

¹⁶ LUNDIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83.

¹⁷ LUNDIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84.

his « Nasab Quraysh »¹⁸ and is quoted in Ibn 'Asākir's « Ta'rikh Dimashq »¹⁹. This tradition is not connected directly with the date of the birth of the Prophet and seems to be trustworthy. It fixes the date of the « Expedition of the Elephant » at 552 A.D. It is exactly the date fixed for the inscription « Ry 506 » by Beeston²⁰. The proposition of Altheim-Stiehl seems to be correct : the inscription « Ry 506 » is apparently a record of the « Expedition of the Elephant ». The problem of the date of the birth of the Prophet deserves to be dealt with in a separate study.

Some additional details about the « Expedition of the Elephant », hitherto unknown, may here be quoted as well. Al-Balādhuri records a tradition on the authority of Ibn Da'b : Jābir b. Sufyān, the father of Ta'abbāṭa Sharran (Ibn al-Kalbī says : Jābir b. Sufyān b. 'Adiyy. Others say : Sufyān b. 'Amaythil b. 'Adiyy) said about the « Day of the Elephant » :

Atānā rākibun fa-na'ā Unāsan
wa-'Abbāsan wa-nāsan ākharinā
Aqamnā bi-l-Mughhammasi niṣfa shahrin
wa ...²¹ hum bihā mutajāwirinā²²

A horseman came to us and announced the death of Unās²³
and the death of 'Abbās and other people
We stayed at al-Mughhammas half a month
and ... them in it, staying close together.

There is no intimation as to who the persons, mentioned in the verses, were. They were evidently from the tribe of Jābir b. Sufyān, from the Fahm. From the verses we gather that the father of Ta'abbāṭa Sharran witnessed the battle. They clearly point to the fact that Fahm took part in the battle against Abrahā.

It may be of some interest to mention, that the family of Ta'abbāṭa Sharran had some relations with Mecca. Umayya²⁴, the daughter

¹⁸ Ms. BODLEY, f. 129b.

¹⁹ I, 28 (ed. AL-MUNAJJID); comp. a tradition recounted by Mūsā b. 'Uqba on the authority of Zubri : Al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, I, 22; and see Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, II, 260-62.

²⁰ BSOAS, 1954, p. 391, n. 2.

²¹ I could not decipher the word. It is written *ويجروهم*.

²² al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, ms. f. 1125a.

²³ Perhaps Iyās (instead of Unās).

²⁴ In the « Iṣāba » : Āmina; al-Isti'āb : Āmina bint Naufal b. Jābir.

THE CAMPAIGN OF ḤULUBĀN

429

of Jābir b. Sufyān, the sister of Ta'abbata Sharran, married Naufal b. Asad²⁵. Her son 'Adiyy b. Naufal b. Asad, the brother of Warāqa b. Naufal, was appointed by 'Umar or 'Uthmān as governor of Ḥaḍramaut.

Lundin discussing whether the inscription of « Ry 506 » can be connected with the « Expedition of the Elephant » argues, that the inscription does not contain the names of the men mentioned in the North-Arabian tradition : Nufayl b. Ḥabīb, the guide of Abraha, Muḥammad b. Khuzā'i, claimed to have been appointed over Ma'add²⁶, the Khath'am etc. One may remark, that the tradition of Ṭabarī explicitly says that Muḥ. b. Khuzā'i was killed by the Kināna. Abraha advancing against Kināna intended to avenge the murder of Muḥ. b. Khuzā'i²⁷. A contradictory tradition, recorded by Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb, states that Muḥ. b. Khuzā'i was with the army of Abraha with the Elephant²⁸. In both cases (whether Muḥ. b. Khuzā'i was alive or dead) there was no reason to mention his name on an inscription recording the events of a battle between the forces of Abraha and of revolting tribes. That seems to have been the reason that the name of the guide of Abraha was not mentioned either.

It is a fact that in a relatively short time the decisive events fell into oblivion, poems composed on the occasion of the battles were lost. Only dim memories of the campaigns were preserved in a few verses.

A peculiar passage in al Balādhuri's « Ansūb »²⁹ may shed new light on the relations between Abraha and Mecca, emphasizing the economic aspect :

... Minhumu 'l-Ḥārithu bnu 'Alqamata 'bni Kaladata 'bni 'Abdi Manūfi 'bni 'Abdi l-Dāri, rahīnātu Qurayshin 'inda Abī Yaksūma l-Ḥabshiyi,

²⁵ See al-Muṣ'ab, *Nasab Quraysh*, p. 209; al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Jamharat Nasab Quraysh*, I, 421, 423 (ed. Suḥkūr); Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, n° 5484; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Isti'āb*, p. 502.

²⁶ In the tradition of al-Ṭabarī (I, 551; ed. Cairo 1939) he was appointed over Muḍar, not over Ma'add.

²⁷ al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, *ib.*; al-Ṭabarī in his *Majma' al-Bayān* XXX, 191 seq. tells that Abraha — when on his way against Mecca with his army — sent a man from Sulaym as a missionary to summon the people to make the pilgrimage to his church, which he had built. A man from the Kināna, from the Ḥuṣn, met him and fought him. That increased the wrath of Abraha.

²⁸ al-Muḥabbar, p. 130.

²⁹ Ms. f. 811a.

hīna dakhala Makkata qaumun min tujjārihim fī ḥaṭmatin kānat, fa-wathaba ahdāthun 'alā ba'dī mū kāna ma'ahum fa-'ntahabūhu fa-waqa'at baynahum munāfaratun, thumma 'ṣṭalahū ba'da an maḍat 'iddatun min wujūhi Qurayshin ilā Abī Yaksūma wa-sa'alūhu allā yaqṭa'a tujjāra ahli mamlakatihi 'anhum. Fa-dufi'a l-Hārithu wa-ghayruhu rnhīnatan. Fa-kāna yukrimuhum wa-yaṣiluhum wa-kānū yubḍi'ūna l-baḍū'i'a ilā Makkata li-anfusihim.

... « From them (i.e. the Banū 'Abd al-Dār - K) was al-Hārith b. 'Alqama b. Kalada b. 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd al Dār, the hostage of Quraysh handed over to Abū Yaksūm, the Abyssinian. (It happened) when a group of their merchants entered Mecca in a barren year. Some young men attacked and robbed them of their merchandise. Then discord broke out among them. They were later reconciled, after a group of nobles of Quraysh went to Abū Yaksūm and requested him not to cut off the merchants of his kingdom from (coming to) them. Al-Hārith and others were handed over as hostages to him (i.e. to Abraha-K). He honoured them and showed them friendship and they sent merchandise for themselves to Mecca. »

Al-Hārith b. 'Alqama is also mentioned as hostage of Quraysh with Abū Yaksūm the Abyssinian in al-Zubayr b. Bakkār's « Nasab Quraysh »²⁰.

This passage of the « Ansāb » is quoted by M. Ḥamidullah in his *Les rapports économique - diplomatiques de la Mecque (Mélanges L. Masignon, II, 302)* and in his *Le Prophète de l'Islam*, p. 195. Unfortunately Ḥamidullah misinterpreted an expression of the report of al Balād-hurī. Ḥamidullah renders the text as follows : « ... ils s'excusèrent donc auprès du Négus ... Le Négus Abū Yaksūm (c.à.d. le roi de la dynastie d'Axoum) traita ces otages avec bonté ... » (*Les rapports, ib.*). And in his *Le Prophète de l'Islam* : « Le 'Abdarite al-Hārith b. 'Alqamah fut l'otage quraichite entre les mains du roi d'Abyssinie Abū Yaksūm (= aksoumite) ... furent allés auprès de l'Aksoumite... »

But in the text quoted above there is no mention of the Negus at all. The expression « Abū Yaksūm al-Ḥabashī » refers to *A b r a h a*, whose « Kunya » was *A b ū Y a k s ū m*, because he had a son called Yaksūm, who ruled after his death. The merchants who were attacked at Mecca were not necessarily Abyssinians; they were evidently Yamani merchants.

It is of interest to note that Ṭhaqif also surrendered hostages to

²⁰ Ms. BODLEY, f. 69a; and see Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, n° 8705 and n° 8714.

THE CAMPAIGN OF ḤULUBĀN

431

Abraha. Al-Balādhurī records that 'Utbān b. Mālik b. Ka'b b. 'Amr was « the hostage of Abū Yaksūm the Abyssinian »³¹. This tradition confirms the North-Ar. story about some contacts between Abraha and Ṭā'if.

The tradition here quoted point to the direction of the activity of Abraha : Ṭhaqīf (Ṭā'if), Fahm, Kināna and Hudhayl — all these tribes staying in the vicinity of Mecca. One is inclined to trust to some degree the North-Arabian tradition stating that the expedition was directed against Mecca and her allies.

It may be remarked here that there is a rather diverging tradition about the cause of the expedition of Abraha against Mecca : The grandson of Abraha (the son of his daughter), Aksūm b. al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Ḥimyarī went to Mecca to perform his pilgrimage. On his way back from Mecca he stayed in a church in Najrān. He was attacked by men from Mecca, who robbed him of his luggage and looted the church. Aksūm went to his grandfather, and complained about the behaviour of the men from Mecca. Abraha vowed to destroy the sanctuary of Mecca³².

The inscription mentions tribal troops of the army of Abraha despatched by the king : Kinda sent against the 'Āmīr, and Sa'd-Murād sent towards TRBN.

The troop of Sa'd, which we are interested in, was identified by Smith as a « sept of Quraysh »³³. Caskel identified the Sa'd as Sa'd al-'Ashīra³⁴. Caskel's assumption was accepted by Lundin³⁵. It was Jawād 'Alī, who for the first time quoted two verses of al-Mukhabbal al-Sa'dī from the « Mu'jam mā 'sta'jam », in which the help of the Sa'd for Abraha was mentioned³⁶. It is rather important to stress that *these Sa'd are in fact Sa'd of Tamīm*.

The passage of al-Bakrī³⁷ states that al-Mukhabbal al-Sa'dī boasted

³¹ al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms. f. 1139a.

³² al-Iṣbahānī, *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, p. 100-101 (ed. 1950); al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, VI, 394 (quoted from the *Dalā'il*).

³³ SMITH, *op. cit.*, p. 436, n. 2.

³⁴ W. CASKEL, *op. cit.*, p. 29, n. 124.

³⁵ A.G. LUNDIN, *op. cit.*, p. 76, n. 63.

³⁶ JAWĀD 'ALĪ, *op. cit.*, IV, 397.

³⁷ al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā 'sta'jam*, s.v. Ḥulubān; the first verse is quoted in L. 'A. s.v. « ḥlb » and in Tāj al-'Arūs (s.v. ḥlb); for the expression « ṣaramū l-umūra » see al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb*, IV, 158 (ed. SCHLOESSINGER) : « wa-naḥnu ṣaramnā amra Bakrī 'bni

of their (i.e. of the Sa'd - K) help extended to Abraha b. al-Ṣabbāh, the king of al-Yaman; it was in fact Khindif who were his followers. He said :

Ḍarabū li-Abrahata 'l-umūra maḥalluhā
Ḥulubānu, fa-'ntalaqū ma'a laqwāli
Wa-Muḥarriqun wa-l-Ḥārithāni kilāhumā
shurakā'unā fi l-ṣihri wa-l-amwāli

They decided for Abraha the actions (of war); the place of it was Ḥulubān, and they rushed with the « qayls » Muḥarriq and the two al Ḥārith both of them were our partners in kinship and possessions.

Al-Ḥamdānī quotes these very verses in his « Iklīl » remarking : ... « about Abraha the Qayl » says al-Mukhabbal mentioning their (i.e. of the Sa'd) loyalty (« mayl ») for him ». Further al-Ḥamdānī says : « About him (i.e. about Abraha) he said boasting of their deeds in war with him (i.e. fighting on his side — K) :

Wa-yauma Abī Yaksūma wa-l-nāsu ḥuḍḍarun
'alā Ḥulubānin idh tuqaḍḍā maḥāmiluh ³⁸
Fataḥnā lahū bāba 'l-Ḥuḍayri wa-rabbuhu
'azizun yumashshī bi-l-suyūfi arājiluh ³⁹.

These two verses are found in a qaṣīda of al-Mukhabbal in the « Ikhtiyārayn » (al-Mufaḍḍal - al-Aṣma'ī) edited by S.H. Husain ⁴⁰.

The verses in the « Ikhtiyārayn » contain, however, some variants which deserve to be mentioned :

Verse 1. taqaḍḍā maḥāsiluh (instead maḥāmiluh)
Verse 2. Ṭawaynā lahūm bāba l-ḥuṣayni wa-dūnahū
'azizum yumashshī bi-l-ḥirābi maqāwiluh.

The two verses, for which the editor could nowhere find parallels, are rendered by him as follows :

And on the day of Abū Yaksūm when the people were present at Ḥalibān after its products were consumed

Wā'ilin »; and see the explanation of the expression in al-'Askari's *Jamharat al-amthāl*, p. 62.

³⁸ Perhaps to be read « maḥāfiluh ».

³⁹ al-Ḥamdānī, *al-Iklīl*, ms. Berlin, I/II f. 109b.

⁴⁰ P. 204 (*The University of Dacca, Bulletin*, XIX).

THE CAMPAIGN OF ḤULUBĀN

433

We closed against them the gate of the fortress in front of which was a prince whose chiefs went forth with the javelins ⁴¹.

The commentary of the «Ikhtiyārayn» has «maḥāsīluhu» and explains «mā tajamma'a minhu», «what comes together, combines». «Abū Yaksūn» is explained: «a king»; «al-ḥuṣayn» is explained «a fortress, a palace»; «bi-l-ḥirāb» is explained: «he meant to say: his horsemen and his infantry».

Al-Hamdānī's comments are of some importance: «Ḥulubān — says Hamdānī — is located in Ḥaḍūr. Those who transmitted «Khaḍīr» refer to some king (wa-man rawāhu al-Khaḍīr arāda malikan min al-mulūki); he who transmits it «al-Ḥuḍayr» refers to al-Ḥaḍr.

The commentaries do not help us to understand this crucial verse of al-Mukhabbal. The commentary of «al-Ikhtiyārayn» does not explain the situation and does not say anything about the fortress (al-ḥuṣayn) mentioned in the verse. The commentary of al-Hamdānī does not elucidate the situation.

What can be deduced is that the Banū Sa'd of Tamīm were the decisive factor at Ḥulubān, where the king Abraha decided about the movements of the troops (maḥāfil). They opened (or «folded up») for the king a gate of a fortress, belonging to a mighty king and defended by well armed guards. This fortress must have hindered the advance of the troops of Abraha.

Of importance is the remark of al-Bakrī, that Khindif ⁴² were the followers of Abraha. Tradition is silent about the Northern tribes that aided Abraha: only the Southern Khaulān and Ash'ar are mentioned as his followers. It is only the Northern Ḥumays b. Udd who are mentioned as having fought on the side of Abraha in his expedition against Mecca ⁴³.

Other verses quoted by al-Hamdānī are 2 well-known verses of

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 168 (English text).

⁴² See CASSEL, *Die Bedeutung der Beduinen*, p. 15; and comp. Naqā'id, index (Khindif); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 32-34; al-Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, p. 7-8; al-'Ajjāj, *Diwān*, p. 60 (Ar. text; ed. AHLWARDT).

⁴³ See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, ms. f. 115b; «Ḥarb b. Ḥumays b. Udd, they were with Abraha b. al-Ashram and perished on the «Day of the Elephant»; 80 of them were saved», etc.

Labīd ⁴⁴ and the often quoted verse of Qays b. al-Khaṭīm ⁴⁵. They do not help us to know more about the expedition of Abraha.

* * *

Lundin remarks that none of the scholars who published the inscription tried to identify the persons of Abū Jabr and Bishr b. Ḥiṣn (or Bashīr, or Basshār; b. Ḥuṣayn or b. Ḥaṣṣān) ⁴⁶. Lundin stresses that in the case of Abū Jabr only his «Kunya» is known; his name is missing. He therefore attempted only to identify the person of Bishr b. Ḥiṣn.

The following lines can assist in identifying the person of Abū Jabr al Kindī :

In the «Maqṣūra» of Ibn Durayd ⁴⁷ a remarkable verse refers to Abū l-Jabr :

Wa-khāmarat nafsa Abī l-Jabri l-jawā :
ḥattā ḥawāhu l-ḥatfu fī man qad ḥawā

And passion pervaded the soul of Abū 'l-Jabr :
till death took possession of him among those
whom he (i.e. death) took possession of.

The commentary supplies important details about Abū l-Jabr. He was a Kindī, from the kings of Kinda (i.e. from the royal family of Kinda - K). His «kunya» Abū 'l-Jabr was his name. He went to Kisrā, asking for aid against his people. Kisrā gave him a force of his mounted troops (al Asāwira). When Abū 'l-Jabr with his troop reached Kāzima — the troop saw the wilderness of the Arab land and decided to return. They put poison into the food of Abū 'l-Jabr. When he was overwhelmed with pain they asked him to write a letter to Kisrā, stating that he gave them permission to return. He gave them the required letter. When they left he felt relief and journeyed

⁴⁴ *Diwān*, p. 108 (ed. IḤSĀN 'ABBĀS); see БЕРКСТОН, E.I. ², art. «Abraha», bibliography. The verse of Labīd : «Wa-ghalabna Abrahamata 'l-hadhi alfaynahu» (*Diwān*, p. 275) is however explained by al-Hamdānī as referring to Abraha b. al-Ṣabbāḥ b. Shuraḥbīl b. Lahl'a. «Some people say — remarks al-Hamdānī — that he referred to Abī Abraha Dbū 'l-Manār».

⁴⁵ *Diwān*, p. 61 (ed. SAMARRĀ'ī - МАТЛОВ); see БЕРКСТОН, E.I. ², *op. cit.*, bibliography.

⁴⁶ LUNDIN, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

⁴⁷ Ibn Durayd, *al-Maṣūra*, p. 82 (ed. al-JAWĀ'IB, 1300 A.H.).

THE CAMPAIGN OF ḤULUBĀN

435

to al-Ṭā'if, to the Arab physician al-Ḥārith b. Kalada al-Thaqafī ⁴⁸. He recovered from his illness due to the treatment of al-Ḥārith b. Kalada. He left for al-Yaman. But on his way back the illness returned and he died. He was mourned by his aunt (on his father's side), Kabsha, who composed the following dirge on his death.

Layta shi'rī wa-qad sha'artu abā l-Jab-
ri bi-mā qad laqīta fī 'l-tarḥāli
A-tamaṭṭat bika l-rikābu, abayta l-
la'na, ḥattā ḥalalta fī l-aqtāli
A-shujā'u fa-anta ashja'u min lay-
thin hamūsi 'l-surā, abī ashbāli
A-jawādu fa-anta ajwadu min say-
lin tadā'ā min musbilin ḥaṭṭāli ⁴⁹
A-karīmu fa-anta akramu man ḍam-
mat ḥaşūnun wa-man mashā fī 'l-ni'āli
Anta khayrun min 'Āmirin wa-'bni Waqqā-
şin wa-man jamma'ū li-yaumi 'l-miḥāli
Anta khayrun min alfi alfin min al-qau-
mi idhā kunta fī wujūhi l-rījāli

Ibn Durayd in his «Ishtiqa» ⁵⁰ and Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi in his «'Iqd» ⁵¹ mention that Kisrā gave Abū l-Jabr as gift Sumayya, a girl from Zardaward ⁵². Abū 'l-Jabr cured by al-Ḥārith b. Kalada gratefully gave him Sumayya as a gift ⁵³.

The story of Abū 'l-Jabr as given in the commentary of the «Maq-şūra» is recorded by Ibn Khallikān ⁵⁴. Ibn Khallikān quotes the verse of Ibn Durayd and the narrative about Sumayya. The record of Ibn Khallikān contains, however, a detail of great importance : two versions of the name of Abū 'l-Jabr. According to version (1) his name was Yazid b. Shuraḥil al-Kindī; according to version (2) his name was Abū 'l-Jabr b. 'Amr.

⁴⁸ See about him Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-'Arab*, p. 256; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isāba*, n° 1472; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms. f. 116a; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Isi'āb*, pp. 109, 304.

⁴⁹ Added from the ed. Cairo, 1324 AH, p. 82.

⁵⁰ Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiqaq*, pp. 305-306.

⁵¹ Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iqd al-farid*, V, 4.

⁵² Comp. Yāqūt, *al-Buldān*, s.v. Zardaward : it was al-Nushjāni who was cured by al-Ḥārith b. Kalada and gave him as gift Sumayya, the mother of Ziyād b. Sufyān (or b. Abihi, or b. 'Ubayd, or b. Abi Sufyān).

⁵³ But see contradictory traditions : al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb*, I, 489 and Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isāba*, VIII, 119 (n° 611 - women).

⁵⁴ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, II, 388 (ed. Bülāq, 1299 A.H.).

Examining these narratives in the light of the two versions about Kabsha as recorded in the MS. of al-Balādhuri⁵⁵, one may assume that Abū Jabr of the inscription is identical with Abū 'l-Jabr (or Abū-Jabr)⁵⁶ of the traditions quoted above and that he was from the branch of Āl al-Jaun.

Nothing could be found about the commander of the troop of Sa'd, Bishr (or Bashīr, or Bashshār) b. Ḥiṣn (or Ḥuṣayn). The suggestion of Lundin that he might have been a prince of Kinda⁵⁷ can hardly be accepted. There is evidence that the reading « Ḥiṣn » in the text of Ibn Khaldūn is merely a clerical error (al-Balādhuri *Ansāb*, MS. f. 996b.) It may be supposed that as a commander of a Klindif troop — and K h i n d i f were the supporters of Abraha at Ḥulubān — a chief from among them would have been nominated. Were the Sa'd of the inscription a southern tribe — as assumed by Lundin — the appointment of a Kinda chief would have been plausible. It may be pointed out that Bishr and Ḥuṣayn are names frequently occurring in North-Arabian genealogies. The silence about the leader of the Sa'd in the battle of Ḥulubān can be explained by the fact that nobody of the Sa'd was interested to recall the deeds of the ancestors, who had served the cause of Abraha and participated in the attack led against the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a and apparently intended against Mecca.

⁵⁵ See al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, Ms. f. 985b, 996b.

⁵⁶ So mentioned once in the report of Ibn Khallikān and in the « risāla » of Abū Yahyā b. Mas'ada (*Nawādir al-makhṣūṣāt*, III, 267 - ed. A.S. HĀRŪN). The *Mukhtaṣar Jamharāt al-Ansāb* (Ms. Rāghib Pasha, n° 999, f. 233a, line 2) mentions Abū 'l-Jabr, poisoned by the forces of Misrā.

⁵⁷ LUNDIN, *op. cit.*, p. 76, n. 64-65.

GENERAL INDEX

In the arrangement adopted here, the Arabic definite article (*al-*) at the beginning of an entry, the transliteration symbols for the Arabic letters *hamza* (') and *'ayn* ('), and distinctions between different letters transliterated by the same Latin character (e.g. *d* and *ḍ*) are ignored for purposes of alphabetization.

- Aaron, brother of Moses 161
 'Abbād Mashāyikh, Bā 180
 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib 245, 259, 261
 'Abbāsids 245, 260–61, 286
 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Atīk 148 n. 10
 'Abd Allāh ibn Jubayr 131 n. 11
 'Abd Allāh ibn Jud'ān 94, 96–97
 'Abd Allāh ibn Khaṭal 325
 'Abd Allāh ibn Rawāḥa 136–38
 'Abd Allāh ibn Salām 191 n. 2, 291
 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy 272
 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr 182, 318–19
 'Abd al-Ashhal, Banū 130, 131–32
 'Abd al-Dār, Banū 180, 209–10, 220, 221
 and sacred offices 245, 247, 248
 'Abd al-Dār ibn Quṣayy 209, 210, 234, 245
 'Abd Hind ibn Lujam al-Iyādī 90
 'Abd al-Malik, caliph 182
 'Abd Manāf, Banū 83, 180, 209–10, 211, 220
 'Abd Manāf ibn 'Abd al-Dār 234
 'Abd Manāf ibn Quṣayy 83, 209, 210, 234, 255
 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Banū 221
 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim ibn 'Abd Manāf
 ibn Quṣayy
 consults divining arrows 251–52, 331; in-
 cubation dreams 328–29; and Ka'ba 228,
 317 n. 16; land title 229 n. 64; name 262;
 prayers 228, 336; and *siqāya* 245, 255–57;
 verses ascribed to 289, 339–40; vow to sac-
 rifice son 251–52, 256, 263, 322; and Zam-
 zam 255–57, 262–63, 326, 329, 331–33
 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Mahdī 325
 'Abd Shams, Banū 210, 220, 221
 'Abd Shams ibn 'Abd Manāf 210, 235
 'Abd al-'Uzzā, Banū 220, 221, 234, 241–43
 'Abd al-'Uzzā ibn Quṣayy 234, 241–43
 Abela, Abila or Ahela (possibly Eylat) 155
 Abraha, viceroy of Yemen xxiv, xxxv, xl, xlii–
 xlvi, 42, 227–28, 357–68
 Abraham
 and Dome of the Rock 286; and Hījr 322;
 and Ka'ba 201 n. 2, 206 n. 1, 247 n. 5,
 279, 285–88, 289–91, 319, 334; and Meccan
 sanctuary xxxvii, xxxviii, 264–65, 266, 279,
 326–27; monotheistic religion, *dīn Ibrāhīm*
 xli–xlii, 198, 267–94; Quraysh and 288–89;
 sacrifice of son 286–87, 290, 334; and *siqāya*
 265; and *ṭawāf* 343; wells and springs
 associated with 264–65; *see also* Maqām
 Ibrāhīm
 Abū 'Afaḥ 153
 Abū 'Āmir 'Abd 'Amr ibn Ṣayfī 268–71, 275–
 76, 279, 280
 Abū 'Ammār al-Wā'ilī 156
 Abū Ayyūb (Khālīd ibn Zayd) 153
 Abū Ayyūb of the Ghamn ibn Mālik ibn al-
 Najjār 133
 Abū l-Baqā' 89–94, 95, 97, 100, 104–106
 Abū Barā'a 'Āmir ibn Mālik 94
 Abū l-Dardā' 137–38
 Abu Dhabi, routes 58, 66
 Abū Dujāna 139
 Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣṣāhānī 150
 term "Arab" used in his *Aghānī* 16 nn 2, 3,
 17 nn 8, 10
 Abū l-Haytham ibn al-Tayyihān 134, 137 n.
 42
 Abū l-Jabr al-Kindī 366–68
 Abū Karib xxi, xlv
 Abū l-Mushamraj al-Yashkurī 100–101
 Abū Marḥab 96
 Abū Qays ibn al-Aslat 271–75, 279, 280, 281
 Abū Qays Ṣirma ibn Abī Anas 280, 281
 Abū Qubays, mountain of 323, 334–37
 Abū Rāfi' 148 n. 10
 Abū Rughāl 159 n. 43
 Abū Sufyān 275, 322
 Abū Ṭalīb 288, 339
 Abū Yaksūm, the Abyssinian, *see* Abraha
 Abū Zam'a al-Aswad ibn al-Muṭṭalib ibn
 Asad 92
 Abyssinia xlv–xlv, 38, 54, 203
 Christianity xvii, xlv, 290–91, 318; *see also*
 Abraha, Aḥābīsh

- Acme 73
 'Ād 302, 336
 prophets 189, 193, 327; Qur'ān on 193, 299,
 302, 304
 Adam 337
 'Adī, Banū 220
 'Adī ibn 'Abd Manāt, Banū 106–107
 'Adī ibn al-Najjār, Banū 130, 280
 'Adī ibn Nawfal ibn Asad 361
 'Adnūn bar Ḥōnī bar Shemū'el rēsh Ḥigrā
 145–46
 adoption 323
 Adra 50
 Adulis, Abyssinia xviii, xlv
 Adummattu (Dūma, al-Jawf) 47, 48, 51, 55
 Adummu 49
 Aflaj 57, 62
 agriculture
 deities 312; influence of nomads 25–26; and
 political power 29, 30; sharecropping 24, 26
 Aḥābīsh xxxiii–xxxiv, 268
ahl al-kitāb (“People of the Book”) 200; *see*
also Christianity, Jews and Judaism
 Aḥlāf (faction of Quraysh) xxxii–xxxiii, 209,
 211, 220, 224
 Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn al-'Aydārūs, Ḥabīb 171–
 72
aḥmar 6
aḥzāb 193–94, 200
 Akhḍar, Jabal 58, 66, 67
 Aksūm ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Ḥimyarī 363
 Alexander III (the Great) of Macedon xi
 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh 325
 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib 131, 330
 Allāh
 and creation 307–308, 312; “daughters of”
 (al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā, Manāt) xxix, 117; pre-
 Islamic high god xxix, xlii, 118, 121, 307–
 12, 321, 322; and unification of Quraysh
 209
 Amalekites 146, 148, 149, 154, 206 n. 1
 Āmina, mother of Prophet 329
 'Āmir ibn Hāshim ibn 'Abd Manāf ibn 'Abd
 al-Dār 209
 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'a 92–93, 94–95, 96–97, 107,
 357–68
 Amman, routes 50, 58, 66, 70–71, 72
 Ammianus Marcellinus xv
 'Amr ibn 'Āmir ibn Zayd Manāt ibn Mālik ibn
 Tha'laba ibn Ka'b ibn al-Khazraj 85
 'Amr ibn 'Awf, Banū 130, 131, 132, 152, 153
 'Amr ibn Ḥawt al-Riyāḥī 92
 'Amr ibn Ḥind 46, 97, 98, 99
 'Amr ibn al-Iṭnāba al-Khazrajī 85–87
 'Amr ibn al-Jamūḥ 134–35, 136, 140
 'Amr ibn Luḥayy 340
 'Amr ibn Mas'ūd 102–103
 'Amr ibn Qays of the Ghamn ibn Mālik al-
 Najjār 133
 'Amr ibn Sharīk 97
 'Amr ibn Tamīm, Banū 107
 'Amr al-Ḍabbī 94, 95–96
 'Amru bar 'Adnūn bar Shemū'el rēsh Taymā,
 tomb of daughter of 145–46
 'Amūdī Mashāyikh of 'Amd 180
 Anatolia, transhumance 22
 Anayza 57, 59–60, 63
 al-Anbār xxv
 ancestor worship 12, 112, 116, 121, 131–32
 angels 309, 310, 318
 animals, sacrificial 273, 274, 329, 332
 animism 112, 115, 121
 Anṣār 132, 133, 135, 139, 153, 260
 of *ḥawṭa* 171; poetry 83–84
 anthropology
 comparative xv, xxxi; interpretation of
 Meccan martyr 205–43
 Antoninus Martyr Placentinus 155
 'Aqaba 51
 meeting at 134, 136, 137, 141
 'Aqedah 263
 Aqsās Mālik 90
 'arab, use of term 3, 5, 8, 16–18, 36, 39, 42
 in Qur'ān 3, 188, 191
 Arabia Provincia 53
 “Arabization” of Islam 186
 'Arafa, ceremonies of xxxvii, 36, 343, 352
 Aramaic language 115, 148, 161, 296
 arbitration, inter-tribal 168–69, 171, 180
 archaeology xii
 Archetype, Heavenly 189, 190
ardāf (chamberlains of al-Ḥīra) 87
 Arethas (al-Ḥārith) xx–xxi
 'arība/*muta'arriba* distinction 5
 arid regions 22–23
 'arīsh (“tabernacle”), Ka'ba as 314–15
 armour 40
 Arrhe, Arreni 37, 52
 Arrian 49
 Arsakides, league of 36
 Aryāṭ (Abyssinian commander) xlvi
 Jews of xlvi
 Asad (tribe) 40, 102–103
 Asad ibn Khuza'ima 92, 267
 Asad ibn 'Ubayd 152
 As'ad ibn Zurāra 133, 134, 281
asāwira (Persian mounted troops) 366
 asceticism 269, 277, 280
 al-A'shā, Maymūn ibn Qays 54, 88
 Ash'ar 365

- Āl Askharah 58, 66
 al-Ashnaq 136
 'Asir 39
 Asmā' bint Abī Bakr 282
 al-Aṣma'ī, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Qurayb 219
 Aṣṣur 48–49
 Assurbanipal of Assyria 48–49, 55
 Assyria 46–47, 48–49, 55
aswāq, see markets
 'Aṭā' ibn Abī Rabāḥ 259
 'Athtar, community of 175
 'Aṭīya, Banū 133
 atonement for murder 173
 al-Aṭwal 136 n. 36
 Aucher-Eloy (traveller, fl. 1830–38) 67
 authority, spiritual 181
 Avdat 51, 53
 avoidance, precepts of 225 n. 55
 'Awf, Banū 153
 'Awf ibn 'Afrā' ('Awf ibn al-Ḥārith) 133
 'Awf ibn al-Khazraq, Banū 138–39
 Aws, Banū xxx
 idol worship 130–33, 140; and Islam 268, 276; Jews 152, 153, 176; and Naḍir and Qurayza 83–84, 147; and *ṭawāf* 342 n. 183
 Aws Allāh 271, 276
 Aws ibn Ḥajar 46
 Aws ibn Ḥārith, daughter of 219
 Axum, kingdom of see Abyssinia
 al-Ayka 157
 Ayn Jawan 51
 'Ayn Tamr 90
ayyām, see battle-days
 Azraq 50
 al-Azraqī xxxi

 Bābāk ibn Sāsān, king of Persia 332, 333
 Babylonia
 Jews 147; religion 112–13; routes 49–50, 51, 52, 53
badawī, connotations of 15–16 n. 4
 Badr, battle of 137, 278
 Baghdad 58, 66, 182
 Bahrein 54
bā'ida/bāqiya classification 5
 Ba'ir 50, 53
 Bakr, Banū 15
 Bakr ibn Wā'il 89, 100, 101, 103, 106
 Bālāq, king of Moab 158–59
 Balī tribe 139
 Banacha 50
 banners
 of Ka'ba 179–80; war 208, 210, 245 n. 1, 248, 249, 250
 Bāqūm (Byzantine merchant) 317–18

 al-Barā' ibn Ma'rūr 134, 136, 281
 Barahūt, well of, Ḥaḍramawt 327–28
 al-Barrāḍ al-Kinānī 92
 Bashīr ibn Sa'd 136
 al-Baṣra, routes 49, 54, 57, 58, 60, 65
 Batinah 58, 66
 battle-days (*ayyām*) 17
 Bayāḍa, Banū 140
bayraq (saint's standard) 179–80
 Bayt al-Maqdis 287; see also Jerusalem
 Bāzu, Assyrian campaign against 48
 Bedouin
 Arabia before Bedouinization 36–37; Bedouinization of Arabia 34–44; genealogies 8–9, 38, 40, 42; ideals 4, 8, 12–13, 14, 15; intermarriage with *fallāḥīn* 18 n. 4; and Jews 146–48, 151; language 10, 40–42, 44; mercenaries 40; pastoralism 34; religion 37, 109–28, 141 n. 63; romantic view of 8; settle in oases 35–36; society and ideology 8, 12–13, 34–36, 39–40, 43–44; *talīo* 12, 34–35; and towns 9, 12–13, 14, 30, 31, 32, 43–44, 148; tribes 27–28, 34–35, 35–36, 39–40; see also nomads, raids
 beekeeping 13
 Beer-lahai-roi, well or spring of 264
 Beersheba, well or spring of 264
 Bell, Gertrude 46, 50, 60
 Berthelot, A. 52
 Beth El 290
 Bible, see individual books
 Bin Hūd 179
 birr (father-son loyalty) 211–12
 Bishr (or Bashīr, or Bashshār) ibn Ḥisn (or Ḥuṣayn) 366, 368
 Black Stone, see Stone (Black)
 blood revenge, blood money 34–35, 175; see also *tha'r*
 Blunt, Lady A. 48
 Blunt, W.S. 48, 49, 60
 boasting matches 8
 Book, the 189, 190–91
 Mother of (or Hidden) 189, 190; People of 200
 booty 147
 Bostra 50, 52, 53
 Brice, W.C. 53
 bridewealth 215–16
 Buil'am (biblical figure) 158–59
 al-Bukā', Jabal 337
 Burayda 57, 59–60, 61
 Buraymi 58, 66–67, 68
 Burchardt, H. 63, 64
 Burkah 58, 67
 Burton, Sir Richard 52

- Bustānāy, son of exilarch 147
 Butler, S.S. 48
 Byzantine empire xlvi, 40, 157, 269
 and Arab clients xvi, xix–xx, xxi–xxiii; and
 Sasanians xvii n. 27, xviii, xliii, 54, 81–82,
 147, 226 n. 55; trade xvii–xviii
- calendar
 intercalation xxxvii; leap years 323
- camels xvi–xvii, xviii–xix, 23, 73–75
- Cantine, J. 67, 74
- Capsina 73
- caravans xvi–xvii, xxxv, 13, 36, 38–39, 54,
 180–81
- caravanserai, Ba'ir 50
- Carruthers, D. 50, 66
- Caskel, Werner xv, 34–44
- cemeteries 224
- Chalcedon, Council of xxii, xxiii, xxvi
- Cheesman, R.E. 64, 65
- chieftainship of Mecca 205–11, 224, 228 n. 64
- Christianity xxv–xxvii, 113
 Abyssinian xviii, xlvi, 290–91, 318; divi-
 sions xxii, xxiii, xxvi, 192–94, 198; influ-
 ence, pre-Islamic 187; and Islam 191, 295–
 97; *jinn* as demons 115; and Judaism 303;
 in ibn Judhām 157; and Ka'ba 291 n. 111,
 318; Nestorian xvii, xxvi; in Mecca xxvii,
 xxxiii, 227–78; monasticism xv, xxvii, 269;
 Monophysite controversy xxii, xxvi; Najrān
 xlv, 151; Qur'ān on xxvii, 199–200; spread
 xi, xvii, xxvi, xlv; *see also ahl al-kitāb*
- circumcision 248, 285–86
- cities
 Overtaken 299, 303; *see also towns and*
 cities
- clans 35
- Clement of Alexandria 124 n. 32
- clientele 223, 227, 354
- climate 45, 46
- Clysmā (Suez) xvi
- coins, from Oboda/Avdat 51
- commerce xvi–xviii
 maritime xvi, xvii, xviii; nomads' influence
 24–25, 26; Qur'ānic terminology xxxiv–
 xxxv; Tamīm 54, 87; urban centres 13;
 see also caravans, fairs, routes, and under
 Mecca
- community, religious 174–75, 192, 195–97,
 199–200
- Companions, *see* Anṣār
- Conquests 21, 30, 178
- consecration 119, 351, 352
- conservatism, nomads' 26, 27–28
- Coptos 53
- Cosmas Indicopleustes xvii n. 26, xliii
- Cox, P. 66, 67, 74–75
- crafts and craftsmen 26, 223 n. 52
- Creation 301, 307–308
- Ctesiphon 54
- custom, ancestral (*sunna*) 11, 12
- Cyril of Scythopolis xxvi
- Ḍabba, Banū 87, 94, 96
- dābbat al-ard* 325
- Ḍaghā'ima, principality of 1 n. 2
- Daghmar 58, 67, 68
- ḍa'if/sharīf* distinction 168
- Dakala 57, 59
- Damascus 47, 55, 58, 66
- Dame, L.P. 59, 60, 61, 62, 63
- Ḍamra ibn Jābir al-Nahshalī 106
- Dank 58, 67, 68
- Dār al-nadwa* (Council House, and sacred of-
 fice) xxxii, 208, 210, 222–23 n. 51, 245 n. 1,
 248–49, 250
 Mu'āwiya presides in 180; and rites of pas-
 sage 208, 213 n. 30
- Darb Zubayda 47, 48, 49, 52, 261
- Dariya 50, 60
- Dārūm* (Hebrew designation for southern
 Palestine) 145, 155
- dawsar* (troop formation, al-Ḥīra) 103, 105
- Dead Sea scrolls 297
- dead, noble 325–28, 333, 337
- Dedān 36, 37, 38, 39, 41
- demoniacal beings 11
- desacralisation 249
- Dhāda Muḥrimūn* 226
- Dhawū l-ākāl* 88
- Dhū Nuwās xliv, xlv, xlvi, 42, 54
- Dhū Qār, battle of xxiv, 15
- Dhū Raydān 36, 38
- Dhū Samāwī (god) 178
- dialects, *see under* languages
- al-Dībāj (idol) 134
- Dibba, market 54
- Dihqāns* 89
- Dijāja ibn 'Abd Qays 98
- dīn* ("faith")
 of Ḥums 350, 355, 356; *Ibrāhīm* 267–94; *al-*
 qayyim 197
- Dīnār ibn al-Najjār, Banū 130
- disloyalty to relatives ('*uqūq*) 211–12
- disputes 180, 187, 188
- Ditch, Battle of the 146, 156, 194, 271
- divination xxxix, 251, 252, 286, 331
- divisions, religious 192–94, 198
- divorce 216
- Doha 57, 63–64

- Domatha, Oppida (Dūma) 51; *see also* al-Jawf
- Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem 286
- Donner, Fred M. xv, 21–33
- Dostal, Walter 205–43
- Doughty, C.M. xv, 59, 62, 63
- Douglas, J.A. 64
- Dowding (traveller, fl. 1886) 67
- dowry 216
- dreams, incubation 328–29
- Dūma, Dumatha, Dumaiṯha (Adummatu) 50, 51, 53, 73; *see also* al-Jawf
- economic affairs
īlāf pacts 225–26 n. 55, 350, 353; nomad-settler relations 24–26; pre-Islamic uniformity 13–14; *see also under* Mecca
- Edessa 30
- Egra 52, 70–71, 72, 73; *see also* Ḥijr
- Egypt 21, 49–50, 53, 55, 193
- Elephant, Expedition/Year of the xlvii–xlviii, 350, 358–61
- Ella Asbeha, negus of Axum xlvi
- Eluza 53
- enclaves, sacred (*ḥaram*, *ḥawṭa*) 164–84
 arbitration at 168–69, 171; al-Ḥaramayn 181–82; Jerusalem 182; Maṣabate 170, 171, 173, 179, 180; markets at 169–70; Muḥammad and 164–84; offences violating 172–73, 178, 181; rivalries between 173; and security 180–81, 349; survival of concept 182; taxes 170, 171; tribes and 169, 171–72, 174–76, 178, 182; *see also under* Mecca, Medina
- epigraphy, *see* inscriptions
- Eratosthenes 49
- Esarhaddon of Assyria 47, 48
- eschatological events, expected 325
- Esimiphaioi xlvi
- Essene documents 297
- Ethiopia 54
- Ethiopic language xlii, 296
- ethnography, modern xv, xxxi
- Euphrates, River 23
- Euting, J. 48, 74
- Eve 337
- executions 325
- Eylat 155
- Fabietti, Ugo 227, 348–56
- faḍā'il* traditions 259–60, 283, 289
- Fahm 363
- fairs xxxvii, 36; *see also* markets, 'Ukāz
- al-Fākihī xxxi
- Falaika pottery 53
- fallāḥim*–Bedouin intermarriage 18 n. 4
- family 12; *see also* holy families, kinship
- al-Faqīh 'Alī, Ḥawṭat 169–70, 173, 176–77
- Farwa ibn 'Amr ibn al-Nāfira 137 n. 42, 140, 157
- al-Fāsī xxxi
- Fertile Crescent xii, 28, 29, 43
- fetishism 112, 114
- Fihṛ 9, 221
- Fihṛ ibn Mālik 254
- Fijār* wars 92, 228 n. 64, 359
- Filasṭīn (Palestine) 156
- fire cult 207
- free-born status 213, 222
- frontier militias, Roman xix
- furrow, tenth 170
- Gawwāfa (Rawwāfa) 37
- Gabaioi (Gebbanites) 51
- Gabriel, archangel 264, 326
- Gabriel, C.H. 65, 67, 68
- Gaskin, J.C. 60, 61
- Gaza 53
- gazelle, golden, offered at Ka'ba 331–32, 333
- genealogy xiii, 8–9, 38, 40, 42, 212, 222
 equivalency in marriage 212, 213, 214
- Genesis, Book of xiii
- geographical units, supratribal 35
- Gerrha 36, 50–51, 52–53, 55, 72, 73
- Ghanm ibn Mālik ibn al-Najjār, Banū 133–34
- Ghassān, Banū 43
 armies 40, 54; Jewish clans 152, 153; Mono-physitism, xxvi; Roman client xx–xxiii, 1–2; title *malik* xx, 7 n. 2
- Ghaṭafān, Banū 35, 82, 92, 102–103
- Ghaylān ibn Salama 18
- al-Ghayyān (idol) 130, 131–32
- Gibb, H.A.R. 295–306
- Gil, Moshe xxx, 145–66
- Gomorraḥ 299, 303
- Greeks
 Arab attitudes to 6; sources on Arabs xi, xlii
- Grunebaum, G.E. von xiv, 1–19, 43
- Guarmani, C. 52, 62, 74
- al-Ḥabs (idol) 130
- Ḥaddād, Banū 171, 180
- Hadl, Banū 152
- Ḥaḍramawt xlii
 kingdom of 36, 38; language 44; power of *maṣab* 173; routes 50–51, 52; tomb of Hūd 180
- Ḥaḍr al-Baṭn 49
- Hagar 149, 263, 264, 265, 326, 343
- haggadic supplements 295
- hagiologies 169, 171

- Ḥā'il xxi-xxxii
 routes 48, 49, 50, 52, 57, 59-60, 62-63, 72
 hair clothing 269, 277, 280
 Hajar 51, 54
 ḥājib ("doorkeeper") of Ka'ba 251-52
 Ḥājib ibn Zurāra 106-107
 ḥajj, *see* pilgrimage
 al-Ḥajjāj ibn 'Ilāṭ al-Sulamī 147
 al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf 159 n. 43, 319
 Ḥajr 36
 Hām, sons of 149
 al-Hamdānī, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan 51, 52
 Hamerton, Captain (fl. 1840) 68
 ḥamsa 35
 Hanakīya 57, 60
 Ḥanīfa, Banū 174
 ḥanīfiya (monotheism), pre-Islamic xli-xlii,
 113, 118, 187, 267-94, 297-98
 asceticism 269, 277, 280; Judgement
 305; and Ka'ba 274-76, 279, 283-84;
 Meccan 187, 274, 275-76, 279, 281-
 85; Muḥammad and 197-99, 267, 279-
 80, 283; Muḥammad's enemies 268-81;
 pro-Muḥammadan 280-81; ritual practices
 273-74; vocabulary 296, 304-306; *see also*
 monotheism
 Hannah, *Song of* (I Samuel ii.6) 301
 ḥaram, *see* enclaves (sacred)
 Ḥarām, Banū 136
 al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf, Jerusalem 182
 al-Ḥaramayn 181-82
 al-Ḥarish (idol) 130, 131-32
 al-Ḥarish, Banū 132
 Ḥārith, Banū 153
 al-Ḥārith ibn 'Alqama ibn Kalada ibn 'Abd
 al-Manāf ibn 'Abd al-Dār 362
 al-Ḥārith ibn Bayba 98
 al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥilliza 98
 al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥiṣn ibn Ḍamḍam al-Kalbī 95-
 96
 al-Ḥārith ibn Jabala xx-xxi
 Ḥārith ibn Ka'b, Banū 152
 al-Ḥārith ibn Kalada al-Thaqafī 367
 Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj, Banū 136-38
 al-Ḥārith ibn Zālīm 86, 86
 al-Ḥārith al-Kindī 83
 Ḥāritha, Banū 130, 153
 Harrison, P.W. 46
 Hārūn, Banū 150
 al-Hasa 50, 53
 Hāshim, Banū 181, 220, 221
 Hāshim ibn 'Abd Manāf xxxv, 209, 210, 225-
 26 n. 55, 235
 Hassān ibn Abī Karīm xlv
 Ḥassān ibn Thābit xxiii, 269
 Hatat, Shaykh 58, 68
 Ḥaṭīm, Mecca 314, 329-34
 Hatra 30
 Hawāzin 92
 Hawdha ibn Qays al-Wā'ilī 156
 al-Ḥawī 171, 180
 Ḥawrān xxviii
 ḥawṭa, *see* enclaves (sacred)
 Ḥawṭat al-Faqīh 'Alī 169-70, 173, 176-77
 Hawting, Gerald R. xxxii, 244-66
 Ḥawwā' bint Yazīd 131
 ḥayy 10
 Hazael, king of the Arabs 48
 al-Ḥazm 178
 Helelsthaios, negus of Axum xlv
 Henninger, Joseph xxviii, 109-28
 Heraclius, Byzantine emperor xxiii
 Herodotus xi
 heroes 116
 high god, pre-Islamic belief in Allāh as 118,
 121, 307-12, 321, 322
 ḥijā' ("lampoon") 14-15
 ḥijāba (guardianship of key of Ka'ba) 206-
 207, 208, 210, 245, 247, 251-52, 261, 265
 al-Ḥijāz 10, 41, 82-87, 145-46, 327
 Ḥijr, Mecca 314, 322, 323-29
 current 318, 319-20; incubation xl, 328-29;
 pre-Islamic 316-17, 318, 319; ritual func-
 tions 320-23; and noble dead 325-28
 al-Ḥijr, Ḥijāz 41, 145-46, 327; *see also* Egra
 ḥijra (Muḥammad's move to Medina) 268,
 276, 279-80, 285
 ḥilf-relationships xxxiii, 177, 220, 223 n. 52
 Ḥilla 225, 342, 350, 351-54
 Ḥimyarite state xlv, 36, 54, 206 n. 1, 151, 181
 Ḥimyarites, *Book of the* xlv, xlvi
 al-Ḥira, Lakhmid principality of xx, xxv, 81-
 107
 'Amir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'a and 92-93, 94-95, 96-97,
 107; army 40, 94-97, 103-105; camel herds
 53-54; Christianity xxvi, xlvi; fiefs 87-91;
 language 11 n. 1, 41-42; Liḥyānite traders
 39; Meccan contacts 83; political structure
 43; and Sasanians xx-xxi, xxv, xxv, xlvi,
 81-82, 89; title *malik* 7 n. 2; and tribal af-
 fairs, *see under* tribes; taxes xxiv, xxv, 89,
 90, 91, 97-102; *see also* al-Nu'mān III
 Ḥirā', Mount xl, 282
 Hishām ibn al-Mughīra 359
 Hishām al-Kalbī xxviii-xxix
 Ḥishna ibn 'Ukārima ibn 'Awf, Banū 152-53
 Ḥōbāb, son of Re'ū'el the Midianite 158, 159
 Hogarth, D.G. 48, 50-51, 60, 65
 Holt, A.L. 74

- holy families 164, 168–69, 173, 174–76, 180, 182
 Muḥammad's family 174, 179, 181; see also *manṣab*
 holy months 349
 Homerites 16 n. 5, 36; see also Himyarite state
 honour ('ird) 7, 11–12
 horses, Assyrian military use of 48
 Hubal, cult of 251, 285–86, 320
 Hubayra ibn 'Amir ibn Salama al-Qusayrī 92–93
 Ḥubaysh ibn Dulaf 94, 94
 Huber, C. 48, 60, 62, 63
 Hūd, tomb of 180, 302, 327
 Hudhayl 13, 363
 al-Hufūf 46, 51, 54, 57, 58, 61–62, 63–64, 65, 68–69
 Ḥujr, Banū 152
 Ḥulayl ibn al-Ḥabashīya 251
 Ḥulubān, campaign of 54, 357–68
 Ḥumays ibn Udd 365
 Ḥums xl, xli, 205, 225–28, 348–56
 creation 227–28, 350; *dīn* ("faith") 350, 355, 356; Ḥilla distinct from 350, 351–52; and kinship system 227, 355, 356; marriage policy 350–51, 353; and Meccan *ḥaram* 341–42, 343, 350, 352; Muḥammad and 343; recruitment 350; taboos 225 n. 55, 352; al-'Uzza, worship of 352
ḥunafā', see *ḥanīfiya*
ḥurr/ḥurra (free-born status) 213
ḥurūb al-fjār ("Sinful Wars") xv n. 19
 Ḥusā(n) (idol) 130
 Ḥushaysh ibn Nimrān al-Riyāhī 96
 Ḥuyyay (Ḥunnay) ibn Akḥṭab 156, 162
 Huzam (idol) 138

 Ibn 'Abbās 81–82, 258–59
 Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī 99, 367
 Ibn al-Athīr 6 n. 1, 94, 96
 Ibn Buqayla 84
 Ibn Durayd 366, 367
 Ibn Fahd xxxi
 Ibn Ḥabīb 17 n. 3, 18 n. 2, 88
 Ibn Hishām 16 n. 4, 17 n. 5
 Ibn Ishāq 161–62
 Ibn Jurayj 314–15
 Ibn al-Kalbī xxviii–xxix, 110, 111, 124 n. 36
 Ibn Khaldūn 162
 Ibn Khurdādhbih 51, 52, 83–84, 87, 147 n. 7
 Ibn Muljam 330
 Ibn Qays al-Ruqayyāt 3 n. 2
 Ibn Sa'īd 82–83, 85
 Ibn Sayyid al-Nās 219
 Ibn 'Ujayl 181

 Ibn Zāhira xxxi
 Ibn al-Zubayr 258
 Ibrī 58, 67, 68
 identity, Arab ethnic xiii–xiv; see also 'arab, use of term
 ideology, Bedouin 8, 12–13, 35, 43–44
 idols
 aṣnām 116–17; clan 130, 140; destruction 131, 133, 137–38, 139, 141; domestic 136, 140, 141; in Hijr 320, 322; in Mecca 285, 318, 320, 339–40, see also Hubal, Isāf, Nā'ila; in Medina 129–44: of Aws 130–33, of Khazraj 130, 133–40
 iḥrām ("ritual consecration") 225 n. 55, 351, 352
 'Ijl, Banū 6
 ilāf pacts xxxv, xli, 225–26 n. 55, 350, 353
 al-Iljir, Liḥyānite inscription from 40
 'Imād al-Dīn al-Wāsiṭī 148 n. 11
 Imru' al-Qays (poet) 16
 Imru' al-Qays al-Badan (Lakhmid) xii, 54, 104
 Imru' al-Qays ibn Mālik, Banū 133
 Incense Route xvi, 51, 52, 54, 55
 incubation xl, 328–29
 India, trade with xvi, xviii
 Indicopleustes, Cosmas xvii n. 26, xliii
 individualism, Bedouin 121
 initiation ceremonies, girls' 208, 213 n. 30
 inscriptions xii, xvi, xviii
 Himyarite 181; on Jews of Medina 145–46; Liḥyānite 37–38, 39, 40, 111; Madā'in Šālīḥ 145–46; in Midyan 42; Minaean 173; Murayghān 357–58; Nabataean 41, 248; Namāra 40, 41, 42, 54; on religion xviii, xliii, 110; Safaitic 40, 111, 212 n. 23; Thamūdic 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 111; in Yemen xviii, xliii
 Iotabe xvii, xxi
 Iram 37, 302
 Iran xi, 21, 28; see also Sasanians
 Iraq 21, 23, 58, 66
 'ird ("honour") 7, 11–12
 Isaac 287 n. 98, 290
 Isāf (idol) 130, 135, 140, 331
 locations 320, 322, 340, 341, 342
 Ishmael xiii; and Meccan rituals xxxvii, xxxviii, 279, 287 n. 98, 322, 334; tomb 325–27; and well of Zamzam 263, 264, 265
 Islam
 "Arabization" 186; for all Arabs 343; Jews and 295–97; law 34–35, 168, 260; pre-foundations 185–204; and statehood 15, 355–56; urban character 114; vocabulary 296; see also Muḥammad

- Ismā'īlīte Arabs 6 n. 1
isrā' 329
 Isrā'īl, Banū 147; *see also* Jews and Judaism
 Itamus portus 73
 Ithra 53
 Iyād, Banū 11
 Iyās ibn Qabiṣa xxiv, 90
 Izki 58, 67
- Ja'alan 58, 67, 68
 Jabala (Ghassānid) xxi
 Jabbār ibn Ṣakhr 137 n. 42
 Jābir ibn Sufyān 360
 al-Jābiya xxvii, 328
 Jacob 290
 al-Jadara 314–15
 al-Jadd ibn Qays 134, 136
 Jadhma', Banū 152
 Jafna, Banū 153, 157
jāhilīya xxviii
 al-Jāḥiẓ 54
 Jā'is 136
 al-Jallāq ibn Qays ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr
 ibn Hammām 97–99
jarrārūn (chiefs) 7 n. 2
 al-Jawf 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 57, 58, 62, 65, 66
 Jebel Druze xii
 Jerusalem
 ḥaram 182; Dome of the Rock 286; Mount
 Moriah 290; *qibla* 186, 202–204, 279, 284,
 285, 291, 319; Temple 148, 149
 Jesus 187–89, 199, 318
 Jethro 157, 158–59
 sons of (Jews) 159–61
 Jews and Judaism
 Babylonian 147; and the Bedouin 146–
 48, 151; Bil'ām/Bālāq/Jethro 158–59;
 “break with”, supposed 202–204; Chris-
 tian/Judaic rivalry 303; divisions 192–94,
 198; Dhū Nuwās 42, 54; expulsions 139,
 178, 268, 276; in Ḥawṭat al-Faqih 'Alī 176–
 77; of Ḥijāz 41, 147, *see also* of Medina *be-*
 low; of Ḥimyar 151; influence 141, 147, 152,
 187; and Islam 295–97; of Banū Judhām
 154, 156–57; and Ka'ba 276, 291; of Khay-
 bar 268, 276; Madyan 42, 154–55, 157, 158;
 Meccan xxxiii, 187, 268; of Medina xxix,
 xxx, 84, 85, 145–66, 176, 270; arrival 41,
 148–50, and Bedouin 146–48, controversy
 with Islam 188, 195, influence 141, 147,
 expulsion 178, Muḥammad and 178, 195,
 202–204, Muslim traditions on 150–53, na-
 ture and origins 151–53, 161–62; Messiah
 263; Muḥammad and 147, 191, 195, 202–
 204, 268; and pre-Islamic poetry 151; pros-
 elytes 113, 151–53, 160–61; Qaynuqā' 139;
 qibla 285 n. 88, 291; Qur'ān recognizes 199–
 200; refugees from Romans 149–50, 160;
 settled life 113, 146, 148–50; Shu'ayb 154,
 155, 157, 190, 327; sons of Jethro 159–61;
 tax collectors 147; treasure, stories of 263,
 334 n. 140; in Yemen 152; *see also ahl al-*
 kitāb
- Jidda 57, 63
jinn 115–16, 117, 120, 121
jīwār relationship 222–23 nn. 51–52
 John of Ephesus xxiii
 Jopp, Lt. (fl. 1841) 64, 64
 Josephus, Flavius 286
Jubilees, Book of 289–91
 Judaism, *see* Jews and Judaism
 Judgement 305
 Judhām, Banū 152, 154, 155, 156–57
 Jum'u'a service 324
 Jurhum, Banū 206 n. 1, 250, 255, 314–15, 317
 n. 16, 323
 Jusham, Banū 153
 Jushaysh ibn Nimrān al-Riyāḥī 96
 Justin II, Byzantine emperor xlv
 Justinian I, Byzantine emperor xx–xxi, xlvi
 Juwaytha 54
- Ka'b ibn al-Ashraf 7 n. 2
 Ka'b ibn Mālik 176
 Ka'b ibn 'Ujra 138–39
 Ka'ba xxxviii–xxxix, 313–46
 and Abraham 201 n. 2, 206 n. 1, 247 n.
 5, 279, 285–88, 289–91, 319, 334, *see also*
 Maqām Ibrāhīm; Abū 'Āmir 'Abd 'Amr ibn
 Ṣayfī and 276; animals consecrated to 273,
 274, 329; area around, *see* Mecca (*ḥaram*);
 banners 179–80; burials near 337; ceremo-
 nials 285–86, 329–30; and Christianity 291
 n. 111, 318; date of building 359; *ḥaniḥīya*
 and 274–76, 279, 283–84; *ḥaṭīm* 329–34;
 Hubal cult 251, 285–86, 320; Ḥums pro-
 motes 341–42, 343, 350, 352; images 318,
 320, 321; interior decoration 318; and Ish-
 mael 279; Jews' devotion to 276, 291; *jīdār*
 (barrier against floods) 314–15; *kiṣwa* 315,
 317; Muḥammad and 200–204, 252, 279,
 284, 285, 319–20, 324–25, 335 n. 146, 343;
 noble dead worshipped 333, 337; oaths
 sworn at 354; pilgrimage and 186, 200–202,
 330; pit 333; plan 314; position in relation
 to other places of worship in Mecca 334–43;
 qawā'id Ibrāhīm 319; *qibla* 186, 279, 283–
 85, 319–20, 324; Quraysh and 252, 253–54,
 266, 314, 317–18, 337; Qūṣayy and 179,
 207, 244, 251, 252, 253, 266, 340; ram's

- horns 286, 334; sacrifices 273, 274, 329, 332; structure 252, 314–20, 337; votive gifts 331–34; waterspout 286, 320; *see also* divining arrows, *hijāba*, Stone (Black)
- Kabsha, aunt of Abū l-Jabr al-Kindī 367, 368
- Kaf 57, 62–63
- kafā'a*, law of 168
- kāhin* (soothsayer) 120
- al-kāhinān* (Naḍīr and Qurayza) 150
- Kalb 4, 9
- Kaleb, negus of Axum xlvi
- Karna 52, 73
- Kemball, A.B. 64, 66, 68, 73
- Kenites, Sons of Jethro 159–61
- Kerbela 58, 65
- khabrā'* (winter pools) 46
- Khaburah 58, 67
- khādīm al-walī* (guardian of shrine) 170
- khafāra* (tolls on caravans) 181
- Khālid ibn Ja'far 86
- Khālid ibn Naḍla 102–103
- Khālid al-Qasrī 260
- Khālid ibn al-Walīd, descendant of 329
- Khandaq, *see* Ditch (Battle of), Medina
- Kharg 51
- al-Khargūshī 339
- Khaṭma, Banū 130, 132
- Khaṭṭ/Qaṭīf 36
- al-Khaṭṭāb, father of 'Umar 282
- Khawārij 155
- Khawlān 365
- Khaybar
 - Bedouin labourers 146; Jews 268, 276; Muḥammad's campaign 137, 147, 148 n. 10, 176, 219; routes 57, 63
- Khazraj, Banū xxx, 83–84, 147, 152, 342 n. 183
 - idol worship 130, 133–40
- al-Khazraj ibn al-Ṣurayḥ 154
- Khindif, Banū 364, 365, 342
- Khor Jaramah 58, 67
- Khudhafa ibn Ghānim al-Jumāhī 208–209
- Khusraw I Anushirwan xxiv, xlviii
- Khusraw II Parvez xxiv, 54, 89, 90; *see also* Kīsrā
- al-Khuṣūṣ 90
- Khuzā'a, Banū 206 n. 1, 321–22, 340
 - control of Meccan sanctuary 244, 250, 251
- Khuzayma ibn Thābit 132, 154
- Kināna ibn Bishr 154, 328, 361, 363
- Kinda, kingdom of xix–xx, 2, 7 n. 2, 9, 42, 43
 - and Abraha xlvii–xlviii, 357, 358, 363
- kingship 7, 253
- kinship system 211–22, 227, 354–55, 356
- Kīsrā (Khusraw) 366
- Kister, M.J. xxiv, xxxiv, 81–107, 357–68
- kōhēn* ("priest", Hebrew) 120
- Korake 50
- al-Kūfa 50
- Kulayb 7
- Kulturnation* 1, 2–4, 6
- Kuwait 46, 52, 57, 58, 61, 64, 65
- Lahai Roi, well of 326
- Lakhm, Banū xxvi, 104, 155
- Lakhmid principality, *see* al-Ḥīra
- Lammens, Henri xv, xxix, xxxiv
- lampoon, *see* *hijā'*
- land xi–xiii
 - ownership title 229 n. 64
- language
 - and Arab unity 9–11; Aramaic 148, 161; article *al* 40–41; Bedouinization 10, 40–42, 44; Christian liturgical xxvii; "city", of Ḥijāz 10; dialects 9–11, 40–42; Fertile Crescent 28; Ḥadramawt 44; Iranian plateau 28; Kinda and "high" Arabic 42; Liḥyānite 40; Merv Arabic speakers 28; migration and language change 43; nomads 27–28; Northern Arabia 10–11; 'Omān 44; origin of "high" Arabic 42–43; Nabataean 41; poetic 10–11, 35, 42; pre-Bedouinization 44; prose 3, 17–18, 35; Qur'ānic 43, 403–406; *raṣān*, Medinan Jews' 147–48; Safaitic 40, 111, 212 n. 23; sandhi-forms 40, 41; technical religious vocabulary 296, 303, 304–306; Thamūdic 42; *see also* inscriptions
- laqan* (taboo, sacred clothes cast in Ḥaṭīm) 330
- Laqīṭ ibn Zurāra 106
- al-Lāt (goddess) 117–18
- law
 - Islamic 34–35, 168, 260; of *kafā'a* 168; Muḥammad and 168, 170, 177–78; pre-Islamic 11–12; Tāghūt 167–68; tribal 177–78
- Lawrence, T.E. 3, 50
- Leachman, G.E. 48, 50, 60, 61, 64, 65, 66, 74
- leap years 323
- Lecker, M. xxix, 129–44
- legio III Cyrenaica* 53
- Leuke Come xvi
- Leukos Limen 53
- Levites 249
- Liḥyān, kingdom of 36, 37–38, 55
 - inscriptions 37–38, 39, 40, 111
- limitanei* xix
- literacy 304
- literary criticism, Islamic 14
- litholatry 114, 179, 182

- liwā'* (sacred office, assigning of war banners) 208, 210, 245 n. 1, 248, 249, 250
- Lorimer, J.G. 59, 60, 61, 62–63, 63–64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 74
- Lot, people of 193
- lot-casting, ritual 207, 331
- loyalty, father–son (*birr*) 211–12
- Ma'add xxiv, xlvii–xlviii, 9, 16, 267, 357–68
- Ma'ān 50, 55
- Ma'bad ibn Zurāra 96
- Mackie, J.B. 46, 64–65, 74
- Macoraba 71–72, 73, 206 n. 1
- Madā'in Šāliḥ 52, 72, 145–46
- madīḥ* (panegyric) 14–15
- Ma'dī-karib, ruler of Yemen xlviii
- al-Madīna, *see* Medina
- Madyan (Midian) 42, 154–55, 157, 158
- Magnificat 301
- al-Mahdī 325
- mahr* ("bridewealth") 215–16
- maḥram* ("sacred enclave") 178, 182
- Ma'in 38
- majlis*, clan's 138, 140
- Makhzūm, Banū 220, 221, 250, 254
- Makoraba xxi, 71–72, 73, 206 n. 1
- malā'* ("assembly of personable men") 208
- malik* ("king") 7 n. 2, 253
- Mālik ibn Anas 219, 220
- Mālik ibn al-Najjār, Banū 130, 133–34
- Mālik ibn Qays 90
- Manāf (idol) 134–35, 140, 320
- Manāt (goddess, idol) 117, 135, 342 n. 183
- Manichaeism 113, 124–25 n. 47
- manṣab/manṣūb* (controller of *ḥaram*) 170, 171, 173, 179, 180; *see also* enclaves (sacred)
- Maqām Ibrāhim 284, 288, 314, 324, 337–39
- Maqnā, Jews of 156
- al-Maqrizī, Tāqī l-Dīn Abū l-'Abbās 129–44
- Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Roman emperor 37
- Mariama 73
- markets 13, 25, 54, 169–70, 228 n. 64; *see also* 'Ukāz
- marriage 205–43
- bridewealth 215–16; dissolution 216; endogamy 18, 216–21, 222, 225–26; exogamy xxxiii, 18, 212, 216–17, 221–22; free-born status and 213, 222; genealogical equivalency 212, 213, 214; Ḥums policy 225–26, 353; monogamy 214; normative regulations 211–22; patri/virilocality and uxorilocality 215; patrilinearity 211; polygyny 214–15; property in 215–16; Qurashī policy 205–43, 350–51, 353, 355, agnates of 'Abd al-'Uzzā 241–43, agnates of Quṣayy 205, 211–22, 233–41; social class and 168
- Marthad, Banū 152
- Marwa (sacred hill of Mecca) xxxvii, xxxix, 335, 338, 339, 340
- Mary, Virgin, image in Ka'ba 318
- marzbān* (Sasanian military governor) xxv
- mashāyikh* 170, 173
- al-Masjid al-Ḥarām, Mecca 203, 257–58, 259, 265
- masjid al-shiqāq/al-dirār*, Medina 268–69
- Masna'a 58, 67
- Masrūq *see* Dhū Nuwās
- Matra 66, 67, 58
- matrilineal structures 12
- Maunsell, Colonel 50
- Maurice, Byzantine emperor xxii–xxiii
- Mawhūb ibn Rushayd 154
- Māwiya, Banū 104
- Mawlā l-Dawīla family 171
- mawlā l-yamīn* ("relative by oath") 227
- Maximus of Tyre 124 n. 32
- Mazdak, faith of 83
- Mecca xxxvi–xlii, 185–204
- Abraha and xxxv, xlii–xlviii, 227–28, 361–62; Abraham and 264–65, 266, 279, *see also* under Ka'ba; Abū Qubays, mountain of 323, 334–37; and 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'a 93, 96; Aws come from Medina after *hijra* 268, 271, 276; and Bedouins 2, 9; and Byzantine–Sasanian relations 82, 226 n. 55; cemeteries 224; chieftaincy 205–11, 224, 228 n. 64; Christians xxvii, xxxiii, 187; commerce xxxiv–xxxvi; descendants of Quṣayy and 210, 211, development xxi, 54, 222–23 n. 51, 226 n. 55, 227, and Ḥums 349, 350, 354, 355, social effects 222–23 n. 51, 224; cult of "daughters of Allāh" xxix, 117; dynastic development 209; economy 13, 353, 361–62, *see also* commerce *above*; Fihri settle in 9; floods 341; *ḥaniḥiya* 187, 274, 275–76, 279, 281–85; *ḥaram* xxxviii–xli, 178–80, 200–202, Abrahamic tradition 201 n. 2, 206 n. 1, 265, 266, 279, 288, chieftainship of Mecca and 208, Ḥums' devotion to 343, 352, under Khuzā'a 244, 250, 251, Muḥammad and 178–81, plan 314, protection of caravans 180–81, pre-Islamic diversity of cults 348, 349, Quraysh and xl, 9, 253–54, 266, 288, 314, 317–18, 337, 349, 350, Quṣayy renovates 207, recognition of sacredness 349–50, 352, 353, *see also* Ka'ba; Ḥaḥīm 314, 329–34; holy families 179; idols 285, 318, 320, 339–40, *see also*

- Hubal, Isāf, Nā'ila; and al-Ḥīra 83; and Ishmael 279; Jews xxxiii, 149, 187, 268; *malā'* ("assembly") 208; market 54; al-Masjid al-Ḥarām 203, 257–58, 259, 265; Muḥammad and 188–89, 201–202, 259, 279–80; original settlement 206; persecution of early Muslims 203; political ideas 354–56; pre-foundations of Muslim community 185–204; religion, pre-Islamic xxxvi–xlii; reform movement 187–89; routes 52, 57, 63, 71–72; Ṣafā 338, 339; sanctuary, see *ḥaram* above; and Sasanians 82–83, 226 n. 55, 332, 333; *siqāyat al-'Abbās* 258; society: anthropological interpretation 205–43, composition xxxii–xxxiv, new collective identity 205, 224–28, pre-state character 228–29 n. 64; sources on xxi, xxx–xxxii; and Southern Arabia 206 n. 1; wealth 224; wells 331 n. 122, see also Zamzam; see also al-Ḥaramayn, Ḥijr, Ka'ba, Macoraba, Marwa, pilgrimage, *qibla*, sacred offices, *ṭawāf*, Zamzam
- Medina
 Aws 268, 271, 276, 342 n. 183; Battle of the Ditch 194; Constitution of 170, 177, 212; division of crops 137 n. 42; epithet "Ṭība" 177; *ḥaram* 170, 173–74, 176, 288; idol worship 129–44; Khazraj 342 n. 183; "mosque of opposition" 268–69; mosque of Prophet 314 n. 3; Muḥammad in 137 n. 42, 173–83, 187, 201, 202–204, 268–69, 288, 342, see also *hijra*; Pact of War 201; routes 52, 57, 58, 63, 66; Sasanians and 54, 83–87, 147; social composition xxix–xxx; social concepts 2; Zamzam well 331 n. 122; see also al-Ḥaramayn, and under Jews and Judaism
- memorizing 304
 menstruation 248, 280, 321
 mercenaries xxxiii–xxxiv, 40, 103–105
 merchants 168
 Merv 28
 Messiah, messianism xlii, 187, 191, 263, 290
 Mezad Neqarot 53
 Midian, see Madyan
 midrash 158, 264
 Madyan, see Madyan
 migrations 4, 21, 39, 43
 Miles, S.B. 66, 67, 68–69
 military affairs, see warfare
 Minā xxxvii, 259, 287
 Minaean texts 173, 249
minbar 324
 mining 24
 miracles, Christian xxvi
 Mishna 159, 160
 Moab 58, 66, 158
 monasticism, Christian xv, xxvii, 269
 Mongols 43
 Monophysitism xxii, xxvi
 monotheism
dīn Ibrāhīm 198, 267–94; see also Christianity, *ḥanīfiya*, Jews and Judaism
 Monumentum Adulitanum 36 n. 2
 moon and religion 113
 Moriah, Mount, Jerusalem 290
 Moses 161, 187–89, 190, 199
 Tabernacle of 315; Tablets of 298, 299–300
 Moyet 'Awad 53
 Mu'adh ibn 'Amr ibn al-Jamūh 134
 Mu'adh ibn Jabal 134, 137
 Mu'āwiya, Banū 130, 152
 Mu'āwiya, caliph 180, 258–59
 Mu'āwiya ibn Mālik (nicknamed Mu'awwid al-Ḥukamā') 93
 Muḍar (ancestor of Prophet) 267
 Muḍar (supertribal unit) 4, 9, 88, 89, 228, 289
 Mughshin 169
 Muḥammad, Prophet
 on Abraham 198; and Abū 'Āmir 'Abd 'Amr ibn Ṣayfī 270–71; authority 168, 181; on community 195–97, 199; date of birth xlvii–xlviii, 359, 360; descent 168, 174, 181, 254–55, 267, 323; and *ḥanīfiya* 197–99, 267, 279–80, 283; and *ḥaram* as institution 164–84; and Ḥijr xl, 323–24, 325; on Jesus 199; and Jews 147, 191, 195, 202–204, 268; and Ka'ba 200–204, 252, 279, 284, 285, 319–20, 324–25, 335 n. 146, 343; and law 168, 170, 177–78; and Mecca 188–89, 201–202, 259, 279–80; in Medina 137 n. 42, 173–83, 187, 201, 202–204, 268–69, 288, 342, see also *hijra*; on monotheism 197–99; Night Journey 329; and pilgrimage 186, 342, 343; and poetry 14, 305; and prophets 185, 186, 188–89, 189–90, 195, 197; Qur'ān revealed to 295; and Quraysh 276, 279–80, 343; and religious divisions 192–94; retreat to Mount Ḥīrā' xl; rewards loyal followers with office 141; sacrifices near Marwa 342; and "satanic verses" 309; and Shu'ayb' 190; and *ṭawāf* 342, 343; and tribes 174–76, 177; and Umayya ibn Abī l-Ṣalt 278; 'umrat *al-qaḍīya* 342; unity of religions as ideal 192, 199; and Zayd ibn 'Amr ibn Nufayl 283; see also under *qibla*
- Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn Zabāla 162
 Muḥammad ibn Ka'b al-Quraḏī 150
 Muḥammad ibn Khuzā'ī 361
 Muḥammad ibn Maslama 270, 281

- al-Muḥaṣṣab 259
muḥillūn, *muḥrimūn* xl, 349–50, 352, 353, 354
 al-Mukattaba-Laqaṭ 37
 Mukaymin (idol) 129
 al-Mukhabbal al-Sa'dī 363–65
 Mulay Idrīs 182
 al-Mundhir ibn 'Amr 139
 al-Mundhir ibn Mā' al-Samā', al-Akbar xxii,
 xxiv, 54, 95–96, 102–103, 106, 107
 Murād, Banū 357, 358, 363
 Murashū brothers of Nippur 148–49
 Murayghān, well of 357–58
 murder 172–73, 175, 177
 Murra, Banū 220
 Murra ibn Mālik, Banū 133
 Musaylima, prophet 174, 178, 182
 Muscat 58, 67
 al-Mushallal 135
 Mushaqqar 54
 Musil, A. xv, 75
musta'rib 6
 Mu'ta, battle of 137
Mutayyabūn xxxii–xxxiii, 209, 211, 220, 224
 al-Muṭṭalib ibn 'Abd Manāf 235, 262
 Muzāḥim al-'Ukaylī 54
 Muzdalifa, mountain of xxxvii, 207
 myths, pre-Islamic stellar 117
- Nabataean kingdom xi, xvi, 36, 41
 collapse 37, 38, 38; inscriptions 41, 248;
 routes 49–53
nabīdh (beverage) 249, 258, 259
 Nabīt 130, 132
 Nabonidus 49, 55
 Nabū-ṣum-liṣir 48
 Naḍīr (king appointed by Persians) 83–84
 al-Naḍīr, Banū 146–47, 150, 154, 219, 268, 276
 al-Naḍr ibn Kināna 328
 Nāghīṣa, Banū 152
 Nahshal, Banū 106
 Nā'il ibn Qays 156
 Nā'ila (idol) 320, 322, 331, 340, 341, 342
 al-Najaf 48, 57, 58, 60, 65, 90
 Najjār, Banū 133–34, 153
 Najrān xliv, xlv, 51, 54, 151, 178, 363
 Namāra inscription 40, 41, 42, 54
 al-Namir ibn Tawlab 101
 Naṣr, Banū 83
nasīb of *qaṣīda* 39
 Nātil (Nā'il) ibn Qays 156
 Nawfal ibn Asad 361
 Nebuchadnezzar 148
 Nektabenos II, king of Egypt 49
 Nestorian church xvii, xxvi
 Nigeria 182
- nikāḥ* ("marriage") 214
 Nimrud letters 47
 Nippur 148–49
 Nizār (tribe) 40
 Noah 190, 299, 302–303, 304
 people of 193
 Nolde, Baron E. 48
 nomads xiv–xxv, 21–33
 and commerce 24–25, 26; and culture
 26–29; conservatism 26, 27–28; defensive
 groupings 34; influence disproportionate to
 numbers 23–24, 27; language 27–28; pas-
 toralism 13, 22–23, 34, 118; and political
 structure 29–31; religious beliefs 37, 111,
 118, 120, 141 n. 63, 312; sedentarization
 and desedentarization xiv–xv, 29, 31, 35–
 36; and settlers xxviii, 1, 8, 9, 23, 29,
 economic relations 24–26, religious conver-
 gence 111, 120, tribes containing both 28,
 29, 30, 35–36, 111; sources on 31, 32; state
 control of 30; transport functions 24–25;
 see also Bedouin, raids
- Northern Arabia
 Bedouinization 4, 40; cultural dominance
 4–6; language 10–11; urban culture 12–13;
 zone of nomadic power 29
 Nu'aym ibn Mas'ūd of Banū Ghaṭafān 146
 Nufayl ibn Ḥabīb 361, 361
 Nūḥ, supposed tomb of 327
 al-Nu'mān III ibn al-Mundhir, king of al-Ḥīra
 xxii–xxiii, 54, 85, 90, 93
 and tribes 93, 94, 95, 97, 98–99, 100–102,
 107
- oases 13, 23, 34, 111
 oaths 207, 325, 330, 354
 Obayra 50
 Oboda 51
 offerings, votive 170, 331–34
 offices, sacred, *see* sacred offices
 Oman *see* 'Umān
 "Overturned Cities" (Sodom and Gomorrah)
 299, 303
- pacts
 commercial xxxv, *see also* *ilāf* pacts; of war
 201
 paganism xxvii–xix; *see also* idols
 Palgrave, G. 48, 52, 60, 61
 Palmyra 30, 36, 38, 52, 71
 panegyric, *see* *madiḥ*
 papyri, Zenon 51
 Parseeism 113
 partisans, sectarians (*al-aḥzāb*) 193–94
 Passover, Jewish 119
 pastoralism 13, 22–23, 34, 118

- patrilineal structures 12, 209, 211, 224
 patronage 354
 Paul, St. 300
 Pelly, L. 52, 61
 People of the Book, see *Ahl al-kitāb*
 Persia, see Iran, Sasanians
Periplous of the Erythrean Sea xviii, xlii–xliii
 Petra xvii, xxviii, 155
 routes 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 58, 66, 70, 72
 Philby, H.St.J.B. 50–51, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 74
 Philostorgius xviii
 Phocas, Byzantine emperor xxiii
 phylarchates xviii–xxv
 physician, Arab 367
 pilgrimage xxxvi–xlii, 111, 119–20, 207, 260, 274
 ‘Arafa rites and xxxvii, 36, 343, 352; *hajj* and ‘*umra* xxxvii; and Ka‘ba 186, 200–202, 330; provision for pilgrims 179, 207, 261, see also *rifāda*, *siqāya*; routes 49, 54
 Pleiades, cult of 117
 Pliny the Elder 37, 45, 51, 69–70
 poetry, Islamic
 court poets 16; inspired by *jinn* 120; Qur‘ānic technique 304–305; Thamūdīc inscriptions with similar motifs 39
 poetry, pre-Islamic xiii, xv, xxix, 14–15
 “Arab”, “Arabic” in 3, 16; Bedouin ideology 14, 35; Jewish contribution 151; language 10–11, 35, 42; Muḥammad and 14; *nasīb*, foreshadowing of 39; on religion 114, 141 n. 63, 316; on routes 46, 53–54; on taxation 83–84
 political affairs
 and Arab unity 1, 6–8, 43; centralisation and dissolution 164; factions 224; Ḥums and evolution of ideas 348–56; Islam and 15, 355–56; political and religious authority; relationship 250, 253, 266; zones of state and nomadic power 29–31
 poor, the 224 n. 54
 pottery 51, 53
 Potts, Daniel T. 45–80
 prayer xxxix, 118, 336
 pre-state society, Mecca as 228–29 n. 64
 prestige, social 224 n. 54
 Prideaux (traveller) 64
 priests, Meccan 111, 120, 250, 252–53, 266
 Procopius xv, xx, xxi, xlvi, 16 n. 5
 property in marriage 215–16
 prophets
 Abū ‘Āmir ‘Abd ‘Amr ibn Ṣayfī 270; of ‘Ād and Thamūd 189, 193, 327; images in Ka‘ba 318; Muḥammad as direct successor of earlier 185, 186, 188–89, 189–90, 195, 197; Umayya ibn Abī l-Ṣalt 278
 prose, language of pre-Islamic 3, 17–18, 35
 proselytes, Jewish 113, 151–53, 160–61
 Provincia Arabia xi
 Ptolemy I, king of Egypt 49
 Ptolemy II, king of Egypt 55
 Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemaeus, geographer) 37, 51–53, 70–73
 on Makoraba xxi, 71–73, 206 n. 1
 public opinion 17, 18–19, 36

 Qaḥṭān 4
 Qāfilat Ibn ‘Ujayl 181
 Qarya 36
 Qaryat al-Faw 51, 53
qasāma (“oath-taking”) 207, 330
qaṣīda 39
 Qāsīm 50, 57, 61
 Qatabān 38
 Qatāda 81
 Qaṭīf 46, 57, 64, 65
 Qawāqila, Banū 130, 133, 139
 Qayla, Banū 153
 al-Qayn (idol) 130, 132
 Qaynuqā‘ (Jewish tribe) 139
 Qays, Banū 4
 Qays ibn Āṣīm 101
 Qays ibn al-Khaṭīm 131, 141 n. 63, 366
 Qays ibn Mas‘ūd al-Shaybānī 88–89
 Qays ibn Salama ibn al-Ḥārith 16 n. 5
 Qays ‘Aylān, Banū 102
qibla (direction of prayer)
 ḥanīfī and Islamic 283–85; Jewish, Jerusalem 285 n. 88, 291; Muḥammad’s: original, Ka‘ba 319, 324, changes to Jerusalem 279, 284, 285, 319–20, returns to Mecca 186, 202–204, 291
al-Qidaḥ, *Sāḥib* 207
qiyāda (military command) 208, 210, 245 n. 1, 246, 250
 Qoraqir 50
 Qubādh (Persian) 83
 Quḍā‘a (supertribal unit) 1 n. 2, 9, 254
 Qudayd 342 n. 183
qu‘dud rule of descent 209
 Qur‘ān
 angels 309, 310; “Arab” in 3, 188, 191; “Book” in 189, 200; on Christianity xxvii, 189, 199–200; commercial terminology xxxiv–xxxv; on customary law 168; evidence of pre-Islamic belief in high god 307–12; Expedition of the Elephant xl, xlv, 359; *Ḥanīf* in xli; Jews, Christians and Muslims as separate communities 199–200; language

- 43, 296, 304–306; on Mecca xxx; moral tone 306; on Noah 299, 302–303; on sacred offices 255, 260; origin of term “Qur’ān” 296; poetic technique 304–305; revelation 295; “satanic verses” 309; “scrolls”, use of 189; and *ṭawāf* 343; SŪRAS II: 21/19–20 308; 119–121 206 n. 1; 121 195; 125–27 xxxix–xl, 279; 144, 145, 146 195; 158 343 n. 189; 165/60 308; 187 xxxix–xl; 213 193 n. 2; III: 19 193 n. 2; 67 xli; 90–91 206 n. 1; 103, 105 193 n. 4; IV: 51 188; V: 47 200; 48 199; 95 200; 103 323; VI 198; 2 195; 74ff., 79–82 198; 89–93 195–96; 115 195; 136/37 309–10; 138 323; 153 193 n. 4; 160–64 199; VII: 29ff. 201; 175 276–77; VIII: 26 81–82; VIII: 4 193 n. 2; IX: 30 204; X: 18/19 193 n. 2, 308; 22/23 310; 93 193 n. 2; 94 192; XI: 17 194; XII 198; 37–40 197–98; XIII: 36 194; XIV: 35 279; XV: 80 327; XVI: 35/37, 38/40 311; 103 190 n. 1, 191 n. 1; XVII: 107 194–95; XIX: 30 189 n. 2; 37 193; XXI: 44 193 n. 3; XXII: 78 xli; XXIII: 84/86–89/91 308; XXV: 4–5 190 n. 1; XXVI: 192ff. 191; 195 191 n. 1; 198 188; XXVIII: 11–13 193; 45 193 n. 3; 47–49 187–88; 57 200; 85–89 192; 86 197 n. 1; XXIX: 47 194; 48 196–97 n. 1; 61–65 307; 67 201; XXX: 12/11 308–309; 30–32 197; 32 193; 43 197; XXXI: 25/24 308; 32/31 310; XXXIII: 20–22 194; XXXV: 42/40 187, 311; XXXVI: 13/12–29/28 309; XXXVII: 102–11 287; 168–70 187; XXXIX: 3/4 308; 28 191 n. 1; 38/39 307; XL: 12 308; XLI: 3 191 n. 1; 43–44 188; XLII: 15 190–91; 52 197 n. 1; XLIII: 9/8–15/14 308; 57–58 187; 86 309; 87 308; XLV 17; XLVIII: 24 xxx; LIII 304–306; 20, 26, 27/28 309; 33–37 189; 33–54 298–304; LIV: 13, 20, 31 304; LV 303; LVII: 3 300; 16 193 n. 3; LXXXVI: 18–19 189; CV: xxxv, xl, xlv; CVI xxxv–xxxvi, 200; 2 xl–xli; 3 311–12; 4 xxxviii; CXII: 4 311
- Quraysh, Banū xxxii–xxxiii
and ‘Amir ibn Ṣa’sa’a 93, 96; at battle of Uḥud 268; caravans 38–39, 54, 180–81; and chieftainship of Mecca 205–11, 224; collective identity develops 205, 224–28; commerce 38–39, 54, 180–81, 222, 222–23 n. 51, 225–26 n. 55, 349, 350, 355; etymology 254; expansion of influence xxi, 9; factions xxxii–xxxiii, 209–10, 211, 224; and *ḥaniḥiya* 272–73, 275–76, 279; and *ḥaram* of Mecca 9, 288, 349, 350; and Ḥums xl, 225–28, 350; and Ka’ba 252, 253–54, 266, 314, 317–18, 337; marriage policy 205–43, 350–51, 353, 355; and Medina xxx, 176; Muḥammad and 268, 276, 279–80; and sacred offices xxxvi, 253–54, 352; sacredness 279, 280, 288–89; and *ṭawāf* 341; and Zamzam 265
- Qurayza, Banū 83–84, 146–47, 150, 152, 154, 219
- al-Qurnatayn, raid of 94–97
- Qurra ibn Hubayra 9203
- Quryat 58, 67
- Quṣayṣ, Banū 152
- Quṣayy, Banū xl, 83
- Quṣayy ibn Kilāb
and chieftainship 205–208; and Ka’ba 179, 207, 244, 251, 252, 253, 266, 340; marriage of agnates 205, 211–22, 233–41; possible origin as deity 248–49; and sacred offices xl, 252–55, 263–64, 266
- Qushayr, Banū 93
- Quss ibn Sā’ida 304
- Quṭb al-Dīn xxxi
- Quzah (god) 117, 207
- rabb* (tyrant) 7
- Rabī’a (supertribal unit) 9, 91
- Rabī’a ibn Ḥaṣaba ibn Aznam 96
- Rafaḥ 155
- al-raḥā’in* (troop formation, al-Ḥīra) 103, 104, 105
- Il-Rahaw (god) 37
- Rahman, Fazlur 185–204
- Rahmanism xliii–xliv
- raids 26, 30, 31, 34–35, 45, 46
- rain, and religious cult 118, 336
- Rajab, feast of month of 119
- Ram, temple of *Iram dhāt al-‘imād* 37
- ram slaughtered by Abraham 286, 334
- al-Ramla 54
- Ras al-Khaymah 58, 67
- al-Rass 57, 59, 60
- raṭan* (language of Median Jews) 147–48
- Raunkiaer, ibn 61, 65
- Rawḥ ibn Zinbā’ 156
- Rawwāfa (Gawwāfa) 37
- al-Rayyān ibn al-Mundhir 100
- Red Sea trade xvi, xviii
- religion xxv–xxx, xxxvi–xlii, 11, 109–28
agriculture and 312; ancestor worship 112, 116, 121; animism 112, 115, 121; Arab and Bedouin elements 111–13; astral divinities 113, 117–18, 121; atmospheric divinities 121; Babylonian influence 112–13; Bedouin 37, 109–28, 141 n. 63; beliefs, pre-Islamic 114–18, 121; fetishism 112, 114; heroes 116; “impersonal force” 112–13; litholatry 179; local gods 116–17; Meccan call

- for new religion 187–89; nomads adopt settlers' cultic practices 37, 120; oases as centres 111; officials 120; poetry as source on 114, 141 n. 63; practices 118–20, 121; prayer 118; secular/religious conflict 164; shamanism 120; sources 109–11, 114, 141 n. 63; South Arabian xliii–xliv, xlv–xlvi; spring festivals 119; technical vocabulary 296, 303, 304–306; totemism 113; unity of 192, 199; *zār* ceremonies 116; *see also* Allāh, Christianity, consecration, *dīn*, enclaves (sacred), *ḥaniṭīya*, high god, holy families, idols, Islam, Jews and Judaism, *jinn*, Ka'ba, Manichaeism, messianism, paganism, Parseeism, pilgrimage, priests, *qibla*, sacred offices, sacrifice, sanctuaries, sectarianism, stones (sacred)
- resurrection 301
- Re'ū'el the Midianite 158, 159
- Revelation 295, 300
- Ribāb, Banū 94, 96
- riḍāfa*, *riḍfs* 87
- riḍāda* (sacred office) 207, 210, 245 n. 1, 246, 255, 352
- rites of passage 208, 213 n. 30
- Riyadh 57, 59, 61, 60, 61–62, 63
- riyāsa* (military office) 246
- al-Riyāshī 99–100
- Roman Empire xvii, xviii, 37, 51–53
and Arab phylarchates xii, xvi, xix–xx, xxvi; and Jews 148, 149–50, 160; Provincia Arabia xi
- romanticism, Bedouin 8
- Rosen, G. 62, 74
- rotation, crop 25–26
- routes, pre-Islamic trans-Arabian 45–80
Neo-Assyrian period 46–49, 55; Neo-Babylonian period 49, 55; Achaemenian/Macedonian/Seleucid/earlier Nabataean period 49–50; Parthian/Roman/late Nabataean periods 51–53; Sasanian period 53–55, 55; camel speed 73–75; map 56; pilgrimage 49, 54; *see also individual places*
- Rubin, Uri xxxviii, xxxix, 267–94, 313–46
- Rukn, Black *see* Stone (Black)
- Rumayma bint Aḥmar ibn Jandal 101
- Rustaq 58, 67, 68
- Saba', kingdom of 36, 38
- Sabaic language 206 n. 1
- Sabbatha/Shabwa 71–72, 73
- sacré impersonnel*, *le* 112–13, 115
- sacred offices of Mecca 244–66
Quşayy and 252–55, 263–64, 266; *see also* *dār al-nadwa*, *ḥijāba*, *liwā'*, *qiyāda*, *riḍāda*, *siqāya*
- sacrifice xxxix, 118–19
Abraham's offering of son for 286–87, 290, 334; to Allāh, pre-Islamic 309–10; in ancestor cult 116; Black Stone as stained with 336; of firstborn 119; in Ḥijr 321–23; human 119, 322; at Ka'ba xxxix, 273, 274, 329, 332; by Muḥammad 342
- Sa'd (idol, near Jidda) 129
- Sa'd, Banū 357–58, 363, 365
- Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ 203
- Sa'd ibn 'Ubāda 139
- sadāna* (priestly office) 210
- ṣadaqa* (bridegroom's gift to bride) 216
- Sadleir, G. 52, 59, 61, 63, 64
- Sadūs, clan of 87
- Sāf (idol) 134, 135, 140
- Ṣafā (sacred hill of Mecca) xxxviii, xxxix, 335, 338, 339, 340
- Ṣafā inscriptions 40, 111, 212 n. 23
- al-Ṣafir (sacred stone) 334
- Saham 58, 68
- al-shahbā'* (troop formation, al-Ḥīra) 103, 105
- Sahl ibn Ḥunayt 131
- Sahm, Banū 220
- Sā'ida, Banū 139, 153
- Saiḥ Hatat 58, 68
- saint cults 182
- ṣaj'* ("rhyming prose") 304
- Sakaka 53
- Ṣakhr (idol) 130
- Salamān ibn Thu'al, Banū 104
- Salamians 159
- Ṣālīḥ (prophet) 327
- Salīḥ, Banū xix, 1 n. 2
- Salima, Banū 130, 133, 134–36, 140
- Salm, Banū 133
- Salwa 57, 65
- al-Samḥ (idol) 130
- Samsi, queen of the Arabs 47
- Samuel*, *First Book of* 301
- Samūl (idol) 130
- Ṣana'a' xlv, 51, 54
- al-ṣanā'i'* (troop formation, al-Ḥīra) 103, 104–105
- sanctuaries
lost treasures rediscovered 263, 334 n. 140; portable 112, 114, 120; *see also* enclaves (sacred)
- sandhi-forms 40, 41
- Sanhedrīn 160
- Saqurri, battle of Mount 47

- "Saracens", Arabs known as xiii
 Sargon II of Assyria 47
 Sasanians
 and Arab phylarchates xii, xvi, xx-xxi, xxiv-xxv; arms and armour 40; attempts to control Hijāz 82-87; battle of Dhū Qār xxiv, 15; and Byzantine Empire xviii, xxiii, xliii, effect of rivalry on trade xviii, 54, traditions of Prophet on rivalry 81-82, and Jews of Medina 147, treaties between: xvii n. 27, 561; and al-Ḥīra xx-xxi, xlvi, 81-82; maritime trade xvii; and Mecca 82-83, 226 n. 55, 332, 333; and Medina 54, 83-87, 147; Nestorian church under xxvi; routes under 53-55; and Yemen xlvi, 6; *see also* Khusraw I and II
 "satanic verses" 309
 Sawād ibn 'Adī 90
 sayyid (spokesman) 7
 scrolls 189
 seafaring 310-11
 sectarianism 192-94, 197, 198
 Seleucia, Ḥimyaritic embassy to 54
 Seleucid period, routes 49-51
 Sennacherib of Assyria 47-48
 Serjeant, R.B. xxxviii, 167-83
 settlers xiv-xv, xvi, xxviii
 Bedouin ideals 43-44; external social contacts 26-27; Jews 113, 146, 148-50; and jinn 115; in oases 35-36; sedentarization and desedentarization xiv-xv, 29, 31; *see also* nomads (and settlers)
 Shabwa/Sabbatha 52, 55, 71-72
 Shafr (idol) 130, 132
 Sha'ib Shisa' 181
 shā'ir (poet) 120
 Shakespear, W.H.I. 74
 Shalmaneser II of Assyria 46-47
 Shalmaneser III of Assyria 47
 shamanism 120
 Āl Shamlān tribes 171-72
 Shammar, Jabal 37, 50, 58, 105
 Shammar Yuharish (Ḥimyarite leader) 54
 Shams (idol) 130
 Shapur 54
 sharecropping 24, 26
 shari'a 178
 sharīf *see* da'if
 Sharjah 58, 68
 al-Sharjī 181
 Sharqiyah 58, 68
 Shayba, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib as called 262
 Shayba, Banū 245, 247
 shaykhly families 18
 sheep and goats 22-23
 Sheth 337
 shirk 279
 shiya' ("parties", "sects") 193, 200
 Shu'ayb (prophet) 154, 155, 157, 190, 327
 Shukra 57, 60
 shurakā' (divinities) 116-17
 Shutayba, Banū 153
 Sib 58, 67, 68
 sidāna 245
 Silsila, Banū 104
 Sinān ibn Mālik 97
 Sinful Wars (*ḥurūb al-fijār*) xv n. 19
 Sippar 47
 siqāya (sacred office) 179, 207, 245, 249, 255, 265
 'Abbāsids and 258, 260-61; allocation 210, 260-61, 352; *nabīdh* 258, 259; and Zamzam 244, 245, 255-65
 Sīra 168, 173, 181, 256, 261
 Sirius 301-302
 siyāda (political functions of chieftain) 206-207
 slavery 15, 168
 society
 anthropological interpretation 205-43; collective identity 205, 224-28; nomads' influence 26-29; on Arab unity and structure of 3-4; Bedouinization 39-40; pre-state character 228-29 n. 64; stratification 168, 223-24; *see also* kinship, marriage, tribes
 Sodom 299, 303
 Sohar 54, 58, 66
 soothsayers 120
 sources xiii, xliii, xxv, xlviii-xlix
 on Mecca xxx-xxxii; non-Arab xi, xii, xxi;
 see also individual authors
 Southern Arabia
 culture xiii n. 10, 39; Meccan connexions 206 n. 1, 222; religion xliii-xliv, 117, 301-302; state power 29; *see also* Yemen
 Sozomenos 281 n. 68
 Spasinou Charax 52, 71-72
 spice trade xvi
 spirits of noble dead 325-28
 Sprenger, A. 45, 51-53, 70-73, 74
 springtime, festivals of 119
 Staatsnation 1, 2-4, 15
 star-cults 301-302
 state, concept of xiv, 1, 2-4, 15, 355-56
 stellar myths, pre-Islamic 117
 Stone, Black 252, 284, 314, 324, 329, 334-36, 337
 stones, sacred 114, 332, 334, 337-39; *see also* Maqām Ibrāhīm, Stone, Black
 Strabo 49, 50, 51, 51

- Suez (Clysmā) xvi
 Sufyān ibn 'Amaythil ibn 'Adī 360
 Sulayil 58, 65
 Sulaym, Banū 92
 Sumayya, girl from Zardaward 367
 Sumyafa', ruler of Yemen xlvi
 sun, worship of 113, 118
sunna ("ancestral custom") xv, 11, 12
 supratribal groupings 9, 35
 Sur 58, 67, 68
 Suwayq 58, 68
 Syria xii, 21, 23, 268, 269
 Syriac language xlii, 296
- Ta'abbāṭa Sharran, father of 360–61
 al-Ṭabarī, Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh xxiii, xxiv, xxxi
 tabernacle, Ka'ba as 314–15
 taboos 225 n. 55, 330, 352
 Tabūa, queen of the Arabs 48
 Tabūk 37, 38, 50, 55, 156
 Tachos, king of Egypt 49
 Taghlib, Banū 87, 98, 99
 Tāghūt (customary law) 167–68
 al-Ṭā'if 2, 57, 63, 268, 362, 363, 367
 Tāj, well of 36
tajbīh (symbolic action) 173
talbiya (prayer) xxxix
talio (blood revenge) 12, 34–35
 Talmud xii, 149, 160
 Tamīm, Banū xxxiii, 35, 54, 82, 130 n. 6, 171–72
 and al-Ḥīra 87, 88, 89, 91, 96, 97, 99, 100–102, 106; Sa'd in Ḥulubān campaign 357–58, 363, 365
 al-Ṭamm (idol) 130
 Tanūkh, Banū xix, xxv, 9, 40
 Taraba xlvii–xlviii
 targum 159, 160
 Tarīm 173, 180
 Ta'ūs 259
ṭawāf (circumambulation of Meccan sanctuary) xxxix, 179, 340–43, 351, 352
 Tawba 50
 taxes
 collectors 139, 147, 157; exemption 171, 182; *ḥaram* 170, 171; al-Ḥīra xxiv, xxv, 89, 90, 91, 97–102; in al-Madīna 83–84; *zakāt* 224 n. 54
 Taym, Banū 87, 220
 Tayma
 Jews 145–46; routes 49, 50, 55, 57, 58, 62, 66; Thamūdīc inscriptions 37
 Te'elhunu, queen of the Arabs 47, 48
 Temple, Jerusalem 148, 149
- Thābit, father of Ḥassān 85, 86
 Thāj 51, 53
 Tha'laba, Banū 152, 153
 Tha'laba ibn Sha'ya 152
thamad al-Rūm 149
 Thamūd 37, 299, 302, 304, 327
 inscriptions 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 111;
 prophets of 189, 193
 Thaqīf, Banū xxxiii, 174, 178, 288, 362–63
tha'r (*talio*, "vendetta") xv n. 19, 12
 Theodore (Monophysite bishop) xxvi, xxvii
 Theodoret (theologian) xxvi
 Theophanes (historian) xxiii
 Theophilus (missionary) xviii
 Thibī, *ḥawṭa* of 171–72, 173, 175
 Tiberius II, Roman emperor xxii
 Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria 47
 Timna', *maḥram* of Dhū Samāwī 178
 tithes 147, 157, 170
 tolls on caravans 181
 Torah 199
 totemism 113
 towns and cities
 Bedouin and 9, 12–13, 14, 30, 31, 32, 43–44, 148; Islam's urban character 114; language 10; pre-Bedouinization 37; of South 4
 trade, *see* commerce
 transhumance 22
 Transjordan, Bedouinization of 43
 transport, nomad provision of 24–25
 travel accounts, 19th–20th century 45; *see also individual travellers*
 treasure 263, 331–33, 334 n. 140
 tribes xiii–xxv
 arbitration between 168–69, 171, 180;
 boasting matches 8; gatherings 13, *see also*
 fairs; genealogies 8–9, 38, 40, 42; hierarchi-
 cal stratification 8; and holy families 164,
 168–69, 173, 174–76; al-Ḥīra and 87–107,
 exploitation of rivalries 93–94, 103, 106–
 107, fiefs 87–91, military co-operation 94–
 97, 103–105, taxes 91, 97–102; law 177–
 78; leaders' authority 35, 207; military
 use by Byzantines and Sasanians xviii–xxv;
 Muḥammad and 174–76, 177; natural asso-
 ciation patterns cut across 34–35; nomads
 preserve as unit 28–29; origin 40; in polit-
 ical structure 7, 8; post-Conquest tensions
 15; and sacred enclaves 169, 171–72, 174–
 76, 178, 182; settled divisions 28, 29, 30,
 35–36; in social structure 168; supratribal
 groupings 9, 35; territorial jurisdictions,
 and routes xvii, 46, 54; *see also* Bedouin,
 nomads
 truces 349, 350

- tubba'* 152, 153
 Tubba' As'ad Abū Karib 206 n. 1
 Turks, discipline 43
 Tuson, P. 64, 65
 tyranny 7
 'Ubāda ibn al-Ṣāmit 138, 139
 Ugaritic documents 120
 Uḥud, battle of 180, 268
 Uigur 43
 'Ukāz, fair at 13, 36, 92, 96
 'Ukl 101
 Umāma bint Bishr ibn Zu'ba 152
 'Umān 44, 51, 54, 58, 66, 67
 'Umar, caliph 203, 338
 'Umar ibn Faraj al-Rakhaḥī 258
 'Umar ibn Shabba al-Numayrī 129, 161, 162
 'Umāra ibn Ḥazm 133
 'Umayr ibn 'Adī ibn Kharasha ibn Umayya
 ibn 'Āmir ibn Khaṭma 132
 Umayya (refugee from Najrān) xlvi
 Umayya, Banū 130, 131–32, 133
 Umayya, daughter of Jābir ibn Sufyān 360–61
 Umayya ibn Abī l-Ṣalt 276–78, 279, 280, 287,
 305–306
umma, see community
 'umra ("Lesser Pilgrimage") xxxvii, 342
 unity, pre-Islamic Arab 1–19, 36, 43
 language and 9–11; and political affairs 1,
 6–8, 43; and social structure 3–4
 'Uqayl, Banū 93
 Uqayr 46, 57, 62, 64–65
 'Uqfān ibn 'Āṣim al-Yarbūṭ 98–99
 'uqūq (disloyalty to relatives) 211–12
 Uraysh ibn Irāsh ibn Ghazīla 104
 Urdunn 156
 Uruk 49, 50
 'Urwa al-Raḥḥāl 92
 Usayd ibn Sha'ya 152
 'Uṣayma ibn Ḥālīd ibn Minqar 107
 Uṣayyid, Banū 99–100
 'Utbān ibn Mālīk ibn Ka'b ibn 'Amr 363
 'Uthmān ibn al-Ḥuwayrith 92
 'Uthmān ibn Ṭalḥa 245, 247
 al-'Uzza (goddess) 117–18, 352
 Uzziah, builder of Eloth 149
 Vahriz, viceroy in Yemen xlvi
 Van den Berg (Dutch official in Java, 1885) 53
 vendetta (*tha'r*) xv n. 19, 12
 Venus (planet) 113, 117–18, 121
 Verus, Lucius Aurelius, Roman emperor 37
 vessels, sacred 263
 villages 25
 Valley of the (*wādī l-qurā*) 145
Völkerwanderungen 21
 votive offerings 170, 331–34
 Wabara ibn Rūmānis 94–95
al-wadā'i' (troop formation, al-Ḥīra) 103–104,
 105
 Wadi Ar'ar 48
 Wadi Ba'ir 48
 Wadi Bani Kharus 58, 66
 Wadi al-Batn 49, 52, 54, 55
 Wadi Daw'an 173
 Wadi Dawasir 58, 65
 Wadi Gharra 48
 Wadi Hasa 48
 Wadi al-Hawasinah 58, 66
 Wadi Hedrej 48
 Wadi el Kher 50
wādī l-qurā 145
 Wadi Samayl 58, 68
 Wadi Sirhan 47–48, 53, 55
 Wadi Tayin 58, 68
 Wā'il, Banū 88, 133, 156, 157
 Wā'il ibn Ṣuraym al-Yashkurī 99–100
 Wajj, *ḥaram* of 178
walā' relationship 223 n. 52
 al-Walīd ibn Muḡhīra 252
 Wallin, G.A. 48, 52, 62
waqf lands 170
 Wāqif 133
 Waraqa ibn Nawfal 284
 warfare
 assigning of banners 208, 210, 245 n. 1, 248,
 249, 250; declaration of 208; al-Ḥīra 40, 94–
 97, 103–105; kinship system and 354–55;
 leadership in 35, 246, see also *qiyāda*; mer-
 cenaries 40, 103–105; pact of 201; Roman
 and Sasanian use of Arabs xvi, xviii–xxv
 water sources 46, 328
 Watt, W. Montgomery xxix, 307–12
 al-Wazīr al-Maghribī 100
 wealth, distribution of 224
 weapons 40
 weights and measures 157
 Wellhausen, Julius xxviii, xxix
 wells 264, 328, 331 n. 122; see also Zamzam
 Wellsted, J.R. 68
 Wetzstein, J.G. 59–60, 62, 63, 66, 74
 al-Widyan 48, 49
wilāyat al-bayt 250, 251, 253
 Wissman, H. von 69–70
 Wobayr 50
 Wyburd, Lt. (fl. 1832) 64
 Yabrin 53, 57, 62, 65
 Yaksūm, son of Abraha xxix
 al-Yamāma 57, 59, 60, 62, 88
 Yamanat 38

- Yanqul 58, 68
 Yāqūt 52, 84
 Yarbū', Banū 87
 al-Ya's ibn Muḍar 267, 335 n. 146
 Yashkur 99–100
 Yathrib *see* Medina
 Yazīd ibn al-Sha'iq 95
 Yemen
 Abraha's vice-regency 42, 227–28, 357–68;
 Christianity xi, xviii; collapse of kingdom
 2; culture xiii n. 10; inscriptions xviii; Jews
 152; Kinda reliant on 2, 9; lack of evidence
 for military conquest by Muḥammad 178;
 migration to North 4; and Persia 6; routes
 54; trade xvi, x8x; *see also* Southern Ara-
 bia
 Zabbān ibn Sayyār 358 n. 9
 al-Zabr (idol) 134
 Ḥafar, Banū xlv, 130, 131
 Zagros 22
 Zahra 153
 zakāt (tax) 224 n. 54
 Zamāzima, guild of 245
 Zamzam well, Mecca xxxix
 'Abbāsids embellish 261; 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib
 and 255–57, 262–63, 326, 329, 331–33;
 Abrahamic associations 264–65, 326–27;
 blessedness 327–28; *faḍā'il* 259–60; guild of
 servitors 245; Islamicization 265; plan 314;
 ritual slaughter near 321; and *siqāya* 244,
 245, 255–65; treasure 331–33
 Zamzam well, Medina 331 n. 122
 zār ceremonies 116
 Za'ūrā', Banū 131, 152, 153
 Zayd al-Khayl 86
 Zayd ibn 'Amr ibn Nufayl 281–84
 Zayd ibn Ḥāritha 323
 Zayd ibn Thābit 148
 Zenon papyri 51
 Ziyād ibn Labīd 140
 Zubayd, Banū 316
 al-Zubayr ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim
 ibn 'Abd Manāf 226
 Zuhayr 300
 Zuhayr ibn Jadhīma 7
 Zuhra, Banū 220, 221
 Zurayq, Banū 130, 133