STUDIES IN EARLY ISLAMIC HISTORY

Socio - political and religious aspects
in medieval Islamic Society

KHALIL ATHAMINA



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Preface

This volume contains a collection of articles which were published in various academic journals specialized in Islamic studies, in addition to the written texts of papers presented at international scientific conferences. Although they appear at first sight to deal with a variety of disparate subjects, the specialized or even the general reader will discover that there are various factors which tie them together, whose common elements soon become apparent. Professor Athamina, in these pages, deals with matters relating to society during the early Islamic period, and with the factors which contributed to the development of this society, relating to religion, to culture, to the economy, to politics, in short, with the parameters of Islamic civilization which together, through time, contributed to its formation.

Furthermore, elements of unity are shown through the way in which the author deals with these topics. He was clearly intent on steering away from every preconceived notion or *idée reçue*, which Arab and Western researches uesd, to some extent, to sanctify, so leading them to erroneous consequences.

At the same time, the author discusses all of the published viewpoints, as laid down by past and present voices, to the greatest extent possible.

His own methodology stresses the importance of the primary sources as the basis for his conclusions, without, however, sanctifying them or treating them as unassailable. On the contrary, a number of such sources are, in these pages, themselves subjected to a strict critical reading and contextualization, based on the author's long experience in analyzing the conflicting readings superimposed on them by Muslim traditionalists, as well as the various schools of thought to which the pioneer Muslim historians have belonged.

Original texts, for the author, are not limited to one or another traditional genre of history, *hadīth* literature, but include, fine literature, anecdotes, geographical works, dictionaries, Qur'anic interpretation pre-Islamic and Islamic poetry and biography works.

By applying this broadened definition of the primary text, he has set the cornerstone of a new methodology in Islamic studies which has never before been adopted by researchers. Although an eminently frutful one, this is not a simple approach, in addition to the broad panoply of writings dissected, one must point to the purely linguistic difficulties of their interpretation, which require a mastery of classical Arabic, wether in terms of both grammar and lexicology.

Above all, what characterizes these articles is their spirit of renewal which they represent. they are not intended to constitute simply one more view of one or another well-worn phenomenon, but to add a missing perspective. For this purpose, the book is divided into two parts: the first deals with subjects which have, in the author's view, heretofore been treated incorrectly for such a long time and in such a way as to have imposed themselves as the truth to the point where their questioning is a taboo; through his comprehensive methods of inquiry, he has striven to put these taboos to rest and reverse our understanding of the phenomena at hand. The second part consists of the exposition of phenomena not heretofore treated, pertaining to Islamic society, but which researchers have previously failed to identify, or which they have noted but marginalized and neglected. they are in this volume given their due within the context of Islamic history.

It is therefore our hope and our belief that by collecting these articles in a single volume we are helping to further the study of Islamic history and providing a model for potential breakthroughs in this vital field.

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THE SOURCES OF AL-BALĀDHURĪ'S ANSĀB AL-ASHRĀF

Al- Balādhurī was acquainted with many sources,[1] oral and written,[2] but did not follow any particular method in compiling his text from them.

For the written sources, the term *qāla* serves to identify both known[3] and anonymous traditions.[4] But it is not so easy to know from the terms he uses whether a specific tradition was derived from a written or an oral source; since al-Balādhurī does not elucidate the nature of his sources a certain ambiguity remains. He simply follows in the path of the medieval Muslim historians, who regarded the written material with reservation, and emphasized the

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[1]In order to arrive at the actual figure of the sources of al-Balādhurī, one must delve into the indexes of the published volumes of *Ansāb al-ashrāf;* in addition to *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān* (ed. al-Munajjid, Cairo, 1956).

[2]See E.L. Petersen, *Ali and Muʿawiya in Early Arabic literature,* (Kopenhagen, 1964), p. 138; *Ansāb al-ashrāf;* vol. V (ed. Goitein, Jerusalem. 1938), pp. 13-14;'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dūrī, *Nash'at 'ilm al-taʾrikh 'ind al-'Arab,* (Beirut, 1960), p. 50; A.A. Dixon. *The Umayyad Caliphate*, 65-86/684-705. A Political Study (London, 1971), pp. 3-4

[3]See *Ansāb*, MS., part II (Ms.,'Āshir Efendi, Istanbul nos. 597-598), fol. 718b: "al Madā'inī *qāla...*": fol. 718b, line 28: "*wa-qāla* Hishām ibn al-Kalbī... "; fol. 721b, line 18: "*wa-qāla* al-Haytham..."; fol. 725a, line 37: "*qāla* al-Wāqidī..."

[4]Ibid., fols. 747b, line 7: "*wa-qāla ghayru* l-Haythami..."; 736b, lines 33-34: "*wa-qāla baʿḍuhum...*"

oral tradition.[5] At the same time *qāla* may also serve as a term which signifies direct communication, such as the evidence one may find in *Ansāb al-ashrāf* itself [6]. Two additional terms:

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[5]The same conclusion was reached by D.S. Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic Historians* (Calcutta, 1930); cf. Arabic translation by H. Nassār(Beirut, no date), pp. 57-58. I refer to the fact that copying from a written source would necessarily entail mistakes in writing and reading; mistakes of this sort occurred to al-Madā'inī who had failed in reading a verse and so they said about him, in order to defame him, that he derived his knowledge from the written sources: "*wa-'alimtu anna 'ilmahu mina ṣ-ṣuḥufi*". Yāqūt al-Hamawī, *Irshād al-arīb* (ed. D.S. Margoliouth, Cairo, 1938), vol. XIV, p. 127. In contrast to this opinion, there is another point of view which encourages the use of written sources; among those who held it was the well known scholar Yahyā b. Ma'īn who urged one pupil of al-Madā'ini to copy from his manuscripts: "*...uktub 'ani l-Madā'iniyyi kutubah*"; see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* (Beirut, no date), vol. XII, p. 55: see also Ibn Hajar al-'Askalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān* (Beirut, 2nd ed., 1390/1971), vol. IV, pp. 253-254. Elsewhere, Rosenthal attributes the fact that al-Balādhurī refrains from mentioning his use of written sources, to the method which he has adopted in compiling the material of the Ansāb, see F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (translated into Arabic by A.S. al-'Alī, Baghdād, 1963), p. 128, especially n. 90.

[6] *Ansāb*. Ms., part II,fol. 721b, lines 26-27: "*wa-qāla Hishāmu bnu 'Ammār*": on the other hand, traditions related on the authority of Hishām b.'Ammār are preceded always by the term qālū; ibid.. fols. 725b, line 4; 726b, lines 33-34; 728b, line 28. In this connection one may refer to the tradition of Ibn 'Asākir, quoted by Yāqūt, about the meeting in Damascus between al-Balādhurī and -Ibn 'Ammār, so that the first had heard directly from Ibn 'Ammār: see *Irshād*, vol. V, p. 90. It was reported also that Hishām b.'Ammār visited very often the urban centres, see Dhahabī, *Mīzān al i'tidāl fī naqd al-rijāl* (ed. M. Bijjawā. Cairo, 1382/1963), vol. IV, No. 9234; *Dhahabī, Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* (3rd ed., Hyderabad, 1376/1956), No. 458. Consequently, one may conclude that al-Balādhurī had heard from Ibn'Ammār, or at least cited him through mediating traditionists; hence, *qāla* serves as a term of citation from oral sources too. This assumption becomes more solid in the light of the fact that *qāla* is attached sometimes explicitly to names, for example: "*qāla lī Hishām b. .'Ammār" see Ansāb, vol. IVa* (ed. M. Schloessinger, revised and annotated by M.J. Kister, Jerusallem, 1971). p.60; or,"*qāla lī Muṣ'ab b.'Abdallāh al-Zubayrī.", see Ansāb, vol. IVb*,(ed M. Schloessinger. Jerusalem,

yurwā'an,[7] and *dhakara*[8] both play the same role as *qāla*.

Yet written tradition is not always quoted by means of the above-mentioned terms, In some cases, al-Balādhurī found it quite sufficient to refer to the name of the source only, without using any of these terms.[9]

In the openings of traditions derived from written sources, the term *qāla* is used very frequently;[10] in addition to its anonymous character, it reflects the well-known method of combining more than one tradition derived from different sources.

Several formulas used by al-Balāhurī serve as evidence that he availed himself of this method in the *Ansāb.*[11] Nevertheless, one

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1939)p.47.

[7] "*Wa-yurwā 'ani l-Aṣma'iyyi anna...*' see *Ansāb*. Ms., part II, fol. 722b, line 26. *Yurwā* 'an serves as an alternative term for *qāla in Ansāb* when opening traditions quoted from written source, see *Ansāb*. Ms., part II, fols. 737a, line-22; 743a, line 28. Sometimes we see the same term in the passive voice of the past tense, "*wa-ruwiya* 'an...', ibid., fol. 737a, line 27.

[8] *Ansāb*. vol. V, p. 269: "*wa-dhakara l-Aṣma'iyyu 'an Abī 'Amri bni l-'Alā'i...qāla'*, but there is no certainty that the term *dhakara* serves always as a term of citation from written sources

[9] '*Al-Mādā'iniyyu anna Hishāman...*" see *Ansāb*. Ms., part II, fol. 725b, line 35; or "*al-Madā'iniyyu wa-ghayruhu anna Yūsufa bna 'Umara...*" see *Ansāb*. vol V, p. 304; "*al-Madā'iniyyu anna 'Abda l-Maliki...', Ansāb*. Ms., part II, fol. 717a, line 7.

[10] The term *qāla* is mentioned at least eighty times in volume VI (in my forthcoming edition).

[11] Through this method al-Balādhurī succeeded in combining more than one tradition. The formulas used by him are changed occasionally, see for instance: "*ḥaddathanī jamā'atun min ahli l-'ilmi, Suqtu ḥadīthahum wa-radadtu min ba'ḍihim 'ala ba'ḍin qālū...*", Ansāb, Ms., part II, fol. 691a. But sometimes he mentions clearly names of the traditionists, the tradition related on their authority and even briefly refers to their *isnād*: "*wa-ḥaddathanī Abū 'Adnāna 'l-Baṣriyyu. wa-l-Athramu wa-l-Ḥirmāziyyu fī isnādihim fa-suqtu ḥadīthaum wa-radadtu ba'ḍahu 'alā ba'ḍin qāla*, see ibid., fol. 470b; fol. 1050a;

should note that he was not the first to make use of it; indeed, it was adopted earlier by some Muslim historians, among them al-Wāqidī,[12] and was further practised until the beginning of the fourth century (A.H.).[13] This method enabled al-Balādhurī to sum up various traditions, and by combining them he produced the *khabar*, i.e. the historical anecdote.

On the other hand, epitomizing several traditions necessitated a prior check of his sources. Consequently, one may safely conclude that he had gone through his sources before actually writing them down. In this context one may ask whether authenticity was affected or not, and whether al-Balādhuī faithfully

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Akhbār al-dawla al-'abbāsiyya (anonymous author, ed. al-Dūrī, Beirut, 1971), pp. 142-143. Elsewhere this formula becomes shorter, particularly when he does not identify his sources, who are labeled merely) as men of knowledge in writings: "...*akhbaranījamā'atun min ahli l'ilmi bi-l-kutubi qāla...*"; see Ansāb, vol. I (ed. Hamidullah, Cairo, 1959), p. 3; Ansāb, vol. V, p. 186. Futūh. vol. I, p.l.

It is noteworthy that the combining method was used with regard to traditions from written and oral sources and the choice of suitable terms for the two sorts of traditions serves as evidence to this fact; see Ansāb. Ms., part II, fol. 109a: "*wa-ḥaddathanī Ḥafṣu bnu 'Umara, al-ma'rūfu bi-l-'Umariyyi. 'an al-Haythami bni 'Adiyyi,'ani bni 'Adiyyi. wa-akhbaranī al-Athramu 'an Abī 'Ubaydata, wa-qara'tu 'ala l-madā' iniyyi qālū.*

[12]Al-Wāqidī, after listing the names of his sources without referring to their *isnād*, quotes the material in one combined tradition; for example: "..*fa-kullun qad ḥaddathanī min hādhā bi-ṭā'ifatin,wa-ba'ḍuhum aw'ā li-ḥadīthihi min ba'ḍin, wa-ghayruhum qad ḥaddathanī ayḍan fa-katabtu kulla l-ladhī haddathūnī*; Muhammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-maghāzī* (ed. M. Jones, London, 1966), vol. I, p. 2. In his preface to the book Jones refers to the method adopted by al-Wāqdī` and claims that some of the earlier historians and traditionists had known this method; ibid., vol. I, p. 29.

[13]Al-Ṭabrī`, inter alia, adopts this method: "...*kullun qad dhakara shay'an fa-allaftuhu. Wa-dhakara l-Bāhiliyyūna shay'an fa-allaftuhu fī khabari hā'ulā'wa-allaftuhu anna Qutaybata.*"; see *Ṭabarī. Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*(ed. De Goeje, Leiden, 1879-1901) vol. II, p. 1305; see also ibid., vol II, pp. 1227, 1237.

transcribed the content of those traditions which he had put together. Any answer to this question would not only be tentative, but would be of a speculative nature. Nevertheless, we can find hints which may shed some light on the question.

Besides giving the collective tradition which opens with the term *qāla*, al-Balādhuī sometimes adds another version which opens with the term *wa-yuqālu*[14] in order to provide further details which concern some particular items and which are not included in the collective tradition. Sometimes he identifies the complementary tradition,[15] but he is not systematic in this respect, and we occasionally find a collective tradition produced so as to serve as a complementary tradition next to the identified one.[16]

The term *qāla* does not always signify the anonymous tradition alone, for it sometimes begins a combined tradition whose *isnād* includes both identified and anonymous elements. Whenever such traditions occur, al-Madā'inī appears as the identified source side by side with the anonymous sources.[17]

In conclusion, traditions which begin with *qāla* draw attention to the fact that al-Balādhurī was not confined to a certain kind of source, but had a very wide collection at his disposal, which he

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[14] *Wā-qālū kana 'l-khulafā'u wa-abnā'u l-khulafā'i min Banī Umayyata yatabaddūna wa-yahrubūna mina ṭ-ṭā'ūni ... wa-yuqālu innāma arāda an yakhruja mina r-Ruṣāfati ilā' l-Bādiyati firāran mina ṭ-ṭā'ūni*: see *Ansāb*. Ms., part II, fol. 721a, lines 14-19. "

[15] *Qālū: kharaja khawāriju bi-mawqū' ... thumma arsalani Yūsufu bi-r-ru'ūsi ilā sh-Shām wa-qāla l-Haythamu ba'atha bi-r-ru'ūsi ilā l-Walīdi wa-kāna Hishāmun qad māta*"; see *Ansāb*, Ms., part II, fol. 730a, lines 19-23.

[16] "*Al-Mada'iniyyu qāla: ista'dhana al-Muhājiru bnu 'Abdi l-lāhi Hishāmān fī l-Ḥajji... qālū wa-kāna l-Muhājiru bnu 'Abdi l-lāhi yamurru fī masjidi Dimashqa faya'dilu 'ani 'l-qanādīli li-allā yaksiraha bi-ṭūlihi' Ansāb*, Ms., part II, fol. 723a, lines 1-9.
It is worth mentioning that the term *dhakarū~* in Ansab is synonymous to *qālū* in the semantic and the terminological sense. See ibid., fol. 733b. lines 28-29.

[17] The phrase '*al-madā'iniyyu wa-ghayruhu qālū...*' constantly precedes such groups of traditions; see for example, *Ansāb*. Ms., part II, fols. 718b, lines 26-27; 734b, line 23; 750a, line 8.

exploited selectively. A comparison between the *Ansāb* and other sources confirms this conclusion.[18]

The oral material identified according to the narrative terms forms a small percentage in comparison with the written sources. The most familiar and current term which opens traditions of this kind is: *ḥaddathanī ḥaddathanā* [19]The same terms are used later by al-Tabarī in similar circumstances."[20]

Since there was no single method according to which historians worked in that period, it would be rather difficult to claim that the above mentioned term in both forms has the same implication in the *Ansāb* as in al-Tabarī. Nevertheless, since al-Balādhurī had the opportunity to hear directly from traditionists like Ibn Sa'd (d. 230) and al-Madī'inī (d. 225/235) (as distinctly reported by Ibn'Asākir) [21]it might be claimed that the term *ḥaddathanī, ḥaddathanā* refers to those traditions derived from oral sources.

A similar function is played by the anonymous term *akhbaranī*[22]

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[18]As to the estate granted to Hishām b.'Abd al-Malik as *iqtā'*. al-Ṭabarī identifies his source, who was al-Madā'inī, while al-Balādhuri quotes the tradition anonymously opening with the term *qālū* which indicates more than one source; cf. *Tabarī, Ta'rīkh* vol. II, pp. 1734-1735 : "*Ḥaddathanī Aḥmadu qāla ḥaddathanī 'Aliyyu*" Ahmad mentioned in the isnād of al-Ṭabarī is Aḥmad b. Zuhayr, the disciple of al-Madā'inī who was a comtemporay of al-Balādhurī; see G. Rotter, "Zur uberlieferung einiger historischer Werker madainis in Ṭabaris Annalen", *Oriens* (Leiden), 23-24 (1971), 103-133; concerning the same tradition quoted by al-Balaladhurī see *Ansāb,* Ms., part II, fal. 7184, lines 30-35

[19]See *Ansāb*, Ms., part II, fols. 722a, line 5; 723a, lines 23-24; 725a, line 3; 728b, line 28 ; 737 b, lines 23-24 , 745 a, line 13

[20]See Rotter. op. cit., p. 107.

[21]" Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. v, p. 91 ; *Ansāb*, vol. V, p. 13; Petersen, op. cit., p. 138.

[22] *Wa-akhbaranī 'Abbāsu bnu Hishāmin 'an abīhi 'ān jaddihi..."; Ansāb*, Ms., part II, fols. 723b, line 29; 745a, line 3.

which constantly opens traditions with the same chains of *isnād*[23].

While the direct hearing terms are usually attached to identified traditions, there are certain instances in which al-Balādhurī refrains from mentioning the name of his source. Instead, he classifies it under the category of *al-ʿulamā*[24] Here again al-Balādhurī was not the inventor of this method, which was known earlier to authors of the *sīra* literature as well as to compilers of *ḥādīth* and codices of theology. Moreover, we can clearly notice an absolute parallelism between the formulas which appear there and those used by al-Balādhurī.[25]

In some parts of al-Balādhurī's work -- especially at the beginning of the major chapters -- the data are introduced without any of the terms with which we have been familiar so far. This

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[23] Ibid.,fols. 720a, line 37:, 737b, lines 31-32. The term *ḥuddithtu* in the passive voice serves as a term of oral citation, see *Ansāb*. vol. V, p. 112; Rotter,(op. cit., p. 107) rejects Sezgin's claim who considers this term as a term of *wijāda*: see M.F. Sezgin *Geschichte des Arabischen Shriftums*, vol. I, part A (translated into Arabic by Abū al-Faḍl Ḥijāzī, Cairo, 1971), p. 231. If Balādhurī had used the method of *wijāda*; he would have used more relevant terms to express it, i.e. *wajadtu;* see *Ansāb*. vol. V, p. 14: "*wajadtu fī kitābin li-ʿAbdi l-lāhi bni Ṣāliḥin al-ʿIjliyyi...*"; see also al-Suyūtī, al-Muzhir (ed. Abū al-Fadl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, no date), pp. 167-168. The expression *ḥuddithtu* belongs indeed to the method of *al-ijāza* which was accepted with respect to the *ḥadīth* literature; see about this statement in I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies* (translated into English by S.M. Stern, London, 1967), vol. II, pp. 175-176; Sezgin, op. cit., p. 230 The *ijāza* method was applied later in the *akhbār* literature, some evidence of that may be found in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*. vol. XII, p. 55: "*Akhbaranā Muhammadu bnu Jaʿfari bni ʿIllāna al-Warrāqu, ijāzatan, akhbaranā Makhladu...* ." See also ibid, pp. 54-55; and, Kitāb *al-Aghānī* (Būlāq, r.d.), vol. III, p. 133: "*Akhbaranī Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī ijāzatan, qāla ḥaddathanī...qāla*"

[24] *Wa-ḥaddathanī baʿḍu ahli l-ʿilmi...*"; *Ansāb*, vol IVb, p. 134.

[25] See for instance "*Wa-ḥaddathānī baʿḍu ahli l-ʿilmi...*" in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabiyy* (ed. Muhyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Hamīd, Cairo, 1383/1963), vol. III, pp. 606, 833; vol. IV, p. 904; Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīmʾ, Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-kharāj* (ed. Aḥmad M. Shākir, IVth ed., Cairo, 1392/1972), p. 149.

material is mostly genealogical or statistical,[26] and al-Balādhurī, for some reason of his own, does not find it necessary to point out his sources. Yet in some places there appear a few clues which prove that the material was derived from the work of Ibn al-Kalbī.[27]

The inner order of the *Ansāb* is arranged by means of thematic titles which may be regarded as separate chapters.[28] In this division into sections with specific titles, al-Balādhurī follows the literary tradition of his predecessors. This reminds us of the method of grouping material by subjects, adopted by the first compilers of the *akhbār*.[29] But division into thematic chapters is not a guarantee against occasional repetitions, which are an inevitable result of the way *ansāb* works were edited.[30] In order to avoid such irrelevant

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[26] This material is quoted in the following places: *Ansāb*. Ms., part II, fols. 716a, line 30; 716b, line 21 *Ansāb*. vol. IVb, pp. 61,62, 63, 65, 72, 74-78 ;*Ansāb*. vol. V, pp. 1, 107, 108.

[27] Referring to the *nasāb* of Banū 'Abd Shams, al-Balādhurī quotes an anonymous tradition , but concerning some specific details he quotes another version on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī; the version opens with the following words: "*wa-qāla ghayru 'l- Kalbiyyi...*". Ansāb. vol. IVa, p. 2. This beginning undoubtedly proves that the unidentified material in which he reports the *nasab* of the above mentioned clan, is quoted from Ibn al-Kalbī. This conclusion becomes more solid in another note of al-Balādhurī, when he says: "*wa-qāla ibnu l-Kalbiyyi..*"; see ibid., p. 3, It seems that al-Balādhurī relies extensively on Ibn al-Kalbī concerning the material connected with the *nasab* items his utterances in other place supports this point of view: "*...wa-minhnum Yasīnu, wa-lam Yanqul Ibnu l-Kalbiyyi nasabahu*"; *Ansāb* Ms., part II, fol. 1038 b.

[28] About some of these titles see *Ansāb*, Ms., part II, fol. 716a, line 29: "*Amr Hish ām b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān*" . See also "*al-Kh awārij fī ayyāmi Hishām..* ibid., fol. 729a, 33. About other titles see ibid., fols. 729b, line 24; 730a,lines 2, 11, 18,26, 33; 731b, 3, 10, 31. Other titles appear in the margin concerning prominent officials, titles which perhaps were added by copyists; see, for instance, ibid.,fols. 732a; 7356; 741a; 746a; 752a.

[29] See *Ansāb*, vol. V, p. 15 ; Margoioth, op. cit., p. 133.

[30] *Ansāb*,. vol. V, p. 18; Petersen, op, cit., p. 139; Margolioth, op.sit., p. 66. "

repetitions, al-Balādhurī adopted the méthod of *al-ikhtiṣār*,[31] doing his best to skip incidents and themes which have been mentioned elsewhere, thus minimizing redundancy to the utmost. Where such repetition occurs, he sometimes merely indicates its place in the book.[32]

As a rule, he uses abbreviations in poetry, particularly with regard to verses mentioned in other connections, where he either quotes only the opening line or some selected lines from the whole *qaṣīda*.[33]

Al-Balādhunī's tendency to abridge can be tested in the very example of the collective traditions mentioned above. This tendency has been primarily revealed through his own words.[34]

Furthermore, abridgement have been applied to long traditions while re-editing them.[35] Thus, long stories which appear once are

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[31] *Ansāb*, vol. V, pp. 18-19.

[32] In this way he refers to the rebellious movement of the Zanj leader, Sharzanji, in the district of al-Basra, "...*wa-qad Katabnā khabara Shārzanjī ma'a akhbāri 'Abd al-Malik*". *Ansab*. Ms., part II, fol. 725b, lines 22-24; about the affair of Shārzanji see Ansāb. vol. XI,(ed. A Ahlwardt, Greifswald, 1883) pp. 303-308; likewise, he refers to the Shī'i revolt of Zayd b.'Ali in the reign of Hishām, in the chapter which devoted to the lifetime of this Umayyad Caliph: "*wa-qad Katabtu khabara zaydin wa-maqtalihī fī nasabi awlād 'Alī wa-akhbārihim*" , Ms., part II,fol.782b,lines 27-28.

[33] As a rule, the abbreviation was made in different ways, so when he refers to poetry which was cited elsewhere, he cites only the opening lines, but at the same time he remarks that the complete poem was mentioned elsewhere: '*...fi āb.yātin qad dhakarnāhā, Ansāb* Ms., part 11, fol. 742a, line 5.

[34] *Qāla Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Jābir. akhbaranī jamā'atun min ahli l-'ilmi bi-l-ḥadīthi was-sīrati wa-futūḥi l-buldāni. suqtu ḥadīthahum wa-'khtaṣartuhū wa-radadtu min ba'ḍihi 'alā ba'ḍin anna...*", vol. I, p.1 .

[35] *Wa-ḥaddathanī 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Arafa ḥadīthan ṭawīlan ikhtaṣartuhu... "; Ansāb*, Ms., part II, Tol. 23b.

cut down to a few single words.[36] Yet realizing that the information brought in the shortened form is insufficient, al-Balādhurī advises his reader to turn to the detailed passage. A good example of this is the story about the *munāfara* which took place in the time of the *Jāhiliyya* between 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and Ḥarb b. Umayya.[37]

The division into chapters and sections demands that traditions which have close connection with the same subject be put together, but Balādhurī applies this principle in particular only in some cases as in the story of the Khawārij, where he dedicates separate chapters to their activities during the reign of the different Umayyad Caliphs.[38]

Because of the particular character of the *ansāb* literature, the author of *Ansāb al-ashrāf* does not keep to the chronological order as in the annal chronicles. Furthermore, we notice the lack of consistency in traditions relevant to other topics.[39]

However, we cannot conclude that al-Balādhurī restricted himself merely to the function of collecting and re-editing the

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[36] The content of boasting between 'Abd al-Muttalib and Harb b. Umayya, for example, occupies approximately two pages when the story is quoted for the first time, see *Ansāb*, vol. I pp. 72-74. But in another context he summarizes it with a few words only, *"thumma jarā baynahumā kalāmun, fa-tanāfara, fa-naffara 'alayhi 'Abda l-Muṭṭalibi..*; see *Ansāb*, vol, IVa, p. 3.

[37] Al-Balādhurī says: *"wa-qad katabnā mā kanā bayna 'Abdi l-Muṭṭalibi wa-Ḥarbin fīmā taqaddama mashrūḥan" Ansāb*,, vol. IVa, p. 3.

[38] About the activity of the Khawarīj in the reign of Hishām see *Ansāb*, Ms., part II, fols. 729a-731b; for the reign of Muʿāwiya see *Ansāb*. vol. IVa, pp. 138-163; in the reign of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya see *Ansāb*, vol. IVb, pp. 89-97; in the reign of 'Abd al-Malik see *Ansāb*. vol. XI, pp. 78-151. Al-Balādhurī not only chose an opening title for this item, but also ended it with a convenient formula: "*tammat akhbāru l-khawārij: Ansāb*, Ms., part II, fol. 731b, line 21.

[39] For example, the traditions which deal with the pilgrimage of the Caliph Hishām are not concentrated in one place, but scattered, see *Ansāb*. Ms., part II, fols. 720a, line 23; 720b, lines 22, 25, 32; 721b, line 18; 725b, line 15. Likewise, for the traditions which are connected with Ghaylān al-Dimashqī, who was executed by Hishām, see *Ansāb*, Ms., part II, fols. 721a, line 32; 727b, line 30.

material in certain framework. He leaves a personal imprint on the whole work. This is obvious not only in the division of his material in the combination of different traditions as we have seen above; it is also noticeable in two categories of notes which frequently appear within his work. The first category may be defined as explanatory and is being inserted within the quoted material.[40] The second is related to the critical aspect particularly to the question of authenticity. Similar notes can be found in al-Wāqidī's *Kitāb al-maghāzī*.[41]

It is evident that some of these notes include al-Balādhurī's personal opinions. Marsden Jones's critical remark which rejects this view is, therefore, arbitrary.[42] Actually al-Balādhurī interferes when he states the falsification of some reports, [43]or when he gives

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[40] Reporting about the flight of Umayyad Caliphs from the danger of the Black Death to less populated places in the desert, al-Balādhuri quotes a tradition about the sojourn of Hishām at al-Rusāfa and within the quoted tradition he adds a historical-geographical note about the place and the improvements which were later done by Hishām:"*...fa-qāla abī turīdūna an tujarribū r-Ruṣāfata? wahya qaryah, wa-btanā bihā qaṣrayni wa-aqāma bihā, wa-r-Ruṣāfat rumiyyatun, banāhā ba'ḍu mulūki r-Rūmi, wahya tunsabu ilā Hishāmin, wa-yuqālu innamā arāda an yakhruja mina r-Ruṣāfati ilā l-bādiyati"Ansāb*, Ms., part II, fol. 721a, lines 14-19. The identification of al-Balādhurī's explanatory notes is based not only on the internal style of the tradition, but also on the significance of the material itself, which very often suits the interest of al-Balādhurī as the author of *Futūḥ al-buldān*. Another example for notes of this sort is in the field of geneology, when al-Balādhurī adds more details in order to clarify someone's *nasab*:"*...wa-qāla Hishāmun li-l-Abrashi,. wahwa Sa'īd b. al-Walīd b. 'Amr....wa-kāna l-Abrashu jalīsahu wa-anīsahu...", Ansāb*. Ms., part II, fol. 717b, lines 2-5.

[41] Some of al-Wāqidī's notes can be found in *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, vol. I, pp. 2, 10, 19, 35,j8: "*wa-l-qawlu l-awwalu athbatu 'indanā*," or "*...wa-hādhā, thabtun, 'indanā*," or "*...wa-th-thābitu 'indanā*," or "*wahwa al-muthbatu*.It is worth mentioning that Jones has already observed these critical notes made by al-Wāqidī; see *K. al-maghāzī*; vol. I, p. xxxiv.

[42] See the view of Jones, in *K. al-maghāzī*, loc. cit.

[43] "*...Fa-yuqālu innā Sa'īdan māta min ḍ-ḍarbi, wa-th-thabtu annahu baqiya ba'da mawti abīhi"; Ansāb*, Ms., part II, fol. 725a, lines 7-8.

priority to one version over another.[44]

Several formulas are used by him as a vehicle for his critical notes.[45] Special attention should be paid to the term *za ʿama* which opens all uncredited traditions. This term signifies from the outset the negative standpoint of the author towards the tradition itself. Thus, traditions which open with *za'ama* are usually concluded by critical remarks.[46] It should be pointed out here that the term *za ʿama* implies a lie or an uncertainty.[47]

Al-Balādhurīs criticism is directed, in some places, to his sources, not to the quoted material itself. Usually, he describes them as deceitful people, *ahl al-kadhib*, who falsify the *akhbār*. At the same time, he points out that the so-called *ahl al-ʿilm* (men of knowledge) avoid using their traditions.[48] In another place, he describes them as people of no knowledge at all (*qawlu qawmin*

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[44] "... *Wa-qad qīla innā hādhā kāna 'inda Bishri bni Marwāna wahwa th-thabtu": Ansāb*, Ms., part II, fol. 740a, line 18. See also *Ansāb*. vol. V, p. 316, line 19: "...*wa-l-khabaru l-awwalu athbatu wa-sh-shi ʿru 'alā ṣiḥḥatihi adallu".*

[45] Among the other formulas which appear in the *Ansāb* we find the following: "...*wa-dhālika zūrun bāṭilun"; Ansāb*, vol. IVa, p. 2.

[46] See for example *Ansāb*, vol. V, p. 316 : "...*wa-qawmun yaz ʿumūna...wa-l-khabaru l-awwalu athbabtu*". See also ibid., p. 276, lines 10-15: "...*wa-za ʿama qawmun anna Ḥamzata b. 'Abdi l-lāhi waliya l-Baṣrata wa-l-Kūfata...wa-laysa dhālika bi-thabtin. wa-th-thabtu annahu...* " But sometimes, in spite of the doubts of al-Balādhurī concerning some tradition, he refrains from taking a position towards it, as he usually does, but rather emphasizes his doubts by writing down the most familiar formula known by later authors with which they end such traditions; that formula is "*wa-llāhu a ʿlamu" ,Ansāb*. vol. IVa, p. 3. It was used even earlier by Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabiyy*. vol. I, pp. 51, 95; vol. II, pp. 271, 501.

[47] See Goldziher, op. cit., vol. II,p. 58, especially note no 5,the quotation from al-Damīrī: "...*li-kulli shay'in kunya. wa-kunaytu l-kadhibi za ʿamū*"; the same meaning can by found in *Lisān al-ʿArab*. vol. XII, pp. 264, 265-266.

[48] *Wa-qad rawā ba ʿḍu ahli l-kadhibi if amri Sa ʿdin wa-Sa ʿīdin ḥadīthan maṣnū ʿan lā-na ʿrifuhu.wa-la ta'rifuhu , l-'Arabu wa-lā yarwīhi ahlu l-'ilmi, Ansāb.* Ms., part II, fol. 8536.

lā ʿilma lahum).[49] Occasionally al-Balādhurī quotes without further comment criticism contained in his sources.[50]

It is interesting to note that poetry occupies a prominent position in *Ansāb al-ashrāf.* In accordance with the nature of early Arabic historiography, verses are quoted in a very large proportion.[51] As we know, the combination of poetry and *khabar* came into being because of the connection of *khabar* with the *ayyām* literature.[52] It seems that this combination became an integral part of the *akhbār* literature, particularly in the early works which served as a source for later generations of historians such as al-Balādhurī and others. The words of al-Yaʿqūbī are crucial evidence to this fact.[53]

Although some scholars have expressed doubts about the contribution of poetry to the field of the *akhbār*,[54] the combination of poetry with *akhbār* has become an accepted custom for the Muslim historians.[55] Following this system, al-Balādhurī also uses this combination, and verses are quoted in enormous quantity, even where there is no causal relationship between the verses and

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[49] *Wa-th-thabtu anna ṣāḥiba Dimashqa ... wa-l-awwalu qawlu qawmin Iā ʿilma lahum"; Ansāb,* vol. V, p. 165.

[50] *Wa-qāla l-Muṣ ʿabu bnu ʿAbdi llāhi* z-Zubayriyyu: *ar-ruwātu tudkhilu min khabri hādhā l-ḥiṣāri fi hādhā. wa-khabar hādhā fī hādhā"; Ansāb* vol. IVb, p. 47. J1

[51] *Ansāb*, vol. V, p. 17; Margoliouth, op. cit,, p. 133.

[52] Rosenthal, Op. cit., p. 97.

[53] *Wa-jaʿalnāhu kitāban mukhtaṣaran ḥadhafnā minhu l-ashʿāra wa-ṭaṭwīla l-akhbāri...*"; Aḥmad b. Wāḍiḥ al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tāʾrīkh al-Yāʿqūbī* (Beirut, 1379/1960), vol. I, p. 6. Likewise, the work of Ibn Isḥāq still contains a great deal of poetry in spite of the omissions made later by Ibn Hishām. The following words of Ibn Hishām give evidence to this fact: "*qāla ibnu Hishāmin: wa-anā... wa-tārikun baʿḍa mā dhakarahū ibnu Isḥāqa fī hādhā l-kitābi ...li-mā dhakartu mina l-ikhtiṣāri, wa-ashʿāran dhakarahā lam ara aḥadan min ahli l-ʿilmi bi-sh-shiʾri yaʿrifuhā..."; Sīrat an-nabiyy.* vol. I, p. 2.

[54] H. A. R. Gibb, "Tarikh", *Studies in the Civilizarion of Islam* (London, 1962); cf. Arabic translation by Ihsān 'Abbās, 2nd ed.(Beirut, 1974), p. 145; Rosenthal, op. cit., pp. 97-98; Margolioth, op. cit., p. 75.

[55] Rosenthal, op. cit., p. 97.

the historical incident.[56] The rich collection of verses quoted by al-Balādhurī has made *Ansāb al-ashrāf* a significant treasure of ancient Arabic poetry.[57] A glance at this collection reveals a list of well-known poets such as: al-Farazdaq, Jarīr, al-Kumayt b, Zayd, Yaḥyā b. Nawfal and others, besides those who are not well known.

At the same time, a considerable amount of anonymous verses has been included,[58] proof of the comprehensive knowledge of al-Balādhurī in this field. One should add that al-Baladhurī himself was also a famous poet, especially of satiric poetry.[59]

Content of the traditions and the author's tendencies:

The question of the tendencies of al-Balādhurī has been discussed by a number of scholars in an attempt to depict his character. Goitein highly praises his objectivity as revealed in the pro-Umayyad traditions quoted in the *Ansāb*, material which is said to have served as an example to the 'Abbāsid Caliphs, who tried to follow the Umayyad dynasty in rule and behaviour.[60]

Goitein reaches the conclusion that it is extremely difficult to point to any party tendencies in his work.[61] Al-Munajjid quotes the words of De Goeje, who states that al-Balādhurī, in spite of the fact that he was warmly accepted at the 'Abbāsid royal court, does not

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[56] In some places verses are quoted out of context; see for example *Ansāb*, Ms., part II, fols. 72Sa, lines 35-36; 729a, lines 27-32.

[57] *Ansāb*, vol. V, pp. 17-18.

[58] Anonymous verses are quoted in *Ansāb*. Ms., part II, fols. 726b, lines 36-37 ; 727 a, lines1-2 ; 740 a, lines 1-5, 11-16 .

[59] Yāqūt, *Irshād* vol. V, p. 92: "*...wā-kāna ma'a dhālika kathīra l-hijā'i badhī'a l-lisāni, akhadha l-a'rāḍa, wa-tanāwala wahba bna Sulaymāna ... fa-mazzaqhu...*": at the same time Yāqūt quotes some of his satiric verses which were cited by some of his sources,among whom we see al-Jahshiyarī (ibid., pp. 95-97), Ibn 'Asākir (ibid., pp. 97-98), al-Mlarzubānī (ibid., p. 99) and al-Sūlī (ibid., pp. 101-102). Satiric verses are attributed to Balādhurī in other sources: *Lisān al-mīzān*, vol. I. pp. 322-3 .

[60] *Ansāb*. vol. V, p. 14. The objectivity of al-Balādhuī is emphasized also by Margolioth, op. cit., p. 26.

[61] Margolioth, op. cit., p. 26.

praise them exclusively nor does he show any sign of reverence towards the Umayyad Caliphs. He even refrains from calling them caliphs with the exception of 'Umar b.ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

On the other hand, al-Munajjid quotes Becker to the effect that al-Balādhurī does not pay the Umayyads the respect they deserve. Furthermore, he describes the Abbāsid regime with the highly admirable and respectable term, *al-dawla al-mubāraka,* the blessed regime, without mentioning anything about the Umayyad caliphate.[62]'Abd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī adopts the view of De Goeje and points out al-Balādhurī 's neutrality in spite of his special relationship with the royal court.[63]

In contrast to the above-mentioned scholars, Wellhausen indicates the pro-Umayyad position of al-Baladhurī. This fact is clearly shown by the quotations of Syrian traditions which present the Umayyads in an absolutely different light and with marked sympathy, which is unusual.[64]

Petersen explains that al-Baladhurī's emphasis on the Umayyad caliphate, is merely an expression of certain Abbāsid tendencies which became crystallized in the period of political collapse. Perersen also tries to relate this approach to the prevailing state of mind in al-Balādhurī's period, during which many changes occurred as a result of the anti-Muʿtazilite reaction under the reign of al-Mutawakkil (847-861).[65]

The authenticity and the precision of al-Balādhurī are highly praised in the Arabic sources. Words to this effect are quoted in different places from al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā.[66]

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[62] Salāḥ al-Dīn al-Munaijid, *A'lām al-ta'rīkh wa-l- jughrāphiā 'inda al-ʿArab*(Beirut, 1960), vol. I, p. 30.

[63] aI-Dūrī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, op. cit., p. 50.

[64] J. Wellhausen, *Das Arabische Reich und sein Sturz* (translated into Arabic by Y.al-'Ishsh, Damascus, 1396/196). p. 6.

[65] Petersen, op. cit., p. 148.

[66] ʿAbd al-Sattār Farrāj refers to the phrases of praise quoted in al-Shāfī about al-Balādhurī, which go as follows: "*...wa-qad rawā Abūl-Ḥasan al-Balādhurī wa-hāluhufī th-thiqati 'inda l-'āmmati wa-l-bu'di* ʿan *muqārabati, (muqāranati in the text) sh-shīʿati wa-ḍ-ḍabṭi limā yarwīhi maʿrūfun...*". He also quotes a similar citation which says: "*...wa-qad rawā al-Balādhurī fī*

At any rate, any final conclusion concerning the objective standpoint of al-Balādhurī may be reached only after checking the material quoted by him and after making a comparison with parallel material quoted in other works. Rosenthal aptly points out that the most essential thing is not the historical significance of the anecdote itself, but what the author (compiler) has done with the material at his disposal.[67]

Petersen stresses also that al-Balādhurī dealt with a great deal of material, which he re-edited in an independent manner, and thus proved to be an absolutely prominent figure among the classical Arab historians.[68] Yet Petersen's statement is not a sufficient reply to the question of the tendencies and the standing of al-Balādhurī among his colleagues.

Checking the sources of al-Balādhurī would be a significant step towards the goal which we wish to attain. For the sake of this goal, I shall discuss a number of his sources which I regard as representative examples, and which may possibly enable us to come closer to the truth.[69]

Al-Madā'inī

al-Madā'inī is the most eminent figure among the sources of al-Balādhurī. His name is explicitly mentioned in a hundred and twenty two places in volume VI, more than half of the total identified traditions. al-Madā'inī won high praise in Arabic biographic literature, and his reliable traditions brought him praise.[70] He was regarded as the head of a definite school in the

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ta'rīkhihi, wahwa ma'rūfu th-thiqati wa-ḍ-ḍabṭi wa-barī'un min mumāla'ti sh-shī'ati..."; *Ansāb.* vol. I(preface), p. 14. Goitein has referred to the same citations; *Ansāb.* vol. V, p. 20.

[67] Rosenthal, op.cit., p. 14.

[68] Petersen, op. cit., p. 146.

[69] This discussion is restricted to the main traditionists in the section dealing with the life of Hishām b.'Abd al-Malik.

[70] *Yāqūt , Irshād.* vol. XIV, p. 126: "... *fa-lammā wallā qāla Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn thiqa, thiqa, thiqa, qāla fa-sa'altu abī fa-qāla: man hādhā r-rajulu? fa-qāla: al-Madā'iniyyu...*"; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* vol. XII,

field of *akhbār*.[71] The Shīʿī sources attached great respect to him.[72]

As to his political tendencies, Wellhausen claims that al-Madā'inī was influenced by the claims of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs, and it is from their point of view that he refers to the Umayyad collapse and to the emergence of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty.[73] Petersen says that the attempt to record history in the spirit of the Muʿtazila and to reach a compromise with the moderate pro-ʿAlīd line, was very satisfactorily attained in the works of al-Madā'inī .[74] Petersen's statement leads to the inevitable conclusion that al-Madā'inī dedicated his works to the promotion of ʿAbbāsid aims, which were directed at reaching such a compromise. Furthermore, Petersen emphasizes the savage belligerency of al-Madā'inī against Muʿāwiya and the Umayyads. He remarks that the crooked endeavours of al-Madā'inī to block out every element of legitimacy in the life work of Muʿāwiya, in order to represent him as the usurper of the throne, constitute the hallmark of his historical work[75]

Petersen's opinion is accepted partially by Rotter, who agrees with the fact that al-Balādhurī was contemporary to the epoch in which the ʿAbbāsids, under the pressure of the Muʿtazila, tried to create a dialogue with the ʿAlīd factions.

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pp. 54-55; Muhammad b.ʿImrān al-Marzubānī, *Nūr al-qabas* (ed. R. Sellheim, Weisbaden, 1964), p. 182; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*. vol. III, p. 153; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vol. IV, pp. 253-254

[71] Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* (Beirut, 1966), vol. X, p.291.

[72] It was reported that he was a Sunni author, who had good works in different fields: "...;. *ʿāmiyyu l-madhhab, wa-lahu kutubun kathīratun ḥasana...*" Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist* (ed. M. Sadiq, Najaf, 1390/1961), p. 121. The term *ʿāmma* is a fluent description used by Shīʿī authors for non-Shīʿī writers, Ibn Shahrāshūb has used it for classifying his sources and put al-Balādhurī in the Sunnī list of authors. See *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib* (Najaf, 1376/1956), vol. I, pp. 7, 9, 245, 248.

[73] Wellhausen, op. cit., p. 6; Jawād,ʿAlī, "Mawārid ta'rīkh al-Ṭabadrī", *Majallat al-majmaʿ al-ʿilmī al-ʿIrāqī* (Baghdād), vol. I (1950), p. 157.

[74] Peteren, op. cit., p. 179.

[75] Ibid., P. 98.

Rotter also takes into consideration the friendly relationships which had developed between al-Madā'inī and al-Mawsilī, the faithful *mawlā* of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty. At the same time Rotter reminds us of the fact that al-Madā'inī was the *mawlā* of the Umayyads[76]. Rotter deliberately rejects Wellhausen's idea and sees it a mere passive judgment.[77] At the same time, he refers to pro-Umayyad material quoted by al-Madā'inī in connection with the conquest of Khurāsān as taken necessarily from pro-Umayyad sources.

The final conclusion of Rotter is that al-Madā'inī was primarily a compiler and then an editor of the available material without regard to its source. Whether or not he took into consideration the political tendencies which prevailed at that time in the ʿAbbāsid court, it is a fact that pro-Umayyad traditions are included in his work, but he might have tried to moderate their tunes or mitigate their bite.[78]

At any rate, the traditions quoted on the authority of al-Madā'inī in *Ansāb al-ashrāf* deal with varied aspects which could indicate the actual character of this traditionist and help to discover his tendencies. In a representative sketch of this material we find pro-Umayyad traditions which imply praise to different Umayyad Caliphs from the Sufyānid and the Marwānid branches; Hishām, the Marwanid Caliph, wins the praise of al-Mansūr, the ʿAbbāsid Caliph, who expresses his admiration for his talent, particularly as a splendid administrator who succeeded in working within the system of the state.[79] The, value of this tradition is derived from the fact that it is attributed to a representative of the rival ʿAbbāsid dynasty.

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[76]Rotter, op. cit., p. 131.

[77] Ibid., P. 131.

[78] Ibid., pp. 131-132.

[79] "*Al-Madā'inīqāla. kāna l-Manṣūru yadhkuru Hishāman fa-yaqūlu. kāna rarjula l-qawmi*"; *Ansāb*. Ms. part II, fols. 718b, line 32; 719a, lines 3-7. Another tradition of al-Madā'inī says: "*..lam yakun aḥadun min Banī Marwān asadda naẓaran fī aṣḥābihi wa-dawāwīnihi. wa-lā- ashadda mubālaghatan fī-l-faḥṣi ʿan umūrihi min Hishāmin*", ibid., fol. 721b, lines 13-15.

The question of legitimacy, which plagued the Umayyads all along, i.e. the accusation that they were usurpers of the throne, found its answer by means of a tradition quoted on the authority of al-Madā'inī; the tradition-speaks about a dream of ʿAbd al-Malik in which his wife ʿĀ'isha, who gave birth to Hishām the Caliph, hit him twenty times on his head; the dream was interpreted to the effect that she will give birth to a son who would rule for twenty years.[80] This interpretation served as a seal of legitimacy for the reign of Hishām. It is relevant in this connection to refer to Kister's article about the role of dreams in predicting the rule of different caliphs.[81]

Other traditions illustrate the mutual respect between Hishām and some prominent religious leaders, whom he consulted on carrying out his financial policy.[82] Such reports refute the secular image with which the Umayyad Caliphs were portrayed by their enemies. The depiction of Hishām as a strict observer of Islamic ethics, who guarded Muslim society against immoral manifestations and permissiveness, was the result of one of al-Madā'inī's traditions.[83]

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[80] *"Al-Madā'inī..qāla: ra'ā ʿAbdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna bni l-Ḥakami fī manāmihi ka'anna bnata Hishām bni Ismāʿīla falaqat ra'sahu fa-laṭaʿat minhu 'ishrīna laṭʿatan... fa-qāla Saʿīdun: talidu ghulāman yamluku 'ishrīna sanatan. fa-waladat Hishāman*", see *Ansāb*, Ms., part II, fot. 718a, lines 27-30; according to the tradition, the interpretation of the dream was made by Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib. The daughter of Hishām b. Ismāʿīl was the mother of Hishām the caliph.

[81] M.J. Kister, "The Interpretation of Dreams," *Israel Oriental Studies* (Tel-Aviv), vol. IV (1974), pp. 67-104; see especially p. 80, n. 61.

[82] See *Ansāb*, Ms., part II, fol. 727b, lines 29-30; among them was Makḥūl ash-Shāmī, the theologian of Syria and the teacher of al-Awzāʿī; he died in the second decade of the second century and was a *mawlā* of Sindi origin; see al-Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'* (ed. Ihsān ʿAbbās, Beirut, 1970), p. 75; Dhahabī, *Tadhkira* vol. I, pp. 107-108; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, vol. X, pp. 289-293; *Dhahabī, Mizān*, vol. IV, pp. 177-178.

[83] These traditions mirror the disgust of Hishām at songs and singers. He even used to punish harshly those who dared to violate the regulations of Islamic morality: *"al-Madā'inī qāla: ḥajja Hishām fa-akhadha l-Abrashu qawman maʿahum barābiṭu fa-qāla: ihbisūhum wa-bīʿūmatāʿahum hādhā wa-ṣayyirū thamanahu fī bayti l-māli, fa-idhā ṣaluḥū fa-ruddū th-thamana*

Hishām was not the only Umayyad Caliph whom the traditions of al-Madā'inī placed in a positive light. Some of his ancestors like ʿAbd al-Malik, Mu'āwiya and Yazīd, his son, also enjoyed the same treatment, As to Mu'āwiya, a tradition of al-Madā'inī shows the feelings of sympathy expressed by ʿAbdallāh b.ʿAbbās when he heard about Mu'āwiya's death. The tradition quotes his words of consolation and his recommendation to pay homage to Yazīd as a good successor to his father.[84]

The words of Ibn ʿAbbās, the grandfather of the Abbāsid Caliphs, bear witness to the legitimate rule of Muʿāwiya and his son, particularly that of the second, whose image had been extremely distorted in the ancient Arabic sources. Again the legitimacy of the Marwanid rule (ʿAbd al-Malik and his four sons) is implied within another tradition about a dream of ʿAbd al-Malik, which was interpreted by Saʿid b. al-Musayyab.[85] The need of the

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ʿalayhim, wa-qāla Bishrun mawlā Hishāmin: utiya Hishāmun bi-rajulin ʿindahu qiyānun wa-khamrun wa-barbaṭun fa-qāla: iksirū ṭ-ṭunbūra ʿalā ra'sihi, wa-ḍribūhu..."; ***Ansāb***, Ms., part II, fols. 725b, lines 15-20. His modesty in clothing and his care for the treasure of the state are implied in another tradition; see ibid., fol. 719a, lines 17-21: "*...ra ʿaytu ʿalayka qabla l-Khilāfati qibā'an akhḍara shabbahtuhu bihādhā l-qibā'i? qāla: huwa, wa-l-ladhī lā ilāha ghayruhu, wa-mā lī qibā'un siwāhu, wa-mā tarawna min jamʿī l-māla wa-ṣawnihi illā lakum*". The modesty of Hishām mentioned in the tradition reminds us of the modesty attributed to ʿUmar, the second Caliph and it indicated that Hisham modelled his behaviour after the *sunna* of the first Caliphs.

[84] "*Āl-Madā'inī ... qāla ʿAmir b. Masʿūd al-Jumaḥī: innā la-bi-makkata idh marra binā barīdun yanʿīMuʿāwiyata fa-nahaḍnā ilā bni ʿAbbāsin wahwa bi-makkata wa-ʿindahu jamāʿa...fa-wajama ṭawīlan thumma qāla: allāhumma awsiʿli-Muʿāwiya, amā wa-llāhi mā kāna mithla man qablahu wa-lā ya'tī baʿdahu mithluhu, wa-inna bnahu Yazīda lamin ṣāliḥi ahlihi, fa-lzamū majālisakum wa-ʿṭū ṭāʿatakum wa-bayʿatakum...*"; ***Ansāb***, vol. IVb, p. 3-4.

[85] "*Āl-Madā'inī qāla: ra'ā ʿAbdu l-Maliki ka'annahu bāla fī l-kaʿbati, fa-baʿatha ilā Saʿīdi bni l-Musayyibi man sa'alahu... fa-qāla yakhrujū min ṣulbihi man yalī l-khilāfata*"; ***Ansāb***, vol. XI, p. 233. In another tradition the legitimation of the Marwānid rule is reflected in the very utterance attributed to the third Caliph, ʿUthmān; the account says: "*al-Madā'inī qāla ... ra'ā ʿUthmānu ʿAbda l-Maliki fa-ḍammahu ilayhi wa-qāla: ra'aytunī akhadhtu burnusī fa-waḍaʿtuhu ʿalā ra'sihi ... wa-la'in kharajat minnī ilayhi; mā dhāka bi-kabīrin*"; ibid, XI, p. 164.

Marwānid dynasty for a legal basis came up in the light of the accusation that they had usurped the throne which was the absolute right of the Sufyānid branch.

Al-Madā'inī reports in another place the respect and reverence offered by ʿAbd al-Malik towards ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās as a representative of the Prophet's family.[86] In another tradition he appears anxious about the daily needs of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAli's descendants.[87]

His good treatment of the Muslim aristocracy as reported by al-Madā'inī,[88] gives the impression that ʿAbd al-Malik did not differ from the first caliphs in this respect.

In contrast to the pro-Umayyad line reflected in the traditions of al-Madā'inī, a contradictory line can easily be seen in other groups of his traditions. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, for example, is described as one who intimidated theologians and religious men,[89] and even used to despise those who came to his court from time to time.[90]

His official attire and his pompous external appearance, similar to that of the infidel Sasanid and Byzantine emperors[91] and in contradiction to the custom of the Prophet and the first caliphs, put him in the same category as those despotic rulers.

Other Umayyad Caliphs were not exempted from negative

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[86] Ibid., p. 254.

[87] Ibid., pp. 206-207, 210.

[88] Ibid., p. 166.

[89] When Abū Ḥāzim al-Aʿraj and Salama b. Dīnār were invited to visit the royal court of Hishām, the first theologian hesitated to comply with the invitation, but he arrived there nevertheless. Hishām asked him why he did not come on time and his answer was that were it not that be feared the Caliph, he would not have come: *"...fa-abṭa'a ʿalayhi thumma atāhu fa-qāla: mā man ʿaka min ityānī? fa-qāla: wa-llāhi lawlā makhāfatu sharrika mā ataytuka..."; Ansāb.* Ms., part II, fol. 718b, lines 33-34.

[90] One of 'Umar's grandsons was expelled from Hishām's court by Hishām himself; see *Ansāb.* Ms., part II, fol. 728b, lines 3-6. Hishām and Zayd b. ʿAlī exchanged insults when the latter visited him in his palace; see ibid., fol. 728b, line 13-23.

[91] *Ansāb.* Ms., part II, fols. 717a, lines 7-9, lines 10-15.

criticism. Yazīd's putting up with his monkey is a prominent example.[92] Another tradition lays stress upon the secular character of Muʿāwiya, who is said to have had the audacity to forge and turn black into white and vice versa.[93] It was Muʿāwiya who gave the order to all his commissioners in the different provinces to curse ʿAlī in public.[94]

ʿAbd al-Malik gave the order to al-Hajjāj to stone the Kaʿba.[95] He and two of his successors, al-Walīd and Hishām, are described in particular as; despots who did not care for the end of the oppression under which their subjects were suffering.[96] In another tradition of al-Madā'inī, the Marwānids, without exception, are considered as usurpers of the rights of the Sufyānids.[97]

The same attitude also applies to other traditions of al-Madā'inī concerning the high officials of the Umayyads, who are put in the same category as their patrons. The governors of al-Mashriq, the eastern province, were the focal point of attention since that province was the stage of decisive events from the early days of Islamic history. These governors were carefully chosen by the caliphs, and were responsible in word and deed for the policy performed in the area, even though they were not full partners in

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[92] *Ansāb*, vol. IVb, P. 1.

[93] *Ansāb*, vol. IVa, p. 14.

[94] Ibid., P. 19.

[95] *Ansāb*, vol. XI, pp. 163-164. Elsewhere his scorn of the first three Caliphs -- Abū Bakr, ʿUthmān and ʿAlī -- is reported; ibid., p. 168: "*...fa- q āla inni wa-llāhi mā anā bi-l-khalīfati l-Muṣāniʿi, wa-lā bi-l-khalīfati l-mustaḍʿafi wa-lā bi-l-khalīfati l-maṭʿūni ʿalayhi...*" The ruthlessness of ʿAbd al-Malik is emphasized in another tradition; *Ansāb*, vol. XI, p. 194. In another he is accused of lies and tendency towards playing music; ibid., p. 261. On the anti-Islamic nature of the musical instrument which ʿAbd al-Malik used to play see Muhammad b. Khalaf Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-quḍāt* (ed. M. Maraghi, Cairo, 1366/1947), vol. I, pp. 348-349.

[96] *Ansāb*, Ms., part II fol. 721b, line 33; 722a, line 5.

[97] These words are included within a saying put in the mouth of a person from Hijāz to Khālid b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya: "*...wa-qad qadima qawmun mina l-madīnati ʿalān-nawāḍiḥi, fa-nakaḥūummaka wa-salabūka mulkaka wa-farraghuka li-ṭalabi l-ḥadīthi...*"; *Ansāb*, vol. IVb, p. 71.

moulding this policy. Accordingly, a negative or positive evaluation of their behaviour accrued to the debit or credit of the patrons whom they served.

A good example in this connection is Khālid al-Qasrī, the governor of the East in the reign of Hishām, who was a vulnerable and easy target for disgrace and slander, in a tradition of al-Madā'inī, al-Qasrī is accused of being prejudiced against Muslim subjects and adoring Christians. He gave precedence to churches over mosques and other Muslim monuments. Furthermore, he encouraged his pagan subjects to rape Muslim women. His opponents in particular blamed his mother who was of non-Arab origin and who nonchalantly continued to eat pork and drink wine.[98] Slanderous words against al-Qasrī are put in the mouth of his patron, the Caliph Hishām, in a letter sent to him after the deterioration of their relations.[99]

At the same time, al-Balādhurī quotes a tradition of al-Madā'inī in which the good manners of al-Qasrī appear; particularly his tolerant approach to wards some religious men who dared to criticise the government.[100]

The same state of affairs can be depicted in the traditions of al-Madā'inī concerning Yūsuf b. ʿU mar, the successor of Khālid al-Qasrī, where we can distinguish two mixed tendencies which speak ill and well of him at one and the same time.[101]

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[98] *Ansāb*, Ms., part II, fol. 744b, lines 18-23: "*Al-Madā'inī qāla: khaṭaba akhū Khālidin ... fa-dhamma ʿummāla Banī Umayyata: al-Ḥajjāja wa-bna Hubayrata wa-Yūsufa bna ʿUmara, wa-lam yadhkur Khālidan wahwa bnu zuwayniyatin, ijtamaʿa fī baṭni ummihi al-khamru wa-laḥmu l-khinzīri, wa-sallaṭa ahla dh-dhimmati ʿalā l-muslimāti fa-ʿallaqūhunna bi-thadyihinna, wa-banā l-biyaʿa ghayra mutaḥarrijin wa-lā muta'abbin...*"

[99] *Ansāb*, Ms., part II, fol. 745b, lines 33-37. Slanderous words against him are attributed to ʿUmar II; see ibid., fol. 745b, lines 14-20.

[100] *Ansāb*, Ms., part II, fol. 743a, lines 1 7-20. See his instruction to his chief of police for the gentle treatment of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, ibid., fol. 743a, lines 1-7.

[101] About the hardheartedness and the arbitrariness of Yūsuf b. ʿUmar, we learn from a tradition which speaks of the execution of an insane man who had entered the mosque at the time of prayer; see *Ansāb*. Ms.,part II ,fol. 752b, lines 32-35; about the use of violence see ibid., fol. 753a, lines 1-5. His good

Other aspects which have no connection with political affairs, can be seen in the traditions of al-Madā'inī. Tracing these traditions may help us reach the goal we have assigned to ourselves at the beginning of this chapter. In this respect, there exist traditions of tribal characteristics which are apparently connected with the topic of *ʿaṣabiyya.*

The role of Tamīm kinsmen in the strife against the violent actions of the Khawārij is emphasized, especially the numerous victims from this tribe who died in the war waged against them during the reign of Hishām.[102]

Other tribes, among them al-Azd, Rabīʿa and Shaybān, are described as weak and unreliable in the defence of the Muslim borders against a foreign enemy.[103] The topic of *ʿaṣabiyya* appears again in other traditions which speak about the escape of Ibn Hubayra from the prison of Khālid al-Qasrī.[104]

Shuʿūbiyya is reflected in some of al-Madā'inī's traditions. The poet Ismāʿīl b. Yasār, known for his strong Shuʿūbī tendencies,[105] stresses in a dialogue with one of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik's sons the superiority of the non-Arab elements over the Arabs, particularly in matters of dwelling.[106] Another subject connected to the Shuʿūbī topic are the mixed marriages between Arabs and non-Arab women especially those who wanted to beget talented children. Three Umayyad Caliphs have praised this kind of

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qualities are mirrored in the traditions of Madā'inī, such as good faith, praying for long periods, fulfillment of promises, staying in the mosque for a long time, his endeavours to prevent his kinsmen from exploiting their position, his modesty in private life, his skill in Qur'ān, poetry and his strictness in keeping the *sunna* alive, are also emphasized; see ibid ., fol. 750a,lines 18-23.

[102] Ibid., fol. 729b. lines 4-9, 25-36.

[103] Ibid.,fol. 751b,lines9-26.

[104] The tradition speaks of a Qaysite woman who was praying for the safety of Hubayra: *"al-Madā'inī qāla: sami'a ibnu Hubayrata fī ṭarīqihi imra'atan min Qaysin taqūlu: la wa-lladhī as'aluhu an yunajjī ʿUmara bna Hubayrata..."; Ansāb.* Ms., part II, fol.732b, lines 19-21.

[105] *"Wa-kanā Ismāʿīlu shuʿūbiyyan shadīda t-taʿaṣṣubi li-lʿajami, wa-lahu shiʿrun kathīr, yafkharu fīhi bi-l-Aʿājimi"; Aghānī,* vol. IV, p. 413.

[106] *Ansāb,* Ms., pan II, fol. 726, lines 15-18.

marriage, according to three traditions reported by al-Madā'inī.[107]

Zayd b. ʿAlī, an offspring of the above mentioned marriages, appears in another tradition as a defender of this kind of marriage. When Hishām, the Caliph, tried to disgrace him through origin of his mother, the main point in his defence was the claim that Ismāʿīl, the grandfather of the Arabs including the Prophet's family, was married to a non-Arab woman.[108]

The socio-cultural struggle as reflected in the Shduʿūbiyya movement[109] served as the background for traditions of Arabic orientation, particularly when the Arabic character of the state was weakening, and the non-Arab elements, especially the Turks, were gaining an importance.[110]

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[107] In the first tradition al-Madā'inī quotes the words of Muʿāwiya in which he praises marriage to women of eastern origin if one wants talented children; *Ansāb*, vol. IVa, p. 13. In the second tradition ʿAbd al-Malik classifies the foreign women and praises among them those of Persian and Sindi origin: *"al-Madā'inī qāla: qāla 'Abdu l-Maliki wa-ra'aytu banī-al-Hindiyyāti aṣbara li-ṣudūri l-ʿawāli", Anāsb*, vol. XI, p. 208.In the third tradition Hishām recommends to one of his companions to marry a non-Arabic woman in the hope that she will give birth to good children; *Ansāb,* Ms., part II, fol. 723a, lines 1-8.

[108] *Ansāb,* MS., part II, fol. 728b, lines 17-21. The words of Zayd b. ʿAlī are connected with another tradition of al-Aṣmaʿī, in which the Umayyad caliphs denied the rights of their children whose mothers were foreigners to the throne, because of the belief that the collapse of their rule may occur if one of those children becomes caliph. This believe came into existence out of the current, *hadīths* which dealt with the future to come, the kind of *ḥadīths* included in the *al-fitan wa-l-malāḥim* Literature; see Ibn ʿAbd *Rabbihi,al- ʿIqd al farīd* (Cairo, 1384/1964), vol. VI, p. 132. It is worth mentioning that all the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs except the first three were born to foreign women; see Goldziher, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 118-119. However, because mixed marriages were distrusted and Islam did not succeed in changing the traditional attitude of the Arabs towards this issue (see ibid.,vol. I, p. 159), it was necessary to take the example of Caliphs and other prominent men in order to soften the opposition; in accordance with these efforts, the marriages of the prophet with foreign women like Ṣafīyya, his Jewish wife and Mariya, the Coptic wife, were emphasized in our sources, particularly in the Sīra literature.

[109] H. A. R . Gibb, "The Social Significance of the Shuʿūbiyya", *Studies in the Civilization of Islam* (Arabic ed., see n. 54 above), pp. 82-95.

[110] Goldziher,op. cit., vol. I, p. 140.

The traditions of al-Madā'inī deal also with ideological aspects, reflecting the anti-Mu'tazilī ideology, which reached its peak in the reign of al-Mutawakkil (847/234). In this respect the author of the *Ansāb* quotes traditions of al-Madā'inī which stigmatize the theory of free will of the Mu'tazila and praise the belief in predestination nourished by the Umayyad Caliphs as a means by which to bring about political quietism.[111]

The slanderous tone of the utterances against those who, believe in free will serve, in my opinion, as a legitimate cover for acts of suppression and persecution which were carried out by the authorities in the days of the inquisition under the rule of al-Mutawakkil.

Although only few of the traditions of al-Madā'inī adduced in the *Ansāb* belong to the field of *mathālib*,[112] al-Marzubānī, nevertheless, quotes a very interesting tradition of al-Madā'inī concerned with *mathālib*.[113]

One may conclude this survey by observing that there is no specific tendency in the traditions If al-Madā'inī quoted in *Ansāb al-ashrāf*. If al-Madā'inī had any specific political or factional tendencies, we are unable to state them according to the material quoted solely in the *Ansāb*. Those traditions were compiled by

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[111] *Ansāb* Ms., part II, fol. 726b, lines 22-26: "*al-Madā'inī 'an Ḥamza b. Ibrāhīm qāla, qāla l-Ḥajjāju li-ma'badin al-juhaniyyi: yā Ma'badu atatakallamu fī-l-qadari? qāla: na'am. za'ama fussāqu l-'irāqi anna l-lāha qaḍā wa-qaddara an yuqtala 'Uthmānu, fa-qultu: kadhabtum fa-qāla: ṣadaqta. fa-balagha Hishāman qawluhu fa-qāla: laqad qaddara l-lāhu qatla 'Uthmāna, li-mā kataba 'alā qātilihi mina sh-shaqā'i wa-kadhaba Ma'badun wa-l-Ḥajjāju*". Defence of the belief in predestination can be found in the words of 'Uthmān b. Hayyān, one the of Umayyad officials, in an argument with Ghaylān al-Dimashqī; see *Ansāb* Ms., part II, fols. 727b, line 30; 728a, Line 8.

[112] The above-mentioined tradition refers to the disgrace of a kinsman from the clan of Āl al-Ghariq, to which one of the grandsons of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī was sent to a wet-nurse; see *Ansāb*, Ms., part II, fol. 7378, lines 33-37.

[113] Al-Marzubānī reports on the authority of al-Madā'inī in a long tradition which is a list of prominent men from the Meccan and the tribal aristocracy who are described as homosexuals; the list contains caliphs, Umayyad princes and other high-ranking men; see *Nūr al-qabas*, p.182.

al-Balādhurī; there is thus no assurance that they represent correctly al-Madā'inī's tendencies and concepts. However, by studying these traditions one gets an idea of the general character of this traditionist.

Al-Haytham b ʿAdiyy

His name is mentioned about 25 times either cited directly[114] or indirectly by means of an intermediary traditionist.[115] Al-Haytham died in 206-207/821-823. In many of the biographical sources, he was described as unreliable in *ḥadīth*, but his reliability in the field of *akhbār* was unanimously accepted.[116]

He did his best to investigate the origins of prominent persons, seeking out their defects and publicizing them. Thus he came to be disliked.[117] He was accepted at the royal court of the ʿAbbāsids, and used to frequent the court of al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī and

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[114] Sometimes al-Balādhurī quotes directly the traditions of al-Haytham b.ʿAdiyy with the above-mentioned opening term "*wa-qāla-Haytham ...*";*Ansāb,* Ms. part II, fols. 718b, line 32; 721b. line 18.

[115] The indirect quotation is made by another traditionist, through him al-Balādhurī has cited al-Haytham; see for example, *Ansāb*, Ms., part II, fol. 722a, line 24: "*wa-ḥaddathanīAbū ʿAdnāna ʿani l-Haythami bni ʿAdiyyi...*"; see also ibid., fol. 727a, lines 6-7.

[116] See *Yāqut, Irshād*, vol. XIX, pp. 304-305; Dhahabī, *Mizān*, vol. IV, pp. 324-325; Shams al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān* (ed. Ihsān ʿAbbās, Beirut, 1968) vol. VI, p. 106; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, a*l-Jarḥ wa-t-taʿdīl*(Hyderabad, 1373/1953), vol. IX. p. 85.

[117] Ibn Khallikān. *Wafayāt*, vol. Vl, p. 106: "... *wa-kāna l-Haythamu yataʿarraḍu li-maʿrifati uṣūli n-nāsi wa-naqli akhbārihim, fa-awrada maʿāyibahum wa-aẓharahā wa-kānat mastūratan, fa-kuriha li-dhalika...*"; see also Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. XIX, p. 308. He went so far in this field as to reproach even al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muttalib, the grandfather of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, and on account of this he was put in jail for a number of years; see *Wafayāt*, loc. cit., and see *Irshād* p. 305. He was released from jail by special amnesty when the caliph al-Ma'mūn ascended the throne in 809; see ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim b. Qutayba, *al-Maʿārif* (ed. Ukasha Tharwat, 2nd ed., Cairo, 1388/1969), p. 384. Elsewhere it is reported that al-Haytham was put in jail because of false accusations raised by some of his opponents; see *Wafayāt*, vol. VI, p. 106; *Irshād,* vol. XIX, p. 305; *Aghānī*, vol. XVIII, p. 109.

al-Hādī.[118] It seems that his relationship with the royal court went beyond what was customary between the caliphs and the famous scholars of the period. He.apparently won the trust of the court and was appointed a tax collector in the area of the Fazāra tribe.[119]

As for the political sympathies of al-Haytham, it is reported that he was an adherent of the Khawārij,[120] in spite of the fact that he kept contact with al-Mansūr and other caliphs and used to cite them.[121]

It is difficult to accept the claim that al-Haytham was a Khārijī or even of a Khārijite sympathy. The fact that he was the source of grievances, insults and scandals to innocent people, caused his character to be viewed in a negative light by later scholars who lived two generations after him, such as al-Jāḥiẓ, who accuses him of forgery and lies.[122] Petersen accepts the claims that al-Haytham was a Khārijī, and he even goes so far as to regard him the Khārijite historian of the period. Fragments of his work about the Khawārij were quoted in *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* of Ibn Kathīr.[123] It is true that his monograph concerning the Khawārij is included in the list of his works in Yāqūt[124] AI-Balādhurī also quotes some traditions in connection with the Khawārij activities on the authority of

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[118] *Wafayāt*,. vol. VI, p. 107. See also ʿAbdallāh b. Asad al-Yafiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-jinān* (Beirut, 2nd ed., 1370/1970), vol. II, p. 32; *Nūr al-qabas*, p. 293.

[119] *"Wa-qāla l-Haythamu ayḍan: istuʿmiltu ʿala ṣadaqāti Banī Fazārata fajāʾani rajulun minhum..."; Wafayāt*, vol. VI, p. 111.

[120] Ibn Qutayba, *Al-Maʿārif*, p. 538; *Wafayāt*,.vol. VI, p. 106.

[121] *Nūr al-qabas*, p. 293; *Wafayāt*,. vol. VI, p. 107.

[122] This was included in a commentary note by al-Jāḥiẓ, who quotes a tradition in which al-Ahnaf b. Qays seems defective; the words of al-Jāḥiẓ go as follows: *"wa-law istaṭāʾa l-Haythamu an yamnaʿahu l-bayāna ayḍan lamanaʿahu, wa-lawlā annahu lam yajid buddan min an yajʿala lahu shaʾyan ʿalā ḥālin lamā aqarra bi-annahu idhā takallama jalā ʿan nafsihī*"; Abū ʿUthmān ʿAmr b. Bishr al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn* (ed. Hārūn, 4th ed., Cairo, 1367/1948), vol. I, p. 56.

[123] Petersen, op. cit., p. 118.

[124] Yāqūt, *Irshād,* vol. XIX, p. 310.

al-Haytham.[125] It is reasonable to suppose that al-Balādhurī cited this material from the above-mentioned work. Yet there is no evidence that al-Haytham was a Khārijī. The best way to know the concepts of al-Haytham and to identify him is to make a survey of his traditions which are quoted in *Ansāb al-ashrāf* and other sources.

Beginning with the political aspect, we find a group of pro-Umayyad traditions dealing with the life-time and the activities of the Umayyad Caliphs. Among them was Hishām, whose respectful behaviour towards Sālim, the grandson of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, is emphasized in one of al-Haytham's traditions.[126] The importance of the tradition lies in the fact that Sālim was one of the greatest theologians of al-Madīna in the first century and the first decade of the second century, and was considered a successor of the Ṣaḥāba.[127]

The religious orientation of Hishām can be established by the fact that he was constantly in touch with ascetics and with famous religious personalities who used to preach to him in exhortation. One of al-Haytham's traditions speaks about the preaching of

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[125] Some of these traditions are quoted in connection with the Khārijī activity in the reign of Muʿāwiya and ʿAbd al-Malik; see *Ansāb,* vol. IVa, pp. 141, 155; *Ansāb*, vol. XI, pp. 81, 93, 124, 150.

[126] *Ansāb,* Ms., part II, fol. 720b, lines 25-32: "*ḥaddathanā l-ʿUmariyyu ʿani l-Haythami...*"

[127] About the high rank of Sālim, who was greatly revered by his contemporaries, see Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* (Hyderabad, 1325/1909), vol. III, pp. 436-438; Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā*, p. 62; *Dhahabī, Tadhkīra*, pp. 88-89; *Dhahabī. Taʾrīkh al-Islām* (ed. Cairo, 1368/1949), vol. IV, pp. 115-117; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, vol. IX, pp. 234-235; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Maʿārif,* pp. 186-187;Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaqāt al-qurrāʾ* (ed. G. Bergstraesser, Cairo, 1351/1932), vol. I, p. 301: al-Yāfiʿi, *Mirʾat al-jinān*, vol. I, p. 227; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* vol. II, pp. 349-350; Abū Nūʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*(ed. Cairo, 1351/1932). vol. II, pp. 193-198. The tradition refers also to Hishām's satisfaction after performing the prayer near the grave of Sālim and he considered this prayer as important as the pilgrimage itself; see *Ansāb*. Ms., part II, fol. 720b, fines 25-32.

Khālid b. Ṣafwān to Hishām.[128]

Preaching was regarded as adding to the virtue of the ruler to whom it was addressed; hence preaching activities acquired a religious status and occupied considerable place in *adab* literature.[129]

Another tradition of al-Haytham introduces Hishām as the guardian of Islamic virtues and of integrity, as a man who fears God and cares for continuity of the *jihād*.[130] It is reported also that Hishām used to receive delegations with a cheerful countenance and to reward their members,[131] practice which implies adherence to the *sunna* of the Prophet.[132]

The pro-Umayyad line, as implied in the traditions of al-Haytham, includes ʿAbd al-Malik, whose decisions are claimed to have been according to the precedents of the *sunna*.[133]

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[128] See *Ansāb*, Ms., part II, fol. 722a, lines 10-23. About Khālid b. Ṣafwān see M.J. Kister, E.I.^{2}.

[129] As to the preaching material, Ibn Qutayba has dedicated a special chapter in his *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* (Cairo, 1924-1930), vol. II, pp. 333-343; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi did likewise in *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, vol. III, pp. 158-168.

[130] These elements are included in a letter sent by Hishām to one of his sons who had led one of the *ṣāʾifa* campaigns against the *Rūm* and the tradition was related on the authority of al-Haytham b. ʿAdiyy; see *Ansāb*. Ms., part II, fol. 7254, lines 12-27.

[131] *Ansāb*, Ms., part II, fols. 722a, line 24; 722b, line 12.

[132] As known, the Prophet used to receive delegations from different tribes; such an event was called *ʿam al-wufūd* in the Sīra literature. Ibn Saʿd has listed the names of 75 delegations of this kind; see his *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* (ed. Edward Sachau, Leiden, 1918), vol. I, band 4, pp. 38-86. Giving gifts and money to the members of the delegation was part of the *sunna* of the Prophet and some utterences attributed to him urge others to do the same; because of the importance of this issue, it was included within the last recommendations of the dying Prophet: "*fa-awṣāhum bi-thalāthin wa-qāla: akhrijū l-mushrikīna min jazīrati l-ʿArabi, wa-ajīzū l-wafda bi-naḥwi mā kuntu ujīzuhum...*" Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, vol. IV., p. 450; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. I, p. 1806.

[133] "*Ḥaddathanī al-ʿUmariyyu ʿani l-Haythami bni ʿAdiyyin... qāla: dakhala Muḥammadu bnu Usāmata bni Zaydin ʿalā ʿAbdi l-Maliki fa-qāla lahu: ibnu kam kāna abūka ḥīna ʿuqida lahu ... ʿalā l-jayshi? qāla: ibnu sabʿa*

Abū Sufyān is highly praised in other traditions; he refrained exploiting his family relationship with the Caliph ʿUthmān for gain.[134] Here we see a very obvious allusion to the uprightness of Sufyānid branch of the Umayyad dynasty, in contrast to the accusation against Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, the grandfather of the Marwānids. Another tradition refers to the enthusiastic role played by Abū Sufyān in the first Arab conquests.[135] The emphasis laid upon this role is a mere link in the chain of attempts made by the Umayyads to improve the image of the grandfather of the dynasty and to introduce him as one of those who had contributed to the success of Muhammad.

This was aimed particularly against the anti-Umayyad propaganda carried out by their opponents; a propaganda which had succeeded in representing Abū Sufyān as the first enemy of the Prophet and of Islām.[136]

The tolerant approach of Muʿawiya towards some of his slanderers was nothing but a result of the fact that they were members of the Sahāba.[137] Some of al-Haytham traditions even contain allusions to the legitimacy of the Umayyad rule.[138] A tradition of al-Haytham contributes indirectly to help the Umayyads against their critics. It refers to the silly behaviour of ʿAbdallāh b.

ʿashrata sanatan, qāla fa-haʾulāʾi ya ʿībūnanā ḥīna ʿaqadnā li-l-Walīdi wahwa bnu biḍʿin wa-ʿishrīna sana"; *Ansāb*, vol. XI, pp. 186-187.

[134] *Ansāb*, vol. Iva, p. 8.

[135] Ibid., p.9.

[136] The attempts to improve the image of Abū Sufyān have affected the early works about the history of Islam, where his positive roie during the conquest of Mecca by the Prophet is emphasized; see *Sīrat al-nabiyy*. vol. IV, pp. 861-862. The purpose of this tradition is clear. It was designed to exclude Abū Sufyān from the category of *ṭulaqāʾ*, the defamatory name given to the Meccans who embraced Islam by force and not by their free will, after the conquest of their town. The term, as known, was applied to them by the Prophet when he said: " *idhhabū fa-antumuʾṭ-ṭulaqā*"; see ibid., p. 870.

[137] *Ansāb,* vol. IVa, pp. 7b-71, see also ibid., pp. 115-116.

[138] Al-Haytham quotes a tradition on the authority of Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Aʿmā who testified that he saw ʿUthmān the Caliph when he embraced ʿAbd al-Malik and put his headdress on his head, a scene which serves as evidence for his legitimate rights to the throne; *Ansāb*, vol. V, p. 140.

al-Zubayr, the stiff-necked enemy of the Umayyads, who had stopped mentioning the name of the Prophet because of his enmity to Banū Hāshim, his kinsmen.[139] Putting Ibn al-Zubayr to shame was designed to modify the attacks against the Umayyads after they had suppressed the revolution and put Ibn al-Zubayr to death.

Another section of al-Haytham traditions speaks about the tyranny of the Umayyad Caliphs.[140] ʿAbd al-Malik, who was dissociated himself from the siege of Mecca and from the stoning of the Kaʿba in the reign of Yazīd, was he who later ordered the commander of his forces to do the same, in spite of the sanctity of the Haram and the holiness of the Kaʿba.[141] Another tradition of al-Haytham puts words in the mouth of Muʿāwiya in which he confesses that he has caused injustice by appointing his son Yazīd a successor to the throne.[142] Furthermore, the traditions of al-Haytham reflect a pro-ʿĀlīd line. In one of them the words of ʿĀ'isha, in which she denies the right of Muʿawiya to rule, are quoted. When he complains in the presence of al-Hasan b. ʿAlī about the utterance of ʿĀ'isha, al-Hasan reaffirms her words and mentions his absolute right to be the *khalīfa*, instead of

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[139] *"...Wa-taraka dhikra n-nabiyyi min ajlihim wa-qāla inna lahū uhayla saw'in, fa-in dhukhira maddū a'nāqahum li-dhikrihi..."; Ansāb,* vol. IVb, pp. 28-29. It is noteworthy that Ibn al-Zubayr had blockaded Ibn al-Hanafiyya, the son of ʿAlī in the Shiʿb of Banū Hāshim, a siege which is reminiscent of the siege put on the Banū Hāshim clan by the Meccan infidels in the early days of Muhammad's activity.

[140] *Ansāb,* Ms., part II, fol. 727a, lines 6-9. About the *Mathālib* field, al-Balādhurī quotes the traditions of al-Haytham concerning the miserliness of ʿAbd al-Malik and his son Hishām; see ibid., fol. 721b, lines 18-22; *Ansāb*, vol. XI, p. 197; see also about ʿAbd al-Malik's betrayal, *Ansāb,* vol. IVb, pp. 141-142.

[141] About the stoning of the Kaʿba by al-Ḥajjāj, by order of ʿAbd al-Malik, see *Ansāb*, vol.X1, p. 167. The stoning itself was regarded as a grave crime from the point of view of the Muslims; this was implied in the legendary reports about miracles and divine signs which appeared at the time; see *Ansāb*, vol. IVa, p. 47.

[142] *"Ḥaddathanī l-ʿUmariyyu ʿani l-Haythami ... qāla: qāla Muʿāwiyatu li-Yazīda: mā alqā l-lāha bī-shyʿin aʿẓama fī nafsī mina'-stikhlāfika"; Ansāb*, vol. IVa, p. 47.

Muʿawiya.[143]

In another tradition ʿAlī is described as a man who wants to spare the souls of Muslims and to put an end to bloodshed and warfare. He invites Muʿāwiya to fight a duel, but the latter refuses.[144] According to another tradition, it is said that those who are killed for the ʿAlīd cause are regarded as martyrs.[145]

But the pro-ʿAlīd line reflected in some traditions of al-Haytham is not characteristic of all of them. We find a tradition according to which Abū Bakr was the first to embrace Islam and not ʿAlī,[146] a statement which undermines part of the theory on which the ʿAlīd faction based its right to rule. As we know, precedence (*sābiqa*) was one of the criteria for establishing a man's position in early Islam. Yet we find a tradition of a Khārijite nature in which both ʿAlī and Muʿawiya declared war in order to win the secular world and not for the sake of the Muslim community.[147]

Like al-Madā'ini, some traditions of al-Haytham b. ʿAdiyy deal with the governors and the officials of the Umayyads. Khālid al-Qasrī is again a favourite target of the attackers.[148]

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[143] *Ansāb*, vol. IVa, p. 84.

[144] Ibid., pp. 99-100.

[145] The tradition speaks about Hujr b. ʿAdiyy, who was killed by Muʿāwiya in the place he had conquered in the first wave of the Islamic conquests, i.e. Marj ʿadhrā'. In the same tradition Ḥujr complains of the Iraqis who testified against him and of the Syrians who took part in killing him; *Ansāb*, vol. IVa, p. 226.

[146] Al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād,* vol. XIV, p. 51.

[147] *"Ḥaddathanī 'l-ʿUmariyyu ʿani l-Haythami ... qāla ʿAmru bnu l-ʿĀṣi li-Muʿāwiyata: wa-llāhi mā tuqātilu ʿAliyyan wa-lā yuqātiluka li-yadkhula 'l-jannata aghlabukumā li-ṣāḥibihi, wa-mā tuqātilāni illā ʿalā d-dunyā..."; Ansāb*, vol. IVa, p. 16.

[148] Particularly, his intrigues and illegitimate means of action exploiting his job for his own interest were emphasized; see *Ansāb,* Ms.. part II, fol. 745b, lines 20-30. About injuring the Muslim's feelings see ibid., fol. 739a, lines 1-6. Likewise Yūsuf b. ʿUmar was a vulnerable target for such accusation; see ibid., fol. 719a, lines 28-34.

The field of the *mathālib* in which al-Haytham specialized,[149] is well represented in the *Ansāb*, where al-Balādhurī quoted many traditions on the issue.[150] As mentioned above, al-Balādhurī gives his opinion on some of these traditions, and does not accept them as they are. In some cases he compares them to those of al-Madā'inī and decides in favour of al-Madā'inī's version.[151] Al-Balādhurī often rejects the version of al-Haytham,[152] as when he prefers al-Madā'inī's version of poetry; al-Madā'inī was of course distinguished in this field, and his versions were generally considered reliable.[153]

On other occasions, the comparison is made between al-Haytham's traditions and those of Ibn al-Kalbī; and again al-Balādhurī gives primacy to those of the latter.[154] But sometimes he quotes two different versions from two different sources without stating his own position.[155] In other places he quotes more than two versions. In addition to al-Haytham and Ibn al-Kalbī he sometimes

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[149] As to the political significance of *al-Mathālib*, see M.J. Kister. "Notes on Caskel's Gamharat an-Nasab", *Oriens*, 1974, pp. 48-68.

[150] See for example *Ansāb*, vol. I, pp. 175, 201,214, 360, 472, 480, 487; see also *Ansāb*, vol. IVb, p. 40.

[151] *"...Wa-qāla l-Haythamu: qāla l-Walīdu, wa-qāla l-Madā'iniyyu: qālahā rajulun min Qaysin wa-naḥalahā al-Walīda, wahwa th-thabtu..."*; *Ansāb*. Ms., part II, fol. 740a, lines 8-12.

[152] *"...Wa-qāla l-Haythamu ... qāla l-Madā'iniyyu: qīla hādhā sh-shi'ru ḥīna tazawwaja Muṣ'abun sukaynata binta l-Ḥusayni..."*, *Ansāb*, vol. V, p. 283.

[153] Al-Madā'inī was described as proficient also in *riwāyat ash-shi'r*. See *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, vol. XII, p. 55; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. XIV, p. 127.

[154] In one of these places al-Balādhurī quotes only the version of al-Haytham, but adds that Ibn al-Kalbī doubts the truth of this report, without quoting his own version; *Ansāb*, vol. V, p. 251.

[155] *Ansāb*, vol. XI, p. 81: *"...wa-qāla bnu l-Kalbiyyi: Maṭaru bnu 'Uqbata, wahwa Sahlu bnu Shaybāna... wa-qāla l-Haythamu: huwa Ḥanafiyyun..."*. This example is seen in another place, when al-Balādhurī cites the version of al-Haytham to correct only some item in the long tradition of Ibn al-Kalbī; see *Ansāb*, vol. IVa, p. 225.

quotes al-Wāqidī, and here again, he appears to trust the traditions of Ibn al-Kalbī more than those of the others.[156] Occasionally, the comparison between al-Haytham and other traditionists includes also al-Wāqidī and Ibn Isḥāq.[157] Furthermore, al-Balādhurī sometimes prefers anonymous versions over those of al-Haytham[158]. Elsewhere he even states without referring to other versions, that the version al-Haytham is erroneous.[159]

Al-Balādhurī's various critical notes shed new light which may help to evaluate the authenticity of al-Haytham as an *akhbārī*. They also help us measure the extent to which al-Balādhurī was strict in checking his sources, not only on the superficial level but down to the very details within the regular tradition itself.

At any rate, we can conclude that al-Haytham b. ʿAdiyy appears as an impartial source in the *Ansāb*. His relations with the royal court of the ʿAbbāsids did not obscure his neutrality. Moreover, his objectivity was not affected by the fact that among his sources were some of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs. His objectivity is expressed in traditions with pro-Umayyad and pro-ʿAlīd character, alongside other traditions which imply anti-Umayyad and anti-ʿAlīd significance.

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[156] "... *Wa-abūhu fīmādhakara l-Wāqidiyyu ʿAbdu l-lāhi ... wa-qāla l-Kalbiyyu Shuraḥbīlu bnu ʿAbdi l-lāhi ... wa-qāla l-Haythamu bnu ʿAdiyyin Shuraḥbīlu bnu Ḥimayra, wa-qawlu l-Kalbiyyi athbatu l-aqāwīli*"; *Ansāb*. vol. I, p. 214. However, al-Balādhurī does not always give his opinion and he quotes only the different versions of those traditionists; see *Ansāb*, vol. I, p. 203.

[157] It is connected with versions of both of them concerning the date of death of the first and the second generation of the Sahāba; see *Ansāb*, vol. I, pp. 248, 195, 251, 479. As to the comparison between al-Haytham and Ibn Isḥāq and al-Wāqidī, see *Ansāb*, vol. I, pp. 223-224.

[158] " ... *Qāla l-Haythamu bnu ʿAdiyyin: hājara wa-akhawāhu ... ilā l-Ḥabashati ... wa-qāla ghyruhu lam yuhājirū, wa-dhālika th-thabtu*"; *Ansāb*. vol. I, p. 218; see also ibid., p.226.

[159] "*Wa-qāla l-Haythamu ... baqiya ʿAttābun ilā khilāfati ʿUmara wa-māta bi-Makkata, wa-dhālika wahmun*"; *Ansāb*. vol. IVb, p. 150.

The Historical Works of al-Balādhurī. And al-Tabarī. The author's Attitude Towards the Sources

The question raised by M.J. de Goeje in his work *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie,* concerning the authenticity of contradictory historical accounts dealing with the conquest of Syria by the Muslims, actually opened up the controversy surrounding Islamic history and historiography. Fred M. Donncr has prepared an excellent concise survey representing the totality of research carried out on this issue from the second half of the nineteenth century through the early eighties of the present century. This survey appears in the Introduction to the English translation of A.A. Durī's work.[1]

It is well known that this research has examined a broad range of topics and dealt with a wide spectrum of aspects, and has addressed the question from various viewpoints. But, as A. Noth has pointed out,[2] it is easy to distinguish two typical tendencies in these works and to divide the research into two main groups. The first of these, which includes the works of F. Rosental, Nabia Abbott. A.A. Durī, and Fuat Sezgin, deals with the methods and style by which the historical material was passed down, as well as the development of Islamic historical tradition, the traditions' points of origin, and the relationship between written and oral material. The second group, which includes the research of M.J. de

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[1]A.A. Durī, *The Rise of Historical Writing Among the Arabs*, edited and translated by Lawrence I. Conrad, Introduction by Fred M. Donner, Princeton University Press, 1983, Introduction, pp. VII-XVII.

[2]Albrecht Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition, a Source-Critical Study*, tr. Michael Bonner (in collaboration with Lawrence I. Conrad), 2nd edition, Princeton, 1994, pp. 2-3.

Goeje, Julius Wellhausen, Leone Caetani, and N.A. Medinkov, focusses around the traditions themselves.

In this paper, which belongs to the first category, I shall try to shed some light on the manner and style in which both historians, al-Balādhuri and al-Tabarī., derived their material from the available sources–either written or oral accounts--placing the emphasis on the terminology of transmission, and on the extent to which it reflects the type of material and the historian-compiler's attitude to that material. I shall also deal with the attitude of these two historians to the *isnād* ("chain of authorities") and the extent to which this attitude was expressed in the choice of material they compiled. I shall examine the degree and scope of criticism they voiced with regard to the material as well as the criteria on which this criticism was based, I. shall also consider certain peripheral issues which will arise in the course of dealing with these questions.

The two historians under consideration in this paper belong to the corps of historians from the third century of the hijra–the ninth century A.D. While it is true that a considerable period of time separates their respective dates of death- al-Balādhurī died in 279/892, while al-Tabarī died in 3I0/923--it should nevertheless be pointed out that when al-Balādhurī died, al-Tabarī was 55 years old. The age difference between them seems insignificant in light of the fact that Islamic historical writing had gone a long way by the beginning of that century. The list of topics, works, and authors compiled by F. Rosental,[3] leave not a shadow of a doubt as to the tremendous variety of subject material covered by these works nor as to the considerable length of the period during which they were written-beginning at the end of the first/seventh century. The tremendous scope and variety-on the one hand, and the historical concepts which had been crystallized during the previous two centuries on the other, lay the groudwork for the appearance

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[3]Franz Rosental, *A History of Muslirn Historiography*, tr. Ṣāliḥ A. Al-Alī, Baghdad, 1963, pp.273-316.

of the great historians of the third/ninth century, of whom al-Balādhurī and al-Tabarī were the most prominent.[4]

It was not necessarily a difference in conception between the two historians with regard to the role of history (which was the central issue in their writings)[5] which created differences in their attitude toward the sources, or even differences in the personal style in which each of them used the material provided by these sources. This notwithstanding, certain such differences do exist, both in their respective outlooks upon the sources and in the way they utilized the material, at their disposal.

These differences stem naturally from objective considerations and circumstances which affected the two historians. It is, of course, needless to mention the difference in character in the respective works of the two writers, the difference in their respective accessibility to the sources, their different degrees of education and realms of private endeavor, and the specific propensities which characterized each of them.

Bibliographical material on these two figures, like such material on other historians, cannot provide us with the tools to discern all that unites and distinguishes them; rather, these two elements of the common and the distinct can be grasped only by examining their works themselves. In the case at hand, the tools which can reflect the differences and similarities between the two are al-Tabarī's specific historical work *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk* and al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, and, to a certain extent, the latter's treatise on the Islamic conquests, *Futūḥ al-buldān*.

The sources which were at the disposal of the historians are

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[4]A.A. Durī, op. Cit., p. 148; H-A.R.Gibb, "Tārīkh", *Studies on the Civilization of Islam* (tr. Into Arabic by Ihsān 'Abbās and others), 2and edition, Beirut, 1974, pp. 143-182; Jawād 'Alī, "mawārid tārīkh al-ṭabarī", *M.M.I.I.* (1950), pp. 143-231 (especially p. 158).

[5] A.A. Durī, op. Cit., p. 149; D. Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic Historians* (Calcutta, 1930), tr. Into Arabic by Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, Beiurt (Calutta, 1930), pp. 17-18; R.Paret "al-Ṭabarī, *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Ist ed.), H.A.R. Gibb, op. Cit., p. 156.

divisible into two types: written material, and various types of oral material.[6] Although most of the material compiled by the two came from written sources, both refrained from citing the titles of the works from which this material was taken. In extremely rare cases, they would actually mention the name of a work or refer specifically to the fact that material had been taken from one of the books of a particular traditionist, without citing the name of the book.

Jawād 'Ali refers to one case in which al-Tabarī cites the name of a book by 'Umar b. Shabba, titled kitāb *ahl al-baṣra*.[7] In al-Balādhurī's case, the only book to be mentioned by name was Muhammad b.Sa'd's book "*kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*", which was mentioned along with its author's name in three places.[8] In another place, al-Balādhurī mentions an untitled book written by 'Abd Allah b, Ṣāliḥ al-'Ijlī'.[9] The practice of ignoring the name of a work and mentioning the the author's name instead, was apparently commonplace among historians who preceded al-Tabarī and al-Balādhurī. The same al-'ljlī (211/826) is quoted by al-Balādhurī as follows: "*Ḥaddathanī 'abdu- llāhi 'ibnu Ṣāliḥin qāla: qara'tu fī kitāb li-shaykhin min ahli Wāsiṭ*.[10] The same method was adopted

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[6]As to al-Balādhurī, see: E.L. Petersen, '*Ali and Mu'awiya in Early Arabic Literature* (Copenhagen, 1864), p. 138; S.D. Goitein, *Ansāb al-ashrāf* vol. V (ed. Goitein, Jerusalem, 1938), Introduction. pp.- 13-14; A.A. Durī, op, Cit., pp. 61-62; A.A. Dixon; *The Umayyad Caliphate,65-86/648-705, A Political Study* (London, 1971), pp. 3-4; al-Mashhadānī, *Mawārid al-Balādhurī 'an al-usra al-umawiyya* (ed. Makka, 1986), vol. 1, p. 140. As to al-Tabarī's use of written sources and books, see: Jawād 'Alī, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 164-165.

[7]Jawād 'Alī, op. Cit., vol. I, pp. 166.

[8]al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf* vol. VIB (ed. By khalīl 'Athāmina, the Max Schloessinger Memorial Series), The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993, Introduction, p. 15 (n. 67).

[9]Ibid., p. 15 (n. 69)

[10]al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf* MS. (Ashīr Efendī, Istanbul, nos. 597-598), part II, fol,1244.

by Madā'inī (225/839) as well.[11] Muslim scholars were divided in their opinions concerning written material and displayed a controversial attitude toward it: while some of them exhibited scorn and contempt toward people who relied on written material,[12] others encouraged the committing of ideas to writing and urged their disciples to draw upon written sources.[13] It is indubitable that these diametrically opposed positions echoed the controversy that prevailed among traditionists of the time concerning the permissibility of committing the *ḥadīth* to writing, in the course of which proponents of both camps fabricated hadīths to support their respective positions.[14] It should be pointed out that some of the historians, if not all--both those who lived during the second/eight centuries and those who lived during the third/ninth (including al-Balādhurī and al-Tabarī)-were considered to be traditionists transmitting the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet; as such, they were subject to the influence of this controversy, if not actually active in it.

Written material was not limited to books written by earlier generations rather, it included official documents to which some of the historians had access. al-Balādhurī, who belonged to the circle of *al-kuttāb*, "scribes", in the court of the caliphs, and who had cultivated close relations with the court in Baghdad during the

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[11] al-Balādhurī, *Ansābal-ashrāf*, vol. IVA (ed, By M. Schloessilger). annotated by M.J. Kister. The Hebrew Universiey. Jerusalem. 1971, p. 169.

[12] In a critical statement against Madā'inī, it was reported that the latter acquired his knowledge from written source, "*wa-'alimtu anna 'ilmahu min al-ṣuḥuf*" Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Irshād al-arīb,* (ed. D.S. Margoliouth. Cairo, L938), vol. XIV, p. 127.

[13] A contradictory point of view is attributed to Yahyā b. Ma'īn, who, used to urge one of his pupils to copy from the manuscripts of al-Madā'inī: "*uktub 'an al-madā'iniyyi kutubah*". al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh baghdād* (Beirut, no date) vol. XII, p. 55; Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān* (Beirut, 2nd ed. 1971), vol. IV, pp. 253-254.

[14] Goldziher I., Muslim Studies, tr. C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern, ed. by S.M. stern,(London, 1971), vol. II, pp. 183-188.

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reign of some of the caliphs of the Abbasid dynasty,[15] took advantage of some of these connections and used documents taken from the court archive. The material he compiled concerning the rebellion of Zayd b.ʿAli against the Umayyad caliph, Hishām b.ʿAbd al-Malik in 121/738, included official epistles sent on behalf of the palace in Damascus or from the Governor of Iraq concerning the threat posed by the rebel.[16] It is very likely that the material taken from the epistles--whether from the palace in Damascus or from the one in Baghdad--which is quoted in *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, was obtained by the author using these personal connections.[17] The Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs were careful to archive official documents and to keep copies of treatises and books in the palace library.[18]

As for al-Tabarī, he carried on correspondence with one of the traditionists, a man by the name of al-Sariyy b. Yahyā who acted as a mediator between himself and the works of Sayf b. 'Umar. Al-Sariyy's name appears in over 240 places in al-Tabarī's work. In dozens of such instances he writes: "*wa-kataba lī al-Sariyy...*,"[19] and in the others, he claims to have heard the traditions of Sayf b. 'Umar directly.[20] In most cases, this direct transmission took place in meetings between the two, during al-Tabarī's visits to Basra,

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[15]al-Mashhadānī ,op. Cit., vo. I, pp. 46-47; al-Munajjid, Introduction to volume l of *Futūḥ al-buldān*(ed. Cairo, 1956): pp. 7-10.

[16] "*Wa-qara'tu fi kutub sālim, kātib hishām kitāban...*" al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf* (ed. M.B. al–Mahmūdi), Beirut, 1977, vol. III, p. 238.

[17]See, for example, the correspondence of the caliph al-Manṣūr with the ʿAlidi rebel al-Nafs al-Zakiyya. Ibid., vol, III, pp. 95-102.

[18] Adam Mez, Die *Renaissance des Islam* (tr.by Abū Rayda) (4th ed., Beirut, 1967), vol. 1, 322-323; see also: al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al- arab* (ed. Cairo, dār al-kutub, no date) vol. V, p, 88; Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed B. De Meynard (Paris, 1861), vol. V, p. 77.

[19]See, for example: Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, ed. M.J. De Goeje Leiden,1879-1901, vol. 1, 1921-1922, 1326, 1930-1931, 1936-1938. 1944-1950.

[20]Jawād Alī, op. cit., vol. III(1954), pp. 16-56.

where al-Sariyy al-Shaybānī lived.[21]

In the works of both al-Tabarī and al-Balādhurī, the reference to a written source can be identified on the basis of the "term of transmission", i.e., the verb or verb phrase used to indicate the circumstances of transmission. In this context, the term *qāla* ("said") is the most common with al-Balādhurī, whether or not the source is cited.[22] al-Tabarī, too, uses this term both when the source is cited and when it is not.[23] It should be pointed out, however, that the term *qāla* does not: comprise an absolute indication that the material in question was written, since at least on one occasion, al-Balādhurī uses it to denote oral material.[24] The specific case in question is a tradition which he heard from Hishām b.ʿAmmār (245/859).[25] By all accounts, al-Balādhurī met this man on a visit to Damascus and heard the tradition from him then.[26]

Credence is given to this theory by the fact that this person is quoted in other places using the formula *qāla lī*("he said to me");[27] in other cases, he is quoted using the term of hearing, *ḥaddathanī* (he reported to me").[28] Using the same formula, *qāla lī*al-Balādhurī quotes his colleague and contemporary Musʿab al-Zubayrī

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[21] al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*,ed ʿA.M. al-Bajāwī, cairo I963, vol. II, p.118.

[22]The term *qāla* is used very frequently in *Ansāb al-ashrāf* vol. VI B. It is repeated in more than 80 places in the book. See,for example paragraph nos.: 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 21, 31, 32, 42, 59, 77, 226, 196, .214, 281,316, 378, 405, 448. The term *qāla* appears with the same frequency in the other published parts of *Ansāb al-ashrāf.*

[23] Tarabī, op, cit., vol. I, p. 643, 648, 675, 706, 873, 917, 921, 926. 929, 935.

[24]*Ansāb*, vol. VIB, no. 81, "*wa-qāla hishām b. ʿammār...*".

[25]al- Dhahadī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* (ed. Hyderabab, 3rd ed., 1956),(no. 458); *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl* (no. 9234).

[26]Yāqūt,op.cit.,vol. V, p 90

[27]Ansāb, vol. Iva, p 60.

[28]*Ansāb*, vol. IVa index; *Ansāb*, vol. VIB, index

(236/850).[29]

The term *dhakara,* or *fī-mā dhukira* in the passive form, is used by both historians in place of *qāla* with regard to written material, but al-Balādhurī does not use it as often as he uses *qāla*.[30] al-Tabarī uses this term as well, particularly when he quotes a tradition which amends or complements a central account of a particular historical incident or episode. The term is used in the appropriate form, depending upon whether there is a single source or multiple sources, and whether the source is cited by name or remains anonymous.[31]

The use of the term *dhakara* assumes almost massive proportions in the latter parts of the *tārīkh* and, on the other hand, there is a decrease in the use of the classic *isnād* method which characterizes al-Tabari's style in this work.

It is very reasonable to assume that the term *dhakara* in this context-particularly as it is used with regard to events which took place during al-Tabarī's lifetime or thereabouts and throughout the entire third/ ninth century--no longer indicated that material had been taken from written sources as had been the case with regard to the history of the kings, of Snssanid Persia. In some instances where this expression is used, there is a strong indication that al-Tabarī has quoted an oral source by way of hearsay. This is particularly true where expressions Iike "*dhakara lī ba'ḍu man shahida al-waq'a*".[32] ("someone who took part in the battle told me") or similar phrases[33] are used.

In most cases, the term *dhakara* appears in the passive form,

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[29]*Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol IVB (ed. M. Schloessinger, the Hebrew University, Jerusulem, 1938), p. 47

[30]*Ansāb*, vol. v, 269; al-Mashhadānī,op.cit., vol. I, p. 140.

[31]Tabari, op, cit., vol. I, 814, 820, 844, 846, 88(,, 878. See also: vol. III, 1232, 1229, 1268, 1269, 1280, 1282, 1285, 1288, 1669, 1670, 1717, 1725, 1065, 2096.

[32]Ibid., vol. III, 1693

[33]"*fa-dhakara ba'ḍu man ḥaḍara*", Ibid., vol. III, 1730, 1732, or something like: "*wa-dhakara man sami'a*", Ibid., vol. III. 1970.

wa-*dhukira ʿan* which does not necessarily indicates the presence of a mediator between al-Tabarī and the cited sources. Rather, al-Tabarī used this form in the interest of maintaining the accepted classical framework for transmitting the material, despite the fact that he had heard it directly from his sources.

As for the anonmity of the sources, this can be attributed to the actual identity of these sources, namely minor officials, soldiers, or non-commissioned officers who had no connection with the transmission of traditions or with any scholarly occupation and whose name and position al-Tabarī apparently thought it better not to mention.[34]

Alongside these terms one finds the terms *ruwiya ʿan* or *yurwā ʿan* ("it was reported", both of them in the passive form). According to the textual context and the name of the traditionist, it can be unequivocally established that al-Balābhurī uses this formula to transmit information from a written source. The use of these terms is not particularly frequent in comparison with other terms of transmission from this category.[35]

The term *rawā* in the active form, sometimes begins a tradition whose source is cited, and sometimes begins an anonymous one.[36] al-Tabarī does not use this term, and Jawād ʿAlī does not include it in the list of terms of transmission which appear in the *tārīkh*.[37]

Oral traditions are transmitted by the two historians using such terms as *ḥaddathanī* or *ḥaddathanā* in the, plural form, and occasionally the synonymous term *akhbaranī*. The latter two terms appear very seldom in comparison with the term

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[34]In this context, there is no room to speak of political reasoning having influenced al-Tabarī in his choice of this style of writing. as one might understand from Jawād Alī and Rosental. See: Jawād Alī, op, cit., vol. I (1950), pp. 143-241. See also: Rosental, op. cit., p. 187.

[35]*Ansāb*, vol. VIB, p. 89, 257; *Ansāb*, vol. IV A, p. 69-70, 220 *Ansāb,* vol. IV B, p. 129.

[36]*Ansāb*, vol. IV A, p. 105, 209. *Ansāb,* vol. IVB, p.85.

[37] Jawād Alī, op. Cit., vol. 1(1950), pp. 143-230; vol. 11(1951), pp. 135-190.

ḥaddathanī. The use of these terms demonstrates beyond a doubt the influence of the methods of transmitting the *ḥadīth* upon the *akhbāriyyūn* (traditionist) of the period on the one hand, and, on the other hand-with regard to al-Tabarī shows the latter's commitment to this method as both a theologian and traditionist.[38] This reflected in the chains of authorities, or *isnād*, which are cited in full in al-Tabarī's traditions.[39]

al-Balādhurī, on the other hand, is not sufficiently conscientious in his use of the *isnād,* which appears on three levels in his works:On the first level, only the name of the traditionist from whom he heard the information is cited, with no reference to the source upon which he relies: "*ḥaddathanī al- ʿumariyyu*".[40] The man mentioned in the tradition is Hafs b. 'Umar, through whom al-Balādhurī reached the material of al-Haytham b.'Adiyy.[41]

Balādhurī's reliance upon the tradition of an individual was one of the methods of compiling material which he employed for his book, the *futūḥ al-buldān*.Using this method he frequently quoted a local man, particularly if the latter was an elderly man who had acquired considerable knowledge. al-Balādhurī 's many journeys to the various provinces helped to collect information in this manner. The *futūḥ al-buldān* contains traditions which refer to a variety of towns and regions.[42]

On the second level, al-Balādhurī limits himself to the mediator through whom he accesses the central transmitter who in most cases is no more than one of his fellow historians or those of the generation which preceded him like Abū 'Ubayda, or Ibn al-Kalbī,

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[38]A.A. Dūrī op. cit., 69; Jawād Alī, op, cit., vol. I, pp. 164-165; G.Rotter, "*Zur Überlieferung einiger historischer Werker Madainis in Tabaris Annalen*", ORIENS, 23-24 (1974) 103-133, especially p. 107.

[39]See, for example:Tabarī, op. cit., vol. I, p. 3317, 33 18, 3319; vol. II, p. 1, 5, 7, 202,206,208, vol.III p. 245.

[40]*Ansāb,* VI B, paragraph no. 113.

[41]Ibid., index; vol., IV A, index; vol. IV B index.

[42]*Futūḥ al-buldān* 187, 240, 238, 396, 481, 301, 382, 350, 362, 409, 355, 454, 198, 408, 227.

or al-Haytham b. ʿAdiyy, or al-Aṣmaʿi or al-wāqidī, or others.[43]

On the third level, al-Balādhurī cites the entire *isnād*,[44] in which case he is no less cónscientious about this point than his colleague al-Tabarī. It is worth mentioning in this context that when al-Balādhurī quoted hadīths of the Prophet, He was careful to adhere to the proper rules of transmission as practiced by *ahl al-ḥadīth*.[45]

Among the terms included in this category of terms of transmission, the term *ḥuddithtu*, in the passive form, appears in the works of both historians. The first conclusion to be drawn frorn the use of this form is that both were attempting to shorten the chain of authorities by at least one link by omitting the name of the mediator, as in the case where al-Balādhurī quotes Abū ʿĀsim al-Nabīl,[46] to whose traditions he usually arrives through ʿUmar b. Sahbba.[47] This technique sometimes enables him to omit two links in the isnād, such as in cases where he quotes Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj.[48]

As for al-Tabarī his use of this term occurs in cases where he quotes Abū ʿUbayda and al-Kalbī and, on rare occasions, other traditionists such as Ibn Saʿd. With regard to the first two of those, al-Tabarī's practice is to quote them from written sources when the context is that of the Sassanid kings or the principality of Ḥīra and the connection between its leaders and the Sassanid crown.[49] In

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[43]*Ansāb*, vol. VI B, paragraphs no. 55, 58, 135,165,263.

[44]"*wa-ḥaddathanī ʿumar b. shabba ḥaddathanī aḥamad b.mu ʿāwiya ʿan al-muntaji ʿqālq*" *Ansāb*, vol. VIB, paragraph no. 203. Further examples are in nos.: 208,262,279,309.411, etc.

[45]*Ansāb*, vol. 1V A, p. 106-109.

[46]*Ansāb*, vol. III (Maḥmūdi), p. 132.

[47]*Ansāb,* vol. VIB, nos. 198, 2013, 234, 255, 298, 438. Sometimes al-Nabīl is quoted by al-Balādhurī through Madā'inī no.71. Elsedwhere, his accounts are quoted from a written source. See nos. 235,246,269.

[48]*Ansāb*, IV A, p. i9, 49, 106, 209.

[49]Jawād Alī, op. cit., vol. 11(1951), pp. 135-190.

cases where the term *ḥuddithtu* is used,[50] al-Tabari used a mediator to obtain the material, in keeping with the *ijāza* system[51] but does not take the trouble to mention the name of the transmitter. As for Ibn Sa'd whom he quotes dozens of times, al-Tabarī's practice is to quote him through a mediator by the name of al-Harith. b. Muhammad,[52] and, occasionally, to cite direct transmission,[53]

In some cases, the term of transmission is totally absent and the writer indicates no more than the name of his source without employing any of the terms of transmission that are customary among historians. This phenomenon is prominent in al-Balādhurī's writings[54] but non-existent in those of al-Tabarī.

The choice of terms of transmission in accordance with whether the source was written or oral, is not always a clear-cut one, as we have seen with regard to some of the terms discussed earlier. It is sometimes the historian's method and style which dictate the use of one term or another.

Among the writing techniques which determine the type of term used was the method known as the "collective isnād" in which the historian would combine and blend more than one tradition, thus creating a single continuous narrative, or *khabar*. The term of transmission which characterizes this technique -*qālū* in the plural-often appears in the works of al-Tabarī and al-Balādhurī,

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[50]As to the citing of Abū 'Ubayda by this term, see: Tabarī, op. cit.. vol. I, 1016, 1029, As to Ibn al-Kalbī, see: Ibid., vol. I, 645, 704,745, 770, 821, 872, 880, 888,1039, 1044, 1086, 1089/

[51]The term *ḥuddithtu* belongs to the *ijāza* system, which means employing a mediator to obtain the sheikh's permission to disseminate his traditions in his name. Goldziher, op. cit., vol. II, p. 175-176. The *ijāza* originally belonged to the realm of *hadith* literature, before it was adopted by the field of *akhbar*, "history". On the use of *ijāza* to spread historical traditions, see: *Tārīkh baghdād* vol XII, p;55; al-Iṣfahānī, *kitāb al-aghānī* (ed Bulāq, Cairo,1285h). Vol. III,p. 133.

[52]See, for example Tabarī,op., cit., vol. I, p. 942, 980, 1763, 2726.

[53]Ibid., vol. I, p. 158, 315.

[54]*al-madā'inī anna hishām*, *Ansāb*, vol. V I B, no. 127. See other example: Ibid., nos 70, 7; *Ansāb* vol. V, p. 304.

and is more common in those of al-Balādhurī.[55] But al-Tabarī, who was careful about compiling the material from his sources, was also meticulous about attributing each tradition to its respective source, rgardless of the fact that he sometimes used the "blending" technique.[56]

The formulas which stood at the disposal of the two historians were different; in fact, neither of them had a standard or constant formula, al-Balādhurī's basic formula opens with one of the terms of direct transmission-*ḥaddathanī* or *akhbaranī*-and generally ends with the term *qālū*. Sometimes he identifies the sources which are aggregated in the collective isnād, while in other cases he leaves them anonymous: "*haddathanīabū 'adnān al-basrī, wa-al-athram, wa-al-ḥirmāzī fī isnādihim, fa-suqtu ḥadīthahum, wa-radadtu ba'ḍahū 'alā ba'ḍin qālū.*[57]

According to the *isnād* in this tradition, it is probable that the author relied on oral sources; however, oral sources sometimes find their way into the collective *isnād* along with written sources, as demonstrated by the term *wa-qara'tu* in the following tradition:

"wa-ḥaddathanīḥafṣu b. 'umar, al-ma 'rufu bi-l-'umarī 'an al-haytham b. 'adiyy 'an ibni' 'ayyāsh wa-akhbaranī al-athram 'an abi 'ubaydata, wa-qara'tu 'ala al-madā' inyyi, qālū."[58]

In contrast with the identification of sources by name is the existence of other traditions, in which there is no such identification, the author opting instead more general mode of identification, A typical example of this is the group defined as *ahl al-'ilm* ("men of knowledge", or scholars) in the more general sense[59].

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[55]This term is repeated 77 times in *Ansāb*, vol. VIB. For examples, see nos.: 24, 37; 49, 53, 68, 79, 94, 100, 114, 129, 136,143, 152, 164, 172, 185, 199, 227, 314, 372, 402, 432, 442.

[56]Jawād Alī ' op. cit, vol. I (1950), pp. 143-230.

[57]*Ansāb al-ashrāf*, MS. Part, II, fol.-470b.

[58]Ibid., part, II, fol. 109a.

[59]*"ḥaddathanī jamā'atun min ahli al-'limi, suqtu hadīthahum wa-radadtu min ba'ḍihī 'alā ba'ḍin qālū"*. See Ibid ., part, II fol. 691a.

In another place, al-Balāhurī enumerates the fields of specialization of the scholars to whom he refers as his sources. He mentions three fields of specialization—*ḥadīth, .sīra,* and *futūḥ*, the history of the Islamic conquests.[60] A fourth field appears in the framework of his collective traditions, defined as ahl *al-'ilm bi-l-kutūb. Kutūb,* in this context, refers to the religious literature of the people mentioned in the Bible, since the topic of this tradition is the family tree of Noah.[61] The term *ahl al-'ilm* in al-Baladhūri's text points to the sources upon which he relied in procuring information on ancient nations, including information on Arab tribes in the days of the *jāhiliyya,* which preceded the appearance of Muhammad.[62]

The formula of the collective isnād is shortened frequently to a single word in the form of the phrase *qālū.* which was intended as the terminating word of the original formula..This explains the copious use of this term both in the *futūḥ* and in the *ansāb al ashrāf* as well.

The collective isnād is not lacking in the work of al-Tabari, but the formula is different from al-Baladhūri's.The three elements which appear in al-Baladhūri's formula do appear here as well: the opening term of transmission (*ḥaddathani*), the cited sources, and the terminating term.[63] In another instance, al-Tabarī changes the formula; the change indicates that the historical narrative created through the collective isnād was generated by connecting the various parts of the information contributed by the cited sources:

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[60] He opens that tradition as follows: *"akhbaranījamā 'atun min ahli al-'ilmi bi-l-ḥadīth wa-'l-sīrati wa-futūḥ al-buldān." Futūḥ al-buldān*, p.l.

[61] *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol. I (ed. Muhammad Hamidu 'llāh), Cairo, 1959, p. 3.

[62] see for example: *Ansāb*, vol.IVB, p 134

[63] On the emergence of Abraha al-ashram as the ruler of Yemen after the coup against the fomer representative of the king of Habasha, al-Tabari quotes a number of his sources and combines them in a single narrative.. After citing his sources, he writes: "*dakhala ḥadīthu ba'ḍihim fī ḥadīthi ba'ḍin, qālū.*" Tabarī, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 942-943.

"kullun qad ḥaddathanī baʿḍa hādhā al-ḥadīth fa-ijtamaʿa ḥadīthuhum fī mā suqtu min ḥadīth...."[64]

al-Tabarī, too, like his colleague al-Baladhūri does not always identify his sources in the collective traditions, and rather than citing them by name, confines himself to a descriptive epithet designed on the basis of their field of specialization. For example. he defines one such group as al-*salaf min ahl al-ilm,* "the forefathers of the men of knowledge".[65] But al-Tabarī removes the cloak of anonymity from this group when he comes to the details contained in the tradition, and it becomes clear that this group is none other than the second generation of traditionists like Saʿīd b.. Jubayr, al-Suddī, Ibn Ishāq, and Wahb b. Munabbih."[66]

Sometimes, al- Tabarī refers to a specific group of scholars whom he identifys as *'ulamā' bi-akhbār al-umam al sālifa min al-'arab wa-al 'ajam,* men of knowledge in "the history of old nations from the Arabs and non-Arabs".[67] Sometimes he refers to a separate group, whom he calls *ahl al-'ilm bī-akhbār al-māḍīn*, 'men of knowledge in history of peoples of antiquity"; of which 'Ibn al-Kalbī and other scholars are mentioned.[68] Within this group, he refers to those who are expert, particularly, in the history of the Sassanids.[69] He does not leave this group of scholars unidentified and, in another reference, indicates their ethnic identity using the phrase "Persian men of knowledge".[70]

It is worth mentioning at this juncture that al-Tabarī, when making reference to the traditions of his sources, was careful to quote them precisely in content and style, with no change

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[64]Ibid,, vol. II, p.112

[65]Ibid., vol. 1, p. 654.

[66]Ibid., vol. I, pp. 654-658.

[67] Ibid., vol. I, p. 675.

[68]Ibid., vol. I, p. 704.

[69] Ibid., vol. I, p. 706.

[70] *"wa-amma al-'ulamā' mina al furs.."*, ibid, vol. I,p. 854.

whatsoever, as pointed out by I. Rosental,[71] In keeping with this inclination, he meticulously copied the method of the collective *isnād* which appeared in the sources he cited, with no intervention on his own part. Among the various traditions he copied in this context those of Sayf b. 'Umar, 'Umar b. shabba and Muhammad b. Sa'd.[72]

Again as we have alredy noted in al-Balādhurī`s case, al-Tabarī, too, used the term *qālū in its* anonymous context when citing numerous sources whom for some reason he did not wish to identify.[73]

The collective isnād was not invented by the two historians under discussion here. Rather, it is a method which was in use some two hundred years before al-Tabarī. This method was invented by the traditionist Ibn-Shihāb al-Zuhrī (120/737),whose works have not come down to us, but who is quoted by Ibn Ishāq (150/767).[74] In one of al-Zuhrī's collective traditions which was preserved in the *sīra* of Ibn Isḥaq, al-Zuhrī says, after citing the names of his sources: "*kullun* qad *ḥaddathanī* ba'ḍa *hādhā* al-*ḥadīth wa-ba'ḍu al-qawmi kāna aw'ā lahū min ba'ḍin, wa-qad jama'tu laka al-ladhī ḥaddathanī bihi al-qawm.*[75] It seems that Ibn Ishāq after this example had diligently developed al-Zuhrī's method of the collective isnād.[76]

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[71]Rosental, op. cit., p. 186.

[72]About the collective traditions of Sayf, see: Tabarī, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 2367-8, 2372, 2380, 2414, 2584, 3051. About Ibn Sa'd: Ibid., vol. I, p. 3054. About Ibn shabba, see: Ibid., vol. II, p.1466.

[73]Tabarī, op. cit., vol. I, p. 2421, 243I, 2443, 2638.

[74]H.A.R. Gibb, op. cit. p. 148.

[75]"Each of them had transmitted some fragments of this story, and some of them were more conscientious than the others, and I have combined together all of what they had transmitted to me". Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, (ed.M.M 'Abd al- Ḥamīd, Cairo 1963), p. 764.

[76]A.A. Durī, pp. 35-36. See also further bibliography mentioned by L. Conrad, p, 36(n). For some examples of the collective isnad used by Ibn Isḥāq, see Ibn Hishām,op. cit., p. 700, 581, 758.

The subsequent generations of historians continued to use this method, as attested by two important works which have come down to us, through the works of al-Wāqidī and his pupil and follower Muhammad b. Sa'd.[77]

The element of continuity inherent in this method is emphasized even more by the style of formulas used by al-Tabarī and al-Balādhurī, who practically adopted the styles of their predecessors. The method of the collective isnāds, combined with the blending of traditions, provided historians with the tools needed to implement the element of *ikhtiṣār*, "abridgement" which was a clear trend in al- Balādhurī's work.[78] He explicitly points out this ideal in one of the formulas he used with regard to the collective insād [79] al-Tabarī, too, sometimes saw the principle of *ikhtiṣār* as an ideal.[80] And although there is no written evidence that he utilized the collective isnād to achieve this goal, it is reasonable to assume that he did so.

The trend of *ikhtiṣār* which characterized the work of both historians (albeit more so in that of Tabarī), was not limited to the material itself rather, it also touched upon the *isnād;* instead of citing the *isnād* in its entirety (all links in the chain of transmission), both historians sometimes contented themselves with merely citing the name of their source and omitting the name of the traditionists they were quoting and upon whom they relied.

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[77]For examples of the collective isnād used by both authors, see respectively: with regard to al-Wāqīdī: al-Wāqīdī, *Kitab al-maghazī*, ed. M. Jones (Cairo 1966), vol. 1, 184, 199,346,354,363,384,402-403; vol. II, 441, 572, 633, 731,781. Concerning the use of this method by Ibn Sa'd, see: Ibn Sa'd, *al-Tabaqat*, ed. E. Mittwoch and E. Sachau (Leiden 1917), vol. 1(a), p. 141, 143, 145, 1.47, 149, 153; vol. 1(b), 1, 5, 7, 15.

[78]On the aspiration toward abridgement in the *ansāb*, see Kh. 'Athāmina's introduction to vol, VI B of the Ansāb, especially pp. 12-13.

[79]"*Suqtu ḥadīthahum wa-ikhtaṣartuhū...*" *Futūḥ al-buldān*, vol. I, p. I.

[80]He declares that he refrained from quoting other versions on the subject in order to avoid lengthening the book. Tabarī, op, cit., vol. II, pp. 1737-1738.

Al-Balādhurī uses two expressions which denot this trend: *fī isnādihī* and *fī riwāyatihī*.[81]

The expressions used by al-Tabarī is *'an shuyūkhihī* or *'an ashyākhihī*, "his masters"[82] It is worth mentioning that the same expression which appers in al-Tabarī's work, also appears in that of al-Wāqidī in the kitab *al-maghāzī*.[83]

Examining al-Balādhurī's *ansāb* the reader notices a certian degree of involvement on the part of the autbor, manifested by two types of remarks which can be considered as a preliminary stage of criticism. The First such type can be defined as explanatory in nature-remarks which focus upon a particular place or personality. al-Balādhurī being a scholar whose field of specialization included, *inter alia*, the history of the Islamic conquests. was certainly able to include histo-geographical information which would not have been of interest to his traditionist sources. In one such case reporting upon the Umayyad caliphs' having abandoned their seat in Damascus in order to live in the desert region during the spread of the *ṭā'ūn*(Black Plague), al-Balādhurī refers to the flight of Hishām b. Abd al-Malik and his taking up residence in the Syrian desert town of Rusāfa, and adds a few details on the history of the site and th development of buildings erected there by the caliph[84]. Like al-Balādhurī, al-Tabarī sometimes provides similar explanatory remarks in the context of a name, a site or a province.[85]

The explanation sometimes, is related to a topic of genaeology,

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[81]Concerning the first expression, *fī isnādihī* see: *Ansāb*, IVB, p. 97, 100, 114, As for the other term, *fī riwāyatihī*, see: Ibid., IV B, p. 138.

[82]Tabarī, op. cit,. vol. II, p. 1582, 1629; vol. III, p. 8.

[83]Wāqidī, op. cit., vol. I, p. 174.

[84]It seems that the histo-geographical illustrations were an integral part of the original tradition which al-Tabarī quotes from Madā'inī through his disciple, Aḥmad b. Zuhayr. However, al-Balādhurī's version includes additional geographical information not existing, in the original tradition.. Ansab,vol.VI B,no. 68, compare with:Tabari, op.cit., vol. II, pp. 1737-1738.

[85]Tabari, op. cit., vol. I, p. 2029.

one of the major occupations of al-Balādhur in these cases he adds the full name of a person who is mentioned in the original tradition only by nickname.[86]

The second type of remarks found in al-Balādhurī's works consists of a set of critical terms used to reflect the author's criticism of the reports of his sources. To express uncertainty regarding information contained in a particular tradition, he usually writes: "*wa-laysa dhālika bi-thabt wa-al-thabtu..*", "that is not certain, but the certain one is...".[87] Sometimes this expression appears in the superlative, where different or conflicting reports are compared or contrasted, the author confirming that a particular version is *athbat*, "more certain".[88] Sometimes he adds another critical term alongside *athbat*, and writes: "*wa-al-khabaru al-awwalu aṣaḥḥu wa-athbatu.*[89] The use of the term *aṣaḥḥ* is reminiscent of the critical terms used by the compilers of *ḥdīth* who began to develop methods and terminology of criticism in the course of the third/ninth century.[90]

Sometimes al-Balādhurī attaches the critical term to the original text as transmitted by his source, drawing a parallel between conflicting reports provided by his sources with regard to a

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[86]Where al-Abrash al-Kalbī, one of the Umayyad courtiers is mentioned only by nickname in the original tradition, al-Balādhurī gives his full name. See: *Ansāb*, vol. VI B, no. 16.

[87]*Ansāb*, vol. V,p. 276.

[88] Concerning the death of 'Ā'isha, the Prophet' s wife, al-Balādhurī quotes three different dates, but intervenes to determine which of them is certain and which is more certain, saying: "*wa-al-thabt annahā mātat... wa-al-awwalu athbatu*".*Ansab* vol. I, pp.411-412 See: Ibid.,. vol. I, 428, 439,450.Sometimes he uses the same term, *athbat*, within other formula; see: Ibid., vol. I,p. 136,156, 209,215,219..

[89] "The first *khabar* is more correct. and more certain, " Ibid., vol. I, p. 178, 433, 465, 486, 134, 145, 174, 179, 206, 218, 221, 439.

[90]Goldziher, op, cit., vol. II, p. 299.

particular event.[91]

al-Balādhurī's judgment in settling a controversial question was practical and effective, as evidenced by the fact that he sometimes ruled in favor of Wāqidi.[92] and sometimes ruled in favor of Madā'inī.[93]

But he sometimes refrained from exereising criticism and in controversial matters limited himself to quoting the versions without siding with any of them.[94] This became the standard practice in the case of al-Tabarī, who carried to an extreme the practice of presenting conflicting versions without taking a stand.[95]

al-Balādhurī sometimes directs his criticism not only against the cited material contained in his sources, but against the authors of the sources as well. In this context, he divides his sources into two groups the first, whom he calls *ahl al-kadhib*, "men of lies" are those who disseminate false information which is unknown to the *ahl- al-'ilm* his second group.[96] In another reference, he describes the first group as lacking in *'ilm*, "*lā 'ilma lahum*.[97]

al-Balādhurī sometimes refrains from taking the trouble to check his sources, since he relies on criticism which they themselves expressed and quotes it verbatim.[98]

In contrast to al-Balādhurī al-Tabarī is very sparing in his criticism of both the sources and the material they quoted. He

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[91]Comparing the reports of al-Wāqidī and Ibn al-Kalbī about how Zayd b. Haritha was acquired as a slave (*mawlā*) of the Prophet, al-Balādhurī considers the report of Ibn al-Kalbi to be the more certain one. *Ansāb*, vol. I, p. 476. Comparing al-Kalbi with his two colleagues al-Haytham b. 'Adiyy and Wāqidi, al-Balādhurī takes the side of the first, and refers to his report as the more certain among the others, "*athbatu al-aqāwīl*". See: Ibid., vol. I, p. 214.

[92]Ibid., vol. 1, p. 214.

[93]*Ansāb*, vol. V I B, no. 396.

[94]*Ansāb*, vol. I, p. 203.

[95]Tabarī, op, cit.,vol. I, 1139-1143; see also: pp. 2647-2651.

[96]*Ansāb,al-ashrāf*, MS., part, II, fol. 853b.

[97]*Ansāb*, vol. V, p. 165.

[98]*Ansāb*, vol. I V B, p.47.

displays neutrality toward conflicting reports and does not attempt to express a preference.[99] This notwithstanding, al-Tabarī sometimes quotes criticism voiced by his sources and includes them within the quoted text. One such example is the critical remark made toward the version of Ḥāmmad al-Rāwiya and the northern tribal version of Mudar regarding the tribal origin of the inhabitants of Hīra before the advent of Islam.[100] Yet rare as they may be,it is possible to find a few critical remarks made by al-Tabarī himself, but without the critical terms used by al-Balādhurī. In one such case, al-Tabarī critcises the report of Ibn al-Kalbī, describing it as arbitrary "*qawlun lā wajha lahu*".[101]

What is interesting in this context is the criticism voiced by al-Tabarī against the report of Sayf b. 'Umar concerning the conquest of the port town of Ubulla in southern Iraq, a report which he describes as conflicting with the version accepted by the authors of the *siyar* and with verified reports.[102]

It may be said in conclusion that criticism of the sources and of the quoted material itself was not unknown among the generation which preceded al-Balādhurī as evidenced by the work of al-Wāqidi.[103]

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[99]A.A, Durī, op. cit., pp.70-71.

[100]"*wa hādhā qawlu muḍar wa-ḥammād al rāwiya; wa-huwa bāṭil*". Tabarī, op. cit., vol. I,p.748. Jawad 'Ali thought that this critical note belonged to al-Tabarī. See: Jawad 'Ali, op. cit., vol III (1954), pp. 16-56. He also quotes the critical note of Ibn al-Kalbi concerning the poem attributed to Judhayma, Tabarī,op.cit., vol.I, p.751.

[101]Tabarī, op. cit., vol. I, p. 155.

[102]Ibid., vol. I, p. 2025-2026.

[103]Wāqidī, op. cit., p. 1,35,58,19,2,20.

"Al-Nabiyy al-Umiyy"
An Inquiry into the Meaning of a Qur'anic Verse

Although the question of "*al-nabiyy al-umiyy*" has attracted extensive attention on the part of Muslim scholars and western researchers, it still comprises a point of controversy not only between those two groups, but also amongst Muslim scholars themselves. The hypotheses raised by various parties are not only contradictory; they also fail to supply the student of Islam with a convincing answer to this complex question. In this article I shall attempt to point to some of the inaccuracies plaguing the theories which have been posed to date, as well as to clarify the issue in a way which might shed a new light on the term in question.

I

Western researchers of Islam practically share a concensus with regard to the meaning of the term "*ummi*" used in the Qur'ān as an epithet for the Prophet Muhammad[1]). They attribute to this expression a connection with the Hebrew phrase "*ummöt ha-ʿölām*" the peoples of the world, which is intended to distinguish between the People of Israel and other nations, adding that "Muhammad calls himself *an-nabi al-ummi in Sura* VII: 157, 158, because he came from the ranks of the Arabs, i.e., from one of the "*ummöt ha-ʿölām*", whom Allah called '*ummiyyūn*' in *Sura* LXII:3, and not from the People of Israel."[2]

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[1] Only BUHL had adopted the Classical Islamic definition of *ummī* which rendering him illiterate, see: F. BUHL, Das *Leben Muhammed,* tr. H. H. SCHAEDER, Heidelberg, 1961 p. 56, 130.

[2] Joseph HOROVITZ, *Jewish Proper Names and Derivations in the Koran*, Hildesheim, 1964, p. 46; Abraham KATCH, *Judaism in Islam*, (ed. New York 1954), pp. 75-6; M. WATT, *Islamic Survey, Bell's Introduction to*

The main weakness of this definition, despite its inherent logic, is that it has no grounds anywhere in the Qur'ān, nor in the interpretative Qur'anic literature, nor in the *sīra* or *hadīth* literatures, nor in any other Islamic literary genres. Against this background, all such claims become mere inferential affirmations. Furthermore, there is sometimes a noticeable tendency to ignore solid facts in order to advance some opinion or other. Amongst others, HOROVITZ (and R. PARET in his footsteps) accept the assertion of Noldeke and SCHWALLY that the terms *"ummiyūn"* and *"ummī"* first appear in Medina after the hijra.[3]) This not only contradicts the chronological order adopted by western scholars, but also that accepted by western researchers.[4])

We further learn from these scholars that Muhammad heard the term *"Ummöt ha-ʿölām"* from the Jews of Medina, and derived the word *"ummī"* from it in accordance with the accepted meaning of the Hebrew expression.[5]) In this spirit, R. PARET concludes that Muhammad, not knowing the meaning of the term *"ummī"* as used by the Jews, assigned it a new meaning.[6] In response to both these claims it should be noted that it is by no means certain that in those days the Jews of Medina spoke classical Hebrew. It is clear that they spoke a special dialect, defined by Ibn al-Kalbī - as

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the Qur'ān (ed. Edinburgh, 1970, pp. 34; Rudi PARET, *Der Koran, Kommentar und Konkordanz*, (ed. Stuttgart Berlin Koln Maim 1980), pp. 21-2; idem, EI, art. al-nabi al-ummi; A. R. WENSINCK, *Muslim Creed*, London, 1965, p. 6; idem; "Muhammed und die Propheten", *Acta Orientalia*, (II) 1924, pp. 168-199 (especially pp. 191-2); J. WANSBROUOH, *Qur'ānic Studies*, (ed. Oxford, 1977) p. 63; I. GOLDFELD, "The Illiterate Prophet" (Nabi Ummi), *Der Islam*, 57 (1980) pp. 58-67.

[3] HOROVITZ, op. cit., P. 46; PARET,EI[1]., art. "ummi."

[4]al-Suyūtī, Jālāl al-Dīn, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *al-ltqān,* (4th. ed. Cairo, 1978), 'V, I, p. 12, 19. Where the above-mentioned terms appear in Sūra: 7 which was listed within the group of Sūras revealed in the third Meccan period of Muhammad's activity. See WATT, op. cit., 110.

[5] HOROVITZ, op. cit., 47.

[6] PARET, op. cit.

quoted by al-Suyūti - as *"lisān yahūd yathrib"*, "the dialect of the Jews of Medina".[7]) As for the precise nature of this dialect, certain indications link it to the Syriac language. It was for this reason that the Prophet instructed his secretary, Zayd b. Thābit, to learn Syriac, which is traditionally considerd to have served as the language of correspondence between Muhammad and the Jews.[8])

In an attempt to explain this act, tradition adds that the instruction to learn Syriac was given so that the Jewish masses would understand the epistles sent to them by Muhammad and that the divine message would thus be brought to all of them.[9])

It follows from this that the simple folk were fluent in Syriac. On the other hand, the Prophet and his associates had no difficulty in conversing with the Jews of Medina, and the two sides apparently were able to find a common language. Even religious debates took place between them at the quarters of the rabbis and Jewish religious students; these took the form of visits to the *bayt al-midrās,* the seminary, by the Prophet and his associates.[10]) These dialogues certainly were not conducted in Hebrew.

Even when Muhammad wanted to borrow technical terms from the realm of Jewish theology, he probably borrowed the Aramaic

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[7]*Itqān*, 1, 182. See also Arthur JEFFERY, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān* (ed. Baroda, 1938), 26.

[8]Abū al-Maḥāsin, Yūsuf b. Mūsā al-Ḥanafī *al-Mu'taṣar min al-mukhtaṣar* (2nd. ed. Hyderabad, 1362), II, 304-5; al-Diyārbakrī' *Tārīkh al-khamīs,* (ed. 1283), I, 464-5; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb tārīkh madinat Dimashq,* ed. A. Badrān, (2nd ed. Beirut, 1979), V, 446; Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisi, *al-Istibṣār*, ed.'Alī Nuwayhiḍ, (Beirut 1972) p. 72; al-Dhahabī, Abū 'Abd al-Lāh Shams al-Dīn, *Tndhkirat a-ḥuffāẓ* ed.'Abd al-Raḥman b. Yaḥyā, 2nd. ed. Hyderatbad 1956) pp. 697-8; al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā'al- asmā'* ed. M. M. (2nd, ed. Qatar n.d) I, 194.

[9]Abū al-Maḥāsin, op. cit., 11, 305. It seems that the Syriac Language was familior to the common Jew of Ḥijāz befor Islam. Ibn Hishām, *Sirat al-nabi,* ed. M. M. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo 1963), 126.

[10] Ibn Hisham, *Sīrat al-nabi*, 393, 399; al-Suhaylī, *al-Rawḍ al-unuf,* ed. A. al-Wakīl (Cairo 1969), IV 354, 362; A. JEFFERY, op. cit., p. 25, especially (n. 3, 4).

forms rather than the Hebrew ones.[11]) It follows that there is little chance that Muhammad would have heard the Hebrew-Jewish expression *ummöt ha-ʿölām* from the Jews of Medina and misunderstood its meaning, as suggested by R. PARET.

As for the assertion by A. SPRENGER that the word *"ummi"* is derived from the word *"umma"*, meaning "nation" (parallel to the Latin "gens" or the Greek "ethnos"),[12]) apparently leading M. WATT to define *"ummi" as a* "gentile or native",[13]) it should be noted that there is a considerable distance between the meaning of *"umma"* at that time and at later time, if indeed the term *"ummi"* was derived from it.

Judging by the various meanings of the term *"umma"* reflected both in the lexicographic and the etymological literature of the Qur'ān, it is difficult to accept the suggestion of these researchers. Amongst the many meanings of this term, not the slightest hint may be found that would point to the connotation "nation" in the racial-ethnic sense of that expression. Where *"umma"* is used in the context of human beings, it refers always to a group of people-a tribe or group of tribes characterised exclusively by a religious label rather than an ethnic one.[14])

The religious connotation of the term *"umma"* continued to exist both before and after the *hijra* and was even strengthened by a document written by the Prophet during the first years of the hijra and which became known as "the Constitution of Medina". In this document, the term "*umma*" is mentioned twice: once in Clause 1, and again in Clause 25; in both cases the connotation is purely

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[11] Ibid., p. 25 (n. 2).

[12] SPRENGER Aloys, *The Life of Mohammad,* (Allahabad, 1851), p. 101.

[13] WATT, op. cit., 34; see also, Richard BELL, *Translation of the Qur'ān,* (ed. Edinburgh 1973) i, 11, n. 3.

[14] al-Dā mighā nī, al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, *Qāmūs al-Qur'ā n*, ed. A. Sayyid al-Ahl (2nd. ed. Beirut 1977), 42-4.

religious.[15])

II

Another point worth mentioning concerns the term "*ummiyyūn*" as it appears in Sura II: 78. As we have seen above, researchers assign this instance of the expression a different meaning than that generally given to it.

(The term also appears in three other places in the Qur'ān: Sūra 11:20,75 and Sūra LXII:2). In this specific instance the "*ummiyyūn*" are described as a group belonging to the *ahl al-kitāb* ("people of the Book"), who do not know the sacred writ. In the opinion of these researchers, these are the same people referred to in Jewish religious literature as *'ām ha-āretz*(an expression applied to an ignorant simpleton who is not versed in the Torāh, as opposed to the scholar, who is known as *hakhām* or *haver* (See A. Even SHOSHAN, *melön ḥadash*, Jerusalem, 1968, vol. III, p. 1190).

They further claim that the Prophet heard this expression, as well as the expression *ummöt ha- 'ölām* from the Jews of Medina, but was confused and did not recognise the significant difference between the two expressions.[16]

In this regard, the opinion of H. C. REISSNER goes even further with regard to the meaning of the term, in this particular verse, Reissner proposes that the expression "*ummiyyūn*" applies without exception to all Jews of the Hijāz as they were all of the status of *'ām ha-āretz,* REISSNER, even goes as far as to refer to linguistic analogy between the Arabic expression "*umma*" and the Hebrew expression *'ām ha-āretz*, both of which imply, in his opinion, a non-urbanised, non-mercantile , non-intellectual and

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[15] For further details on this issue see: Uri RUBIN, The Constitution "of Medina", Some Notes, *Studia Islamica,* LXII, (1985) pp. 5-23, especially , pp. 12-17.

[16]HOROVITZ, op. cit., 47; A. KATCH, op. cit., 75-6; PARET, Koran, p. 22; WANSBROUGH, op. cit., p. 54; BELL, op. cit., I, p. 11. (n. 3).

non-sophisticated type of man.[17]

On the other hand, Guillaume sheds doubt upon the assertion that *ummiyyūn* were Jews in the full sense of the word; they were, he claims, Gentiles who had converted to Judaism and whose roots lay not in the People of Israel but in other nations.[18]

In this context and against the background of the opinions that have been out forward, a number of questions may well be asked: Was the Prophet really confused with regard to the difference in meaning between the two expressions? If he was, how could researchers be sure of this? Is there evidence to this effect in the Qur'ān or in the interpretative Qur'anic literature? In the absence of any clear-cut answer to these questions from the researchers cited, their conclusions must be considered to be no more than hypotheses.

It is true that the *ummiyyūn* mentioned in Sura II:78 were actually a group identified with the *ahl al-kitāb*. But, as one learns from the text itself, *ummiyyūn,* were distinguished from the general category of the *ahl al-kitāb* by virtue of the fact that they were *ummiyyūn.* In the context of this Sūra, the epithet *"ummiyyūn"* actually places them under the same category as those *ummiyyūn* who were not part of the *ahl al-kitāb* and who are mentioned in the aforementioned three other places in the Qur'ān. It is therefore natural that there be a common denominator linking the two groups of *ummiyyūn* -- those who were and those who were not identified with the *ahl al-kitāb.*

Guillaume, as we have already seen, attempted to point out this common denominator, suggesting that both groups were to be considered "gentiles" from the standpoint of their origin, i.e., not part of the House of Israel. It is true that many of the Jews of Medina and its periphery did not originate from the House of

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[17]H. G. REISSNER, "The Umnī Prophet and the Banū Israel of the Qur'ān"' *Muslim World* (39), 1949, pp. 276-81.

[18]Alfred GUILLAUME, "The Meaning of Amānīya in Sura II: 73", *The World of Islam,* In honour of Philip K. Hitti, ed. James KRITZECK and R. Bayly WINDER (London 1960) pp. 41-7.

Israel.

A. J. WENSINCK, discussing Noldeke's discovery regarding the Arab origin of the two tribes Nadīr and Qurayza emphasises this fact[19]. In addition, other groups originating from Arab tribes had already converted to Judaism even before the al-Aws and al-Khazraj tribes settled in Medina[20]. This phenomenon did not cease, and people continued to convert to Judaism individually-whether by their own desire or by that of their parents. The last example of such conversions was discovered with the exile of Banū al-Nadīr from Medina in 625 A.D.[21]

But this is not the main common denominator linking the two groups which share the epithet *"ummiyyūn"*; rather, the common denominator is their identical religious conception. In order to clarify this point, one must examine the interpretation of Sūra II:78: *"wa-minhum ummiyyūna, la ya'lamūna 'l-kitāba illā amāniyya.."* The key word in this verse is *"amāniyya"*, which researchers have defined in keeping with the corpus of interpretations put forth by Tabarī.

Amongst all of these, particularly interesting is the interpretation which defines this word as *"aḥādīth;* the *isnād* chain of this tradition leads to Ibn 'Abbās[22].

One of the many interpretations attributed by Tabarī to Ibn 'Abbās, al-Suyūtī chooses our own interpretation, in the chapter of his work which is devoted to difficult words appearing in the Qur'ān.[23] An examination of the classical lexicons reveals that the

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[19]Arent Jan WENSINCK, *Muhammad and the Jews of Medina,* tr. and ed. Wolfgang BEHN, (Freiburg), 1975, p. 30.

[20] al-Samhūdī, *Khulāṣat al-wafā* (ed. Cairo, 1285) p. 78; see also: M. WATT, *Muhammad at Medina,* (ed. Oxford, 1968) pp. 192-3.

[21] al-Suyūṭi, *Lubāb al-nuqūl,* (ed. Beirut, 1978) p. 48; al-Wāḥidi, 'Ali b. Ahmad al-Nīsaburī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl,* (2nd. Cairo, 1968), p. 45; al-Suhaylī, *al-Rawd al-unuf,* IV, p. 397-8; al-Tabarī, Muhammad b. Jarir, *Jāmī' al-bayān,* (3rd. ed. Cairo, 1968), III, 14-15.

[22] Tabarī, *Jāmi',* Vol. I, 375.

[23] al-Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* Vol. I, 150; see also, Dāmighāni, op. cit., 443.

word *"aḥādīh"* is the plural form of *"uḥdūtha"*, meaning "miracle".[24] According to an interpretation attributed to al-Farrā', the renowned linguist who died during the first decade of the third century A.H./ninth century A.D., *"uḥdūtha"* means a tale designed to entertain and satirise.[25] In light of this interpretation of the term *"amāniyya"*, the verse may be translated thus: "A group from among the ahl *al-kitāb* are *umiyyūn* who consider the Holy Book to be merely tales and fables, neither more nor less.

This attitude toward the Holy Books is reminiscent of a similar attitude which characterised a different group who were an obstacle to the Prophet during his period of activity in Mecca - namely a certain group of his opponents there. One of the most prominent of these was al-Nadr b. al-Ḥārith, who claimed that the Qur'ān was nothing more than *"asāṭir al-awwalīn,"* an expression which had appeared in nine verses in various places throughout the Qur'ān.[26]

All nine of these verses were revealed because of this man and his dispute with the Prophet.[27] Al-Naḍr related to Muhammad's revelations as mere *aḥādīth* of ancient peoples (from whence his definition *"asāṭīr al-awwalīn"*); he even went so far as to follow in the Prophet's footsteps, telling fables from the Persian and other courts and suggesting that his stories were better than those of the Prophet![28]

Al-Naḍr's expertise in the lore of the ancient courts came from

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[24] Ibn manẓūr, *lisān al-'arab*, (ed. beirut, 1968), II, 133

[25] al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'arūs* (ed. Cairo, 1306), I, 613. al-Farrā' explains *"amāniyya"* as Follows: *"an yafta'ila 'r-rajulu al-aḥādītha 'l-mufta'ala"*, to invent a false story. See: *Ma'āni al-Qur'ān* (2nd. ed. Beirut 1980), I, 49-50.

[26] Sūra, 6:25; 8:31; 16:24; 23 : 83; 25:5; 27:68; 46:17; 68 :15; 83:13.

[27] Ibn Isḥāq, Muḥammad, *al-Siyar wa-al-maghāzī*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Beirut 1978), 201; al-Nuwayrī, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Nihāyat al-arab* (ed. Cairo 1955) XVI, 219-220.

[28] Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabiyy*, I, 239-40; al-Balādhuri, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ed. M. Hamīd Allāh (Cairo, 1959) I, 139-41; Daḥlān, Aḥmad Zaynī al-Dīn, *al-Sira al-ḥalabiyya* (ed. Cairo, 1964), I, 517; Ibn Shahrāshūb, Muḥammad b. 'Alī, *Manqib Āl-Abī Ṭālib* (Najaf, 1956), I, 48.

his many journeys to al-Ḥīra and Persia, where he had studied Persian books and come in context with Christians and Jews.[29] Particularly interesting among the descriptions of this man is that of al-Balādhuri, who describes him as *"sāḥib aḥādith"*.[30]

An examination of the interpretations of the nine verses shows that the expression *"asāṭīr al-awwalīn"* may be understood in the sense of *"aḥādīth al-awwalīn"*, i.e., stories invented about ancient peoples, which have no basis in reality and, most important, which are not the Word of Allah.[31] Therefore, when al-Nadr described the revelations of the Qur'ān as *"asāṭīr al-awwalīn"*, he meant to prove that they were merely words which the Prophet had learnt from human beings. It is here that a parallel may be drawn between this expression and the term *"amāniyya"* under discussion.

It follows from all of the above that both sides - the group of *ummiyyūn* from amongst the *ahl al-kitāb* mentioned in Sūra 11:78, and the opponents of the Prophet within the upper echelons of Meccan society (including al-Naḍr b. Ḥārith) -- share a common attitude toward the revelations of the Prophet. This conclusion is strengthened by an additional interpretation, attributed by Tabarī to Ibn 'Abbās, according to which the *ummiyyūn* were so called because they did not recognise the Holy Books and disputed the mission of the Prophet.[32]

III

The focus of interest of Muslim scholars in the present context, centers upon the question of *al-nabiyy al-ummī* more than upon the

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[29] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh,* (4th ed. Beirut, 1983), II, 49. His voyages their were sometimes of official nature because he was a delegate whom Mekka sent to Kisrā the Persian king. See: al-Masʿūdi,ʿAli b. al-Ḥusayn, *Murūj al-dhahab,* ed. C. Barbier de meynard (Paris, 1874), VIII, 93.

[30] Balādhuri, *Ansāb,* op. cit., 139.

[31] al-Tabarī, *Jāmiʿ*, vol. IX, 231; XVIII, 47: XXIX, 28; VII, 171; XVIII,182 XX, 9; XXVI, 20; XIV, 94-5; XXX, 97.

[32] Ibid., Vol. I, 374; al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, *Tafsīr al-tabyān'* ed. A. Shawqī and A. Ḥabīb al-Qasīr (Najaf, 1960), I, 318.

question of *ummiyyūn,* for reasons clearly having to do with the personality and character of the Prophet as well as the character and essence of the Qur'ān. In order to stress the authenticity of the Qur'ān as a divine book acquired by Muhammad through divine inspiration, these scholars stubbornly cling to the idea of the Prophet's illiteracy, expressed, in their opinion, by the expression, *"ummī."* And because he was illiterate, they claim, there could be no chance of his not rendering faithfully that which had been passed on to him from heaven, no chance that he could have changed the original content or style of the Qur'ān[33].

The concept of the Prophet's illiteracy, which became part of Islamic dogma,[34] arose as a result of the Prophet's miracle-oriented reputation which spread amongst the Muslim masses in the middle of the second century and reached its utmost on the eve of the third century A.H./ninth century A.D., when the idea of the "miraculous Qur'ān" became a universal Islamic convention.[35]

While at the beginning of this process the concept was not universally construed in the sense of "illiteracy", during the third century A.H. this meaning became established as the central interpretation attributed to the father of all Qur'ānic interpreters, Ibn 'Abbās, by some of the disseminators of his traditions.[36]

The advocates of the idea of the Prophet's illiteracy, attempting to prove their theory in light of a total lack of Qur'ānic evidence to

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[33] Al-Bāqilānī, Abū Bakr, *I'jāz al-qur'ān*, ed. A. Ṣaqr al-Sayyid, (Cairo, 1963) pp. 34-5; *Tāj al-'arūs*, vol. VIII, 191; L.A., vol. XII, 34; al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad b. 'Alī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā* (Cairo, 1963), I, 43; al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa-al-tabyīn*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn (4th. ed. Cairo, 1975), IV, 32; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Wafā bi-aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā*, ed. M.'Abd al-Wāḥid, (Beirut, 1966), I, 269-70.

[34] WATT, *Islamic Survey*, 33; GOLDFELD, op. cit., 60.

[35] Gustave E. VON GRUNEBAUM, *Medieval Islam, A study in Cultural Orientation* (ed. Chicago, 1953) Arabic tr.'Abd al-'Azīz Jawīd (Cairo, 1956), 122-9.

[36] GOLDFELD, op. cit., 67; WATT, *Islamic Survey,* 33.

support it, sought alternative methods of fulfilling their goal, claiming *inter alia* that the epithet "*ummī*" denoted a person still bearing the natural traits with which his mother bore him, and that illiteracy is generally attributed to the mother rather than to the father since it is a trait characteristic of mothers.[37]

This claim is not only groundless; it is also arbitrary. There are quite a number of traits which are characteristic of all women and all mothers; why precisely should illiteracy be singled out? Furthermore, literacy is a skill acquirable through study by any person, male or female; thus, illiteracy, stemming from a lack of study, cannot be considered a "male" or "female" trait.

Another claim explains the epithet *"ummī"* through the Prophet's connection to the Arab nation, which is characterized by illiteracy.[38] Proponents of this theory cite a hadīth attributed to the Prophet, dealing with the calculation of dates for commencement and termination of the month-long fast of Ramadān, in which he says: *"innā ummatun ummiyya, lā naktubu wa-lā naḥsib"*.[39] The impression from the context of this hadīth, however, is that the verb "*naktub*" has nothing whatsoever to do with the art of writing; rather, the interpretation is that we as Muslims must not fix the fast by a predefined date according to the calendar, thereby causing the fast to begin on a fixed date.

This interpretation is reminiscent of the Jewish practice of

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[37]al-Qasṭalānī' *Irshād al-Sārī li-sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī,* (ed. Cairo, 1307), IV, 151-2; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsir* (ed. Beirut, 1969), I, 166; al-Azharī, Abū Manṣūr, M. b. Aḥmad, *Tahdhīb al-lugha,* ed. Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī (Cairo, 1967), XV, 636-7; al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jami' li-aḥkām* al-Qur'ān (ed. Cairo, 1967), VII, 298-9; al-Ṭūsī, op. cit., IV, 593.

[38] al-Tabāri'*Jāmi'*, IX, 40; al-Bayḍāwi, *Anwār al-tanzīl* (2nd. ed. Cairo, 1955), II, 262; al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr* (ed. Cairo, 1938), VII, 227-8; Ibid., XV, 23; L.A., XII, 34.

[39] al-Bukhārī, *ṣaḥīḥ,* (ed. Beirut, 1978), III, 35; Ibn 'Asākir, op. cit., VI, 167; al-Bayrūni, *al-Āthār al-bāqiya,* ed. E. SACHAU, (Leipzig 1923), 66; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr* (Cairo 1314), VI, 215; al-Qasṭalānī, op. cit., III, 359; al-Qurṭubī, op. cit., VII, 298-9.

adding a 13th month to the (lunar) year so that holidays and festivals will fall at a flued season of the (solar) year. Evidence for this interpretation may be found in the denotation of the root "k.t.b." in the classical lexicons. The latter include for this root the meaning "to tie", as in tying the legs of an animal. The verb is used in this sense in various forms of classical Arabic poetry.[40]

As for the allegation that illiteracy was the lot of the Arabs or could be said to characterise them, this assertion should be treated with extreme caution-particularly when it is associated by some interpretation with the inhabitants of Mecca -- apparently the "*umma*" referred to by the hadīth in question.[41]

The seriousness of the allegation lies in the fact that neither the Arabs in general nor the Meccans in particular are worthy of this description, since it contradicts the situation which existed both in Mecca and in the other settled and nomadic sectors of the Arabian peninsula on the eve of the appearance of the Prophet.

The situation of the Arabs *vis-à-vis* their literacy was no different during the *jhilāliyya* period preceding Islam than it was after the advent of Islam.[42] The Quraysh, the inhabitants of Mecca, were generally literate in comparison with the inhabitants of

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[40] L.A., I, 701; *Tāj al-'arūs*, I, 445; Ibn DURAYD, *Jamharat al-lugha*, (ed. HYDERABAD, 1344), I, 196-7. For example, those lexicographers quote a verse attributed to Sālim b. Dārah al-Ghaṭafānī which bears a serious accusation against the people of Fazāra whom were accused with sexual intercourse with the she-camels, The verse runs as follow:
"lā ta'mananna fazāriyyan khalawta bihī,
'alā qalūsika wa-'ktubhā bi-asyāri". See also: al-Nuwayrī, op. cit., III, 162; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm and Sayyid Shaḥāta (Cairo, n.d.), II, 86; Ibn 'Abdi Rabbihī, *al-'Iqd al-farid*, ed. A. Amīn, A. al-Zayn and Ibrahīm al-Abyārī (3rd ed. Cairo, 1965), II, 468; al-Bakrī, *al-Tanbīh 'alā awhām al-Qālī* (ed. Cairo, 1926), p. 123.

[41] al-Qasṭalānī op.cit.,, vol. III, 359.

[42] al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir*, ed. M. Jād al-Māwlā, 'Ali al-Bajāwi and Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo n.d.), II, 344.

Medina.[43]

Despite the air of generalisation characterising this tradition, its value and authenticity are not in question. One can find evidence to strengthen this tradition in reports passed down to us regarding the ransom of Meccan prisoners taken by the Prophet and his men at the battle of Badr. Those whose families were unable to pay the ransom in silver or gold, were given the option of teaching ten youths from Medina to write in lieu of paying the ransom.[44]

One may infer from this that all of the needy and destitute of Mecca (most of whom belonged to the lower classes) were conversant in the art of writing; all the more reason to assume the same of the wealthy and influential inhabitants of that city. In this connection it is worth mentioning the existence of a *ḥadīth* which lauds the tribe of Quraysh as *ahl Allāh*, the People of Allāh, because of their literacy and knowledge of arithmetic.[45]

The art of reading and writing was not restricted to the inhabitants of Mecca; it was also common in other areas of the Arabian peninsula and in other Arab-inhabited areas outside the peninsula.[46] However, the prevalence of literacy in these areas was not as great as in Mecca.

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[43] Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr,* ed. E. SACHAU (Leiden, 1917), II (part I), p. 14.

[44] Ibid., p. 14, 15; al-Nuwayri, *Nihāyat al-arab,* XVII, 56; Maqrīzī, op. cit., I, 101; Diyarbakrī, I, 395; *al-ḥalabiyya*, II, 451; *Sīrat Daḥlān*, I, 213. In this context, one should refer to the tradition which limits the number of those from Mekka who were skilled in writing to 17 people, see: al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-buldān,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Cairo 1956-7), III, 580; Ibn 'Abdi Rabbih, IV, 157-8, as to a tendentious tradition produced as evidence for the alleged significance of the term *ummī.* It seems that J. OBERMANN, who refers to it as if it was a solid fact, had not caught the message. See: J. OBERMANN, "Islamic Origin, A study in Background and Foundation", *The Arab Heritage,* ed. Nabih A. FARIS, (Princeton N.J. 1944) pp. 58-120.

[45] al-Zabīdī, "Ḥikmat al-ishrāq", *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāṭ,* ed.'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, (2nd. ed. Cairo, 1972), II, 67.

[46] Régis BLACHERE. *Tārīkh al-adab al-'Arabī,* Ar. tr., Ibrāhīm al-Kīlanī (ed. Damascus 1956) p. 74.

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The fact is that the nomads were literate, but to a lesser extent, as evidenced by certain implications appearing in classical literature from the *jāhiliyya* period.[47] Commercial activity was inevitably a contributing factor in the dissemination of literacy, and it may be assumed that the commercial factor was the reason behind the literacy of many Meccans.[48]

Many well-known tribal leaders who were the Prophet's contemporaries, were able to read; two of these, 'Uyayna b. Hisn and al-Aqra'b. Habis, read to Caliph 'Umar I a document signed by his predecessor, Abū Bakr.[49] Another tribal leader by the name of al-Zibriqān b. Badr, also a contemporary of the Prophet, was also literate, as was his wife.[50] Among those who could read and write were also some simple tribesmen, and not only members of the upper class.[51] Amongst the well known poets of the *jāhiliyya* period, Zuhayr and al-Nābigha were literate.[52]

Furthermore, contracts and covenants and other important documents drawn up by Arabs during the *jāhiliyya* period, were routinely put down in writing, as were monetary instruments and ordinary correspondence.[53]

The teaching of writing in Mecca and other major settlements was well established, and there were those who considered this activity a suitable profession, both before and after the advent of

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[47] Ibid, p. 75.

[48] al-Baladādhurī, *Futūḥ,* III, 579.

[49] Ibn 'Asākir, III, 93.

[50] Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *al-Aghānī,* (ed. Cairo, 1285), I1, 52.

[51] Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī, *al-'Umda*, ed. M. M. 'Abd al-Ḥamid (4th. ed. Beirut 1972), I, 29; For other examples see: Bukhārī, op. Cit., vol. 5, 77; al-Nuwayrī, Vol. XVI, 254-5.

[52] al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'* (ed. Beirut 1961), I, 97.

[53] For more details, see: Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, *Maṣādir al-shi'r al-Jāhilī* (ed. Cairo, 1962) pp. 59-76.

Islam.[54] The art of writing, on the other hand, was not monopolised by men; many women were also literate, amongst whom are mentioned some of the Prophet's wives, as well as several other women.[55] One of the traditions attributed to the Prophet, even warns against teaching women to read.[56] Though the background to this warning is unknown, the tradition bears testimony to the fact that some women were literate.

The prevalence of literacy amongst the contemporaries of the Prophet was a fact evidenced *inter alia* by the vast number of personal secretaries employed by the Prophet while in Medina.[57] Their number has been estimated at several dozens according to lists appearing in late Islamic sources. But more conservative estimates appearing in earlier sources place the number at about two thirds of this figure, sometimes even less.[58] The difference between the two estimates stems from the fact that the later writers

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[54]Muḥammad b. Ḥabib al-Baghdādī (245 d.) gives a long list of teachers of noble birth, *ashrāf al-mu'allimīn*, either from Mekka or other places, who rendered teaching the children how to write as their profession, see: *Muḥabbar*, ed. Elza LICHTENSTEITER (Hyderabad 1361) p. 475ff.; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, (ed. Beirut n.d.) item "Nuqayra".

[55] Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 65; *Aghānī*, II, 52; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, III, 580-1; al-Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzī'ed.* Marsden JONES (Oxford, 1966), I, 89; al-Nuwayrī, vol. XVI, 254; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba* (ed. Cairo, 1328), IV, 341; al-Subki, *Ṭabaqāt al-shafi'iyya* , ed. M. al-Ṭināhi and A. al-Ḥiliw, (Cairo, 1964), I, 283; Ibn Qutayba, *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, (ed. Cairo, 1924-30, reprinted, Cairo, 1964), IV, 24.

[56] al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, (ed. Cairo 1931), XIV, 224.

[57] Ibn Ḥadīda al-Anṣāri, for instance produced a list of 44 *kātib*, secretary, his work, *al-Miṣbāḥ al-muḍī fi kuttāb al-nabī*(ed. Hyderabad 1976), I, 27-9. Other later works makes the number between 26, in the lower estimation, to 42, in higher one. See: *al-sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, vol. III, 422-3; al-Fāsī, al-*'Iqd al-thamīn*,ed. Fu'ād Sayyid (Cairo, 1965), I, 274-5; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *'Uyūn al-athar* (ed. Beirut n.d.), II, 315-6; al-Diyarbakrī, II, 181-2.

[58] al-Jahshiyārī, *al-Wuzarā' wa-al-kuttāb*. ed. M. al-Saqqā' Ibrahīm al-Abyārī and 'Abd al-Ḥafīẓ Shalabī (Cairo, 1938) pp. 12-14; al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-almulūk*, ed. M. J. DE GOEJE (Leiden 1879-1901), II, 836.

included in their lists of secretaries the names of people who had had an opportunity or two, sometimes three, to write something for the Prophet. This is clear from the writings of al-Mas'ūdī, who mentions only 16 names, adding that he has not included the names of those who wrote only once or twice, since he does not believe them worthy of being included in a list of the Prophet's secretaries.[59]

In light of the clear trend in the Prophet's *sīra* literature to attribute to certain people deeds done for the Prophet and for Islam in order to raise their prestige within Islamic society (which tended to determine a person's standing in accordance with the service he had rendered to the Islamic cause in its early days), it is worth treating such statistics with some suspicion. Nevertheless there is still room to assume that the ability to write was not as rare or as unusual as the proponents of the Prophet's illiteracy might claim.

In any case, the ability to write was considered a virtue by Arab society during the *Jāhiliyya*.[60] It was popularly considered one of the main criteria by which perfection could be attained: some of the people of Medina, such as Sa'd b. 'Ub āda, Usayd b. Hudayr and Rāfi'b. Mālik, were given the title, *"al-kāmil"*, "the perfect one", because they could write Arabic, amongst other qualities.[61] To lack this quality was considered a human shortcoming.[62]

On the other hand, fluency in foreign languages was characteristic of some of the Prophet's companions. When he wrote his famous epistles to the rulers of neighbouring countries

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[59]al-Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa-'-ishrāf,* ed. M. J. DE GEOJE (Leiden 1894) (reprinted in Beirut, 1965), pp. 282-4.

[60]al-Māwardī, *Adab al-dunyā wa-al-dīn,* ed. M. al-Saqqa (4th . ed. Cairo, 1973), p. 68.

[61] Ibn Sa'd, III, (2), 136, 142, 148; *Iṣāba*, II, 30; Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī, *al-Istibṣār,* p.214.

[62]*Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, I, 43; Ibn Makkī al-Ṣiqillī, *Tathqīf al-lisān,* ed. 'Abd al-'Aziz Maṭar (Cairo, 1966) p. 346; 'Alī b. Khalaf al-Kātib, *Mawādd al-bayān,* Ms. Fatiḥ, Sulaymāniyya, Istanbul, ed. M. F. SEZKIN (Frankfurt, 1986), fol. 17.

and to other tribal leaders, the messengers whom he chose to carry them are alleged by tradition to have suddenly become fluent in the languages of the rulers to whom they were sent.[63] The mystic tone of this tradition, implying miraculous divine intervention as the cause of their sudden linguistic proficiency, was introduced in order to confer a miraculous character upon the personality of the Prophet, in keeping with the orientation which began to exist during the second century of the hijra.[64] But this does not invalidate this tradition as a clear indication of the existence of proficiency in foreign languages amongst some of the Prophet's companions.

Proficiency in writing was indeed not a widely prevalent trait; this explains the necessity to bring teachers to Medina in order to teach the local inhabitants the art of writing, whether the latter were part of the indigenous population or had settled as immigrants after the *hijra* of the Prophet. This activity first began during the Prophet's lifetime, continued under the reign of his heirs,[65] and apparently became institutionalised under the second caliph, 'Umar, who allotted a monthly salary to those whose profession was teaching.[66]

IV

The attempt to prove the illiteracy of the Prophet was not restricted to the interpretative Qur'anic literature, as Goldfeld suggests;[67] rather, the *sīra* literature of the Prophet and its associated literature were also exploited in an attempt to further

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[63] Ibn Sa'd, Vol. I (2), 15; Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf,* ed. Mukhtār A. Nadawi (Bombay 1983), Vol, VII, 338-9; Ibn 'Asākir, Vol. VII, 355; al-Diyārbakrī, Vol. II, 182; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-Kubrā* (ed. Hyderabad, 1320), II, 2.

[64] The reasons and the development of this orientation are discussed by G. VON GRUNEBAUM, op. cit., pp. 124-5.

[65] Ibn Sa'd, V, 8; Tabarī, *Tārīkh,* Vol. I, 2797; Ibn 'Asākir, vol.VII, 438; 435.

[66] Ibn 'Asākir, VI, 415.

[67] GOLDFELD, Der Islam, op. cit., 58.

this goal. Particularly prominent in this context are certain later sīra works',[68] whose influence on the promulgation of this idea was no less than that of the interpretative Qur'anic literature-indeed, their influence may well have been greater, since these works fueled the *quṣṣāṣ* "story-tellers", who became an instrument for the dissemination of religious information, particularly stories of the Prophets, to the masses to whom this material had previously been unavailable.[69] The authors of these works, who usually copied Ibn Ishāq, Wāqidī and Mūsā b. 'Uqba or later works, were not satisfied with merely reproducing the original; rather, they attempted to provide explanations and interpretations of these sources.

As for the first revelation of the Prophet, Ibn Ishāq reports that the angel Gabriel commanded the Prophet, saying: "*iqra'*" ("Recite/Read!"), and the Prophet replied: "*ma aqra'?*" ("What shall I read"), or "*mādhā aqra'?*[70] Both of these versions of the Prophet's reply are quoted solely as questions, and contain nothing to support any inference of the apparent indication that they are negations. But these authors, for whom the Prophet's illiteracy was evidently a matter of dogma, applied their prejudices to their interpretations, unequivocally establishing that the Prophet was indeed illiterate. Here, for example, is an example of such an addition: "*fa-qāla* [i.e., Gabriel] *iqra', fa-qultu: mā aqra;! ay anā ummi lā uḥsinu 'l-qirā'ata, ay qirā'ata al-maktūb, aw muṭlaqan.*" ("And Gabriel said: 'Read!', and I said: 'I do not know how to read', i.e., 'I am *ummī* who do not know how to read', i.e., '. . . the written document', or 'I don't read at all.'")[71]

Another example is quoted by al-Diyarbakri from the *sira* of

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[68] *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya,* I, 384-5; al-Suhayli, *al-Rawḍ* II, 397, 401, 413; Diyārbakrī, I, 283; Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī, *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa,* (ed. 1320), I, 69; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, 1. 86; *Sīrat Daḥlān,* 1, 81.

[69] Concerning *al-qaṣaṣ* and *al-quṣṣaṣ* see: C. E. BOSWORTH, The *Islamic Underworld,* (ed. Leiden 1976) 2, 26-8.

[70] Ibn Hishām, op. cit., I, 155; Tabarī, *Tārīkh,* I, 1147-8; Ibn Isḥāq, *al-siyar wa-'l-maghāzī,* p. 121.

[71] *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya,* I, 384.

Mughulṭay as follows: "Gabriel said: 'Read, O Muhammad!' He said: 'I do not read, and have never read."[72]

The dialogue between the Prophet and the angel Gabriel is also quoted in the collections of *ḥadīth*. Al-Bukhārī, compiler of the *ṣaḥiḥ,* quotes the version of al-Zuhrī quoting from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr quoting from 'Ā'isha. (the same line of transmission or isnād is cited in Ibn Ishāq's tradition): "When the Prophet was commanded by the angel to read, he answered as follows: *'mā anā bi-qāri'"*.[73]

But the fate of this version as explained by the interpreters of *hadīth* literature, was no different from that of the version which appeared elsewhere; these commentators interpreted the Prophet's reply as meaning he did not know how to read.[74] A different commentary alleges that Gabriel, despite the fact that he ordered the Prophet to read, actually knew the Prophet was illiterate, and did so purely in order to attain the principal goal of teaching and educating.[75]

In any case, the sentence *"mā anā bi-qāri'"* does not necessarily mean that the Prophet did not know how to read; it is highly probable that he intended to express his refusal to read at that moment, having been surprised by the call of the angel. In other words, the Prophet intended to say: "I am not going to read." The present participle in this sentence, as in similar sentences, transfers the time of action to the future. An example of this grammatical paradigm may be found in the following tradition: "Yūnus b. 'Ubayd said:'I came to Ibn Sīrīn, and shouted for the maid servant; then I heard him saying: "Tell him *'innī nā'im"* He meant to say

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[72] al-Diyārbakrī, I, 283.

[73] al-Bukhārī, *Sahih,* I, p. 3; Muslim, *Ṣaḥiḥ Muslim bi-sharḥ al-Nawawī,* (ed. Cairo 1349), II, 199.

[74] *Fatḥ al-bārī,* I, 32-3; Muslim, op. cit., II, 199. The interpreters reject also the argument of al-Akhfash, the Muslim linguist, who considers the particle *mā* in this construction as an interrogative. Ibid., Loc. cit.

[75] Ibn Abī Jamra, *Bahjat al-nufūs* 179 (2nd. ed. Beirut, 1972), I, 12.

"sa-'anām", "I am going to sleep."[76] The use of the present participle to denote future time, also exists in classical poetry. The verses of a poem attributed to the Christian poet al-Akhtal of the Taghlib tribe, in which he expresses his determination not to renounce Christianity and become a Muslim, are a good example: *fa-lastu bi-ṣā'imin ramaḍāna 'umrī, wa-lastu bi-ākilin laḥma'-laḍāḥi.*" ("I am not going to fast during Ramadan [the Muslim month of fasting] as long as I live, and I am not going to eat the meat of sacrifice [slaughtered by Muslims in honour of the Festival of Sacrifice, at the end of the ceremony of pilgrimage to Mecca].")[77]

V

Although the general tendency amongst Muslim scholars is to emphasise the illiteracy of the Prophet since, as they claim, he was descended from the stock of the Arabs, who are characterised by this trait, opposing versions may also be found which are worthy of discussion.

With regard to the expression *"ummiyyūn,"* which served as the ground for the illiteracy theory, it is said to be an epithet describing all of those to whom no Holy Book had descended from heaven, such as those Arabs who were unfamiliar with monotheism.[78] This definition does not restrict this title to Arabs; it also includes nations of other ethnic origins. Mentioned among the latter are the *majūs,* the Magians,[79] whom the Prophet did not want to defeat the Byzantines (al-Rūm) because the Magians had no Holy Book.[80]

A different version establishes that the epithet *"ummī"* was

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[76] Ibn Qutayba, *'Uyūn al-akhbār,* III, 41.

[77] Ibn 'Abdi Rabbih, II, 94. In another version it is *ṭaw'an,* willingly, instead of *'umrī.* See: Ibn Rashīq, *al-'Umda,* I, 44.

[78] al-Bayḍāwī, op. cit., I, 64; Ṭabarsī, *Majma'al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān,* (ed. Beirut, 1961), 1, 324; Abū 'Ubayda, *Majāz al-Qur'ān,* ed. F. SEZKIN, (Beirut 1982), 1, 90.

[79] al-Qurṭubi, 1, 5.

[80] al-Sharīf al-Raḍiyy, *Ḥaqā'iq al-ta'wīl* (ed. Beirut, 1355), 125.

given to the Prophet because he was an example to those who looked to him for guidance and who followed in his foot steps.[81]

But most interesting of all is the version which associates the term *"ummi"* with the city of Mecca, which in the Qur'ān was also known as *"umm al- qurā"*,[82] the *ummiyyūm* actually being the inhabitants of Mecca.[83] *Shīʿa* circles in particular adhere this version and reject out of hand any other explanation which is cited in order to prove the Prophet's illiteracy.

In this context the Shi'ite sources quote a tradition attributed to the imām Muhammad b. 'Alī al-riḍā, who was known by the name of Abū Ja'afar.[84]

Although this explanation sounds logical, it does not hold up to careful examination since it is not relevant to Sura II:78.[85] In this context it is worth mentioning that the Shi'ites reject any Sunnite claim that the Prophet was illiterate (since in their opinion this argument contradicts the teachings of the Qur'ān) and stress that he was indeed literate.[86] They share this opinion with western researchers who totally dismiss the idea that the Prophet was

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[81] al-Ṣāliḥī, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, *Subul al-hudā wa-ʾl-rashād,* ed. M.ʿAbd al-Wāḥid (Cairo 1972), I, 537.

[82] Sūra, 6:92; 42:7; See also: L.A. XII, 32.

[83] al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Gharib al-Qur'ān,* ed. Muhammad Kīlānī (Cairo 1981 p. 23; Ibn 'Abdi Rabbih, IV, 160; Tabarī, *Jāmiʿ,* XXIX, 69; al-Qurtubī, VII, 298, op. cit., X, 4; Thaʿālibi, *Thimār al-qulūb,* ed. M.Abu al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo 1965) 255.

[84] al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, Ibn Babawayh al-Qummī.*ʿIlal al-sharāʾiʿ*: (ed. Najaf, 1966/1385), 124-5.

[85] Despite the fact that the term *ummiyyūm* in this verse is defined as the Christian Arabs, of which there were Makkians and tribesmen as well. See: Qurṭubī, I, 5.

[86] a.l-Shaykh al-Sadūq, op. cit., 124-5. Also SPRENGER quotes Shiʿite traditions from other Shiʿite sources. See: *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 95-102.

illiterate.[87]

In fact, however, the Sunnite camp is not unanimous on this point, and there are those Sunnites who do reject the claim that the Prophet was illiterate. Al-Qalqashandī refers, for example, to the contradictory views among some scholars of the Shāfiʿite school concerning this issue.[88] Other circles did not state explicitly that the Prophet was a learned man, but did refer to his having been forbidden to make use of reading and writing, whether or not he was proficient at these skills.[89]

But along with these implications, they quote a tradition attributed to ʿAwn b. ʿAbdallah b. ʿUtba quoting his father ʿAbdallah, stating that the Prophet succeeded in learning to read end write before he died.[90] Apparently this opinion became more widespread amongst theologians and other scholars during the first decade of the second century of the *hijra*, as al-Shaʿbi maintains .[91]

In the debate aroused concerning this question, al-Jāḥiẓ was involved. In a response to the claim produced by a colleague from Basra who endeavoured to explain why God had determined Muhammad being *ummī*, i.e., unable to read or write, unversed in arithmetic, unable to compose poetry and ignorant of *nasab,* the study of genealogy, al-Jāḥiẓ says: this scholar was mistaken, though his intentions were good. He should have stated that the

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[87] WENSINCK, *Acta Qrientalia,* op. cit., SPRENGER, op. cit., 101-2; A.GILLAUME , op. cit., 43-44; R. PARET, E.I., op. cit.; WATT, Islamic Survey, 34-5; A. KATCH, op. cit.; GOLDFELD, Der Islam, op. cit.; Arvind SHARMA, "The Significance of the Alleged Illiteracy of the Prophet", *Islam and the Modern Age,* VIII (2) 1976, pp. 46-53.

[88] *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, I, 43.

[89] Ibid., I, 42; al-Suyūṭī, *al-khaṣāʾiṣ al-Kubrā,* II, 235-6.

[90] *"mā māta an-nabiyyu ḥattā qaraʿa wa-kataba"*. Abū Nuʾaym al-Iṣbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ* (ed. Cairo 1932), IV, 265; al-Suyūṭī, *al- Durr al-manthūr*, II, 131; al-Dhahabī *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* 742; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Khaṣāiṣ,* II, 236; al-Haythamī, *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid* (3rd. ed. Beirut 1967), VIII, 271.

[91] al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr,* II, 131; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt;* ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, (Beirut 1970) III, 15.

Prophet could have written, done arithmetic, composed poetry and recited *nasīb,* but had directed his talents to issues more appropriate to a prophet and closer to his calling; because of his extended abstention from such mundane matters, refraining from reading and writing became a habit. This abstinence from reading and writing, al-Jāiḥẓ maintains, should not be interpreted as incapability, as there is certainly a difference between incapability and good habit.[92]

From the controversy between al-Jāhiz and his colleague from Basra it becomes apparent that the argument was intended to serve the question of *iʿjāz* or miraculousness, of both the Prophecy and the Qur'ān. While al-Jāḥiẓ sees that in order to prove *iʿjāz* there is no need to attribute illiteracy to the Prophet (since miraculousness can be proven even without this element), his colleague, and others like him, endorses the idea of illiteracy as proof of the element of *iʿjāz* .

The dispute between the *'ulamā'* and the Muslim sages with regard to this point, did not cease and was not associated with any particular period or other. It arose again in Islamic Spain during the second half of the fifth century A.H., this time in the form of a treatise written by a well-known scholar and theologian by the name of Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī (403-474 A.H./1012-1081 A.D.) supporting the Prophet's literacy.

The treatise aroused reactions of both support and opposition.[93] His treatise, known as *taḥqīq al-madhhab,* is contained in a unique manuscript, together with all of the reactions to it but one, in the Yazmeh Baghsheler archive, fol. 105b-115b, No. 3/1985, in the

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[92] *al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn*, IV, 32-3.

[93] *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, VIII, 191; *Sirat Daḥlān*, II, 43; al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb,* ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Beirut 1968), II, 68-72; *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya,* II, 709; Ibn 'Asākir, VI, 251-2; Ibn Sayyid al-nas, II, 127;al-Ṣafadi, *al-Wāfī bi-'l-wafayāt,* ed. Bernd RADTKE (Wiesbaden 1979), XV, (no. 520); *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* 1181-2; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* (Beirut 1967), III, 345.

Sulaymaniyya library in Istanbul.[94]

In his treatise the author attempts to prove that the Prophet wrote in his own hand sections of a document addressed by him to the people of Mecca during the expedition of Hudaybiya (March 628), which became known under the name *"ṣulḥ al-Ḥudaybiya"* the cease-fire of Hudaybiya".

He bases his claims upon the text of the tradition as it appeared in al-Bukhārī's book in connection with this event, according to which the Prophet wrote the document despite the fact that he did not read and write well at all.[95] Of the eight people who reacted to this treatise, only two disputed al-Bājī's interpretation; the rest endorsed it.[96]

Al-Bājī's claims do not constitute a drastic revolution in Islamic theory with regard to the illiteracy of the Prophet, since they do not absolutely rule out the existence of this trait, but simply establish that the Prophet, despite his illiteracy, wrote the said document by way of a miracle rather than by virtue of the ability to write.

On the other hand, al-Bājī rejects the opinion that illiteracy as a trait should be considered a miracle, basing his rejection on the premise that the Prophet shares this characteristic with countless Arabs and people of other races, so that this attribute lacks the uniqueness required in order to be considered a miracle. He also rejects the idea that the Prophet's association with the *ummiyyūn* (in Sūra 62:2) was designed to highlight his illiteracy, claiming that

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[94]Sheshen Ramaḍān, *Nawādir al-makhṭuṭat al-'arabiyya fī Turkiyya,* (ed. Beirut 1975), I, 300. While the manuscript of this article was already complished, I was informed by Prof. Reḍwān Sayyed from Beirut university that the treatise of al-Bāji was published by Abū 'Abdal-Raḥmān b.'Aqīl al-Zāhiri in Riyād, 1983. See also; Redwān Sayyed, *al-Umma wa-'l-jamā'a wa-'sulṭa* (ed. Beirut 1984) 49 (n. 140).

[95] The text of this tradition is written in al-Bukhārī, *Sahīh,* V, 180; see also: Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad* (Cairo, 1313), IV, 298; Ṣaḥiḥ Muslim, II, 421-2;al;Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār,* ed. M. Bāqir Bahbūdi (Teheran 1387), XX, 471-2.

[96] *Tāḥqiq al-madhbab,* Ms. op. cit.

the sole intention was to indicate that he belonged to that group.

VI

Whether or not the Prophet wrote any of the Hudaybiya document in his own hand,[97] it is well worth mentioning the parenthetical remark appearing in the tradition of al-Bukhārī with regard to the Prophet's inability to write: *"wa-laysa yuḥsinu yaktub."*[98] The term "*ummi*", as we know, is not mentioned in that tradition. But it should be mentioned that within the collection of versions gathered by al-Tabarī with regard to the interpretation of that term, there appears one version which establishes that the Prophet was known by this epithet because he did not know how to write.[99]

Al-Zmakhshari was more specific, writing that the designation *"ummi"* is intended to stress the fact that the Prophet was an Arab, the latter group having been known by the epithet *"ummiyyūn"* because of all the nations, they did not know how to write (*"lā yuḥsinūna al-Khaṭṭ"*[100]

Shī'ite traditions, too, stress unequivocally that while the Prophet did not know how to write, he did know how to read.[101] They support this assertion by citing a tradition which quotes the Shī'ite scholar al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq.

According to this tradition, al-'Abbās, the Prophet's uncle, sent him a secret epistle when he heard of the intention of Abū Sufyān

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[97] See what is the opinion of M. WATT concerning this issue. WATT, *Islamic Survey*, p. 35.

[98] See note no. 95 (above).

[99] *Tabarī, Jāmi'* I, 374; III, 215; IX, 80, 81; Suyuṭi, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, II, 13, 131; al-Qurṭubī, XVIII, 92; a; -Ṭabarsī, I, 324; *Majāz al-Qur'ān,* I, 90; II, 258.

[100] al-Zamakhsharī, Maḥmūd b. 'Umar, *al-Fā'iq fī gharīb al-ḥadīth,* ed. Alī al- Bajāwī and M. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo 1945), I, 42; al-Diyārbakrī, II, 21.

[101] *'Ilal al-sharā'i'* 126; Ibn Hishām, 380; See also: SPRENGER, op. cit., 101 (n 2)

to lead a military campaign against the Muslims in Medina. The epistle was delivered to the Prophet while he was in one of the orchards outside the town. He read the epistle and concealed its contents from his companions, but instructed them to return to the town and seclude themselves there and only afterwards revealed to them the contents of the epistle.[102]

In contrast with the Shī'ite traditions, the Sunnite traditions do not establish unequivocally that the Prophet knew how to read, but at the same time they suggest this indirectly.

For example, one tradition states that the two tribal leaders al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis and ʿUyayna b. Ḥisn, came to the Prophet with several requests. He granted them and instructed Muʿāwiya as his secretary, to confirm in writing for each of them what had been agreed between them and the Prophet. Muʿāwiya did so and gave them each their confirmation, and the two went on their way. But ʿUyayna came back to the Prophet to check whether the secretary indeed wrote as he had been instructed. The Prophet took the certificate, examined it and confirmed that Muʿāwiya had written precisely what the Prophet had told him to write.[103]

According to the terminology of al-Jāhiz, it may be understood without a doubt that the *ummiyyūn* are those who cannot write. This is the term he uses to denote the Arabs during the Jāhiliyya; comparing them to other nations, he praises their great rhetorical skill, adding that their descendants would never be able to enjoy or profit by it, since the *ummiyyūn*, could not commit their words to writing.[104]

Toward the end of the first century of the *hijra*, the meaning of the term *"ummī"* as such was known even to the simple masses; slaves and converts to islam whose origin was non-Arab (*mawālī*) were capable of distinguishing between *"ummī"* and *"kātib"*

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[102] Ibid., 125-6.

[103] *Taḥqiq al-madhhab,* Ms. op. cit.

[104] *al-Bayān wa-ʾl-tabyīn,* III, 28.

("[one who is] skilful at handwriting").[105]

Ibn Qutayba, who lived during the third century A.H./ninth century A.D., was more meticulous in his definition of *"ummi"* than was his colleague and contemporary al-Jāḥiẓ.

Referring to two contradictory hadīths which relate to how the hadīth literature was committed to writing, he writes, amongst other things, that 'Abdallah b. 'Amr. b. al-'Ās differs from the rest of the Prophet's companions in that the latter were *ummiyyūn,* and that only a small number of them knew how to write, and those few who could write were not precise and even made spelling errors *("wa-idhā kataba lam yutqin, wa-lam yuṣib at-tahajjī").*[106]

This detailed description by Ibn Qutayba was apparently the accepted definition amongst writers and scholars during the first three centuries of Islam.

As they saw it, the term *"ummī"* became an epithet in the jargon of practical literature, denoting anyone who did not know the art of writing, or who wrote with an inaccurate or faltering hand. This definition negates the tendency, visible in books of Qur'ā nic commentary and in the late sīras, to wrap the epithet in robes of religious dogma, treating it as though it were exclusive to the Prophet Muhammad.

A story is told of a courtier in the court of al-Ma'mūn, the Abbāsid caliph, who was criticised by the caliph for his unsteady handwriting. To defend himself, the man said, amongst other things, that the Prophet himself was also an *ummī* who knew none of the forms of stylised writing (*"lā ya'rifu min funūni 'l-khaṭṭi fanna").*[107]

During the same period (176 A.H./792 A.D.), Abū 'Awāna al Waḍḍāḥ b. Khālid, a well-known traditionist, died. This man could

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[105] Ibn al-Jarrāḥ, *al-Waraqa,* ed.'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Azzām and 'Abd al-Sattār. Farrāj (2nd ed. Cairo 1953), 103.

[106] Ibn Qutayba: *Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth,* ed. M. Zuhrī al-Najjār (Beirut 1972), 287.

[107] al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb* (ed. Cairo 1953), II, 672.

not write but knew how to read. A report about this man by Yahyā b. Maʿīn (153-233 A.H./774847 A.D.) states, in this context: "*kāna Abu-ʿAwānata ummiyyan, yastaʿīnu bi-man yaktubu lahū, wa-kāna yaqraʾu ʾl-ḥadith*" ("Abu ʿAwana was an *ummī* aided by someone who wrote for him, but he was able read the traditions of the Prophet").[108]

In the same context, it is reported that al-Muʿtasim, the Abbasid caliph (218-227 A.H./833-841 A.H.) differed from the other caliphs of this dynasty in that he was an *ummī* who could not write properly: *"wa-kāna al-Muʿtaṣim ummiyyan lā yuḥsin al-khāṭṭa wa-ʾl-kitābata.*[109] Another version says of him: *"bal kāna yaktubu khaṭṭan ḍaʿifan,"* i.e., he was not really *ummī,* but rather suffered from poor handwriting.[110]

From this it may be understood that the term *"ummī"* did not only describe those who were not totally proficient in writing, but could also serve to designate those whose mastery of that art was partial or imperfect. This is how a traditionist from the fifth century A.H./eleventh century A.D. was described by Ibn ʿAsākir: *"wa-kāna ummiyyan, la yaʿrifu mina ʾl-kitābati illā qalīlan.*[111] This meaning existed simultaneously alongside the other meaning of the term, as evidenced by Ibn ʿAsākir, who in another place tells of a traditionist from amongst the *tabiʿūn* , the second generation after the generation of the Prophet, saying that he was an *ummī* who could not write.[112]

On the basis of all the above examples, it may be established with certainty that the alleged illiteracy of the Prophet, in the sense of inability to read and write, is an erroneous assumption.

The term *"ummiyya"* may be interpreted strictly as the inability

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[108] *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ,* 237; *Tarīkh Baghdād,* XIII, 461.

[109] Ibn al-ʿImrānī, *al-Inbāʾfī tārīkh al-khulafāʾ,* ed. Q. al-Sāmarrāʾi (Leiden 1973), 106.

[110] *Zahr al-ādāb,* II, 785-6.

[111] Ibn ʿAsākir, III, 229.

[112] Ibid., iv, 94.

to write at all or the lack of complete mastery of the art of writing. The digression from this meaning appeared together with the initial formation of the character of the Prophet as a miraculous figure in the consciousness of his followers during the middle of the second century of the *hijra*; at the end of the formative process, it became a dogma embraced by the later Muslim scholars.

Further more, it may be clearly understand why the tradition quoted by al-Bukhārī contains the verb in the present tense, *yuḥsin*. Through his use of this verbal form, the traditionist did not intend to affirm that the Prophet did not know how to write at all, but rather that his handwriting was not perfect. In other words, his skill in the art of writing was defective.

Thus, there were no firm grounds for the Spanish Muslim scholar Abu al-Walīd al-Bāji (and those who supported his view) to claim that a miracle took place when the Prophet took the Hudaybiya document and wrote in it.

On the other hand, these examples comprise, in this author's opinion, a solid basis for the interpretation of western scholars with regard to the Prophet's literacy, an interpretation which in most cases was based on mere conjecture or other unreliable evidence, but at the same time totally destroys the stereotyped interpretation adopted by the overwhelming majority of present-day Islamic researchers.

THE EARLY MURJI'A: SOME NOTES

Heresiographic literature presents the Murji'a strictly as a religious Islamic sect dealing mainly with questions concerning belief and the theological sphere. This characterization may well be true with regard to the later Murji'a, but it is certainly not valid with regard to the early Murji'a who arose within the setting of the political struggle that took place in the Islamic arena in the wake of the First Civil War. But it is not particularly easy to draw a distinction between the so-called 'early Murji'a' and later Murji'a' because of various difficulties which may obscure the truth and mislead the contemporary student of Islam.[1]

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[1] These difficulties are various; firstly, the very scanty information concerning irjā' and the Murji'ā in the literary and historical sources, as compared with that concerning the Shī'a or the Khawārij. In any case, the available data in some heresiographical works concentrates totally on the polemic and the theological issues rather than the political one. The lack of a methodological plan in the writing of those works makes the given data less reliable, as one of the heresiographical authors himself states; see al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa'l-niḥal* (Cairo 1968), I, 12, Another difficulty lies in the fact that the ascription of *irjā'* to some Muslim scholars was often made by their opponents in order to deprive them of the legitimacy for transmitting *hadith*, as in the case of Abū Hanīfa and his pupils; see al-Laknawī, *al-Raf'wa l-'takmīl fī 'l-jarḥ wa 'l-ta'dīl*, 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda (ed.), 2nd edn. (Aleppo 1968),217, and J. Schacht, EI² art. *'Abū Ḥanīfa'*. For other examples see Ibn Sa'd, K. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, Sachau et al. (eds.) (Leiden 1915 ff),VI,214, VII/2, 106. In other cases, the aim was to give publicity to an idea by ascribing it to a known scholar and presenting him as a Murji'ite; see al-Laknawi, 230-I. Lastly, one should refer to the contradictory statements ascribed to some scholars whom the biographical works present as Murji'ites. The most striking example is the contradictory reports about the political stand of Abū Ḥanīfa, who was represented as a pro-Alid adherent in some reports and an anti-Alid one in others. See Muhammad Jamāl al-Qāsimī, *al-Faḍl al-mubīn fī sharḥ al-arba'īn*, 'Āṣim al-Bīṭār (ed.) (Beirut 1983), I50-I; al-Makkī, *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfa* (Beirut 1981), I, 239; al-Shahrastānī, I, 158; Aḥmad

This article comprises an attempt to amplify the preceding works,[2] in order to disperse some of the obscurity surrounding the Murji'ite movement and to reveal the principles that guided its first steps, as well as the nature of its struggle to apply these principles before becoming another Islamic sect in the dogmatic sense of the word. It deals mainly with this movement in its primary stages, from its emergence up to the end of the Umayyad period.

The significance of the term *irjā'* is almost unanimously interpreted by Islamic authors as 'suspension', regardless of whether its etymology be considered as stemming from the verb *arjā* or from *arja'a*.[3] At the same time, a Qur'anic interpretation

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b.'Alī, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* (Cairo 1931), XIII, 329-30; al-Nawbakhti, *Firaq al-Shī'a*, Muhammad Sādiq (ed.) (Najaf 1959), 35-6; al-Husrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*,'Alī al-Bijāwī (ed.) (Cairo 1959), II, 710; al-Laknawī, 324; al-Māturīdī, *Sharḥ al-fiqh al-akbar* (Hyderabad 1321),5-6,13-14, 60.

[2] See for example the works of M. Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma* (Cambridge 1981), 29-30; I. Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, tr. Andras and Ruth Hamori (Princeton 1981), 75; idem, *Muslim Studies*, S.M. Stern (ed.) (London 1967-71) II, 90-2; A.J. Wensinck, EI^2 art. '*Murdji'a*'; J. Van Ess, Das Kitāb al-Irǧā', *Arabica* 21 (1974), 20-52; W. Madelung, *Der Imām al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, (Berlin 1965).

[3] Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*. T. al-zāwī and M. al-Ṭannāḥī (eds.) (Beirut 1963), II, 206; Ibn Manzūr, *Lisan al-'Arab* (Beirut 1968), I, 83-4; al-Shahrastānī, I, I 39; Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Ahl al-ahwā' wa 'l-madhāhib*, Abd Sallūm al-Sāmarrā'ī (ed.) (Baghdād 1972), 264; al-Māturīdī, K. *al-Tawḥīd*, Khulayf Fath Allāh (ed.) (Alexandria n.d.), 3I9. See also al-Zamakhsharī, al-*Kashshāf* (Cairo 1966), II, 102; al-Faḍl b.al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabarsī, *Majma' al-bayān* (Beirut 196I), IX, I4I; al-Suyūṭi, *al-Durr al-manthūr* (Cairo n.d.), III, 05; al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmi' li-aḥkām al-Qur'ān*.3rd ed. (Cairo 1967), VII, 257; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (Beirut 1969), II, 387; Ibn al-Sikkīt, *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq*, A. Shākir and 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn (eds.),2nd ed. (Cairo 1965), 142; Abū 'Ubayda, *Majāz al-Qur'ān*, M. Fuat Sezgin (ed.) (Beirut 1982), I, 225, 269, II, 85.

considers the origin of the term to be related to 'giving hope'.[4]

This interpretation is undoubtedly intended to serve as a foundation for a later concept of *irjā'* in its dogmatic sense as it is echoed in the writings of later polemicists and theologians,[5] while there is no mention of it whatsoever in the traditions relating to the discussed period. This concept, however, is attacked by Abū Hātim al-Rāzī, who denies completely any connection between the term and the notion of 'hope for forgiveness', on the grounds that it contradicts grammatically the '*arabiyya* on the one hand and is a common expression prevalent only among *al-āmma*, uneducated simple folk, on the other.[6]

Turning back to the 'suspension' definition of *irjā'* Muslim sources distinguish between two categories of *irjā'*. The first category focuses on the dispute over the *imāma*, with 'Uthmān and 'Alī at its centr, while the second category puts the stress on the fulfilment of religious precepts as its defined central objective. In other words, the first category was religio-political while the second was dogmatic or of polemic interest. It is therefore not difficult to draw a provisional line between these two concepts and to state with certainty that the political orientation belongs to the early Islamic period while the second, as represented by religio-polemical literature, corresponds to later periods, as already

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[4] al-Qurṭubī, VII, 257.

[5] Ibn Taymiyya, *Jāmi al-rasā'il*, M. Sālim (ed.) (Cairo 1969), I, II2. The author states that they were given this name because of the *rajā'* notion. He also claims that there is no difference between the meaning of the term in its different forms, with or without hamza, see ibid., 1 ,112; and see al-Shahrastāī, op. cit., I, I39 The words of Ibn al-Murtaḍā make it clear that the term irjā' originally means 'giving hope' see his *al-Munya wa 'l-amal*, Muhammad Mashkūr (Beirut 1979), 113-114, and also al-Maqrīzī *Khiṭaṭ* (Cairo I270), I I, 349-50.

[6] Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, op. cit., 262-3.

proposed by some Western researchers.[7]

As for associating *irjā'* with the issue of the *imāma*, there are two points of view. One adopts a neutral stand toward the struggle between the adherents of 'Alī and their adversaries in the Umayyad camp, symbolized by the caliph 'Uthmān. This view was held by a considerable group of religious figures who were well known for their piety[8] and who refrained from expressing any sentiment vis-à-vis the rival camps on the grounds that God alone is qualified to judge which of the two was right.[9]

But this neutrality was not absolute in comparison with the stated position of the Shī'ites, who unreservedly supported the alleged divine rights of 'Alī and his descendants to rule.[10] Nor was it absolute in comparison with the position of the Khārijites, who repudiated the claims to the throne of both the Alids and the

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[7] Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, 29; Goldziher, *Introduction*, 75;C. Nallino, *Ta'rīkh al-ādāb al-'arabiyya*, M. Nallino (ed.) (Cairo 1970), 251.

[8]Many people within this category were well-known scholars, who led an abstemious life and were distinguished by highly praised religious descriptions. Some examples of these virtues are reported in Ibn Sa'd, v, 362; VI, 205, 253, 254,264,; al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa'l-tabyīn*, 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn (ed.), 4th edn. (Cairo 1975), III, 176; I, 260-2; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-'Arab*, A. S. Hārūn (ed.) (Cairo 1962), 274, 396; al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa l-mulūk*, M. J. De Goeje et al. (eds.) (Leiden 1879-1901), II, 1055; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* (Hyderabad 1956),I, 188-90; idem, *Mīzān al i'tidāl*, M. al-Bijāwī (ed.) (Cairo 1963), III, 193; idem, *Siyar a 'lām al-nubalā'* S. Arna'ōṭ (ed.), 2nd edn. (Beirut 1982), VII, 163-73.

[9] ibn Sa'd, VI, 173, 214; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-i'tidāl*, III, 441; al-Māturīdī, K. *al-Tawḥīd* 384; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* (Cairo 1368), IV, 287-8. The neutral stand is also mirrored in a verse ascribed to the Islamic poet Thābit Qutna, a prominent figure of the *Murji'a*. See al-Isbahānī, *Aghānī* (Būlāq 1285), XIII, 52. Neutrality is also emphasized in another verse attributed to Muhārib b. Dithār, who was identified with the so-called *al-Murji'a al-Ūlā*. See Muḥammad b. Khalaf, Wakī, *Akhbār al-quḍāt* (Beitut n.d.),III, 29.

[10] Goldziher, *Introduction*, 74-5.

Umayyads.[11].

Under these circumstances, the unwillingness to adopt a position with regard to the two rival camps may be considered retrospectively to have been a political stand, as rightly proposed by Watt.[12] This stand dismisses, on the one hand, the claim of the Khārijites that the murder of ʿUthām was just (in other words, the position of the Murji'a on this question entails an indirect recognition of the legitimacy of the Umayyads' claim to rule, after they presented themselves as the legitimate heirs and inheritors of the murdered caliph); on the other hand, it implies a rejection of the 'Alids' claims to the throne.

The second view is connected with the definition of the place of 'Alī among the four Orthodox Caliphs, who assumed office after the death of the Prophet. Here, too, one perceives political implications in this issue. *Irjāʾ* is defined here as the suspension of 'Alī's succession among his colleagues to fourth place (i.e. after 'Uthmān, who assumed third place).[13] It is beyond doubt that the position of the *Murji'a* on this point is identical to that of

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[11] A.J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed* (Cambridge 1956),36-7; J. Well hausen, *Die religios-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, Ar. tr., 2nd edn. (Kuwait 1976), 43; Goldziher, *Introduction*, 75.

[12] W. Montgomery Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Edinburgh 1973), 125.

[13] This meaning is clearly expressed in the following verses of Muḥārib b. Dithār:

ya ʿību ʿalayya aqwāmun sifāhan
bi-an urji abā Ḥasanin ʿalayyā
wa-irjāʾi abā Ḥasanin ṣawābun.
ʿani ʾl-ʿUmarayni barran aw-shaqiyyā.
wa-ʿUthmāna wa-māja n-nāsu fīhi.
Fa-qālat firqatun qawlan badhiyyā.
Fa-in qaddamtu qawman qāla qawmun
asa'ta wa-kunta kadhdhāban radiyyā.

See: *Aghānī*, VII, II; Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, op. cit., 265. The same notion appears in a tradition attributed to Ibrahīm al-Nakha'ī, see Ibn Saʿd, VI,129.

Orthodox Muslims, ahl *al-sunna*, in regard to the chronological order of assuming the office of the caliphate. However, Orthodox Muslims consider this order to be the reflection of the socio-religious status of the four caliphs.[14]

According to another version, *irjā'* means 'postponing', i.e. postponing the succession of 'Alī from first position to fourth.[15] In other words, the comparison here is between 'Alī and Abū Bakr, the first Orthodox Caliph. *Irjā'* in this sense, is meant as a reaction to the Shī'ite view which gives precedence to Alī over all his colleagues, particularly over Abū Bakr.[16]

II: The Emergence of Irjā':

It is not inherently important to fix an exact date at which the *Murji'a* are deemed to have appeared. The importance of such a date is its role as an indicator of a general era and of the political setting in which the movement arose, particularly with regard to the early *Murj'a* and their religio-political character. This stated, it should be pointed out that recent scholars have not been unanimous in their assessment of the *Murji'a's* date of appearance. Goldziher believed that it was impossible to point to a specific date of appearance, but suggested, at the same time, that its beginnings belong to the first Islamic period.[17] Madelung, on the other hand, stresses that the movement arose in the aftermath of

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[14] al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayn al-firaq*, 'Abd al-Hamīd Muhyī al-Dīn (ed.) (Cairo n.d.), 350. See also Watt, *Formative Period*, 141.

[15] Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, op. cit., 264, 264;al-Shahrastānī, op. cit., I, 139.

[16] Despite this view, some Shī'ite groups do not deny the legitimacy of the caliphate of Abū Bakr, despite the alleged primacy of 'Alī to this office. The justification given to this stand is the principle of *imāmat al-mafḍūl*, the possibility of not appointing to the caliphate office the most qualified candidate, which had been developed within Shī'ite circles. See Ibn al-Murtadā, op. cit., 90; 'Abd al-Qādir b. Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-dīn* (Istanbul 1928), 293-4.

[17] *Introduction*, loc. cit.

the Second Civil War and the Kūfan Shī'ite revolt under al-Mukhtār.[18] Van Ess[19] and Cook[20] - while neither deals directly with the issue-seem to indicate a tendency to associate the appearance of the movement with the period of the First Civil War. Ahmad Amīn presents a totally different view from that of his predecessors, placing the emergence of the *irjā'* at the end of the reign of 'Uthmān.[21]

In contrast to the variety of suggestions on the part of these scholars, we find more precise assessments in Islamic sources with regard to the emergence of the *irjā'* movement. A tradition cited by al-Nawbakhtī: considers *irjā'* to have commenced with the murder of 'Alī in 40/661.[22]

Abū Ḥātim al Rāzī, on the other hand, states that the beginning of *irjā'* occurred two years before 'Alī's murder, when his camp was split after the *taḥkīm*, the arbitration assembly.[23] A third tradition quoted by Ibn 'Asākir relates the notion of *irjā'* to an earlier date close to the murder of 'Uthmān, when a group of Muslim warriors came back to Medina and found their fellow Muslims divided into two camps: one supporting 'Alī and the other supporting 'Uthmān, claiming that his murder was unjust.[24]

When compared with the above scholars' views, the source

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[18] W. Madelung, 'The Early Murji'a in Khurāsān and Transoxania and the Spread of Ḥanafism', *Der Islam* 59 (1982), 32

[19] J. Van Ess, op. cit., 30.

[20] Cook. op. cit., 29.

[21] A. Amīn, *Fajr al-Islām*, (Cairo n.d.), 111, 280.

[22] *Firaq al-Shī'a*, 27.

[23] Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, op. cit., 266.

[24] This tradition is quoted by Nu'mān al-Qādī in his study, *al-Firaq al-Islāmiyya fī 'l-shi'r al-Umawī* (Cairo 1970), 263

traditions do not seem far from the truth, especially the first two traditions, since this was the time in which the views of the Shī'a and the Khawārij were formed.[25] So it is not unreasonable to assume that the views of the *Murji'a* were formed at the same time as those of the two rival movements.

As for the tradition which attributes the doctrine of *irjā'* to al-Hasan b. Muhammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya,[26] it cannot be regarded seriously and may be criticized on several grounds. First, the fact that it belongs to the literature of the *awā'il*, the pioneers or first-doers, which was a theatre of conflict between rival factions from the early Islamic period onwards. Second, the fact that it is a transparent attempt to indemnify the *irjā'* doctrine against the attacks of Shī'ite supporters and is an example of a well-known technique used in Islamic literature to contest rival factions and ideas.[27]

The words of al-Ḥasan, as a prominent figure of the 'Alid family, became in fact the only source by which attacks could be made on the Shī'a until the beginning of the fourth century.[28] Finally, some of the views included in the *Kitāb al-Irjā'* by a Kūfan traditionist named 'Āṣim b. Ḍamra, were known before the emergence of al-Ḥasan, as has been noted by Van Ess.[29]

III: The Application of the Doctrine of Irjā':

Unlike the Shī'a and the Khawārij, the Murji'ite doctrine did not propose an alternative to the existing régime. Throughout the

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[25] Wellhausen, op. cit., 47.

[26] Van Ess, op. cit., 23; Ibn Sa'd, v, 241;al-Maqrīzī, op. cit., 11, 350; al-Shahrastānī, op. cit., 1,144; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. Aḥmad Badrān (Damascus 1329-32), IV,249.

[27] Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, ch. 3.

[28] Van Ess, op. cit., 42; Ibn 'Asākir, op. cit., IV, 249-50.

[29] Van Ess, op. cit., 43.

history of early Islam there are no recorded cases in which the *Murji'a* attempted to overthrow the régime and replace it. Even in the single case where the *Murji'a* were directly involved, sc. in the outbreak of the uprising of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj in Khurāsān,[30] there is no conclusive evidence whatsoever of any intention on the part of the rebels to overthrow the Umayyads in the region.[31]

The lack of any alternative to the existing régime within their doctrine led the *Murji'a* to a *modus vivendi* in which they continued to view the Umayyad rulers as true believers despite the latter's religious transgressions, which contradicted the behavioural norms re-quired of the believer.[32]

This position regarding the rulers and their representatives stemmed neither from any predilection toward the régime nor from any sense of loyalty to the ruling dynasty, as has been proposed by some scholars.[33] Rather, it was the result of the tolerant attitude which the Murji'a had adopted toward the rival political factions within Islamic society - an attitude mainly based on their conviction that all rival doctrines were created out of the precepts of the faith and, consequently, that incorrect interpretation should

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[30] Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall* (Calcutta 1927), 368; M. J. Kister, EI² art. *'al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj'*.

[31] According to some reports, al-Hārith was accused of aiming to hold the office of Caliph. See Abu Zur'a al-Dimashqī, *Ta'rīkh*, MS Fātih, Sulaymāniyya, no. 4210, Arşiv, 1143, fol. 51b; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf* MS 'Āshir Efendi, nos. 597-8, part 2, fol. 845b; Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī, *Sarḥ al-'uyūn*, A. Ibrāhīm (ed.) (Cairo 1964) 290. But it was proved after his death to have been a false accusation levelled against him. See Kister, op. cit.; Wellhausen, op. cit., 464.

[32] Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, 11, 30.

[33] Wensinck, *Muslim Creed* 38; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, loc. cit.; A. Amīn, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām* (Cairo n.d.), III, 325; Watt, *Formative Period*, 125-6. In this context one should note M. Cook's statement that taking a middle way between the Khārijites and the Shī'ites was not *ipso facto* to collaborate with the Umayyad dynasty. *Early Muslim Dogma*, 43.

not be seen as a malicious divergence from the boundaries of the faith which excludes the Muslim from the Community of the Faithful.[34]

Furthermore, the proponents of these doctrines are not considered infidels, despite their various transgressions, as long as they continue to embrace the idea of a single God.[35]

From this point of their origin, the *Murji'a* avoided any involvement in the incessant struggles that took place between rival groups, clearly aiming to preserve the neutral stance which they had maintained so strictly.[36] Irrefutable proof of this neutrality has been preserved in Islamic sources.

Among these are some verses of al-Sayyid al-Himyarī, the Shī'ite poet, which emphasize the *Murji'a's* neutral position. In this poem, al-Himyarī denounces the *Murji'a* for their refusal to express an opinion and take a stand on the dispute between 'Alī and his rivals.[37] An additional piece of evidence, of a different nature, also stresses the neutrality which characterized the

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[34] al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-islāmiyīn*, M. M. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (ed.), 2nd edn. (Cairo 1969), 11, 170.

[35] Referring to the principles of *irjā'*, Thābit Quṭna says in his *qaṣīda*:
(*wa-lā arā anna dhanb*[un] *bālgh*[un] *ahad*[un]
min-nāsi shirkan idhā mā waḥḥadaṣ- ṣamadā).
See Aghānī, XIIII, 52.

[36] This attitude is clearly expressed by the verses of Muḥārib b. Dithār as quoted in Wakī', op. cit., III, 29-30.

[37] *khalīlayya lā turjiyā wa- 'lamā' bi-anna 'l-hudā ghayra mā taz 'umān a-yurjā 'Aliyy*[un] *imāmu' l-hudā, wa-'Uthmānu, mā a 'nada al-murjiyān! Wa-yurjā 'bnu Ḥarb*[in] *wa-ashyā'uhu. Wa-hūju 'l-khawāriji bi 'l-Nahrawān. See Aghānī*, VII, 16. In anther version of these verses al-Ḥimyarī adds fourth element to the list of Alī's opponents, i.e.those who fought against him at the battle of the camel; 'Ā'isha, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, and says: *wa-yurjā 'l-ulā nāṣarū Na 'thal*[an], *bi-a 'lā ;l-Khuraybati wa-'l-Sāmirān*. Abū Ḥātim al- Rāzī op.cit., 265-60.

Murji'a's political behaviour.[38]

But their neutrality was not passive at all times and under all circumstances. When necessary, they expressed their opinion and even took action. For example, they supported the 'Alī step of accepting the *taḥkīm* in the dispute between 'Alī and Mu'āwīya.[39]

Their support for this act was neither the result of sympathy for 'Alī nor out of zeal toward the Shī'ite cause but rather because they saw the *taḥkīm* as an essential step for the benefit of the Muslim community, whose interests were their foremost priority.

In their view, the *taḥkīm* was a practical step, a true attempt at healing the rift which had pervaded the Muslim community and the first step towards reconciliation of hearts.[40] The *Murji'a* also supported the 'Alid struggle against the triumvirate coalition that fought Alī at the Battle of the Camel, *Waq'at al-Jamal*, as well as 'Alī's struggle against Mu'āwiya at the battle of Ṣiffīn.[41]

After the murder of 'Alī they suported Mu'āwiya's struggle against the rebels of the Khawārij.[42] Some of them played an intermediary role in order to persuade the rebels to cease their acts

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[38] When Sa'īd b. Jubayr was finally brought into the court of al-Ḥajjāj, he was asked about his opinion of the four Righteous Caliphs and of Mu'āwiya, but refused to answer. Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'* (Cairo 1923), IV, 294-5.

[39] al-Ash'arī, op.cit., II, 142.

[40] The *Zaydiyya* and many persons of the *Murji'a* considered the *taḥkīm* as a just action, realizing that 'Alī took into account the welfare of all the Muslims in order to conciliate their hearts; see ibid., loc. cit.; al-Nawbakthī, op cit., 37-8

[41] al-ash'arī, loc. cit.

[42] Anon. *K. al-'Uyūn wa 'l-ḥadā'iq*, De Goeje (ed.) (Leiden 1869), 42-3; al Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, C. Barbier de Meynard (ed. and Fr. tr.) (Paris I86r-76), v, 434-1; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-farīd*, Amīn, Zayn and Abyārī (eds.), 3rd edn. (Cairo I965) 11, 401.

of violence against the Umayyad régime.[43]

Despite the variety of elements involved in these cases, and despite the various circumstances in which the *Murji'a* chose to act, only one conclusion may be drawn from this activity: that the *Murji'a* were determined to support the existing régime, regardless of its identity, as a symbol of Muslim unity, while ignoring the personal behaviour of its rulers.

Furthermore, the behaviour of the *Murji'a* in this early period bore no trace of hostility toward the existing régimes, whether the rulers were 'Alid or Umayyad. This contradicts the idea put forward that the *Murji'a's* political doctrine was hostile toward the existing régime from the very beginning of its emergence.[44]

As a result of the mutual interest in maintaining the existing régime, shared by the *Murji'a* on the one hand and the ruling dynasty on the other-each for its own reasons-a paradoxical situation was created, in which the leaders of the dynasty did not regard *irjā'* as an alien doctrine capable of jeopardizing their continued power.[45] There was even a sort of co-operation between the two sides which expressed itself in the official court posts that were manned by secretaries from the *Murji'a*.[46]

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[43] Ibid., II, 402.

[44] Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, 33, 36.

[45] Ibn Sa'd, VI, 218; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*, IV, 287-8; idem, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, v, 103-5; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb, al-tahdhīb* (Hyderabad 1325-7), VIII, 171-3, X, 367.

[46] Verses of Jarīr describe the respectable position of 'Awn b.'Abd Allāh at the court of 'Umar II, see Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, op. cit., II, 91-2, 401; Wakī, op. cit., III, 60; Abū Nu'aym al-Isbahānī op. cit., v, 327; *Aghānī*, VII, 57; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, Ihsān 'Abbās (ed.) (Beirut 1968), I, 431-2; al-Dhahabī, Ta'rīkh al-*Islām*, IV, 287; idem, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, v, 103-5; *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, VIII, 171-3; Ibn 'Asākir, op. cit., v, 144; *Dīwān Jarīr*, Nu'mān Ṭāhā (ed.) (Cairo 1969), 570,738. Thābit Quṭna had a close relationship with the Umayyad governor of Khurāsān Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and served in some official posts there. See Ibn Qutayba, *al-Shi'r wa 'l-shu'arā'*:

The inclusion of Murji'ite figures in the administrative ranks was not simply in order to make good use of their talents; going beyond that, it was an intentional step aimed at serving a major political interest of the Umayyads, since the latter were the target of growing criticism on the part of religious circles who accused them of neglecting matters of religion.[47] Confronted with this situation, the Umayyads strove to disarm this criticism by becoming demonstratively close to a select group of religious figures.[48] Thus they were able to neutralize the main force of their adversaries' campaign against them.

Considering this setting, it becomes clear why such a large

De Goeje (ed.) (Leiden 1904), 400-1; *Aghānī*, XIII, 50, 51, 56. 'Umar b. Dharr had a prominent position at the court of Ibn Hubayra, the last Umayyad governor of Iraq; see al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 69. He also served as a judge in this province; see al-Dhahabī *Mīzān al-i'tidāl*, III, 193; Ibn Ḥazm, op. cit., 369 Muḥārib b. Dithār served also in the same post, al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*, IV, 297-8; idem, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, v, 217-19; idem, *Mīzān al-i'tidāl*, III, 441 Sa'īd b. Jubayr was appointed by al-Ḥajjāj in some official post; see W. Madelung, *Der Imām*, 231. For further appointments, see Ibn 'Asākir, op, cit., v, 144.

[47] H.A.R. Gibb, 'The Evolution of Government in Early Islām', in *Studies on the Civilization of Islam* (Boston 1968), 34-46.

[48] This policy was adopted at an early date by the Umayyad rulers, since the reign of Mu'āwiya. His successors continued the same policy after him. Some reports concerning this issue are preserved in al-Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif*, De Jong (ed.) (Leiden 1867), 42; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, 61, 87, 121; idem, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*, VI, 99, 124, 132, V, 226; Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* (Beirut 1967). I, 133, 138, 139; al-Jāḥiẓ, K. *al-'Uthmāniyya*, A. S. Hārūn (ed.) (Cairo 1955),150; Ib 'Asākir, op. cit., III, 136, v, 140-1; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya* (Cairo 1351), IX, 96; *Aghānī* II, 124; al-Balādhurī, op. cit., MS, part II, fols. 16b, 22b; Ibn Ḥazm, op. cit., 426; Ibn Qutayba, *'Uyūn al-akhbār* (Cairo 1963), I, 44; al-Marzubānī, *Nūr al-qabas*, R. Sellheim (ed.) (Wiesbaden 1964), 348; Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, E. Lévi-Provençal (ed.) (Cairo 1913), 171, 363, 246; Abū Zur'a, *Ta'rīkh*, MS fol. 67a-b; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, MS Bodl. Pococke, 255, Cat. Uri, 779, fol. 23a.

number of traditions cautioned theologians and sages against accepting court positions, accepting gifts from the ruler or even visiting the court, since all of these were considered transgressions against the Islamic sunna.[49]

But co-operation with the Umayyads was not limited to the manning of official posts. Prominent Figures from the *Murji'a* were far-reaching in their efforts to become closer to the Umayyads, and gradually diverged from the neutral stance that had been cultivated by the Murji'ite doctrine, adopting a clearly pro-Umayyad stance compatible with the Umayyad policy that strove to eradicate the demands of the Shi'ites to lead the Muslim community. 'Alī was made the target of criticism and denunciation on the part of these Murji'ites.[50]

They were not satisfied with the fact that he had been ranked in fourth place among his fellow caliphs, the lowest place, as indeed orthodoxy had ranked him; rather, they totally disclaimed the fact that he had been one of the four caliphs at all. Muhārib b. Dithār, for example, in his lament for the Umayyad caliph 'Umar b.ʿAbd al-Azīz, was not satisfied with listing him as the fifth of the Righteous Caliphs, as certain orthodox circles referred to him;[51]

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[49] Abū Zurʿa, op. cit., fols. 54a, 60b; Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, I, 13; Ps-Ibn Qutayba, *al-Imāma wa 'l-siyāsa* (Cairo 1969), 11,108, 109; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, MS fol. 120b; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, MS, part II, fol. 823b; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, 64.

[50] The main criticism of the *Murji'a* a against Alī was the accusation of responsibility for Muslim bloodshed. See the anonymous *Akhbār al-'Abbās*, 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Durī (ed.) (Beirut 1971), 262, 263.

[51] Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī op. cit., VI, 378, VII, 32; Ibn 'Asākir, op. cit., I, 43.

he actually listed him as the fourth.[52] thereby dismissing ʿAlī from consideration.

Apparently, the hostile tendency against ʿAlī as a symbol of the Shīʿite cause on the part of these groups associated with the *Murji'a* became continuously stronger toward the second century of the *hijra*. Their enmity toward ʿAlī reached extreme proportions, as reported by al-Jāḥiẓ, who quotes several verses of poetry bearing witness to this unbridled antagonism.[53]

Shīʿite sources testify to the enmity of the *Murji'a* toward the *Shī'a* and class them among the *Shī'a's* worst enemies.[54]

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[52] ʿUmar is clearly described in these verses as the fourth of the Righteous Caliphs:
thalāthat"" lā tarā 'ayn"" lahum shabah""
wa-anta tatbaʿuhum...
i.e. you come directly after them. See Wakīʿ, op. cit., III, 32; al-Qālī, *Dhayl al-Amālī* (Cairo 1912) III, I; Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, op. cit., v, 321.

[53] al-Jāḥiẓ quotes two anonymous verses and ascribes them to a Rāfiḍī: poet from the extremist Shīʿite wing:

idhā 'l-murjiyyu sarraka an tarāhu,
yamūtu bi-dā'ihi min qabli mawtih,
fa-jaddid 'indahū dhikrā ʿAliyyin,
wa-ṣalli ʿalā 'n-nabiyyi wa-ahli baytih.

See *al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, III, 350. al-Mas'ūdī quotes also these verses, but ascribes them to the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Ma'mūn'. According to al-Masūdī's version, al-Ma'mūn composed them denouncing his cousin Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdi, who was publicly known as Ibn Shakla after his slave mother's name; Ibrāhīm's antipathy to the Shiʿa was a good reason to stimulate the anger of al-Ma'mūn, See *Murūj al-dhahab*, VII, 4. See also *Aghānī*, IX, 48-9; al-Ṣūlī, *Ash ʿār awlād al-khulafā'*, J. Heyworth Dunne (ed.) (London 1936),17.

[54] A verse of al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī puts the *Murji'a* within the various enemies of the Shiʿa:

min nākithīna wa-murrāqin wa-qasitatin,
dānū bi-dīni Abī Mūsa wa-murjīnā.

See *Dīwān*, ed. Shukr Hādī Shākir (Beirut n.d.), 416.

Al-Ḥimyarī even provides a poetic description of the antagonism etched in their faces whenever the name of ʿAlī or a member of his family was mentioned in a positive context.[55] Their particular enmity toward the Shīʿite cause earned them the epithet of *nawāṣib* (those who publicly declared their enmity toward the family of the Prophet) given to them by the *Shīʿa* itself.[56]

Because of this antagonism, the doctrine of irjā' became associated with hatred for the *Shi'a*, and the two doctrines were presented as two opposite extremes which by definition cannot meet, like day and night or white and black.[57] Considering the tense relationship and high degree of animosity which developed between the two movements, one may well understand the traditions, attributed to the Prophet, which denounce the *Murji'a*, presenting them as the most extreme enemies of the

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[55] Ibid., 163; *Aghānī* VII, 22. The enmity of the Shīʿa to the *Murji'a* was so strong that they considered them worse than the infidels. Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, op. cit., IV,223. In this context one should refer to the proverbial expression *wajh al-Nāsibī*, the face of the Murji'ite who bears a grudge against the family of the Prophet, whose face is always black. al-Thaʿālibī, *al-Muḍāf wa 'l-mansūb*, Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (ed.) (Cairo 1961), 173. For further examples, see Ibn ʿAsākir, op. cit., I, 53, V, 56.

[56] Abu Ḥātim al-Rāzī, op. cit., 256; al-Rāzī also tries to explain the origin of this term quoting a Shīʿite tradition attributed to the *imām* Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, according to which, Jaʿfar used to read the last word of the Qur'ānic verse *fa-idhā faraghta fa 'nṣab*, 94:7, with kasra, i.e. *fa'nṣib*, and used to interpret it that it implies the divine order to the Prophet to appoint ʿAlī to the caliphal office after the Prophet's death. Accordingly, the Shiʿa consider all those who support any other caliph as the enemies of Allāh and His messenger; see Ibid.,258.

[57] Ibid., 265.

Prophet and his family.[58]

The high degree of animosity toward the *Shī'a*, on the one hand, and the exaggerated loyalty to the Umayyads on the part of a select group within the *Murji'a* on the other, is, in the present writer's opinion, the factor which has created the mistaken impression that *irjā'* was identified unconditionally with the régime to the point that some scholars have been misled into accepting it as a solid fact.[59] Their assessment does not take into consideration the viewpoints of various other elements within the *irjā'* doctrine but rather considers the position of this select group as representing the political viewpoint of the entire *irjā'* movement.

It is in this context that one should view the report by Raqaba b. Masqala of al-Kūfa, who has been described as a Murji'ite who was loyal to the rulers, a report which has been accepted as proof of the claim that the *Murji'a* bore unconditional loyalty to the régime[60]. If this report is true - and there is no reason to assume it is not-it refers only to the group dealt with above, and most definitely does not refer to all of the *Murji'a* or to *irj ā'* doctrine.

Furthermore, we know that the majority of the *Murji'a* came from the ranks of the people of al-Kūfa,[61] many of whom were loyal to the pro-'Uthmānī political stance; it was they who cultivated the concept of *irjā'* as a cautious method of hiding their true inclinations.[62]

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[58] Ibn Qutayba, *Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, M. al-Najjār (ed.) (Beirut 1972), 81; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, al-Bakrī and al-Saqqā (eds.) (Beirut 1979)1, 113, 135;. Abū Ḥātim al-Razi, 262.

[59] Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, 33, nn. 3, 4, 5; Wensinck, *Muslim Creed*, 38.

[60] Watt, *Formative Period*, 125.

[61] al-Qāsimī; *al-Faḍl al-mubīn*, 149-50; Madelung, *Der Imām*, 230.

[62] Van Ess, *Das Kitāb al-Irǧā'* 47.

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As for the expression *al-irjā' dīn al-mulūk*, attributed to the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Ma'mūn[63] (which has also been viewed by some scholars as evidence of Murji'ite loyalty to the régime),[64] it should be pointed out that this expression refers specifically and exclusively to the behavioural norms expected of the ruler-namely, that he should show considerable tolerance toward the various beliefs of his subjects and that he should act with restraint and not react hastily. This is the norm included in the literary genre of *akhlāq al-mulūk*, the manners or ethics of princes, which developed during the 'Abbāsid period as a reflection of the ancient Persian ideals of government which the 'Abbāsids came to endorse,[65] and the expression has nothing whatsoever to do with the *irjā'* doctrine.

IV:Revolutionary Elements in the Irjā' Doctrine

The stance of tolerance was neither consistent nor absolute, at least on the part of certain disciples of *irjā'* who considered the principle *of al-amr bi 'l-ma'rūf wa 'nahy'an al-munkar* 'ordering what is proper and forbidding what is reprehensible' as an ideal of higher priority over any other interest. This principle was not an innovation of the *Murji'a* or of any other religious movement; rather, it is a divine commandment obligating the entire Community of the Faithful and enshrined in the Qur'ān.[66] Despite the generalized nature of this commandment,[67] Qur'nic interpretation maintains that the fulfilment of this commandment

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[63] al-Tha'ālibī, *al-Muḍāf wa 'l-mansūb*, 185.

[64] Cook, op. cit., 33; Watt, op. cit., 125; Amīn, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām*, II, 326-7.

[65] al-Jāḥiz, *al-Tāj fī akhlāq al-mulūk*, Ahmad Zakī Pāshā (ed.) (Cairo1914), 61-60.

[66] 3:104.

[67] Muslims are unanimously agreed upon this duty except for a small group of extremist Shī 'ites, see Wensinck, op. cit., 106.

is entrusted to a very exclusive group within the Muslim community, including the close friends of the Prophet, religious sages and well-known scholars.[68] Al-Zamakhsharī explains this limitation, assuming that this select group was more capable of fulfilling and giving shape to the commandment than was the rest of the Community of the Faithful.[69] The importance of this principle is expressed in the fact that it is considered the central element in the obligation of *jihād*,[70] and certain religious circles considered those who avoided this obligation as infidels.[71]

Without exception, the entire Muslim community considered it a prime duty, to be strictly kept.[72] But at the same time, they disagreed as to the means by which this obligation was to be fulfilled. Thus two contrasting schools of thought developed. The first called exclusively for peaceful, gentle means of fulfilling the commandment, while the second required force if gentler means were not fruitful.[73]

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[68] Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, I, 390; al-Qurṭubī, *Jāmi'*, IV, 47-8, 165; *al-Suyūṭī al-Durr al-manthūr*, 11, 62; al-Tabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, IV,159, VII, 90-1; al-Shawkānī, *Fatḥ al-Qadīr* (Beirut n.d.), I, 369; Ismā'īl al-Brūsawī, *Tafsīr rūḥ al-bayān* (Istanbul 1330), 11, 73-5; al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār al-tanzīl* (Beirut n.d.), 11,35.

[69] *al-Kashshāf*, I, 452.

[70] Aḥmad b.'Umar al-Khaṣṣāf, *Sharḥ adab al-qāḍī* Ms. Brit. Mus. Or. 4207, fol. 8b; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, op. cit., III, 64.

[71] Ibid., III, 65.

[72] 'Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Haythamī, *Kashf al-astār 'an Zawā'id al-bazzār*, Ḥabīb al-A'ẓamī (ed.) (Beirut 1981), 107-8; al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (Beirut n.d.), 11, 306-7; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima* (n.d.), 398

[73] Amīn, op, cit., III, 64; al-Ash'arī, op. cit., 11, 140-1; Wensinck, op. cit., 107 It is worth mentioning in this context that the peaceful means adopted by the first group were embodied in the so-called *mawā'iẓ and maqāmāt* literature preserved in such works as Ibn Qutayba's *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, 11, 333-

Among the various groups, the *Khawārij* were noteworthy proponents of the first school and did not hesitate to draw the sword when the time came to fulfil the commandment.[74]

Opposed to them were the more cautious *Mu'tazila*, who avoided the use of force wherever possible, saving this measure for the appropriate moment.[75] It was apparently the combined effect of the insistence upon the use of force on the part of the *Khawārij* on the one hand, and their incessant struggle against the various régimes on the other, which brought about the prevalent opinion within the community that the fulfilment of the principle of *al-amr bi 'l-ma'rūf* must necessarily be carried out by force.[76]

Here, the question arises of the *Murji'a's* position with regard to this principle and to the two alternative means of fulfilling it. Our sources do not provide a comprehensive, unambiguous answer. There are, however, several clear hints indicating beyond a doubt that some disciples of *irjā'* remained faithful to the principle and were prepared to fulfil it at any price.

A man by the name of Sālim b. Sālim al-Balkhī, described as a staunch Murji'ite, who fulfilled this commandment, was sent to

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58, and Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi's al-*'Iqd al-farīd*, III, 152-228. Al-Qurṭubī refers with detail to the results of the means used, stating the different possibilities according to the ability of those considered responsible for effecting this decree; see his Jāmi', IV, 48-9, where he classifies men according to their ability to use either peaceful or forceful means in the following order: *bi'l-yadi 'alā;l-umarā', wa-bi 'l-lisāni 'alā 'l-'ulamā', wa-bi 'l-qalbi 'alā 'l-ḍu'afā'*.

[74] Wellhausen, *Die religios-politischen Oppositionsparteien*, 41; Amīn, op. cit., III, 67.

[75] Ibn al-Murtaḍā, op. cit., 126; al-Ash'arī, op. cit., II,157.

[76] Evidence of this may be found in the following statement by *al-Jāḥiẓ:wa-laysa 'l-amru bi-'l-ma'rūfi wa-'l-nahyu 'ani 'l-munkari, illā ma'a* 'l-sayfi wa 'l-sawṭi. See *Majmū rasā'il*, T. al-Ḥājirī and P. Kraus (eds.) (Cairo 1943), 55.

jail for it, where he spent much of his life.[77] Another adherent of *irjā'* paid with his life for his stubborn insistence on fulfilling this commandment.[78]

The behaviour of these characters seems completely natural in the light of the Islamic view of such dominating principles as *al-amr bi 'l-ma'rūf*.

A devout Muslim cannot stand aside in the face of injustice on the part of a ruler toward the members of the Muslim community or the other subjects under his rule; his duty is to prevent the continued injustice even if it costs him his life. *His consequent death would be his reward, since he would die a martyr, as the sunna establishes.*[79]

It is true that the *Murji'a* would turn a blind eye to a ruler's religious transgressions where the observance of religious precepts, *al-farā'iḍ* was concerned, on the grounds that God would give him his due on the *Judgement Day*. But they did not allow themselves to remain silent in the face of a ruler's injustices toward their fellow Muslims, since to do so would be tantamount to neglecting the exclusive duty of the Community of the Faithful.

This position is expressed quite clearly in the verses of the Murji'ite poet Thābit Qutna,[80] which comprise a sort of 'Murji'ite

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[77] Ibn Sa'd' op. cit. VII/2, 106; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, x, 225. In other cases, men were punished by the ruling ranks if they dared to carry it into effect. See al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, 470. Lashes were the typical punishment used by the ruler against some Murji'ites who commited the alleged crime. See Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, abu al-'Arab, *K. al-Fitan*, MS Brit. Mus. Or. 9449, fol. 119a.

[78] Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, XI, 332.

[79] al-Haythamī, op. cit., 107; al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā'*, II, 306.

[80] *Aghānī*, XIII, 52.
nurji 'l-umura idhā kanat mushabbahatn,
wa-naṣduqu 'l-qawla fī man jāra aw 'anadā.
'we postpone judging matters of ambiguous nature, while we react aggressively

creed'.

Referring to *jawr*, the act of injustice, he leaves no room for doubt as to the severe, aggressive reaction of the *Murji'a*, who would not hesitate to take far reaching measures to prevent *jawr* even if it were committed by the caliph himself.[81]

This position was not confined to the ideological-theoretical sphere; it was consistently carried out in practice throughout the first two centuries of the hijra. In the few cases which have been preserved in the literature, *inkār al-jawr*, the defiance of injustice, was the *casus belli* that led the Murji'a to draw their swords against the tyrant. This was the case in the uprising of al-Hārith b. Surayj in Khurāsān. After the reconciliation between the leader of the uprising and the representatives of the state in Khurāsān, al-Hārith was offered a certain position, but he rejected the offer on the grounds that accepting it might tempt him to injustice, which had been the reason for his uprising in the first place.[82]

Aligned with al-Hārith were other disciples of *irjā'* who were equally adamant in their refusal to accept injustice on the part of

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against those who commit injustice or act not according to the *Sunna*.' In this context I may draw attention to the fact that the suggested translation of this verse by Madelung in *Der Imām*, 320, is literal, and does not take into consideration the metaphoric use of the phrase wa-naṣduqu 'l-qawla in classical Arabic. This phrase conveys more than saying the truth, as Madelung suggests; evidence for that can be found through the interpretation of the synonymous phrase *sadaqa al-wa'da, sadaqa al-'ahda*, which denotes a tangible act rather than an abstractive one. See al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al 'arūs* (Cairo 1306), VI, 404.

[81] Aghā, XIII, 52 Many Murji'ites believed that removing injustice committed the ruler by forceful means is an unavoidable religious duty; see al-Ash'arī, op. cit.,11, 140.

[82] al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 11,1890.

the Umayyad rulers and accordingly joined the uprising.[83]

Al-Ḥārith b. Surayj's revolt was thus not a fleeting episode in which the Murji'a resorted to the sword in order to undo an injustice committed by a ruler; it was, in fact, only a single link in a chain of similar uprisings that took place before and after it. When the uprising of Ibn Ashʿath against al-Ḥajjāj occurred, a well-know Murji'ite named Saʿīd b. Jubayr joined the uprising[84] together with many religious figures from the ranks of the *qurrā'*.[85]

During the fighting, Ibn Jubayr would incite the insurgents to fight passionately against the Umayyad army, pointing an accusing finger at the Umayyads and recounting their misdeeds, of which the first and foremost were their acts of *jawr*.[86] Ibn Jubayr's words comprise additional evidence of the *Murji'a's* political viewpoint as well as their reasons for joining the rebellion of Ibn al-Ashʿath. At the same time, his words render baseless the claim that verses attributed to ʿAwn b.ʿAbdallāh (who also participated in this uprising) are the only evidence of this view.[87]

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[83] The main complaint against the Umayyads was the injustice which they inflicted upon the Muslims. See ibid., 11, 1853. Moreover, the licitness of revolt against an unjust ruler was considered one of the main values of Islamic society. Therefore it is not surprising that Muslim sects competed to claim such participation in revolts; see al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Ibrahīm (Cairo n.d.), III, 214-15.

[84] Ibn Saʿd, VI, 166, 183; al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 11, 1261; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, IX 96.

[85] al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 350; Ibn Saʿd, VI, 166, al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, XIII, 374; Van Ess, *Das Kitāb al-lrǧā'*, 49.

[86] Ibn Saʿd, VI, 181. He used to say: *qātilūhum 'alā jawrihim fī 'l-ḥukmi, wa-khurūjihim mina 'l-dīn wa-tajabburihim 'alā 'ibādi 'l-lāh.*

[87] Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, 35. In this respect, Van Ess states that the *Murji'a* of al-Kūfa did not express their view during the uprising of Ibn al-Ashʿath. See loc. cit. Moreover, Thābit Quṭna had earlier composed his famous poem concerning this issue. See Nallino, op. cit., 254.

It is in this context that the question of ʿAwnʾs dissociation from *irjāʾ* should be viewed, as well as the circumstances under which he wrote his verses and joined Ibn- al-Ashʿathʾs uprising.[88] According to some accounts, the verses were directly connected to 'Awn's disassociation; in them he states his reasons for parting company. However, we have no evidence among our sources to indicate any connection between his joining the uprising (or others' joining it) on the one hand, and his verses on the other. Madelung's explanations [89] does not sound convincing: if 'Awn had truly left the *Murji'a* because they refuted the basic principle of quietism, then he should properly have remained faithful to the principle whose contradiction he had opposed, rather than joining in a rebellious act which comprised a blatant contravention of that principle.

Furthermore, 'Awn's joining the uprising may be viewed from two perspectives. Either it preceded his resignation, in which case his criticism of the Murji'a came later when he fled for his life after the failure of the uprising and found sanctuary with the Umayyad prince Muhammad b. Marwān;[90] or else the resignation came first, in which case he was no different from other persons who joined the rebellion from all sectors of the political spectrum-*qurra'*, *Khawarij*, Shīʿites, *mawālī*, slaves and

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[88] Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, VIII, 171-3; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, Tharwat 'Ukāsha (ed.), 2nd edn. (Cairo 1969), 250; al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, IV, 287-8; *Aghānī*, VIII, 52. According to another version quoted by al-Jāhiz, 'Awn left the *irjāʾ* movement and became a Shī'ite. *al-Bayān wa al-tabyīn*, 328-9. Another version of the verses attributed to ʿAwn is quoted in al-Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīkh* (ed.) (Paris 1899 ff.), V, 146.

[89] Madelung, *Der Imām*, 232.

[90] al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, I, 329; *Aghānī*, VIII, 52; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*: V, 103-5; idem, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, loc. cit.

tribesmen.[91] In any case, the verses remain relevant with regard to the basic principles of *Irjā'* as expressed in the *qaṣīda* of Thābit Qutna.[92]

From this viewpoint, the term *mu'min* which appears in the second and third verses may have been relevant with regard to any tyrant who acts unjustly: his behaviour does not exclude him from the Community of the Faithful but nevertheless makes him a target for the swords of the faithful which are the latter's only means of restoring justice.[93] However, this does not contradict Van Ess's interpretation, namely, that the *mu'min* could have been al-Ḥajjāj himself, against whom the uprising broke out.[94]

'Awn's verses, then, reflect a crossroads in the ideological stance of a man who had left the classic, radical position of the *Murj'a* after the uprising and joined the more moderate faction, i.e. the quietists, who stood for not using the sword against the unjust ruler. The chain of events following the failure of the uprising points precisely toward the adoption of this moderate stance and not of the opposite stance, as Cook interprets.[95]How could it be that 'Awn would leave the moderate faction, which supported quietism, and join the extreme faction which viewed the rulers as infidels, and at the same time be accepted warmly not only by Muhammad b. Marwān, the Umayyad prince then ruling as

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[91]L. Vacchia Vaglieri, EI², art. 'Ibn al-Ash'ath' A.A. Dixon, The *Umayyad Caliphate* (London '97') '67; Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 11, 654 694; Ibn *Taghrī-Bardī, al-Nujūm al-zāhira* (repr. Cairo 1963), I, 201; Khalīfa b. Khayyaṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, Suhayl Zakkār (ed.) (Cairo 1967), I, 283.

[92] *Aghānī*, XIII, 52.

[93] *al-Ash'arī*, op. cit., III, 140.

[94]Van Ess, *Das Kitāb al-Irǧā'*, 49-50

[95] Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, 36.

governor in Mesopotamia,[96] but also by the caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, of whose court he became a member par excellence?[97] Is it possible that this caliph, who was the highest-ranking representative of the ruling dynasty, would approve of the radical principles of *irjā'* adopted by his own appointed courtier 'Awn, as the tradition relates?[98]

Some twenty years later another revolt took place, led by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, this time also in Iraq. The uprising took place under the same slogans as the one that had come before, and consequently attracted various ideological groups to its ranks.[99] But the central slogan of the insurgents was the refusal to return to the anti-Sunnite policy that had been established by al-Ḥajjāj.[100]

Particularly prominent was the slogan of 'defiance of injustice', *inkār al-ẓulm*.[101]

The *Murji'a* joined this uprising in order to achieve a single goal, sc. undoing the injustice that had allegedly been perpetrated by the Umayyad rulers. Taking the side of the rebels was not an occasional incident in which those people acted without

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[96]In the princely court, 'Awn became the *mu'addib*, tutor, of the prince' sons for many years, then he left the court to join the newly appointed caliph in Damascus. See al-Jāhiz, op. cit., I, 329; *Aghānī*, VIII-, 52; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-Islaīm*, IV, 287-8.

[97] Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, 250; Wakī', *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, III, 60; *Aghānī*, VII, 57; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, al-*'Iqd al-farīd*, 11, 401; al-Dhahabi, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'* v, 103-5 : V, Ibn-Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, VIII, 171-3; al-Mas'ūdī' *murūj al-dhahad*, V,434-5; al- *'Uyūn wa 'l-ḥadā'iq*, 42-3.

[98] Ibn Sa 'd, VI, 218.

[99] al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 1386.

[100] *'wa-allā yu'āda 'alaynā sīratu al-fāsiq, al-Ḥajjāj'*, ibid., II, 1398.

[101]Ibid ., II, 1401: *'a-yunkaru 'alaynā an naṭluba ḥaqqanā,wa-an nunkira maẓlamatanā'*.

permission of their masters, as stated by Madelung.[102] It was never their intention to overthrow the Umayyad régime and replace it with another. Consequently, they were the fastest of all the insurgents to lay down their arms once the Umayyad commander had agreed to their demands, notably the return to the injuctions of the Qur'an and to the Sunna of the Prophet.[103]

For the same reason, the *Murji'a* even joined a *Shī'ite* uprising led by Zayd b. 'Ali, since the latter had adopted the cause of undoing the injustices of the Umayyads.[104] Likewise, they fought for equal rights for the residents of Transoxania who had converted to Islam.[105] The very same people who had joined the uprising of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj headed the ranks which fought for equal rights for the *mawālī*.[106] The prominent figure among these ranks was the poet Thābit Qutna,[107] whose participation in the struggle of the *mawālī* against the injustice which they had suffered comprises the practical application of the *Murji'a's* political viewpoint.

These examples reflect beyond any doubt the radical direction of the active stream of the *Murji'a*, which called for fulfilment of the principle of *al-amr bi-l-ma'rūf*, if necessary. An expression of the differences between the views of the two central streams within the *irjā'* movement may be seen in the contradictory traditions attributed to Abū Hanīfa with regard to the question of the legality of an armed struggle against the ruler (*al-khurūj 'alā*

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[102] madelung, *Der Imām*, 234.s

[103] al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 11, 1399-1400.

[104] Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *al-Munya wa' l-amal*, 94-5

[105] Madelung,'The Early Murji'a', 33.

[106] al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 1508-9, 1566, 1568.

[107] al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (ed.) (Cairo 1957), III, 526.

al-sulṭān).[108]

Furthermore, the traditions which forbid the Muslim to bear arms against a tyrannical ruler (*al-sulṭān al-jā'ir*), when considered together with other traditions which permit this,[109] actually reflect not only the contradictory attitudes of the sectarian groups but also the disputes which existed on the practical political plane within the Murji'ite camp.

Summarizing the standpoints of the early Murji'ite figures throughout the Umayyad period, it can be clearly seen that the *Murji'a* were not a homogeneous group but were rather composed of two separate streams which had branched out from the original doctrine of *irjā'*: The first stream was the quietist one, which diverged from the neutral political stance which had been adopted in the earlier stages and gradually moved to open support of the Umayyad dynasty. This support, eventually brought about a state of extreme antagonism between the quietists and their *Shī'ite* rivals.

The second stream, which embodied a radical Islamic orientation, adopted the use of force in order to fight acts of injustice that had been discovered in Umayyad rule, with the aim of forcing the Umayyad rulers to behave in accordance with the laws of Islam and the sunna but not with any intention of assuming power or of granting it to their rivals.

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[108] *al-Māturīdī*, K. *al-Tawḥīd*, 13-14; see also Schacht, EI², art.'Abū Ḥanīfa'.

[109] al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, XIII, 384-6.

AL-NADJDJĀR: AL-ḤUSAYN B. MUḤAMMAD ABŪ ʿABD ALLAH, Murdji'ī Djabrī theologian of the period of al-Ma'mūn. Born in the city of Bamm, he apparently grew up there as well, and worked as a waver at the embroidery house (*dār al-ḍarb*); according to another version, he worked at a factory which produced metal weights. The sources are silent with regard to the dates of his birth and death; however, if we accept as true the report that he died of sorrow over his argument with al-Naẓẓām the Muʿtazilī theologian, it is reasonable to assume that al-Nadjdjār died after the end of the third decade of the 3rd/9th century.

Al-Nadjdjār's doctrine became well-known towards the end of the reign of al-Ma'mūn (198-218/813-33) in the region of Rayy in the eastern provinces, in the shadow of the Tāhirid line of governors. Although he was still alive at the beginning of the *miḥna* [q. v.] or inquisition, we have no proof that he himself took part in it, as did his teacher and contemporary Bishr al-Marīsī [g. v.]. But there is no doubt that his opinions contributed to the spread of the inquisition, through his follower, the theologian Muhammad b. ʿĪsā, known as Burgūth [q.v.], who was invited to Baghdād from Basra by al-Mu'tasim (218-27/833-42), together with other Muʿtazilī theologians, in order to participate in the controversy with the leader of the traditionalist party Ahmad b. Hanbal; his active role and tough stance was a considerable burden to the persecuted *imām*.

The very fact that al-Nadjdjār was a follower and pupil of the Murdji'ite theologian Bishr al-Marīsī, did not prevent him from being influenced in certain issues by the opinions of Ḍirār b. ʿAmr [q.v. in Suppl.], who wrote a number of books attacking the Murdij'a, although al-Nadjdjār did not follow Ḍirār blindly. He rejected a number of his opinions, presenting totally contradictory opinions in their place. His circle of sources was not limited to

these two figures; rather, it was broad enough to include Ibāḍī and Ḥanafī sources as well, but his openness to a variety of viewpoints was not enough to remove him from the ideological framework characterised by the school headed by Ḍirār b. ʿAmr.

However, this was not the picture of al-Nadjdjār portraited by Islamic heresiographic literature. Reports concerning his doctrinal identity are not unanimous: while al-Ashʿarī classifies him amongst the Murdji'a, al-Shahrastānī places him amongst the Djabriyya "determinists", and stresses that most of the Muʿtazila around the Rayy region were faithful to his doctrine. On the other hand, several reports associate him decisively with the Muʿtazila, while others classify him and his followers as belonging to the *ahl al-ithbāt* "the affirmationists", i.e. those who affirm God's *ḳadar*. (It is reasonable to assume that the *ahl al-ithbāt* were those who emphasised the createdness of the Ḳur'ān.)

The lack of unanimity regarding al-Nadjdjār's views undoubtedly stems from the fact that his opinions on the theological questions which interested the *ahl al-kalām* were not all alike: on some issues his opinions suited those of the *ahl al-sunna*, while on others they suited the views of the Muʿtazila, as reflected in the heresiographic works that have reached us, which enumerate the points of discord and of accord between al-Nadjdjār on the one hand and the two opposing doctrines on the other.

Disputes on various occasions between al-Nadjdjār and his follower Burghūth, on the one hand, and the two "Muʿtazilīs Ibrāhīm al-Naẓẓām and Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf [q. vv.] on the other, as well as the keen argument between Burghūth and Ahmad b. Hanbal, not only corroborate reports regarding the doctrinal dispute between him and them; they also point to the independent orientation which characterises the man and his doctrine.

The stormy dispute between al-Nadjdjār and upholders of the Sunnī doctrine lacked the power to distort the ideological proximity bonding some of the basic principles common to both doctrines; the scholars of the Sunna continued to consider

al-Nadjdjār the closest to them amongst all the other doctrinal streams; on certain issues his views were even adopted by al-Ashʿarī, and it is reasonable to assume that because of this relationship, al-Nadjdjār's opinions were preserved and did not vanish. But his views, as reported by the heresiographers, were not well-formed enough and were even quoted in a disjointed and out-of-context fashion, whence the lack of clarity which characterises his opinions with regard to certain issues. Nor is the long list of monographs attributed to him able to dispel this lack of clarity.

Nevertheless, the general account of his views as represented in the heresiographical works may help to identify the main concepts distinguishing him from the contemporary theologians. Faith (*īmān*), according to him, consists in the knowledge of God, of His apostles and His commandments and in the profession of this knowledge by the mouth. It consists of several qualities (*khiṣāl*), each of which is an act of obedience (*ṭāʿa*); complete faith is the sum of all the *ṭaʿāt*. Faith may increase but not diminish; it can be completely lost only through unbelief.

Al-Nadjdjār's concept of faith is closer to the Sunnī one, but it is not the same as that of the Murdji'a.

Concerning the attributes of God (*Ṣifāt*), al-Nadjdjār has a special stand which differs from that of the proponents of the Sunna and the Muʿtazila; he has taken over Ḍirār's view of the negative character of the divine attributes, claiming, for example, that God is ceaselessly generous (*lam yazal djawād*) in that avarice is denied of Him. (This theory of the negative character is not Islamic; its origins are related to Albinus of the 2nd century A.D., and it seems that this idea became known to Muslim theologians through Plotinus' works; see 'Abd al-Madjīd 'Irfān, *Dirāsāt al-firaḳ wa 'l-ʿaḳā'id*, Baghdād 1967.) He also maintains Dirār's doctrine concerning God's quiddity (*māhiyya*) but rejects his innovation of the sixth sense as a means of seeing God on the Resurrection Day; instead, he maintains that the eye may be given the power of knowing.

As for human power (*istiṭā'a*), introduced as an atomistic conception in contrast to Ḍirār's view, he claims that power never precedes an act but accompanies it; for each act there is a power originated when the act is originated, and the power does not endure. According to him, the body consists of assembled accidents (*ar'āḍ mudjtami'a*); those accidents which do not form part of the body do not endure. This view was probably developed by Dirār and then adopted by al-Nadjdjār and some Ibāḍī theologians.

In accordance with his deterministic orientation, al-Nadjdjār presumed that all that takes place in the world comes from the incessant and unrestricted activity of God; He who creates the actions of man, who himself can do nothing to avoid the will of God. But God is able to do favour (*luṭf*) by which the unbeliever becomes believer. The activity of man is restricted to *kasb*, i.e. to his appropriation of divine will.

Like the Mu'tazila, he presumed that he who commits a heinous sin is doomed to Hell, but (in contrast to the view of the latter) will emerge from there. Moreover, like Bishr al-Marīsī, his master, he claimed that in-fidels would not remain forever in Hell; similarly, believers not deserving an eternal stay in Paradise would not remain there forever. He also denied the punishment of the tomb (*'adhāb al-ḳabr* [q. v.]), probably because of his deterministic tendency.

As for the word of God (*kalām Allāh*), he maintains like Bishr that it is created it is accidental (*'araḍ*) when it is read and it is body (*djism*) when it is written. Clearly, al-Nadjdājar was a prominent thinker whose views influenced the Mu'tazila in their formative period by his keen opposition to some of their views. In the meantime, his opinions paved the way for the Sunni scholars' defence of their doctrine on the basis of reasoned arguments which were unavailable before him.

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Al-NADJDJĀRIYYA:

Also called al-ḥusayniyya, the followers of al-Ḥusayn al-Naǧǧār [q. v.], an early, specifically Ḥanafī sect of *kalām* (see W. Madelung, *Religious trends in early Islamic Iran*, Albany 1988, 29) which flourished during the reign of al-Ma'mūn (198-218/813-33), and whose representatives took part in the controversies throughout the course fo the *miḥna* [q.v.] or inquisition. But this doctrine, unlike the Muʿtazila, was compelled to withdraw from Baghdād and from the borders of ʿIrāk and to move on to the eastern provinces in the wake of the abolition of the *miḥna* by al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) and the bold reaction of adherents of the Sunna against opposing doctrines. There, and particularly in the provinces of Rayy, Ṭabaristān and Djurājan, the Nadjdjāriyya took root and even attracted a large adherents; testimony from the 4th/10th century shows that it became one of the four main doctrines in those provinces, at a time when its followers had dwindled to a very small minority in Baghdād, although the doctrine had not completely disappeared there.

Heresiographers are not unanimous in their classification of the followers of this doctrine: in one case they classify them as Muʿtazila and in another as Murdji'a - a situation which probably arises from the fact that this doctrine presents opinions identical to those of other doctrines on specific theological subjects. Particularly prominent are reports which emphasise the connection between the Nadjdjāriyya and the doctrine attributed to Djahm b. Safwān [q.v.], a context which is undoubtedly intended to discredit the doctrine in the eyes of its opponents. Still, there are reasonable grounds to assume that the eminent proponents of this doctrine were part of the group of theologians known as *ahl al-ithbāt* "those who affirm God's *ḳadar*".

Nevertheless, and despite the diversity of the origins of the

ideas of al-Nadjdjār, who founded this doctrine, it is possible to discern the independent orientation of this group, which cultivated its own unique theological principles and which had its own characteristic traits. The Nadjdjāriyya, like other doctrines, gave rise to various sectarian sub-groups-in this case over ten of them-the most prominent of which was known as Burghūthiyya, named after Muḥammad b.'Īsā Burghūth [q.v.], who disagreed with al-Nadjdjar on the question of *mutawallidat* "generated effects", attributing them to the nature (*ṭab*ʿ) concealed by God within objects themselves. He also disagreed with al-Nadjdjār on the question of *iktisāb*, "acquisition", claiming that one who acquires an act cannot be called the doer (*fāʿil*) of it.

A second sub-group was known as Zaʿfarāniyya, composed of the followers of a man known as Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Zaʿfarānī. This group disagreed with the mainstream with regard to the matter of the createdness of the Ḳur'ān and developed paradoxical opinions in this context; they displayed extreme enmity toward the Muʿtazila in the region of Rayy. A third sub-group was known as Mustadrika, "revisionists" and they developed contradictory opinions on the same question and displayed considerable admiration toward the first generations of Islam .

Despite the controversy which evolved amongst the various streams, all of them remained loyal to certain fundamental principles which al-Nadjdgār, in particular, had established: the rejection of divine attributes and the notions that seeing God is impossible and that the divine word is created.

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(see the bibliography for al-Nadjdjār)

Biblical Quotations in Muslim Religious Literature
A Perspective of Dogma and Politics

The sacred scriptures of the Jews and Christians are mentioned in the Qur'ān in several places and on various occasions. The Torah, or *tawrāt*, is mentioned in 18 verses. The New Testament is mentioned in twelve; in four of these, it is mentioned separately while in the other eight it is mentioned along with the *tawrāt*. The Book of Psalms is mentioned in three verses. Other scriptural books, also referred to as *zubur* in the plural form, are mentioned in a further six verses. The Sacred Tablets, *ṣuḥuf* which are attributed to Moses and Abraham, are mentioned four times.

Several of the Prophets of Israel, as well as Jesus, are mentioned frequently and in various contexts. Various suras of the Qur'ān, which itself contains 114 *sūras*, bear the names of some of the Prophets of Israel and other prophets, including Abraham, Joseph, Jonah, and Noah.. The number of prophets mentioned by name in the Qur'ān is 25. Moses is mentioned in 136 verses; Jesus, in 55. The Qur'ān mentions the Jews and the Children of Israel, as well as the Christians, in thirty verses [1]One of the longest *sūras* of the Qur'ān is the *sūra* called "The Children of Israel".

The Qur'ān's attitude towards the scriptures and towards characters connected with them, attests to a substantive link between Islam and the monotheistic religions that preceded it.

Islamic tradition tells us that as early as the Prophet's first days in Medina, he made contact with the learned and scholarly circles of the Jews in that town. He him self would sometimes visit the *bëth ha-midrāsh*, the Jewish house of learning, known in Arabic as *al-midrās*, and would send some of his companions to the Jewish seminary, where lively debates and exchanges of opinion

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[1] *al-Mu'jam al-mufahras* (index).

took place.[2]

The testimony of 'Umar I him-self indicates how amazed he was to discover identical things in the *tawrāt* and *Qur'ān*.[3]

Apparently, 'Umar I wished to enrich his knowledge through his contacts with the scholarly circles of the Jews of Medina. He did not satisfy himself with merely visiting the seminary; he actually copied a booklet of Biblical material, an act which was frowned upon by the Prophet, who ordered 'Umar to stop this practice.[4]

The copy acquired by 'Umar was not a passing incident; other men like himself, who wished to broaden their knowledge and familiarize themselves with the Jews' religious material, would keep copies of their own. In light of the prevalence of this practice and for fear of its consequences, 'Umar ordered, during his reign as caliph, that all such copies be burned.[5]

The two cases which demonstrate a tendency to avoid Biblical material do not reflect the reality which was prevalent among the first generations of Muslim scholars, who in fact would rely upon scholars of Jewish and Christian origin who had converted to Islam. It is sufficient in this context to mention the progenitor of *Qur'ān* commentary, Ibn 'Abb ās, who was a confidant of Caliph 'Umar I. Ibn 'Abbās frequently questioned and quoted his colleagues among the *ahl al-kitāb* on complex issues related to

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[2]Khalīl 'Athāmina, "al-Nabbiyy al-Ummyiyy", *Der Islam*, Band 69, Heft 1, 1992, pp. 61-80; G .D . Newby, "The Drowned Son: Midrāsh and Midrāsh Making in the Qur'ān and Tafsīr", *Studies in Islamic and Judaic Traditions*, ed. by W.M. Brinner and S.D. Ricks, The University of Denver, 1986, pp. 19-32.

[3]Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Wafā bi-aḥwāl-muṣṭafā*; ed. M. 'Abd al-Wāḥid, Beirut, 1966, vol. 1, p. 51

[4]al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taqyīd al- 'ilm* (ed. Yūsuf al-'Ishsh), 2nd edition, Beirut, 1974, p. 52

[5] Ibid., p. 52.

commentary.[6]

The truth is that the traditions which express an averison to Biblical material, are more a reflection of the reserved, negative attitude toward such material, termed *isr ā'īliyyāt*, which appeared among Muslim scholars after the third/ninth century.[7]

But aversion toward the *isrā'īliyyāt* material did not stop a man like Ibn Kathīr (774/1372) from treating the *tawrāt* as a reliable source of information on ancient times and on the history of ancient peoples. Furthermore, he viewed the *tawrāt* as a basis upon which the authenticity of information drawn from other sources could be examined.[8]

The *Qur'ānic* allusions early aroused in Muslim scholars the desire to have a closer acquaintance with the contents of the *tawrāt*. However, this knowledge was not without its dangers, as it brought out certain contradictions which existed between the *Qur'ān* and the Biblical prophecies.[9] This trend knew no bounds.

Because the historical or pseudo-historical material which centered around events and characters mentioned in the Bible had received a seal of approval to be incorporated and included within Islamic literature by way of the *Qur'ān* and *Qur'ān* commentary, Biblical material actually comprised the nucleus for the Muslims' early historical writings.[10]

In this context, two *ḥadīhs* are attributed to the Prophet which give the Muslims a free hand to draw material from the Children of Israel. The first is *'ḥaddihu' 'an banīsrā'ila wāl- lā ḥaraj,*

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[6]. Goldziher, *Die Richtingen der Islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden, 1920 (Arabic tr. by 'Abd al-Ḥalīm al-Najjār, 2nd ed., Beirut, 1985), pp. 111-112.

[7]Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidāya wa-al-nihāya*, (4th ed., Beirut, 1981), vol. 1, p. 100.

[8]Ibid., vol. 1, p. 112, p. 110, p. 111, p. 159, 113.

[9]. Horovitz, "Tawrāt", E.I.(')

[10] Rosental, "The Influence of the Biblical Tradition on Muslim Historiography", *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P.M. Holt, London, 1962, pp. 35-45.

'Disseminate the tradition which you hear from the Children of Israel and fear not the consequences.[11]' The other *hadīth* recommends to the Muslims that they adopt a neutral stance regarding the material which scholars of the *ahl al-kitāb* tell them, i.e., neither to deny nor affirm such material, but rather to regard it as it is, as passed on by its transmitter.[12]

On this authority, Ibn 'Abbās and his disciples would draw information from Jewish scholars who had converted to Islam, such as Ka'b al-Ahbār and others.[13]Later on, it was the practice of Ibn Ishāq to quote traditionists who had converted from Judaism to Islam; he called such traditionists '*ahl al- 'ilm al awwal* ', 'scholars of early knowledge'[14] It is no wonder that this Ibn Ishāq drew the substance for the first part of his work, which he entitled *al-mabda'* from material taken from the Book of Genesis.[15] This made Ibn Ishāq the first person after Wahb b. Munabbih to quote entire chapters from the Old and New Testaments in direct translation to Arabic.[16]

The practice of direct quotation from the scriptures was not used systematically by Ibn Ishāq; instead, he sometimes arrived at material from the *isrā'īliyyāt* second hand, via traditionists.

Be that as it may, a new generation of historians appeared, who augmented and expanded the trend toward direct quotation from

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[11]Ibn al-Athir, *al-Nihāya* (ed. T.A. Zawī and H.M. Ṭināḥī-T), Cairo, 1963, vol. 1, p. 361. See the article which bears the same title as the text of the hadīth: kister M.J. "Ḥaddithū 'an banī Isrā'ila wa-lā ḥaraj", *Israel oriental Studies* , (Tel-Aviv), 1972.

[12] *idhā ḥaddathakum ahlu-'l-kitābi, fa-lā tuṣaddiqūhum wa-lā tukadhdhibūhum* ' al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān* (4th ed., Beirut, 1978), vol. II, p. 227.

[13] Goldziher, op. cit., pp. 87-88; Ibn Kathīr, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 21.

[14] Jawād 'Alī, 'mawārid tārīkh al-Ṭabarī', *Majallat al-majma' al- 'ilmī al- 'irāqī*(1950), vol. I, pp. 143-231.

[15]M. Watt, "The Material Used by Ibn Isḥāq": *Historians of the Middle East,* op. cit., pp. 23-35.

[16]J. Horovitz, *Early Biographies of the Prophet and Their Authors,* (Arabic tr. by Husayn Nassār), Cairo, 1494, pp. 89-90.

the sources in parallel with the classic method of relying upon traditionist intermediaries. Ibn Qutayba (276/889) was a pioneer in the adoption of this method. In his *al-Maʿārif* he contrasted the traditional information of Wahb b. Munabbih with the text of the Bible, which he quoted directly.[17]

The exactitude which characterized Ibn Quatyba in his quotations from the Bible was not typical of his other writings, nor of an epistle by his colleague al-Jāḥiẓ (255/868) under the title '*al-Radd ʿalā al-naṣārā.*[18] Direct quotations did appear in the writings of al-Ya'qūbī and al-Tabarī, but both of these continued to rely upon the classical method, which provided information via traditionists who were among the Jewish scholars of *ahl al-kitāb.*[19]

It should be pointed out in this context that Muslim scholars encountered a certain degree of difficulty in accessing the scriptures directly-particularly those who were Arabs or Muslims by birth, who generally got their information via traditionists from the *ahl al-kitāb,* either Jews or Christians, or by means of copies of scripture which had been translated into Arabic. This was not the case with scholars born to Jewish or Christian parents and who had grown up in a non-Muslim family before their conversion to Islam. One such scholar was ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī, who had no difficulty using the original texts of the scriptures.[20]

In any case, the difficulty which confronted Arab- and Muslim-born scholars did not stop those Muslim scholars who had adopted a scientific approach. These scholars spared no effort in seeking other scholars who could cope with the original texts of the scriptures and ancillary literature and explain their content to them.[21]

The reference to *tawrāt* in the various works of Muslim

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[17]Rosental, op. cit.

[18]Horovitz, 'Tawrāt', op. cit.

[19]Rosental, op. cit.

[20]Horvoitz, "Tawrāt', op. cit.

[21]Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Tārīkh* (ed. Beirut, nd.), p. 67.

scholars should not mislead us. Not all information cited in these works originates in the Torah. A significant portion of these quotations come from the *Haggadah* and *Midrāsh* .[22]Other sources include the book of *Psalms*, the *Talmūd*, and the Gospel. By the same token, there is an abundance of material attributed to the *tawrāt* which is in fact that type of popular material composed of legends, folk tales, and popular traditions which were prevalent among the Arabs, the Jews of the Arabian Peninsula, and the Christian Arab communities.[23] This material does not stand up to the test of comparison with the original scriptural text, since it is part invention and part inaccurate paraphrase of certain proverbs and verses from the Bible and Talmūd.[24] Ibn Khaldūūn attributes this material to the Jews of Arabia who lived among the Arabs, stating that their knowledge was comparable to the superficial knowledge of the common folk, who lacked the tools to ascertain the authenticity and reliability of the material which they presented or transmitted.[25]

Muslim scholars who studied the question of origin were bent upon finding Judaeo-Christian parallels and sources and paid little attention, or none whatever, to the large mass of material that could not be identified in this manner.[26] In this context, the *tawrāt* become the more popular source, drawing far greater attention on the part of the scholars than the Gospel, due to the highly useful content of the Bible on topics like the Creation, the history of nations, and the annals of the Prophets, which Islam recognized.[27]

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[22]Rosental, op. cit.

[23]Jawād 'Alī, op. cit., P. 194.

[24]Horovitz, "Tawrāt" op. cit.

[25]Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima* (ed. Beirut, 1960), p. 787. The numerous quotations, allegedly attributed to the *tawrāt*, which cannot be identified, have tempted L. Cheikho to the untenable thesis that there was a book called *Tawrāt*, different from the Hebrew *Torah*, from which these quotations were ostensibly taken. See: Horovitz, "Tawrāt", op. cit.

[26]Rosental, op. cit.

[27]Jawād 'Alī, op. cit., p. 199/

In their coverage of these topics, Muslim historians relied greatly upon the Bible and rarely bothered to seek other sources; as, for example, did Tabarī in his book, *Tārīkh*[28]. As far as Muslim scholars were concerned, the information provided by the Old Testament was more reliable than other scriptures, such as the book of Psalms, which was dubious with regard to the reliability of material it contained as well as with regard to specific subjects'[29]

The main factor which called the Torah's reliability into question in the eyes of the Muslims, was the charge of *taḥrīf* corruption of the document, which the Qur'ān levelled against the Jews. However, this accusation was not made against all Jews, but only against certain scholars.[30]

The background against which this charge is made stems from the great disappointment suffered by the Prophet Muhammad as a result of the position of the Jews of Medina, who spared no effort in ridiculing and deriding him. Indeed, he had declared publicly from the very outset that the scriptures and believers from amongst the *ahl al-kitab*, both Jews and Christians, would corroborate the truthfulness of his ways and the justness of his

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[28]Rosental, op. cit.; Jawād Alī, op. cit., p. 193

[29]Burhān al-Dīn al- Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, (ed. Cairo, 1964), vol. 1, p. 345. Meanwhile, some Muslim scholars, like al-Subkī, have considered *al-zabūr*, Psalms, as reliable as the Old Testament.*al-mathnāt*, the *Mishnāh*, was also avoided by Muslim scholars because they considered it a later invention written by some Rabbis in complete contradiction to the *tawrāt*. Their attitude was based on the rejection of the Ṣaḥābī ʿAbd-Allah b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, who, as was reported, was acquainted with the genre of Judaeo-literature. See: Abū ʿUbayd al-Harawī, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* (ed. M. Abdul-Muʿid Khan, Hyderabad-India, 1964), vol. IV, p. 282; Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 225-226.

[30]Qur'ān, 11:75; IV:46; V:13,41. The expression used in these verses is: "*yuḥarrifūna al-kalima*" i.e., falsifying the Word of God. More rarely one of the synonyms *lawā* or *baddala* is used, whose meaning is narrower: to exchange or put in the place of something. A direct charge of having falsified the text is contained in Sura 11:78.

mission.

He was convinced that the similarity between his own teachings and those of his predecessors, Moses and Jesus, would guarantee that the People of the Scripture would corroborate his words. But his disappointment proved to be as great as his expectations had been, and in response to the Jews' negative attitude came the Qur'ānic declaration that the Jews had maliciously corrupted their sacred books with the aim of defiling the evidence that would have proven the truthfulness of his mission.[31]

The Qur'ān (VII: 157) refers indirectly to evidence which the Jews and Christians had corrupted within their own scriptures. These pieces of evidence centered upon titles and epithets given to Muhammad as the Prophet-to-be whose coming was forecast by scripture, "*al-nabiyyi al-umiyyi alladhī yajidūnahu maktūban 'indahum fī at-tawrāti wa-' l-injīl*": 'al-nabiyy al-umiyy whom they find mentioned in the Scriptures".

The Qur'ānic commentary dealing with the verses containing the charge of *taḥrīf* refer not only to titles and epithets which were corrupted or defiled; they also claim that the very name of the prophet, *muḥammad*, was expunged from the original text.[32] The Qur'ān also extended the charge of *taḥrīf to* include the Christians, with regard to whom it asserted that they likewise concealed the passages in their holy scriptures which contained evidence of the truth of Muhammad's mission.[33]

The charge *of taḥrīf* stirred the imagination of Muslim scholars, who proceeded to attempt to give it substance, a task they could not accomplish without familiarizing themselves with the texts of both Testaments. Thus, gradually, after the death of the Prophet, more and more of an interest was taken by these scholars in

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[31]F. Buhl, "Taḥrīf", EI[1].

[32]Tabari, *Jāmi', al-bayān 'an ta'wīl al-qur'ān* (ed. Cairo, 3rd ed., 1968), vol. 1, p. 329; al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār al-tanzīl* (ed. Cairo, 2nd ed., 1955), vol. 1, p. 29; al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmi 'li-aḥkām al-qur'ān* (ed. Beirut, 1988), vol. VI, p. 77; al-Nīsābūrī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl* (2nd ed., Cairo, 1968), p. 14.

[33]F. Buhl, "Taḥrīf": op. cit.

studying and researching the material presented in the scriptures.

The debate they conducted with *alh al-kitāb* took several forms. The literature comprising this debate flowed from three distinct points of origin and continued simultaneously along three parallel lines. The first point of origin was based on the assumption that the falsification of the scriptures was total. Muslim tradition explains this by claiming that during the time of the destruction of the First Temple, when Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, destroyed Jerusalem in the year 586 B.C., the singular copy of the scriptures which had been kept in the Temple, was burnt. It was only after more than seventy years had passed that Ezra ('Uzayr, in the Arabic pronunciation, as mentioned in the Qur'ān, IX:30) reconstructed the Torah from memory.

According to Muslim tradition, Ezra ('Uzayr) was not a prophet among the Prophets of Israel, but a *warrāq*, a seller of books. Even the text dictated by Ezra to his pupil was not preserved, since this pupil himself reconstructed the version he had gotten from Ezra. For this reason, the Jews attribute the corruption of the text to this pupil. So it was, the tradition concludes, that the original text of the *tawrāt* was changed and corrupted, because it is the work of an ordinary man and does not reflect the Word of God, or even the Word of Moses.[34]

In the framework of this conception, Muslim literature points to the existence of three different versions of the *tawrāt*: In addition to the Jews' Torah, there is another version preserved by *al-Sāmira,* the Samaritans, who claim that it is the original version which came down from heaven. Each of the two sides claims its

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[34]Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl fī al-milal* (ed. Cairo, 1321 H.), vol. 1,196-197; al-Maqdisī, Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, *al-Bad' wa-al-ta'rīkh*, Paris, 1916, vol. V, p. 29; Ibn Khaldūn, op, cit., p. 410; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Radd 'alā Ibn al Nighrīla,* (ed. Ihsān Abbās), Cairo, 1960, p.77. It is worth mentioning that the Muslim tradition concerning the role played by Ezra in this issue is partially based on the misunderstanding of Jewish tradition in this respect. See: Dov Kimchi, *Encyclopedia of Men and Women in the Bible*, Yavneh, Tel Aviv, 1987, pp. 688-691.

version is the genuine one and repudiates that of the other side.[35]

The third version is the Greek version, preserved by the Christians; it, too, is separate from the Jews' Torah.[36] This version, according to one of the traditions, is the most ancient version as it was maintained by the Greeks.[37] The discrepancies existing among the texts of the three versions comprise proof of the malicious *taḥrīf* perpetrated by the Jews, since it is inconceivable that the discrepancies stem from the Word of God, according to the conclusion of Ibn Ḥazm and al-Maqdisī.[38]

The second point of origin in the Islamic literature comprising the debate on this issue, centers around the apparent contradictions and discrepancies existing within the tawrāt. The proponents of this trend hoped that by revealing and exposing the discrepancies, they could prove the *taḥrīf* and the alteration of the original text.

The most outstanding proponent of this trend was the Spanish Muslim scholar Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī (456/1064), who dedicated several chapters of his book, *al-Faṣl,* to the contradictions and discrepancies included in the Torah of the Jews, to which he referred ' derisively as "*al-kitāb al-al-ladhī tusammihi al-yahūdu at-tawrāt,* 'the book which the Jews call by the name of Torah". In these chapters he raises objections to no less than 57 passages in the tawrāt and collects the anomalies and contradictions which he found there.[39]

But Ibn Ḥazm's extreme attitude was not identical to that of other scholars, particularly those of earlier generations, and it may

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[35]Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fasl,* vol. 1, p. 117.

[36] al-Bad', vol. V, p. 30.

[37]Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī-Ṭālib* (ed. Najaf, 1956), vol. 1, 246.

[38]Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl,* vol. 1, p. 117.

[39]Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 116-224; Horovitz, "Tawrāt", op. cit.; F. Buhl, "Taḥrīf", op. cit. Ibn Ḥazm also wrote a treatise of polemic nature against the Spanish Jewish scholar Ibn al-Nighrīla, edited by Iḥsān Abbās and published in Cairo in 1960.

be argued that it is more a reflection of the opinions of later generations.

Contrasting almost completely with Ibn Ḥazm's attitude was that of the Shīʿite Zaydī scholar, al-Qāsim b. Ibrahim (246/860), who died at least two hundred years before Ibn Ḥazm. al-Qāsim's view was that the original text of the scriptures had been left intact and not corrupted. In his belief, the differences of opinion between the Jews and the Christians are simply the result of misinterpretation of the chapters in dispute.

Midway between the two extreme and contradictory views was a third group of scholars, who admitted somewhat to the falsification of the text, but only to a very limited extent.[40] The proponents of this half-way opinion comprise, in the opinion of the author of this article, the absolute majority of scholars of all generations, as evidenced by the chronological continuity manifested by their works as they have been preserved, and of traditions which have been transmitted and attributed to them from the first century of the Hijra onward. This group has covered a broad range of issues in Arabic Islmaic literature, including Qur'ānic commentary,*ḥadīth, fiqh,* theology, history, *ansāb,* geneology, morality, ethics, editing literature, tales of the prophets, miracles, *muʿjizāt wa-ʿajāʾib* and folk tales.

This is the group which drew information from Jewish and Christian literature and from oral traditions, as well as from the scriptures. It is this group which endeavoured to use quotations from this literature for various purposes which were of interest to the medieval Muslim scholar.

Foremost among the issues which were of interest as early as the ancient Islamic period, was the dogmatic question of proving and corroborating the assertion made by the Qur'ān with regard to the prophecy set forth by the scriptures concerning the coming of

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[40]F. Buhl, "Taḥrīf", op. cit. Among the later scholars who denied the charge of taḥrīf was Ibn Khaldūn, who claims that this charge refers solely to the different attitudes in the interpretation of the original text, which it self was left intact. See: Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh* (reprint, Beirut, 1971), vol. II, p. 6.

the Prophet Muhammad. The allusions contained in the Qur'ān regarding these prophecies are many in number, but the Muslin scholars make reference to only four specific verses containng such allusions.[41]

One of these verses says: *"wa-mubashshiran bi-rasūlin ya'tī min ba'dī ismuhū aḥmad"*,and giving glad tidings of an apostle to come after me whose name shall be Ahmad".[42] In this verse, Jesus is purported to have mentioned the Prophet' s first name in one of his appeals to the Children of Israel, calling him *"Aḥmad"*. But western researchers do not accept the Muslim stance, according to which the word *Aḥmad* is a proper noun; rather, they view it as an adjective. Since there is no parallel in the New Testament to the quoted passage, the theory is that the name *Aḥmad* is a translation of the term *periklutos,* "celebrated", which could also be a corruption of the word *paraclete* in the book of John, 14:16, 15:23-7.[43]

In the opinion of western researchers, the proper nouns *Aḥmad* and *Muḥammad* appear only in sūras which came down from Medina after Muhammad migrated there--indicating that the Prophet had a different name before this event, but preferred the names Aḥmad and Muḥammad after he had read the book of John and learned of the prophesied coming of the *parakletos,* which appears as *(M'naḥḥ'mānā)* in the Aramaic translation, and gave it the Arabic form *muḥammad* because of the assonance between the Aramaic and Arabic expressions.[44]

The researchers' claim that the Prophet changed his original name, is apparently based on the tradition quoted by the author of

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[41] Qur'ān, Sura 11.146; 111,93, LXI.6; VII: 157. According to the author of the kitāb *al-Bad'*, these verses are only part of numerous ones which the Qur'ān includes. *al-Bad'*, vol. V, p. 27.

[42]Sura LXI:6.

[43]J.Schacht, "Aḥmad", EI'

[44]A survey of modern researchers on this topic is brought by Jawād 'Alī in his book, *Tarīkh al-'Arab fi-Islām* (ed. Baghdad, 1961), pp. 78-83.

al-sīra al-ḥalabiyya - from the work of al-Maqrīzī according to which the Prophet's grandfather had a son by the name of Qutham, who died three years before the birth of the Prophet. This son's death was a heavy blow to 'Abd al-Muttalib, and when his grandson Muhammad was born, he called him by the name of Qutham. But the Prophet's mother informed 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib that she had been commanded in a dream to call her son Muḥammad, and so the grandfather gave his consent for the child to be so named.[45]

J. Schacht's claim that the use of the name Aḥmad as a proper noun began only around the year 125/740, and that prior to that date the word was used only as an adjective,[46] is inaccurate, since the claim is in contradiction with the tradition quoted by Ibn Sa'd, according to which the Prophet's mother, Āmina, was commanded to give her son the name Aḥmad before the child was born.[47] But because of the prophetic-eschatological nature of this tradition, it would be difficult to base a solid opinion upon it.

Nevertheless, Aḥmad as a proper name was in use among the Arabs prior to Islam; the books of the *nasab* (geneological literature) provide information according to which this name existed during the *jāhiliyya* period.[48] The first to bear it was Aḥmad b, al-Ḥārith, father of a sub-group of the southern Ṭayyi' tribe.[49] The Prophet himself lived to see the birth of Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, brother of 'Ali, the fourth caliph, who was given the name

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[45]*al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya,* vol. 1, p. 131. As a matter of fact, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, grandfather of the Prophet, had a child who bore the name Qutham, as reported in *Ansāb al-ashrāf*: See: Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf* (ed. M. Ḥamidu-'llah, Cairo, 1951), vol. 1, p. 90.

[46] J. Schacht, "Aḥmad". Op. cit.

[47]Ibn Sa 'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt* (ed. E. Mittwoch and E. Sachau), Leiden, 1917,vol. 1, Band I, p. 64.

[48]Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiqāq* (ed. 'Abd al-SalāmHārūn), Beirut, 1979, pp. 9-10.

[49]Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-'Arab* (ed. Abd al-Salām Hārūn), Cairo, 1962, p. 400.

Aḥmad.[50]

In any case, there is no unanimity among Muslim scholars with regard to the question of the name Ahmad appearing in the prophecy attributed to Jesus. Relevant to this context is the *qirā'a*, "way of reading" attributed to Ubayy b. Kaʿb, according to which the name Ahmad does not appear at all in verse LXI:6 of the Qur'ān; instead the verse under discussion goes as follows: *"ubashshirukum bi-nabiyyin takūnu ummatuhū ākhira al-umam"*, 'and I announce to you a Prophet whose community will be the last community".[51] It is well known that Ubayy b. Kab and his colleague Abd Allah b. Masʿūd are considered to be among the greatest Qur'ānic scholars of the first generation; nevertheless, the *qirā'āt* attributed to the two, which embody a significant diversion from the official verison of 'Uthmān, did not achieve recognition by the scholarly establishment.[52]

Another Muslim scholar by the name of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, and Ibn Hishām after him, make reference to this question and quote verses from the book of John in which the expression Ahmad does not appear; instead, they cite the Syriac expression (*menehḥemānā*) which is parallel to the Greek expression parakletos, and indicate that the reference is to the name of the Prophet Muhammad.[53]

These two scholars do not mention verse LXI:6, which mentions Jesus' prophecy of the Prophet Ahmad, despite the fact that both of them extensively cite verses of the Qur'ān in various contexts. The failure to cite this particular verse attests to the fact that neither of them was familiar with the *qirā'a*, version, which mentions the name Aḥmad.

This was not the case with later scholars, who were not

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[50]*al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, vol. 1, p. 132.

[51]Geoffrey Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'ān,* London, 1965, p. 96

[52]Goldziher, op. cit., pp. 16-19.

[53]Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya* (ed. Muhammad M. Abd al-Ḥamīd), Cairo, 1963, vol. 1, pp. 152-153.

concerned by the fact that the New Testament contains no verse which is parallel to the prediction of the Prophet Muhammad or Ahmad, as it was attributed to Jesus. Ibn Isḥāq's assertion that Jesus prophesied the coming of Muhammad, as quoted by John, his disciple, paved the way for these scholars to conclude that the New Testament indeed contained prophecies concerning the coming of the Prophet.

In this context, they make reference to several verses from the books of Matthew and John. From verses XV:26 of the former and XVI:7 of the latter, in both of which the expression *fāraqlīt* or *paraklet* is cited, they conclude that the reference of this expression is to no less than the Prophet Muḥammad himself.[54]

Elijah, too, who is mentioned in Jesus' sermon to his followers in the book of Matthew, XI: 13-15, is interpreted by some scholars as referring to the Prophet Muḥammad himself. Their explanation is simple: Elijah comes in place of Aḥmad, which is the name mentioned in the original text which recorded Jesus' words; the corruption of the text is, once again, a result of the *taḥrīf* which affected the Christians' text as well.[55]

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[54] Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Wafa bi-aḥwāl al-muṣṭafā* (ed. M. Abd al-Wahid, Cairo, 1966), vol. i, pp. 67-68. (Ibn al-Jawzī quotes here Ibn Qutayba, who frequently refers to the Old and New Testaments as the main source of his information about the ancient history of creation, but in *al-Maʿārif,* there is no clue to what Ibn al-Jawzī is quoting.) See also: al-Suhaylī- *al-Rawḍ al-unuf*(ed. A. al-Wakīl, Cairo, 1967), vol. II, 375-377; *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, vol. 1, p. 346, 357; *al-Bad'*, vol. V, pp. 28-9; al-Khazrajī, *Bayna al-islām wa-al-masīḥiyya* (ed. M. Shāmah, Cairo, 1979), p. 220; al-Hārūnī, Aḥmad b. al- Ḥasan, *Ithbāt nubuwwat al-nabiyy* (ed. K h . A . al-Hajj, ed. Cairo, n.d.), pp. 166-167; al-Māwardī, *A ʾlām al-nubuwwa* (ed. M. al-Muʿtaṣim bi-Allāh, Beireut, 1987~, pp. 211-212; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār* (ed. Beirut, 3rd ed. 1983), vol. XV, pp. 210-211.

[55] *Biḥār*, vol. XV, p. 211; al-Khazrajī, op. cit., pp. 222-223. The argument of Ibn Qutayba as quoted by Ibn al-Jawzī proposes three possible explanations of the mention of Elijah in this verse: (1) It may have been Ahmad in the original text, but was deliberately altered to Elijah. (2) It may be another version of *aël*, the name of God; in this case it denotes the emergency of

Comparing quotations from the Gospel with those from the Torah, one notes the scarcity of Christian material as opposed to Jewish (Torah) material. While only a few verses from the book of John and one from the book of Matthew are quoted, quotations from the Bible encompass the entire book of Genesis and Deuteronomy (from among the books of the Pentateuch), as well as quoted verses from the following later prophets: Isaiah, Ezekiel, Habakkūk, and Haggai. From the Hagiograph, material was taken from Psalms, Daniel, and the Chronicles. This quoted material--like the material quoted from the Gospel--is intended mainly to prove the authenticity of the mission of the Prophet Muhammad, as well as to show that the verses of the Qur'ān which discuss the scriptural prophecy of the Prophet's coming reflect the truth.

Quotations from the book of Genesis revolve around the prophecy foretold to Hagar and Abraham regarding their son, Ishmael. In the first prophecy, Genesis XV1:8-12 is quoted, in which the angel urges Hagar to return to Sarah, her mistress, and to obey her, and informs her that God will increase her seed beyond number and that she "will bear a son and call his name Ishmael, and that he will be a wild ass of a man: his hand shall be against every man, and every man's hand against him, and he shall dwell in the face of all his brethren.".[56] These words are quoted almost directly from the original text, but the Muslim author assigns the chapter the number 9 rather than 16, and instead of citing "the book of Genesis", cites "the First Book" (in the order of the Pentateuch, ofcourse).

The purpose of the quotation is to prove that the prophecy regarding the future of Ishmael and his descendants is apt only to the Prophet Muḥammad, by whom the descendants of Ishmael

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Muḥammad as His messenger. (3) It may rather be Elijah himself, but this is not reasonable, because they were convinced that there would be no Prophet after Jesus. See: *al-Wafā*, vol. I, p.68

[56]Genesis, XVI: 8-12.

took the upper hand, after having had the lower hand.[57] The discrepancy in the number of the chapter undoubtedly stems from the existence of various copies which were translated into Arabic from the original languages, be they Greek, Syriac, or Hebrew.[58]

The words of Genesis, XVII:20, in which God promises Abraham that he will give His blessing to Ishmael and multiply his seed and that he will beget twelve princes and make him a great nation, are quoted in order to claim that none of the descendants of Ishmael was made by God into the head of a great nation, except for the Prophet Muḥammad .[59]

It is worth mentioning here that this verse of the Torah is quoted in Hebrew, in Hebrew orthography, by al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī, and alongside the quotation is the literal Arabic translation, along with a transliteration of the Hebrew words in Arabic characters. The author presents the quotation for the same purpose, i.e., to prove that the Torah, too, mentions the Prophet.[60]

The Hebrew text of the verse is quoted in the Shīʿa sources, but is written in Arabic characters, rather than Hebrew ones.[61] A literal Arabic translation is also presented in a later Sunnite source.[62] In both cases, the verse serves as an issue of political ideological controversy between the two rival camps, the sunna and shīʿa.

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[57]al-Māwardi, op, cit., p. 197; See also: Ibn al-Jawzī, op, cit., vol. 1, p. 61; *Bihār,* vol. XV, p. 207.

[58]Ibn Ḥazm, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 121; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, vol. 1, p. 159. On the Arabic translation of the Bible through the Middle Ages, and the different versions of translated copies, see the most recently published article of Sasson Somekh, "Biblical Echoes in Modern Arabic Literature", *Journal of Arabic Literature,* XXVI, 1995, pp. 186-200.

[59]Māwardī op. cit. 198 ; Biḥār, vol. XV, p. 207 ; Ibn al-Jawzī, op. cit., vol. I, p. 61 ; al-Ṭūsī, *Tafsīr al-tabyān*, (ed. A. Amīn and A. Qasīr, Najaf 1960), vol. IV, pp. 593-594; Ibn Shahrāshūb, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 246 ; *al-Bad'*, vol.V, pp. 30-31.

[60]al-Bad', vol. V, pp. 30-31.

[61]Ibn Shahrāshūb, op.cit., vol. 1, p. 246, p. 259.

[62]Māwardī, op. cit., p. 201.

Although the verse is quoted in its Hebrew text as it appears in the Torah, the Shīʿite scholars do not bother to translate it into Arabic. Instead, they give it an interpretation by means of which they attempt to adapt the original text to their own political concepts. They indicate that the Prophet Muhammad is he from whose loins sprang twelve *imāms,* and not twelve *ʿaẓīms*, "magnificent ones", as the Sunnite sources translated the expression "princes" (Hebrew: *Nesi'īm*). The Shī'ites, in choosing the term *imāms*, intended to emphasize the term which was common according to their own concept of government in Islam. Thus, the Shī'ite version attempts to impress upon the consciousness of Muslims that it was God who foretold the coming of the *imāms,* and that the scriptures that predated Islam expressed the will of God.

In contrast to this interpretation, and as a reaction to the shīʿa's claim, the Sunnite tradition asserts that the twelve princes mentioned in the verse are the twelve caliphs, in accordance with Sunnite terminology for rulers' titles-including the first four caliphs, the Righteous Caliphs, the Umayyad. Caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and seven caliphs from the Abbasid dynasty. This tradition also stresses that these are the "princes" referred to in the Biblical verse, and not the twelve *imāms* referred to by extremists in the Shī'ite camp. The Sunnite tradition further stresses that only ʿAlī and his son al-Hasan were worthy of being caliphs, and that the other members of the list of twelve *imāms* were no more than ordinary human beings.[63]

From the book of Deuteronomy--*sifr al-tathniya,* according to the Arab terminology--two verses are quoted which foretell the coming of Muhammad: XVIII: 18-19: "I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee; and I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto My words, which he shall speak in My name, I will require it of him."

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[63]Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 153-154.

These two verses are quoted in literal translation by the Muslim author, who says in his commentary that the brothers of the Children of Israel are the Children of Ishmael, and no one sprang from among them who bore the words of God, except for Muḥammad.[64]

Also quoted from the book of Deuteronomy is verse XXXIII:2, which contains the blessing by which Moses blessed the Children of Israel before he died: "and he said: The Lord came from Sinai, and rose from Seir unto them; He shined forth from mount Paran...." This verse, too, was translated literally into Arabic, either in full or just the first part. The Muslim interpretation given to the verse relates allegorically to the expressions contained in the text, so that the coming of God ("rose/shined forth") appear to be alluding to the mission of Moses, Jesus, and Muḥammad.

The key word in the literature embodying the controversy was the word "Paran", which, according to the Muslim argument, was an allusion to Mecca, the city of Muhammad's origin and appearance. To support this claim, they quote Genesis, XXIL20, which speaks of Ishmael and his mother Hagar dwelling in Paran, which they saw to be Mecca. It is for this reason that this verse is considered to be another prophecy of the coming of Muḥammad.[65]

Quotations from the Prophets are many. Of these, the book of Isaiah occupies a central position. These quotations are intended to serve the same dogmatic purpose as those mentioned earlier--to prove the truth of Muhammad and his mission. In verses LX: 1-7, Muslim tradition seeks allusions to support this trend: In place of

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[64]Māwardī, op. cit., p. 198; al-Khazrajī, op. cit., pp. 214-215; Ibn al-Jawzī, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 63; al-Hārūnī, op. cit., p. 162-163; al-Ṭūsī, vol. IV, 593; *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya,* vol. 1, pp. 347-348, Daḥlān, Aḥmad Żaynī, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya* (ed. Cairo, 1310 H.), vol. 1., p. 75.

[65]Māwardī, op. cit., pp. 201-2 ; al-Hārūnī, op. cit., 157-8 ; al-Khazraji, op. cit., 216-217 ; *Biḥār,* vol. XV, 208 ; Ibn al-Jawzī, op. cit., vol. I, p. 26; *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya,* vol. I, p. 348 ; al- Ṭūsī, op. cit., vol. IV, 593 ; Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *A ʿlām al- nubuwwa,* (ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Sāwī and Ghulām Ridā, Teheran 1977), p.195.

Jerusalem and Judah, they interpereted (and refrained from translating) the allusion to be Mecca. The "flocks of Ḳedar" are interpreted as the sacrifices made by the Arabs on the morning of the Feast of Sacrifice, since they claim the Arabs are the descendants of Qëdār, son of Ishmael. In accordance with their interpretation of these verses, they claim that all of the descriptions appearing in the text are exclusively appropriate to Mecca.[66]

By quoting Isaiah XXI: 6-7,the scholars wished to prove that the Hebrew *rekhev gāmāl,* which may be translated "a camel rider", was none other than the Prophet Muhammad, while *rekhev ḥamōr* "a donkey rider", was Jesus.[67] As for the Seal of Prophecy, the mark on the Prophet's left shoulderblade, which was perceived by the Muslims as a sign of God which characterized Muḥammad, Muslim tradition viewed Isaiah IX:5 as proof and corroboration of this conception: "And the government is upon his shoulder". In this context, two versions of this verse are quoted--from the Syriac and Hebrew texts[68]. To the same end, other verses are quoted from Isaiah, which refer to titles and characteristics of the Prophet, a description of the palaces of the sons of Qëdār, and descriptions of Arabia.[69]

Muslim tradition views Ḥabakkuk III:3-4 as a clear reference to the name of the Prophet: "His glory covereth the heavens, And the earth is full of His praise." According to other versions of the same verse taken from various copies of the *tawrāt* gathered by Ibn Qutayba, He [the Prophet] shall rule over lands and the nations who inhabit them, and will fill the earth with light, and the ships

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[66] Māwardī, op. cit., p. 201.

[67]Ibid., PP. 201-202 ; *Biḥār,* vol. XV, 210; Ibn al-Jawzī, op, cit., vol. 1, p. 66; *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya,* vol. 1, p. 352; al-Rāzī, op. cit., p. 196; Daḥlān, op, cit., vol. 1, p. 76; al-Hārūnī, op. cit., pp. 163-164; al-Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs,* (ed. Cairo, 1283 H.), vol. 1, p. 173.

[68] Ibn al-Jawzī, op, cit., vol. 1, p. 65; al-Hārūnī, op. cit., p. 162; al-Rāzī, op. cit., p. 197.

[69]Isaiah, XLII: 1-7, XLII: 11-13, XLIII: 19, XLIV:3-4.

of the sea shall bear his horsemen.[70]

The two olive trees mentioned in Zacharia IV: 1-7, allude, according to Muslim interpretation, to the religion of Islam and the rule of the Muslims; as for Zerubabel, Muslim interpretation views him as the Prophet Muḥammad.[71] The pure language which God promises to teach the peoples in Zephaniah III:8-10, is considered in Muslim interpretations of these verses to be the Arabic language, which God chose and which spread across all the nations, eradicating the other languages.[72]

From the book of Psalms, Psalm 149 is quoteld, which speaks of the people which the Lord has chosen and to which he has promised victory.This nation, which is described as having the high praises of God in their mouth and bearing a two-edged sword in their hand, is interpreted by Islamic commentary to be the Muslims.[73]

The dream dreamt by Nebuchadnezzar, which was interpreted by the Prophet Daniel, is quoted selectively in order to emphasize that the kingdom which the Lord shall found and which shall never be destroyed is the kingdom of Islam. This is the Muslim interpretation of Daniel II:37-45.[74]

Quotations from the scriptures were not limited to the dogmatic sphere concerning the mission of the Prophet, which was the focal point of the controversy between the Muslims and the scholars and disciples of other religions. Such quotations were also instrumental in political disputes which were carried on

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[70]Ibn al-Jawzī, vol. 1, p. 63-64; al-Khazrajī, op, cit., p. 227; *Biḥār*, vol. XV, p. 208; al-Rāzī, op. cit., p. 197.

[71]Māwardī, op. cit., p. 206.

[72]Ibid., p. 206.

[73]al-Khazrajī, op. cit., p. 218. The same author quotes two more Psalms in which the militant characteristics of the Prophet and the Muslim troops are described: LXXII:8-15, XLV:3-5.

[74]al-Khazrajī, op. cit., 229-230; *Biḥār*, vol. XV, pp. 212-213; Māwardī, op. cit., pp. 207-209.

vehemently and unceasingly following the murder of ʿUthmān, the third caliph. The central role in these disputes was played by the pro-Alid faction during the reign of the Umayyad dynasty as well as during that of the Abbasid dynasty that replaced it.

The argumentation of the pro-Alid group (the shīʿa), spared-no effort to strengthen the legitimacy of this dynasty's claim to power. At first, Shiʿite argumentation relied upon the element of consensus, *riḍā wa-jamāʿa*, which was the only legitimate basis for their claim. But this argumentation developed and sought other elements in order to adapt itself to changing realities.

The partisans of ʿAlī (the shiʿa) had to find, when pressed hard by their opponents, other and more convincing arguments. The harder they were pressed, the more extreme their argumentation became. Unable to establish the claim of *riḍā and jamāʿa*, they introduced the principle of *qarāba*, i.e., stressing ʿAlī's kinship to the Prophet. When *qarāba* was discarded as establishing any legitimate claim, they introduced *wasiyya*, which meant that the Prophet had nominated ʿAlī as his heir in an explicit ordinance, *naṣṣ*. The *waṣiyya* backed by *naṣṣ*, was the last stage in the development of the Shīʿite argumentation.[75]

In the course of the later development of the element of the *waṣiyya*, it was grasped in a cosmological context. The *imāma* began with God and was passed on to the first man. From there it passed, via the chosen ones of God throughout the generations, to the Prophet Muḥammad until it was eventually passed on to ʿAlī, and via him to the other *imāms* who were his descendants.[76]

A huge volume of traditions, estimated in the hundreds, developed around the *waṣiyya*. They clearly bore a tendential pro-Alid character, and were preserved not only in Shīʿite literature but in Sunnite literature as well, particularly the hadīth compilations, in those chapters dedicated to the *faḍāʾil*, the praise

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[75]Sharon M., *Black Banners from the East*, Jerusalem, 1983, pp. 42-43.

[76]Ibid., P. 43-44.

literature. The eschatological nature of the *waṣiyya* led shīʿa scholars to seek justification for its existence and corroboration of its authenticity in the scriptures and in *isrā'ilyyāt* material which was attributed to Muslim scholars of Jewish or Christian origin.

Shī'ite tradition asserts resolutely that the verses of the *tawrāt* attest that ʿAlī was *a waṣiyy,* in precisely the same way that these verses prove and corroborate the mission of Muḥammad.[77]

The names of the *awṣiyā'*, the twelve *imāms,* are mentioned in one of the books presented by one of the monks to 'Alī when he returned with his army from the battle of Ṣiffīn against Muʿāwiya.[78]

ʿAlī's name is also mentioned in the scriptures that foretold his coming, according to Shiʿite tradition. His name in the *tawrāt* is Eliya, and his name in the *injīl,* the New Testament, is Ḥīdār. In the book of Psalms, it is Qārūtia. These names were given interpretations which strengthen the political trend of which these traditions were intended to serve.[79] Shīʿite tradition also attempted to gain support from Muslims for ʿAlī's political course, using traditions which were attributed to the literature of *isrā'iliyyāt.*

In this context, a tradition is cited which has been attributed to Jesus, in which he describes ʿAlī as the man whom God gave the title of al- *ʿabd al-ṣāliḥ* the righteous believer, whom it is

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[77] *Biḥār.* vol. XV, p. 203. According to this tradition, Muhammad met a Syrian monk called Abū-Muwayhib, when he was together with a group of Arab merchants in a Syrian marketplace. After the monk had met Muḥammad, he asked the merchants if a son named ʿAlī had been born to Abū Ṭālib, the Prophet's uncle. When one of the merchants asked why, the monk replied that his character was mentioned in the Christian books (the scriptures) as the *wasiyy,* exactly as Muḥammad is mentioned as the nabiyy who will appear in Mecca. See also *Biḥār* XXXVIII, pp. 42-43, p. 50, p. 51.

[78] *Biḥār* XXXVIII, p. 51-52.

[79] *Biḥār*, vol. XXXVII, p. 56. About other versions of ʿAlī 's names in the holy books, see: *Biḥār*, vol. X, p. 53; Ibn Bābuyih, *Maʿānī-al-akhbār* (ed. Akbar al-Ghafārī, Beirut, 1990), p. 59.

incumbent upon all humanity to support and aid.[80]

It was not only the shī'a which exploited *isrā'iliyyāt* material for political purposes. This material was also used to justify the early Islamic conquests. Particularly famous is the tradition which speaks of the meeting between 'Umar I and one of the Jews of Syria, in which the Jew emphasizes to the Muslim ruler that Jerusalem will one day be captured by him, as written in the holy scriptures[81] Rebel movements also used this material to justify their fight against the legitimate regime.[82] It was also used to cover the mystic religious aspect of the *faḍā'il* literature of certain towns, lands, and provinces.[83]

The founding of new towns was legitimated by traditions belonging to this literary genre. The case of the establishment of Baghdād is one typical example.[84] Islamic literature incorporated this material in its definition of the costumes and types of color which were permissible in Muslim society.[85]

Regarding the topic of poetry and poets, which comprised an issue of controversy in Muslim tradition, the proponents of this literary genre relied upon traditions taken from the scriptures to support their view.[86] Narratives, too, were nourished considerably by the *isrā'iliyyāt,* not only second-hand via Jews or Christians

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[80]Ibn Shahrāshūb, op. cit., vol. II, p. 92; al-Qandūzī, *Yanābī' al-mawadda* (ed. al-Najaf, 7th ed., 1956), pp. 595-596; *Biḥār*, vol. XXXVIII, pp. 48-49.

[81]Ṭabarī, *Tārkīh,* ed. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1962, vol. III: 608.

[82]Ibid., vol. IX, pp. 420-421.

[83]G. Vajda, "isrā'īliyyāt", *Encyclopedia of Islam* (new ed.).

[84]Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-buldān* (Baghdad); Ṭabarī, op. cit., vol. VII, p. 617. See also the story of the establishment of al-Rāfiqa by al- Manṣūr. Ibid., pp. 617-618.

[85]al-Suyuṭī, *al-Aḥādīth al-ḥisān fī faḍl al ṭaylasān*, ed. Arazī Albert, Jerusalem: 1983, paragraphs 49-70.

[86]Ibn Rashīq, *al- 'Umda* (ed. M.'Abd al-Ḥamīd, 4th ed., Beirut, 1972), Part i, p. 25

who had converted to Islam,[87] but also from the scriptures themselves, whether from copies translated into Arabic or into ancient Syriac, or from the original Hebrew text.

The text was not only a source of information from which the material was drawn; it was also the most reliable source by which the authenticity of information drawn from other sources could be checked. Among the historians and scholars who adopted this method were Ibn Qutayba, al-Bīrūnī, and Ibn Khaldūn. Regarding the lineage of Abraham, Ibn Qutayba quotes the traditionist Wahb b. Munabbih, and adds: *"wa-qābaltu bi-hādhihī an-nisbati māfī 't-tawrāti, fa-wajadtuha' muwāfiqatan, illā annī wajadtu makāna ashragh, shārūgh"*, I have compared this lineage with that which existed in the Torah and found it parallel, but instead of Ashragh, I found Shārūgh".[88]

Ibn Qutayba brings a considerable portion of the information included in the opening chapter of his book, to which he gave the title *mubtada' al-khalq*, "the beginning of creation", from the book of Genesis. At times he quotes the verses verbatim,[89] while sometimes he quotes selectively, deliberately omitting or refraining to quote all of the material, or satisfying him self with the general content of the verse.[90] Making reference to a son who supposedly refused to board Noah's ark, and to whom the Qur'āin makes reference (Sura XI:42), Ibn Qutayba comments that there

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[87] Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*, pp. 686-687; al-Shablanjī, Mu'min, *Nūr al-abṣār* (ed. Cairo, 1948), p. 28; Abū Dhu'ayb Isrā'īl, *Ka'b al-Aḥbār*, Jerusalem, 1976, pp. 16-20.

[88] Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, (ed. Th. 'Ukāsha, Cairo1969), p.30 . Not only in this place Ibn Qutayba draw parallel between his sources and the Torah, rather he does the same in the opening 58 pages of this work.

[89] Ibid., p.9, the quoted passage is from Genesis 1.2-8. For pp. 10-11, Genesis I: 1-30, II: 1-4. For page 24, Genesis IX:29. For page 25, Genesis IX:20-27.

[90] Ibid., p. 12, referring to selected quotations from Genesis 11:8-15. Sometimes he summarizes the verses and mentions their main idea, as, in page 40, where he refers to Genesis XXIX: 14-35.

is no reference to such a son in the Torah.[91] This attests to the reliability which Ibn Qutayba ascribes to the Torah, so much so that he does not bother to examine the Qur'ānic verse thoroughly.

Ibn Khaldūn shows an equally positive attitude toward material from the Torah: like his predecessor Ibn Qutayba, he examines the degree of reliability of material written by his predecessors historians Masʿūdī and Tabarī, by comparing their material to that of the book of Judges. Adopting a critical tone toward their material, he comments that it does not exist in the Book of Judges.[92] He sometimes cites terms in Hebrew, the original language, and then presents the Arabic translation.[93] He concludes that the correct information is that presented by the Torah, assuming that the copies translated from the original are not defective.

As for the tales of the Prophets, *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* he rules that correct version is that transmitted from Children of Israel who had converted to Islam.[94]

In contrast with these two scholars, al-Bīrūnī (440/1048) displays not only knowledge of the Hebrew text of the Bible, but also a profound understand of the text and its content. He quotes the text in Hebrew and then presents an Arabic translation of the quoted material.[95] He also displays expertise in religious literature common among Jewish communities, e.g. *sëder ʿōlām*, whose title he translates into Arabic.[96] He devotes an entire chapter in his book to Jewish festivals, citing the Hebrew name of each festival, its religious or historical background, the ritual aspects, and minute details referring to each festival.[97]

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[91] Ibid., p.24

[92] Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh* (Reprint, Beirut, 1971), vol. II, pp. 88-89.

[93] Ibid., vol. II, p. 42.

[94] Ibid., vol. II, p. 6.

[95] al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāqiya,* ed. C.E. Sachau, Leipzig, 1923, p, 15,

[96] Ibid., p. 75.

[97] Ibid., pp. 275-287.

The 'Ulamā' in the Opposition: the Stick and Carrot Policy in Early Islam

Immediately after the collapse of the patriarchal regime, the so-called 'Righteous Caliphate', and the ascent of the Umayyad dynasty to power, there emerged in the political arena new elements of opposition different from the classical movements represented by the Meccan nobility, the 'Alidi and the Zubayri clans. Their opposition was neither organized nor consolidated, nor did it purport to be a substitute for the existing regime. Most, if not all, of its protagonists stemmed from tribal origins, or even from the ranks of the non-Arab Mawālī. They acted individually and did not produce leaders authorized to carry the banner of an opposition. More characteristic of these protagonists was the fact that their viewpoint was religious, and they themselves were always identified as religious scholars. Though their movement cannot be compared to other contemporary movements - either in scope or as regards the extent of its threat to the regime - it nevertheless comprised no less of a genuine concern to the ruling classes than did other movements active in the area.

The opposition of these religious scholars was by nature one of passive resistance, expressed by a refusal to recognize the legality of the regime or to cooperate with it, refraining from joining in its institutions, and total dissociation from its representatives.

This position was founded on both religious and non-religious considerations: the scholars were not pleased with the accession of the Ummayads in a manner contradictory to the tradition of the patriarchal Caliphate, as embodied in the first four Caliphs who had ruled following the Prophet's death. Their objections grew more concrete and more fervid when they became aware of Muʿāwiya's intention to make the Umayyad rule hereditary, as expressed in his appointment of his son Yazīd I as heir. As they saw it, the religious authority vested in the Prophet passed, after his

death, to those who personally remembered his teachings. These men, the Companions, transmitted their recollection of his words and deeds to the next generation, who passed it on to the next, and so forth; whoever learned what the Prophet had said and done during his lifetime acquired religious authority thereby. In short, while political power continued to be concentrated in one man, the Caliph, religious authority was now dispersed among these people, who, as they owed their authority entirely to their learning, came to be known simply as the *'Ulamā'* or 'scholars'. During the reign of the first four Caliphs, themselves Companions of the Prophet, religious authority and political power continued to be united, if not concentrated, in the Head of State. On the death of 'Ali, the fourth Caliph, the Caliphate passed to the Umayyads, bringing to an end the heretofore happy union of religion and politics, and sending Caliphs and *'Ulamā'* on their separate ways[1].

The regime, which was suffering from hostile propaganda conducted by rival factions, which presented it as illegal, plundering, oppressive and anti-Islamic, was precisely in need of these *'Ulamā'* in order to protect itself from the propaganda and improve its image by appearing a just regime, founded on the principles of Islam and the teachings of the first four Caliphs, as the perpetuators of those teachings.

The passive stance of some of the greatest religious scholars not only undermined the achievement of these goals; it increased the tension between them and the regime, tension which would sometimes develop into full-blown confrontation.

In this article I shall try to examine the various implications of this confrontation and discuss in general the attitude of the regime towards this category of scholars, as it was influenced by this confrontation, as well as investigating the nature of the interrelation between those scholars who maintained this passive posture and those of their colleagues who cooperated with the

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[1] Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds, *God's Caliph*, CUP, 1956, pp.1-2.

regime.

I

The political struggles which existed in the second half of 'Uthmāns' reign and continued through the short reign of 'Ali brought about the creation of a new regime which was headed by Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, founder of the Umayyad dynasty[2]. Muʿāwiya, of course, was careful to defend the new regime and to present it as the legitimate successor of the righteous Caliphs. But his arguments did not convince the political adversaries of the new regime. They continued in their consistent opposition towards him and his rule, while at the same time fostering a religious-political ideology on which they founded their political hostility. This was later reflected in the development of the two main opposition movements: the Shiʿites and the Kharijites.

Furthermore, Muʿāwiya did not even succeed in convincing many of the religious scholar of the time who did not align themselves with either of the two hostile ideologies, that his arguments and assertions were just. Those scholars, who supposedly belonged to the Sunni majority, not only separated themselves from the propaganda campaign waged between the Umayyad administration and its rivals, but several of them took an active role in the anti-Umayyad campaign and contributed greatly to distorting Muʿawiya's image by wreaking damage in several areas connected in one way or another to the legitimacy of the administration.

Especially prominent among these areas was the symbolism which they attached to the title of the man on the throne. They ignored Muʿawiya's status as the legitimate Caliph and obstinately called him *malik*('King'), instead of the familiar titles *khalīfa* ('Caliph'), *amīr al-mu'mīnin* ('Commander of the Believers') or

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[2] As far as the Umayyads were concerned, the Umayyad period began with ʿUthmān, given that they never regarded ʿAlī as anything but a pretender. ibid., p.32.

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khalīfat Allāh ('Deputy of God'), the latter being the official designation of the Umayyad Head of State[3]. Muʿāwiya, uncomfortable with the title of *malik*, fought to dissociate himself from it[4]. Other scholars even accused him of being responsible for having replaced the legal Caliphate with a monarchy in the negative sense of the word[5]. The first symptoms of this trend may be found in the words attributed to the second Caliph, ʿUmar I, when he visited the Muslim troops encamped in al-Jābiya in Syria, when Muʿāwiya was still the local governor of that province. 'Umar, shocked at the pomp surrounding Muʿāwiya's appearance, is reported to have turned to him in reproach, saying "*a-kisrawiyyatun hiya yā Muʿāwiya*?" ("Is it becoming of you, O Muʿāwiya, to behave like a Persian king?")[6]. ʿUmar's words (whether historically authentic or a mere forgery) correspond with the aims of the trend adopted by the scholars, i.e. placing Muʿāwiya within the category of the infidel kings. Putting these words explicitly in the mouth of 'Umar was a move designed to give them a kind of religious dimension, given the specific weight of such a first-hand authority on Islam as 'Umar.

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[3] ibid., p.6.

[4] ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Ḥammām al-Ṣanʿāni, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. H. R. al-Aʿẓamī, Beirut, 1970-72, vol.X, p.391; al-Balādhurī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ed. M. Schloessinger, revised and annotated by M. J. Kister, Jerusalem, 1972, vol.IV (i), p.19.

[5] al-Yaʿqūbī, Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿqūb, *Tārikh al-Yaʿqūbī*, ed. Beirut, 1960, vol.II, p.232; al-Qalqashandi, Aḥmad b. 'Alī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, reprinted in Cairo, 1963 (from Cairo ed. 1920), vol.V, pp.445-6. It is worthwhile to point out that monarchy is not absolutely rejected as a legitimate regime, according to the theoretical concept of Islam, which distinguishes between a just monarchy and an unjust one. Theoretical Islam shows pragmatic tolerance towards a monarchial regime which serves the cause of Islam and the general interests of the Muslim people; it abhors, however, the classical type of monarchy, such as that which ruled the Persian and Byzantine empires during the lifetime of Muhammad. See Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*, ed. Yusuf Dāghir, Beirut, 1960, pp.359-60.

[6] ibid., p.360.

The monarchial label placed on Mu'āwiya was not restricted to his personal behaviour and lifestyle; it also included his political conception and the image of the regime he wished to establish.

Against the background of the action he took by appointing his son Yazid heir to the throne, came an increase in the number of his opponents, who compared this act with the customs of the Byzantine emperors. When the Companion of the Prophet Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab was required to swear loyalty to the heir apparent, he refused, describing the act as that of an emperor: "*Hādhihī al-hiraqliyya*" ("This is the custom of the Byzantine emperors")[7].

As a matter of fact, the title malik implies more than ignorance of the legitimacy of the Umayyads it was designed to undermine the religious authority which the rulers of the dynasty sought to acquire by the official designation *khalīfat Allah*, or the shorter spelling *khalīfa* (which was taken to stand for the full title of *khalīfat Allah*, as remarked by P. Crone and M. Hinds[8].

But Mu'āwiya and his Umayad successors did not sit idle in the face of this defamatory propaganda and tried in every possible way to prove the Islamic character of their regime[9]. They fought long and hard to gain recognition as legitimate rulers who were as worthy as their predecessors of bearing the title *'khalīfa* or *amīr al-mu'minīn* , of which their opponents tried to deprive them[10].

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[7] Abu al-'Arab, Muḥ. b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī, *Kitab al-miḥan* MS, BM, Or.9449, fol.115b; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fi tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. Cairo, 1328 A.H., vol.II, p.408; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Nihāya fi gharīb al-ḥadīth*, ed. M. Muḥ. al-Ṭināḥi and Ṭāhir al-Zāwī, Beirut, 1965, vol.V, p.260; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, ed. Beirut, 1968, vol.XI, p.695.

[8] God's Caliph, p.12.

[9] H. A. R. Gibb,"The Evolution of Government in Early Islam", *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, ed. Boston, 1968, pp.34-46.

[10] Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ (58 A.H./677 C.E.), a prominent Companion of the Prophet, refrained from addressing Mu'āwiya by the title *khalīfa* or *amīr al-mu'minīn* when he met him in his court. 'Abd al-Razzaq, op.cit., vol.X, p.391. Another example was Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān al-Khawlānī (106 A.H./724 C.E.), a scholar belonging to the second generation, *al-tābi'ūn*, who addressed

Mu'āwiya was willing to give incentives to certain of his opponents, even if they were from the simple masses, on the condition that they recognize him as *khalīfa*[11]. Apparently, this phenomenon was widespread among common people[12] making the job of the Umayyad rulers even more difficult.

The Umayyad rulers were contemptuous of any titles of royalty which might give them the image of satanic despots and they could not forgive anyone who called them by such titles. When the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik pardoned the poet Ibn Qays al-Ruqayyāt, who had supported the rebel Ibn al-Zubayr, he could not turn a blind eye to a verse of a flattering *qaṣīda* the poet wrote in his honour, in which he described 'Abd al-Malik sitting upon his throne, a gleaming crown upon his head. 'Abd al-Malik reproved the poet, saying: "*tamdaḥunī bi-'l-tāji ka-'annī mina 'l-'ajam!*" ("You glorify me with the crown as though I were one of the Persian kings!")[13].

Throughout the Umayyad period, members of the dynasty who ascended the throne suffered from the negative consequences of this monarchial label [14]. The compromising interpretations by later historians, which attempted to give the Umayyad rulers an Islamic

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Hishām b.'Abd al-Malik by his first name and so provoked his wrath. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās, Beirut, 1968-72, vol.II, p.50.

[11] Ansāb *al-ashrāf*, vol.IV (i), p.141.

[12] Abu al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, ed. Cairo, 1285 A.H., vol.III, p.18.

[13] ibid., vol.IV, p.158.

[14] Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies* (tr. Barber and Stern), ed. S. M. Stem, London, 1967, vol.II, pp.40-1; G. van Vloten, *Recherches sur la Domination Arabe*, ed. Amsterdam, 1894 (Ar. tr. Cairo, n.d.), p.25.

character in the spirit of the sunna[15], failed to remove the detrimental effect of this title. In this connection it is vital to note that most, if not all, of the literature relevant to the Umayyad period was written during the rule of the Abbasids, the sworn enemies of the Umayyads; it is quite probable that their influence created the anti-Umayyad trend - characterized chiefly by the glorification of the Abbasids as saviours of Islam and the Muslim world - which contributed to the distortion of the Ummayad image and the blackening of their reputation.

Although some Islamists confirm the Abbasid opposition to the Umayyads, they ascribe this trend solely to the Islamic scholars, who, they claim, succeeded in portraying the Umayyad rulers as secular monarchs, hostile even towards the religion of Islam[16].

In an attempt to divest themselves of the stigma of having diverged from the Islamic sunna, the Umayyads adopted a policy of appeasement towards the prominent religious figures, with the objective of gaining their faith and support[17]. The results, however, were only partially successful; many religious authorities remained hostile to the regime, preferring to support the concept of the ideal society of Islam as it had supposedly existed during the patriarchal age of the Righteous Caliphs[18], and claiming loyalty to the most general slogan of *kitāb Allāh wa-sunnat nabiyyih.*

Against the iron-handed policy of the Umayyads, the religious figures among the opposition had no choice but to adopt methods

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[15] Ibn Khaldūn, op.cit., pp.365-6; al-Qalqlashandī, op.cit., vol.V, p.445.

[16] *God's Caliph*, p.23.

[17] Gibb, op.cit., pp.34-46.

[18] *Muslim Studies*, vol.II, p.42.

of passive resistance to express their protest against those rulers who deviated from the sunna. A dialogue which took place between the governor of Basra (in the days of ʿUthmān) and ʿĀmir b.ʿAbd Qays, who was exiled to Syria as a political punishment, demonstrates several aspects of the methods adopted:

The Governor:	*Alā taghshānā?* ("Do you not intend to visit us/to visit our court?")
ʿĀmir:	*Inna saʿd b. Abī al-ʿArjāʾ yuḥibbu Sh-sharaf* ("Saʿd b. Abī al-ʿArjāʾ has his heart set on glory").
The Governor:	*Ala nastaʿmiluka?* ("Do you not wish for us to appoint you to an office?")
ʿAmir:	Ḥusayn b. Abi al-Ḥurr *yuḥibbu ʾl-ʿamal* ("Husayn b. Abi al-Hurr loves to take office")[19].

By presenting the first question, the governor obviously did not intend to invite the man to visit his palace; he was actually accusing him of having refrained from visiting the court. This interpretation is strengthened by the assumption, widely held among the people, that total abstention from visiting the court of the ruler could bring about suspicion with regard to that person's

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[19] Ibn ʿAsākir,ʿAli b. al-Ḥusayn, *Tārīkh Dimashq al-Kabīr*, ed. A. Badran, 2nd ed., Beirut, 1979, vol.VII, pp.169-70; Ibn Saʿd, *Kitab al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. E. Sachau, Leiden, 1917, vol.VII (i), p.77; Ibn Ḥanbal, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Kitāb al-zuhd*, ed. Beirut, 1976, p.223; Abu Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyaʾ*, ed. Cairo, 1932, vol.II, p.90.

loyalty to the regime[20]. On the other hand, *inqibaḍ*, abstention from visiting a ruler or person of power, was considered a quality which bestowed merit upon a person. Among religious scholars it was considered a virtue[21]. Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, for example, gained great admiration among the people of Madīna due to several virtues, one of which was his aloofness from the ruling circles[22]. In the context of classifying theologians, this quality became one of the criteria of righteousness. Such a person was defined as "*fāqīh Ṣaliḥ*[23].('righteous theologist') and became a reliable figure of authority in the eyes of theology students; the religious judgements (*fatāwā*) given by such people sounded more reliable to the masses[24].

In contrast to those who were glorified in this way were certain members of the *muḥaddithūn* ('traditionists'), or the *qurrā'* ('reciters of *Qur'ān*), who were cursed and deplored for refusing to follow the custom of remaining aloof from the ruler's court which had been adopted by some religious figures. *Ghishyān as-sulṭān*, the practice of visiting the ruler's court, was seen by these scholars as a religious transgression which ostracised its perpetrators from the ranks of the faithful. In this context, they quoted a tradition attributed to the Prophet, in which he foretold what might happen after his death. He warned his congregation against visiting rulers

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[20] *"qila: shiddatu 'l-inqibāḍi mina 's-sulṭānī tūrithu 't-tuhmata"*, al-Ābī, *Nathr al-durr*, ed. M. ʿAli Qurna, Cairo, 1985, vol.IV, p.211.

[21] al-Dhahabi, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, ed. Hyderabad, 1956, p.700; Ibn ʿAsākir, vol.III, p.41.

[22] Ibn Saʿd, op.cit., vol.II (2), p.131.

[23] al-Subki,ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b.ʿAli, *Ṭabaqat al-Shāfi'iyya al-kubrā*, ed. M. M. Ṭināḥī & A. M. al-Ḥilw, Cairo, 1964, vol.II, p.59.

[24] Abuʿalī al-Yūsī, *Rasā'il al-Yūsi*, ed. Tunus, 1984, p.153.

and cooperating with them, for by this they would be cutting themselves off from all ties that had bound them to the Prophet[25]. At the very least, such people are described in other traditions by such derogatory epithets as *fussāq* ('those who have deviated from the sunna') or *fujjār* ('those who have shaken off the commandments of the faith')[26].

Obviously, these traditions were quoted in order to give a religious sanction to a political position. According to the same trend, one finds some traditions which present the ruler and God as two opposite poles: the closer one comes to one, the farther one draws away from the other[27].

In fact, anyone who arouses the anger of God falls into the clutches of the rulers[28]. A person whose responsibility is to follow in the footsteps of the prophets and of God's messengers and to carry their banner betrays the trust placed in him if he comes into contact with the ruler[29]. Because of the *fitan* (the temptations to corruption, in contradiction to religious morality) lurking at the rulers' door[30], the religious person must not approach the rulers, even if his intention is only to preach morality or teach them the

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[25] "*...fa-man dakhala ʿalayhim...fa-laysa minni wa-lastu minhu*", Ibn al-Shajarī, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Amālīal-Shajarī*, ed. Beirut, n.d., vol.II, p.228.

[26] *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, vol.VII, p.52; al-Subkī, op.cit., vol.IV, p.261; Ibn ʿAsakir, op.cit., vol.I, p.135.

[27] *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, vol.III, p.274; al-Abshīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf*, ed. Cairo, 1379 A.H., vol.I, p.90.

[28] *Amālī al-Shajarī*, vol.II, p.227; Al-Ghazzālī, Abu Ḥāmid, *Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn*, ed. Casablanca, Morocco, n.d., vol.II, p.142.

[29] *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, vol.III, pp.194, 274; vol.IV, p.387; *Iḥyā'*, vol.II, p.142.

[30] ʿAbd al-Razzāq, op.cit., vol.XI, p.317; *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, vol.IV, pp.29-30; Ibn ʿAbdi Rabbihi, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, ed. A. Amin, I. al-Abyārī, A. al-Zayn, Cairo, 1949, vol.III, p.200.

Qur'ān and the principles of the faith[31]. This contempt for the rulers on the part of the religious was expected to continue even after one's death. In the will left by al-Daḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim (723+ C.E.), he requested that the ruler not be permitted to pray on his grave[32]. Against a similar background, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was severely criticized for taking part in the funeral of al-Ḥajjāj and praying near his grave[33].

The warnings which were intended to keep religious leaders from coming into contact with the ruler or visiting his court were created as a weapon to sabotage any attempt by the rulers to gain religious legitimacy for their regime.

In the absence of any independent religious institution during this early period of Islam, the Muslim rulers sought legitimacy by incorporating individual religious figures in the apparatus of government. At the very least, they considered a visit at the ruler's court by a religious leader to be a sort of tacit recognition of the legality of their controversial regime.

Evidence of this practice may be found in a whole series of traditions. In a letter sent by the Umayyad Caliph Hisham (105-125 A.H./724-743 C.E.) to one of his secretaries, inviting the latter to the court to serve as *mu'addib* ('tutor') to one of his sons, Hishām remarks that he will take pains to bring many theologians and religious leaders to the son's residence, so that people will see them and think the son is like them[34]. In a different letter, written by the religious figure Abū Ḥāzim al-Aʿraj to al-Zuhrī the traditionist (d.124/741), the latter is reproved and criticized for his links with the Umayyad court. The Umayyads, says the letter, have turned al-Zuhri into a springboard from which they may proceed to carry out their evil deeds. Through him, the letter continues, they

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[31] *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, vol.IV, p.85; vol.VI, pp.251, 387; vol.III, p.21.

[32] Ibn Saʿd, op.cit., vol.VI, p.211

[33] *al-Miḥan MS*, op.cit., fo1.87a.

[34] Ibn ʿAsākir, op.cit, vol.VI, p.280.

introduce doubts into the hearts of the *'Ulamā'* and tempt the feeble-minded to trust them[35].

II

The Umayyads did not find it difficult to implement the policy of incorporating pious men into the governmental system. They found many candidates among the religious elite who were tempted to assume official posts. Among these were even such illustrious figures as al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī and others[36]. In an attempt to appear as the successors of the first Caliphs and the protectors of the *sunna*, they surrounded themselves with advisors from the top ranks of famous theologians[37].

Cooperation between the regime and the *Ulamā'* existed on both a practical and a theoretical plane, both of which served the same goal. The practical aspect took the form, among other things, of appointing senior religious figures to official posts - from judicial positions within the framework of the religious courts, to the posts

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[35] ibid., vol.VI, p.223.

[36] al-Thaʿalibī, Abū Manṣūr, *Laṭāʾifal-maʿārif*, ed. de Jung, Leiden, 1867, p.42; *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, p.61; al-Jāḥiz, Abū ʿUthmān, *al-ʿUthmāniyya*, ed. A. Hārūn, Cairo, 1955, p.150; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya waʾl-nihāya fi al-tārīkh*, ed. Cairo, 1351 A.H., vol.IX, p.96; *al-Aghāni*, vol.II, p.124; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, Ms. Ashir Efendi, nos. 597, 598, Sulaymāniyya, Istanbul, vol.II, foi.l6b, 26b; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islam*, ed. Cairo, 1368 A.H., vol.IV, p.132; Ibn Ḥazm,ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, *Jamharat ansāb* al-ʿArab, ed. A. Hārūn, Cairo, 1962, p.426; Ibn Qutayba,*ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, ed. Cairo, 1963, vol.I, p.44; al-Marzubānī, Muḥammad b.ʿImrān, *Nūr al-qabas*, ed. R. Sellheim, Wiesbaden, 1964, p.338; al-Zubayrī, Muṣʿab b.ʿAbd Allah, *Nasab Quraysh*, ed. Levi Provencal, Cairo, 1953, pp.171 246, 363; Abu Zurʿa al-Dimashqī, *Tārīkh*, Ms. Fatih, no. 4210, Sulaymāiniyya. Arsiv 1143, vol.V, fol. 67a-b; Ibn al-Jawzī,ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Abi al-Ḥasan, *al-Muntaẓam*, Ms. Bodl. Pococke, 255, Cat. Uri, 779, fol.23a.

[37] *al-ʿUyūn waʾl-hadāʾiq*, ed. M.J.ed Goeje Leiden 1871 p.90; *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol.VI, pp.66-7; Suyūṭī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abi Bakr, *Tārīkh al-khulafāʾ*, ed. M. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Cairo, 2nd., 1964 , p.224; *Anāsb*. Ms Sul., op.cit., vol.II fol. 723b; anon., *Ajbar Machmua*, ed. Don Emilio Lafue nte y Alcantara, madird, 1867, pp.22-3.

of secretaries and various types of functionaries[38]. The desire for these posts was strong and the choice was rich - a fact which was well known to the rulers. When the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Mansūr failed to tempt Sufyān al-Thawri to maintain his links with the court, he reacted by saying: *Alqaynā al-ḥabba ilā 'l-'Ulamā'i fa-laqaṭū* ("We have thrown grains at the *'Ulamā'* and they have gathered them")[39]. Many of the scholars did not have the option of refusing an official post and it was well known that competition among them was often great. When Ibn Shubruma (144 A.H./761 C.E.) was rebuked by his son for agreeing to accept the post of *qāḍī* (judge) in Kūfa, he replied: "The rulers can easily find men like your father, but your father cannot find men like them"[40].

But all of this does not mean that the scholars were unanimously eager to win official positions. Our sources report many cases of refusal to accept a post, refusal which often cost the *'Ulamā'* much suffering. Particularly prominent in this context is the suffering of senior religious leaders like Abū Ḥanīfa, Sufyān al-Thawrī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal[41]. Their refusal sometimes placed the ruler in a dilemma: on the one hand, he did not want to appoint unsuitable people so as not to arouse the anger of the religious leaders; on the other hand, the suitable people, whose appointment would improve the Islamic image of the regime, refused to respond to their offers.

This conclusion may be drawn from the words of the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Rashīd (170-183 A.H./786-808 C.E.). In a letter sent by him to his deputy in al-Madina, he writes: *La-in wallaynā'a 'mālanā*

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[38] Ibn al-'Imād al Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt*, ed Beirut, 1976, vol , I,p.138.

[39] *al-'Iqd al-farīd*, vol. III, p.200.

[40] al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa'l-tabyīn*, ed. A. Hārūn, 4th ed., Cairo, 1975, vol.III, p.146.

[41] al-Baghdādī, Aḥmad b.'Alī, *Tarikh Baghdad*, ed. Cairo, 1931, vol.XIII, pp.328, 409; Ibn 'Asākir, op.cit., vol.I, p.34; Ibn Sa'd, op.cit., vol.VI, pp.257-60; *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, vol.VII, p.45.

shirāranā, la-yarawna dhālika min jawrinā, wa-la-in wallaynāhā khiyāranā ya'būna 'alynā[42].

The refusal to accept the position did not stem only from the idea that the regime had contravened the *sunna*, but also from elements of a different nature: as a precondition to his appointment, the candidate would have to undertake to adopt the behaviourial norms of the ruler[43]. In other words, he would have to tolerate the irregularities and interventions of the ruler and his representatives in all matters directly concerning the administration of his position. This situation became characteristic of the relationship between the ruler and his officials[44]. If we consider, for example, the refusal of judgeships, there can be little doubt that interference by the political power in the course of justice constituted strong grounds for the refusal of that office by pious candidates, states N. J. Coulson[45]. According to some scholars, refusal to accept a position in the court was intended to harm the ruler's image. The candidates who refused, well aware of their own relative unimportance and inability to change things within the court, saw refusal as the only means at their disposal. Remarks along this line were made by Sufyān al-Thawrī[46].

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[42] *al-Miḥan* MS, op.cit., fo1.142b.

[43] *Shadharāt,* vol.I, p.120.

[44] Ibn al-Ahtir,'Ali b. Muḥammad, *al-Kāmil fi al-tārīkh,* ed. Leiden, 1863-1871, vol.IX, p,15; al-Kindi, Muh. b. Yusuf, *Quḍāt* Misr, ed. R. J. H. Gotthell, London, 1908, p.367; Wakī', Muh. b. Khalaf, *Akhbar al-quḍat,* ed. H. Maraghi, Cairo, 1947, vol.II, p.36. In this context, one should refer to some cases in which the candidates refused the office for non-religious reasons - because of their noble birth or, by contrast, because of their humble origin. *Tārīkh Baghdād,* vol.XIII, pp.5, 190.

[45] N. J. Coulson,"Doctrine and Practice in Islamic Law: One Aspect of the Problem", B.S.O.A.S., vol.XVIII(1956), pp.211-226.

[46] When Sufyān al-Thawri was rebuked by al-Awzā'ī, his contemporary colleague, for severing his relations with the royal court, he

But not all of the scholars were able to resist the pressures and temptation of the regime; these fell prey to the lustre of the position, voicing various excuses in order to escape criticism.

Meanwhile, the sources attribute to these people expressions of regret at having accepted their posts[47]. This regret apparently stems from a lack of personal conviction in the various excuses they had voiced. It seems that these excuses could not compete with the deeply-rooted consensus that accepting such a post entailed the commission of a sin which called for *tawba* ('penitence')[48]. In this context, it is worthwhile to refer to this question from the viewpoint of the Shi'ites, particularly in the context of the *Imāmī Shī'a*: concerning the issue of *al-'amal ma'a 's-sulṭān* (accepting a position in the court of an illegitimate ruler), the latter held a tolerant position, which considered the act permissible (*mubāḥ*) as long as the appointed official (who presumably belonged to that sect) allotted one-fifth of his salary to the *Imām* (i.e. the legitimate Shi'ite leader) and also undertook to provide all possible assistance to any of his companions who were in need of aid.

These issues are summarized in a quotation presented by al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā and attributed to the *Imām* Ja'far al-Ṣādiq: *Kaffāratu 'l-'amali ma'a 's-sulṭān qaḍā'u hawā'iji 'l-ikhwān*[49].

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replied, *"innā lasnā naqdiru an naḍribahum, wa-innamā nu'dhīhim bi-mithli hādha 'l-ladhī tarā"*, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, vol.VII, p.39.

[47] al-Ābī, op.cit., vol.IV, p.233; *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, vol.IV, pp.86, 103.

[48] Ibn al-Murtaḍā, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *al-Munya wa'l-amal*, ed. M. J. Mashkūr, Beirut, 1979, p.177.

[49] Wilfred Madelung,'A treatise of the Sharīf al-Murtaḍā on the legality of working for the government (*Mas'ala fi'l-'amal ma'a 'l-sulṭān*), B.S.OA.S., vol.XLIII, 1980, pp.18-31. Another version of this citation is quoted by al-Tha'ālibi,'Abd al-Malik b. Muh. b. Isma'il, *al-Tamthīl wa'l-muḥāḍara*, ed. A. M. al-Ḥilw, Cāiro, 1961, p.150. Furthermore, the one-fifth raised to the *Imam* is no more than the one-fifth of the *ghanīma*, the booty, which the Muslim generals used to send to the central treasury of the orthodox Caliph. In

A comparison of the two attitudes - that of the Sunnites and that of the Shi'ites - shows that both speak of penitence, but in two separate styles: while the Shī'ā's attitude is practical and concrete, expressing itself in material and practical terms, the Sunni's attitude remains more theoretical or philosophical

III

Another aspect of the regime's consistent policy of achieving maximum political calm was the method of buying off the conscience of the *'Ulamā'*, or at the very least ensuring their silence, by means of stipends, regular allowances and various types of gifts, both individual and collective. With regard to this policy, al-Ghazzālī differentiates between the motives and objectives which characterized the early Muslim rulers and those who ruled during his own time (the end of the fifth century A.H.).

Al-Ghazzālī notes that the early tyrants' attempts to win the hearts of the religious nobility resulted in the initiative of monetary grants and financial aid. In exchange for that assistance, the rulers did not ask the religious scholars to assume court positions, but contented themselves with the scholars' acceptance of their gifts. By contrast, the tyrannical rulers of Al-Ghazzāli's time distributed their largesse selectively, i.e. only to those whom they expected to join forces with the administration in one way or another enabling the rulers to adorn themselves, as it were, with the presence of those scholars[50].

Al-Ghazzālī's summary is no more than descriptive and does not relate to the reasons for the difference between the two approaches. The early tyrants sought legitimacy - which, in that

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other words, working for the Sunnite government is considered in the Shi'ite context as if fighting the enemy of Islam on the battlefield.

[50] *Iḥyā'*, vol.II, p.126.

day, consisted mainly of the sympathy and support of the *'Ulamā'*. The later Muslim rulers, however, including those of Al-Ghazzali's time, no longer needed to acquire legitimacy. Their legitimacy was ensured *de facto*, as they had attained a firm grip on the throne and on the powers of the Caliphate, as reflected in the Sunnite theory of rule developed by al-Māwardi[51].

Accordingly, they sought more concrete and more effective benefits in exchange for their grants. In this context, it should be noted that the distribution of funds by rulers, as a tactical act intended to ensure political calm and reconciliation, was no exceptional phenomenon, but one rooted in early Islamic tradition. The custom of *istimālat al-qulūb* ('winning the affection of hearts'), as Al-Ghazzālī referred to it, was no more than a revival of the formerly practised *ta'līf al-qulūb* ('reconciliation of hearts').

The idea of *ta'līf al-qulūb* was indeed an ancient concept in Islam, created by the Prophet himself when he tried, by means of material gifts, to buy the hearts and strengthen the faith of the newly converted, whose souls had not yet been permeated with Islam[52]. 'Umar, the second Caliph, also adopted this concept when other nations became the subjects of the Islamic regime as a result of his conquests[53]. *Ta'līf al-qulūb* in the earlier period was intended to strengthen loyalty to the faith of Islam, while in the later period it was aimed at strengthening loyalty to the ruler himself. In the earlier time, the human object of *ta'līf al-qulūb* included those

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[51] al-Māwardi, Abū al-Ḥasan, ʿAli b. Muh. b. Ḥabib al-Baṣrī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya*, ed. Cairo, 1298 A.H., pp.31-2. See also: H. A. R. Gibb, *Studies on the Civilization of Islam,* Ar. tr. by Iḥsān ʿAbbās (2nd ed. Beirut), pp.212-3.

[52] W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina,* Oxford, 1968, pp.74, 348ff. According to the religious instructions, a part of the alms should be distributed among those whose faith is still superficial and not deeply rooted. *Qur'ān,* IX:60.

[53] *al-'Uthmāniyya*, p.213; *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbi*, vol.II, p.154.

whose faith was questionale but in the period under discussion it centred exclusively on those whose faith was strong and who were considered the central columns of the Islamic religion.

In any case, the distribution of stipends and gifts was neither systematic nor regular; each ruler made his own selection, not only of recipients, but also of the frequency and venue of distribution. A close examination of the relevant traditions in the source literature points to several general traits characterizing the policy of handing out funds. These traditions reveal that religious scholars in general received regular allowances during the reign of certain rulers, but there is not evidence to show that these allowances were received periodically, nor can one be sure that the custom continued during the reign of subsequent Caliphs, nor is there any mention of a specific sum.

The origins of this custom are in the early days of the Marwānid dynasty, when Bishr b. Marwān (75 A.H./694 C.E.), the first Marwanid governor in Iraq, authorized one of his courtiers to distribute a number of gold coins to each of the prominent *qurrā'* of Kufā[54]. A few years later, this custom was adopted on a large scale when al-Walid I (86-96 A.H./705-715 C.E.) ordained the allotment of a certain amount of silver coins to the *qurrā'* of Jerusalem[55]. This method continued to operate during the 'Abbasid period, when certain groups of religious scholars received regular allowances; among these were *muḥaddithūn* who received *rizq*, a sort of annual salary, as a stipend[56]. *Fuqahā'* were also allotted a

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[54] Ibn 'Asākir, vol.III, p.252.

[55] *Tarikh al-khulafā'*, p.224; *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, vol.V, p.245, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol.IV, p.66.

[56] For example, Abū Dawūd al-Sijistānī was paid an annual salary, *Tadkhirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, p.770.

similar sort of *rizq*[57].

The phenomenon under discussion was apparently not unknown in the western provinces, North Africa and Spain. The rulers in this region used to give out money regularly to religious scholars. Here, this custom was more or less institutionalized by placing the *qāḍī* ('judge') in charge of distributing funds[58].

In addition to the regular allowances, the rulers would also hand out money in honour of particular events, when visiting holy places or under various other special circumstances. The religious leaders were generally the main beneficiaries of the ruler's kindness. When al-Mahdi, the 'Abbasid Caliph, visited Madina on his pilgrimage to Makka, he distributed money among the *qurrā'*, the *fuqahā'* and the *quṣṣāṣ* ('popular preachers')[59]. And when Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr conquered Iraq from the Umayyads, he distributed money among the *qurrā'*[60].

Umayyad and 'Abbasid rulers would occasionally distribute money among religious leaders, whether the latter were known as *Fuqahā' or muḥaddithūn*[61]. It should be mentioned in this context that certain religious figures received special treatment at the hands of the rulers, for reasons discussed below, reasons which induced the rulers to be particularly generous to them. The most prominent example of this was Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (124 A.H./741 C.E.), a courtier of several of the Umayyad Caliphs who received

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[57] al-Hamdānī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik, *Takmilat tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, ed. Albert Y. Kanan, 2nd ed., Beirut, 1961, vol.I, p.166.

[58] *Rasā'il al-Yūsī*, pp.169-70.

[59] Ibn 'Asākir, op.cit., vol.IV, p.411.

[60] Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Hyderabad, 1966-1983, vol.X, p.481.

[61] *Wafayāt*, vol.II, p.261; *Tārikh Baghdād*, vol.XIII, pp.10-11; Ibn 'Asakir, op.cit., vol.IV, p.85; vol.I, p.41.

considerable sums as well as estates and land as an *iqṭā'*[62].

The 'Abbasid Caliphs continued this custom and their generosity was not less than that of their Umayyad predecessors. Examples of this may be found throughout the reigns of many of them[63].

The reaction of the *Ulamā'* to the distribution of gifts and money was less vociferous and varied from acceptance through hesitation to complete refusal. Refusal to accept the money was only on religious grounds; those who refused feared for the moral purity of their faith and not because receiving money was itself viewed as improper[64]. In their view, monies collected by the rulers-despots though they were - were collected legitimately and were therefore proper from this standpoint. Consequently, no religious injunction could be placed on them[65]. As a result, religious figures who were particularly pious were careful to find alternative sources of income, especially commerce in such basic products as

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[62] *al-Bayan wa'l-tabyīn*, vol.II, p.387; *Ansāb al-ashrāf MS*, op.cit., vol.II, fol.468a; Abu Zur'a MS, op.cit., fol.60b; *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol.V, pp.18, 141, 138; *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, p.97; *Shadharāt*, vol.I, p.162.

[63] al-layth b. Sa'd, Malik b. Anas, Shu'ba b. al-Ḥajjāj were granted estates in Egypt and in Iraq by the Caliphs al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī and al-Rashīd. *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.XIII, pp.4, 5, 10-13; *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, p.196.

[64] *Iḥyā'*, vol.II, p.192.

[65] ibid., vol.II, pp.123-4; *Takmila*, vol.I, p.166. On the contrary, some of them considered it unfit, according to a tradition ascribed to the Prophet. Ibn 'Asakir, op.cit., vol.IV, p.398.

foodstuffs and textiles[66]. As for those defined above as 'hesitant', they accepted the gifts and the money, but did not use these sums for their own personal gain; rather, they would distribute them among the needy or spend them on other charitable causes[67].

IV

The consistent policy of the royal court to incorporate religious scholars within the ranks of the government, or at least to ensure their silence, ultimately affected the position, status and image of the scholars. Some of them, taking advantage of their colleagues' refusal to respond to the official court policy, seized the opportunity to advance their own personal interests. Religious scholarship became, in their eyes, a means which would lead them to the ruler's court-as may be detected from a remark attributed to Salama b. Dīnār (144 A.H./761 A.C)[68]. This eventually caused erosion in the status of the scholars and their prestige began to dwindle. The rulers were aware of the opportunism of these interested parties, as evidenced by remarks attributed to some of them[69]. People pretending to be religious scholars were completely

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[66] Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab was a merchant of edible oil; he used to say that it would make him independent of the ruler. *Iḥyā'*, vol.II, p.143. In this context, one should refer to the case of Abū Ḥanīfa, whose refusal to accept money from the ruler was due to the fact that he was very rich. *Tārīkh Baghdād*, Vol.XIII, p.340.

[67] Ibn 'Asākir, op.cit., vol.I, p.257.

[68] "*qālū: mā lanā lā naṭlubu 'l- 'ilma ḥattā nakūna mithla hā'ulā'? fa-ṭalabū al-'ilma fa-atawal-umarā'.*" Ibn 'Asākir, op.cit., vol.VI, p.220; vol.V, p.172.

[69] *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, vol.VII, p.43.

ignorant in the fields in which they wished to appear expert[70]; this further eroded their status to such an extent that the rulers themselves began to show contempt for them and were no longer interested in utilizing their services[71].

Against this background it became customary to classify the scholars into different types: good and bad, or bad and less bad. This classification was intended to remove from the original scholars the ugly, shameful label that had come to characterize them in general. As is the way of the Islamic tradition, this classification had acquired religious legitimacy by being attributed to the Prophet himself. In this context, hadīths attributed to the Prophet were passed down which differentiated among three types of scholars: those who diligently study religion out of divine motivation; those who do so in order to glorify themselves; and those who do so to satisfy their greed[72]. In a similar vein are the traditions attributed to such illustrious scholars as al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (110 A.H./728 C.E.)[73].

Another type of tradition totally excludes such opportunists from the family of the *'Ulamā'*, treating them as no more than transmitters of tradition (*ruwāt*), and that only because of their knowledge in the religious sphere[74]. This attitude, of course, was meant to dissociate such a person from any Islamic religious trait and to position him within the family of secular scholars. Most of the criticism voiced against these scholars centred upon their

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[70] al-Subkī, op.cit., vol.II, p.56.

[71] "*wa's-salāṭīnu yafirrūna minhum*", Ibn 'Asākir, op.cit., vol.VI, p.220; *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, vol.IV, p.224; vol.IV, p.29.

[72] Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, ed. Bulaq, 1310/1883 (repr. Beirut, n.d.), vol.VIII, p.719.

[73] *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, vol.II, p.132.

[74] *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, vol.III, pp.233-4; Ibn 'Asākir, op.cit., vol.VI, p.220; (pseudo) Ibn Qutayba, *al-Imāma wa'l-siyāsa*, Cairo, 1969, vol.II, p.109.

utilizing *their ʿilm* ('religious knowledge') as a means for material gain.

Once again, this criticism was placed in the mouth of the Prophet in order to grant it the status of a religious sanction. These traditions warn those who take advantage of their religious knowledge in order to earn a living, *yataʾakkalū bi-ʾl-qurʾān*, urging them to cease this activity and to trust exclusively in God[75]. Such people were depicted as devoid of morals and scruples, who would surrender anything for money-even their faith.

The derogatory poems which were written about them and published are among the strongest, most painful examples of classical derogatory literature. The protagonist of these poems is a well-known religious scholar by the name of Shahr b. Hawshab (100-112 A.H./718-730 C.E.), who was placed in charge of the treasury and embezzled money from it[76]. Another man, by the name of Ibn al-Muʿadhdhal, who lived in the 3rd century A.H. (9th century C.E.), was himself the object of a similar genre of derogatory verse[77],. The use of libelous poetry as a means of criticizing the *ʿUlamāʾ* was guaranteed publicity among the masses, so that this criticism would not remain within the realm of the learned.

Because of the extreme pains taken by such people to achieve material gain and take advantage of opportunities provided by the

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[75] Ibn Abi Shayba, op.cit., vol.X, pp.479-81; *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, vol.VI, p.199, Ibn Abi al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha,* ed. M. Abu al-Faḍl Ibrahim (Cairo 1959), Vol.XVII, p.63.

[76] *al-Bayān waʾl-tabyīn,* vol.IV, p.82; Abu Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī, *al-Muḍaf waʾl-mansūb,* ed. M. A. Ibrahim, Cairo, 1965, p.169; *Tārīkh al-Islām,* vol.IV, p.413; *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, vol.II, p.138; Ibn ʿAsakir, op.cit., vol.VI, p.346; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Maʿārif,* ed. Tharwak ʿUkasha. 2nd ed., Cairo, 1968, p.448; Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidāya wa-ʾl-nihāya*, vol.IX, p. 176.

[77] al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, ed. M. A. Bijāwl, 2nd ed., Cairo, 1969, vol.II, pp.652-3. Critical poetry against another religious figure on the same background is also quoted in al-Subkī, op.cit., vol.I, p.285.

regime, they were referred to by such derogatory epithets as *lusūs* ('thieves')- a term which appears in a whole series of traditions linked to the names of certain top-ranking scholars in both Sunnite and Shi'ite circles[78].

Moreover, the "ugly" type of scholars acquired a physical-corporal image in the eyes of the public which served to underscore even further their quest for the excesses and luxuries of life. It was commonly held that they were the most lecherous and gluttonous of people[79]. Al-Sha'bī (104 A.H.1722 C.E.), the well known theologian and traditionist, used to describe them as the most thick-necked and most gluttonous of people, who wore the finest and most expensive clothing[80]. This type of scholar became a social hazard endangering the minimal acceptable norms of human privacy. One could not know, for example, when they would choose to visit a sick person or how long they would choose to stay by his bed; thus they became a heavy burden on the sick person's family[81].

As a result of this situation, tangible outward signs were established to mark the original scholars, encompassing their outward appearance, their mode of dress and their abode. This was meant, of course, to distinguish them from the "others", who had diverged from the normative framework of the scholars. By this principle, a true one could be recognized among fifty other people according to his outward appearance: he would appear withered and feeble, weakened by the effort of his diligent study of the Qur'ān[82]. He would appear in public wearing a crude woollen robe

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[78] *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, vol.III, p.184; vol.VI, p.387; al-Ābī, op.cit., vol.IV, p.231.

[79] *al-Bayān wa'l-tabyīn*, vol.II, p.312.

[80] Ibn 'Asākir, op.cit., vol.VII, p.145.

[81] *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, vol.VI, p.314; Ibn 'Asakir, op.cit., vol.VII, p.157.

[82] *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, vol.III, p.246.

and carrying a shepherd's rod[83]. He was the type, if one were to visit his home in his absence, whose personal effects would testify to his character: a straw prayer-mat, a copy of the Qur'ān, an ablution tub and other objects bearing witness to his contempt for materialism and the luxuries of this world[84].Confronted with attacks of this nature, these doubtful scholars attempted to escape criticism and to appear righteous. Among the various excuses they voiced, three main categories may be distinguished: economic, political and moral.

Particularly prominent on the economic plane were excuses based on insurmountable debt and the need to support a large family[85], both of which seemed satisfactory alibis for having agreed to accept a post in the ranks of the regime.

As for the political plane, the contention was that the person in question had been pressured or forced into collaboration by the ruler[86]. Moral excuses centred particularly around the motif of defending the weak or undoing some wrong that had been done by the regime[87]. Otherwise known, in modern parlance, as 'the struggle from within'. Of all three types of excuse it may be said that the general community of *'Ulamā'* in the Sunnite camp considered these claims to be no more than an ineffectual attempt at self-persuasion. In this regard, as demonstrated above, the position of the orthodoxy was tougher and firmer than that of religious circles within the *Shī'ā*, as demonstrated by the treatise of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā[88].

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[83] ibid., vol.II, p.364.

[84] ibid., vol.II, p.373.

[85] Ibn 'Asākir, op.cit, vol.VI, p.364.

[86] al-Subkī, op.cit., vol.I, p.285

[87] *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, vol.VI, p.376. (*Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.XIII, p.171.)

[88] Madelung, op.cit., pp.18-31.

The rift between the true scholars and their colleagues who collaborated with the regime was not limited to attempts to expose the latter to criticism, shame and public defamation; it often entailed complete dissociation, when it was forbidden to join the collaborators' study circles or attend their gatherings. When Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī, the traditionist (188 A.H803 A.D.), visited Damascus, crowds rushed to his gatherings. But, before he began to speak, he asked one of his students to announce publicly that proponents of certain ideologies were forbidden to take part in the gathering, among whom he included those who maintained contact with the ruler's court[89]. Other people were more extreme, taking care not even to greet colleagues who had access to the ruler[90].

The excommunication of collaborators centred mainly upon the academic field; *muḥaddithūn* banned the traditions of this group and refrained from attending their study circles. Among the most prominent of those banned was Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī[91], who was so severely banned that his study group disintegrated completely[92].

A partial ban was also enforced against Anas b. Mālik (91-94 A.H./709-712 C.E.), the famous Companion and servant of the Prophet; a certain traditionist refused to quote traditions which were transmitted on his authority[93]. A similar ban was placed on other traditionists in various places and at various times, for the same reason[94]. It should be mentioned here that the explicit reason for the ban was often not mentioned; in its place, an allegorical expression would be used, implying that the person in question held a post within the ranks of government[95]. Sometimes the ban

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[89] Ibn ʿAsākir, op.cit., vol.I, p.256.

[90] *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, vol.III, p.366.

[91] Ibn ʿAsākir, op.cit., vol.V, p.29.

[92] *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, vol.III, p.363.

[93] ibid., vol.V, p.53.

[94] *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, p.197; ʿUyūn *al-akhbār*, vol.II, p.139.

[95] When the Kufan traditionist, the so-called Abu Kurayb, arrived in Damascus to learn *ḥadīth*, he went to the seminar of Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza, where

was not total, but the person's ties with the regime left chinks in the wall of reliability that had surrounded him[96].

The ban was based on reasons more serious than those mentioned thus far; in fact, these people were used by the regime as a vehicle of propaganda to counteract the voices of those who opposed the regime. They were an effective means of propagating traditions which favoured the ruler and defamed his adversaries. In other words, they practised *waḍ ʿal-ḥadīth* ('forging of *ḥadīth* ') or were used to disseminate false traditions. This practice had begun long before, as early as the reign of Muʿāwiya[97]., and continued to exist during the reign of the ʿAbbasids. The latter were faced with the dual challenge of striking out at the Umayyads, the classic adversaries of the Prophet and his family (as the ʿAlidi-ʿAbbasid propaganda claims), and, on the other hand, striking out at the ʿAlidi *Shīʿā* against the background of the power struggle which had developed within the family[98].

A particularly impressive example within this context is the collaboration of the 'Abbasid Caliphs al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn on the one hand with the theologian Mālik b. Anas (179 A.H./795 C.E.) in an attempt forcibly to present *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, a book of

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he intended to study. However, he soon returned and refused to join the seminar, because he saw him in the official uniform, *"fa-wajadtu ʿalayhi sawāda 'l-qāḍā'i fa-lam asmaʿ minhu". Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, p.497. See also ibid., p.197; Ibn ʿAsākir, op.cit., vol.VI, p.364.

[96] al-Nubāhī, Abu al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd-Allah, *Tārīkh quḍāt al-Andalus*, ed. Beirut, n.d., p.95; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. XIII, p.436; *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, p.227; *Abu Zurʿa*, op.cit., fo1.54a. For other examples of loss of reliability in transmitting *ḥadīth*, see: *Muslim Studies*, vol.II, ch.2,esp.pp.52-4,

[97] *Muslim Studies*, voi.II, pp.43-4, 47.

[98] al-Iskāfī, in his counter-response to the claims of al-Jāḥiẓ, refers to this phenomenon and states that it was common. *al-ʿUthmāniyya*, p.282. For specific examples, see: *Shadharāt*, vol.I, p.157; Ibn ʿAsākir, op.cit., vol.VI, p.220; *Abū Zurʿa MS*, op.cit., vol.V, fol.60b; *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'* , vol.III, p.363; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.XIII, pp.167, 452-3.

religious law, as the official version of Islamic law which they wished to establish[99].

Confronted with these attacks against the collaborating scholars, the rulers did not remain inactive. It was not enough for them to attempt to emphasize the Islamic character of the regime by means of the various methods discussed above; at the same time, they also made use of the apparatus of government to silence criticism against them and their allies, the collaborating *'Ulamā'*.

Throughout the period of struggle, they implemented the 'stick and carrot' policy: various methods of punishment, oppression and persecution were exercised against inconvenient persons.

Suspected scholars who had showed signs of passive resistance found themselves the target of this policy. The means of penalisation were many and varied, from physical punishment to ideological persecution. Lashing was a familiar punishment at the ruler's disposal, inflicted upon those who refused to accept posts offered by the regime[100]. A *qirā'a* (way of reading the *Qur'ān*) which was different from the official version appearing in the *muṣḥaf 'uthmān* was considered a transgression by the ruler and the guilty party was beaten[101]. The same punishment was the fate of those who had dared to practise *al-amr bi-'l-ma'rūf* ('ordering good')[102].

Even more severe was the punishment inflicted upon those who refused to swear allegiance to the rulers that had newly risen to

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[99] *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, vol.VI, pp.331, 332.

[100] Abū Ḥanifa, a typical example, was beaten because of his refusal to accept the job. *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. XII, pp. 324-5.

[101] The hostile attitude against this kind of *qirā'a* was adopted early in the second half of the first century A.H., and was especially prevalent during the reign of al-Ḥajjāj; see: *al-Bidaya wa'l-nihaya*, vol.IX, p.128. It was still considered a serious transgression during the fourth century A.H.; see: Ibn 'Asākir, op.cit., vol.IV, p.168.

[102] *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, p.476.

power. Sa'id b. al-Musayyab (93 A.H./711 C.E.) is a typical example of such victims of beating in this context[103]. For transgressions of a similar kind, other scholars found themselves incarcerated[104], or even risked crucifixion[105].

The *'aṭā'*, or annual salary, of others was largely reduced[106] - ā punishment appearing light when compared with other cases. The regime instilled terror in these scholars and its representatives disseminated threats against anyone who dared criticize or act against the regime. Fearful of the apparatus of punishment, many of them fled far from the ruler's reach[107]. Others were exiled from their homeland because of their refusal to accept the *status quo* or because they were considered instigators against the regime[108].

Another type of punishment, intended to humiliate the scholars, consisted of shaving or plucking their beards[109], a punishment typically used against criminals and violators of religious law. Rulers even disseminated rumours of moral violations against

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[103] At first he was punished by representatives of the Umayyad Caliphs in Medina, al-Ma'ārif, pp.437-8; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, ed. S. Zakkar (Cairo, 1967), vol.I, p.337; *al-Imama*, vol.II, p.56. He later suffered at the hands of Ibn al-Zubayr, who seized power in Ḥijaz and Iraq after his revolt against the Umayyads, Ibn Khayyāṭ, op.cit., vol.I, p.335. Some others had suffered the same punishment in similar cases; see:*Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, vol.IV, p.127; al-Mas'ūdī,'Ali b. al-Ḥusayn, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādin al-jawhar*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard et Paver de Coureilie, Paris, 1861, vol.VI, p.294

[104] Ibn 'Asākir. op.cit. vol.I, p.122; *al-Bidāya*, vol.X, p.225; *Tarikh Baghdād*, Vol.XIII, p.328; *Shadharāt*, vol.I, p.139.

[105] *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, vol.VII, p.41.

[106] *al-Miḥan MS*, op.cit., fol.131a.

[107] Ibn Sa'd, op.cit, vol.VI, pp.257-60; *Ansāb al-ashrāf MS*, op.cit., vol.II, fol.728b; *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, vol.II, p.138; Mas'ūdi, op.cit., vol.VI, p.258; Ibn 'Asākir, op.cit., vol.IV, p.33; vol.VII, pp.429, 445; *Ḥilyat al-awliya'*, vol.7, pp.4, 13, 45, 47, 52, 58.

[108] This question was dealt with separately in an article by the author, titled: *"Uqubat al-nafy fi ṣadr al-Islam"*, published in al-Karmil, Haifa University, Israel, 1984, vol.V, pp.55-81.

[109] *al-Miḥan MS*, op.cit., fols.149a, 164a, 173b, 109a-b.

hostile *'Ulamā'* in order to disgrace their name and distort their image in the public eye[110].

Fear of the regime became so rampant that some of the *Fuqahā'* refrained from handing down *fatāwā* ('religious judgements') lest such judgements arouse the anger of the rulers[111]. As for those who did not take this step on their own initiative, the ruler would order his men to prevent them from handing down such *fatāwā*[112]. Malik b. Anas was flogged seventy lashes because of a certain *fatwa* which failed to meet the satisfaction of the ruler[113]. Coulson[114] remarks that the *Māliki Fuqaha'* withdrew from public life because they wished to preserve their religion from the dictates of the *Sulṭān* and his colleagues and their request for favourable fatāwā.

Suppression of free expression was not restricted to religious adjudication; it also extended into the *qirā'āt*, so that scholars were afraid to refer to Ibn Mas'ūd's version of the *qirā'a*, which contradicts the *'uthmān* version of the *Qur'ān*[115].

The domain of *ta'wīl*, the allegorical interpretation of the *Qur'ān*, was also subject to criticism by the regime, since it had become an instrument of the political struggle between the rival groups. Umayyad rulers did not view this practice favourably and prohibited any persons whose loyalty to them was questionable from practising this type of interpretation[116].

The well orchestrated campaign of oppression extended even as far as the transmission of *ḥadīths*: some scholars engaged in this

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[110] al-Subkī, op.cit., vol.II, p.41.

[111] *Ansāb al-ashrāf* MS, op.cit., vol.II, fol.718b.

[112] al-Subkī, op.cit., vol.II, p.41; *Tārīkh Baghdād,* vol.XIII, p.351; *al-Mihan MS,* op.cit., fols.173a, 174a, 175b.

[113] *Wafayāt,* vol.IV, p.137.

[114] N. J. Coulson, op.cit., p.226.

[115] *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ,* p.392.

[116] anon., *Akhbār al-'Abbās,* ed.'A. al-Duri, Beirut, 1971, p.46; *Ḥilyat al-awliyā',* vol.IV, p.i83.

practice were forbidden to transmit *ḥadīth* in the study circles[117]. Those who continued to disseminate traditions which were not to the liking of the regime were executed[118]. The oppression of free speech and the silencing of hostile scholars were facilitated by the assistance of other learned circles whose members collaborated with the regime. They boycotted any of their colleagues who preached against the ruling regime or justified the armed struggle against the despotic rulers[119].

Thus, the circle of oppression closed round the necks of these scholars, leaving them no way out. This situation is reflected very well in the following quotation from an epistle of reply sent by a certain Syrian scholar to the Umayyad Caliph ʿUmar II: *Khāfa al-ʿālimu fa-lāyanṭiqu, wa-jahila 'l-jahilu fa-lam yas'al* ("The scholar speaks not for he is afraid, and the ignorant one knows not for he does not ask")[120].

This was not the state of affairs on the other side of the fence. Together with the policy of oppression and persecution directed towards the hostile elements within the scholar class, friendly elements of that class enjoyed far-reaching concessions at the hands of the regime. In addition to the material benefits which were generously heaped upon them, as discussed above, the various arms of government took the necessary steps to insure the dissemination of their traditions upon the public. In order to realize this goal, they impressed upon the people the assertion that these scholars were the only ones authorized to disseminate the *ʿilm*, the traditions of the Prophet, and other traditions of a theological and jurisprudential nature.

A tradition to this effect has been conserved in the work of Abū

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[117] Ibn ʿAsākir, op.cit., vol.VI, p.437; *al-Miḥan MS,* op.cit., fols.173a, 109a.

[118] *al-Miḥan MS,* op.cit., fol.69a.

[119] *Abū Zurʿa MS,* op.cit., fol.58a.

[120] Abū Yūsuf, Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm, *Kitāb al-kharāj,* 4th ed., Cairo, 1392 A.H., p.124.

Zur'a al-Dimashqi as follows: *"In jā'anā 'l- 'ilmu mina 'l-Ḥijāzi 'ani 'z-zuhriyyi qabilnāh, wa-in jā'anā mina 'Sh-Shāmi 'an makḥulin qabilnāh, wa-in jā'anā mina 'l-Jazīrati 'an Maymūna qabilnāh, wa-in jā'anā mina'l-'Irāqi 'ani 'l-Ḥasani qabilnāh* ("If the *'ilm* originating in Hijaz is transmitted to us in the name of al-Zuhri, we shall accept it; and if the *'ilm* originating in Syria is transmitted to us in the name of Makhūl, we shall accept it; and if the 'ilm originating in Mesopotamia is transmitted to us in the name of Maymūn, we shall accept it; and if the *'ilm* originating in Iraq is transmitted to us in the name of al-Hasan, we shall accept it")[121] .

The four people mentioned in the tradition were, of course, traditionists par *excellence* during the Umayyad period; all of them were close to the rulers of the Umayyad dynasty and to its courtiers. This trend became operative when the ruler intervened personally to make sure these concessions were enforced. When the Spanish traditionist Baqiyy b. Makhlad (276 A.H./889 C.E.) was confronted with opposition on the part of his fellow scholars in Spain with regard to the controversial material contained in one of the books he had brought back with him from a journey to the East, the Spanish ruler at that time, Muhammad b.'Abd al-Rahmān (238-273 A.H./852-886 C.E.), hastened to assist him, urging him to disseminate whatever *aḥādīth* he had and to continue holding his study circle, while at the same time prohibiting the rest of the scholars from opposing or plotting against anyone.[122]

In the same context, Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd (187 A.H./802 C.E.), the *wazīr* of al-Mahdī, used to recommend the traditionist al-Layth b. Sa'd, urging his students to listen to him and join his study circles[123]. The cultivation of this type of scholar by the regime sometimes took the form of a special podium, the *minbar*, from which scholars could lecture. Among those who enjoyed access to the *minbar* at the initiative of the ruler was Ibn Abī Dāwūd (310

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[121] *Abū Zur'a MS*, op.cit., vol.V, fol.36a-b.

[122] Ibn 'Asākir, op.cit., vol.III, p.281; *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, p.630.

[123] *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.XIII, pp.4-5.

A.H./922 C.E.)[124]. Another traditionist, by the name of Sulaymān b. Ḥarb (224 A.H./838 C.E.), was given a podium next to the palace of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn, who would honour him with his presence and with the presence of all the princes of the dynasty and copy down his lectures[125].

Particular honour was given to al-Sharqī b. al-Quṭāmī, a courtier of al-Mansūr and the tutor of his son, al-Mahdi; al-Sharqī was permitted to give his lectures from the *maqṣūra*, the special cell within the mosque which was reserved for the khalīfa [126].

It should be pointed out that the *minbar* is not a new phenomenon in the history of the Islamic regime. Its roots go back to the early activity of the Prophet Muhammad, when a *minbar* was installed for his court poet, Ḥassān b. Thābit, from which the latter would recite his poetry defending the Prophet and defaming his enemies from Makka[127]. In this framework, the rulers would engage the services of the finest scholars from all the provinces of the empire and install them in the capital, in order to advance whatever ideas they favoured and to act as a vehicle of propaganda for the policies of the court[128].

In this context, al-Iskāfī (420 A.H./1029 C.E.) provides a summarizing description of the concessions and benefits offered by the Umayyad regime to this group of privileged scholars[129], as follows: "*...fa-qad ʿalima 'n-nāsu anna 'd-dawlata*[130]. *wa-'s-sulṭāna li-arbābi maqālātihm, wa-ʿarafa kullu aḥadin irtifāʿa*

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[124] *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, p.769; Ibn ʿAsākir, op.cit., vol.VII, p.443.

[125] *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, p.393.

[126] *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, vol.II, p.139; *al-Maʿārif*, p.539; Ibn al-Nadim, *al-Fihrist*, 2nd ed., Beirut, 1978, pp.132-3.

[127] al-Subkī, op.cit., vol.I, p.223; Ibn ʿAsākir, op.cit., vol.IV, p.129.

[128] *al-Miḥan MS*, op.cit., vol.I, p.223; Ibn ʿAsākir, op.cit., vol.IV, p.129.

[129] *al-ʿUthmāniyya*, p.282ff.

[130] Concerning the polemic usage of the term *dawla*, see: M. Sharon, *Black Banners from the East*, Leiden, 1983, pp.24-7.

't-taqiyyati 'anhum. wa-'l-karāmatu wa-'l-jā'izatu li-man rawā 'l-akhbāra wa-'l-ḥadītha fī faḍli Abī Bakrin..." ("And people know that the historical cycle [this period of time] and the existing body-power belong to those who have the same ideology as they have. Everyone also knows that they do not need to be cautious [i.e. may act openly and freely]. One knows, too, that respect and prize are paid to him who disseminates news and traditions in favour of Abu Bakr...").

The golden age in which the collaborating scholars enjoyed preferential treatment at the hands of the regime ended towards the middle of the 10th century C.E. (4th century A.H.), when actual control passed from the hands of the traditional Caliphs into those of the military commanders, local serfs and provincial governors of separatist orientation, and the Caliphs lost all their practical influence. The new wielders of power formed political and governmental groups with no inherent link to religion. Unlike the traditional Caliphs, they needed no religious seal of approval in order to maintain power.

Religious scholars were consequently driven into a corner, concentrating mainly on the ceremonial sphere of religious law or, at the very most, handling questions of religious law which were of interest to the general public in their everyday life[131].

Nevertheless, they did not disappear completely from the political landscape of Islamic society, though their role changed and became less powerful and more marginal. They became part of royal ceremony, appearing at victory or farewell parades for the army or the ruler on their way to a military campaign[132]. Their ceremonial presence could be noted when new officials were appointed[133] or at ceremonies marking Islamic holidays and feasts,

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[131] Ira M. Laipdus, "The Separation of State and Religion in the Development of Early Islamic Society", *IJMES*, 1975, vol.VI, pp.363-85.

[132] *Takmila*, vol.I, pp. 18, 69.

[133] *Wafayāt*, vol.VI, p.233.

together with the court poets[134].

[134] ibid., vol.VI, p.215.

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"A1-QAṢAṢ: ITS EMERGENCE, RELIGIOUS'ORIGIN AND ITS SOCIO-POLITICAL IMPACT ON EARLY MUSLIM SOCIETY"

Throughout the modern Islamic world, nearly every major mosque includes a religiously-educated state official known as a *wāʿiẓ* ("admonisher"), whose role is to preach to the congregation between prayers. The phenomenon of *waʿẓ* ("admonishment") is not the invention of the modern Islamic state; rather, it, is an ancient concept which has been rooted in Islamic society since the very beginning of its formation, as early as the first decades of the first century A.H./seventh centuryA.D.

However, to be more precise, the term *qaṣaṣ*, "religious preaching," was the common denotation for this phenomen in those early days. Though-siffnificant research has been published on the subject of *qaṣaṣ,*[1] this topic ought now to he re-opened, in order to illuminate several obscure aspects of the issue, and to shed light upon certain areas which have not been touched upon by existing

research. In the present article, I shall try to explore the

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[1] Only the main works are listed here; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies,* Eng. tr. C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern (London 1971), II, 150-9; Mez Adam, *Die Renaissance des Islam,* Ar. tr. by ʿAbd al-Hādī Abū Rayda (4th ed., Beirut, 1967), II, 109-22; Johs pedersen, "The Islamic Preacher, *waʿiẓ, mudhakkir, qāṣṣ*", *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume* (Part 1) ed. S. Lowinger and J. Somogyi, Budapest, 1948 , pp. 226-51 ; Idem, "The Criticism of the Islamic Peracher", *Die Welt des Islam,* N. S. II (1953) pp. 215-31; Ch. Pellat, "Kāṣṣ" E.I. (New edition) C. E. Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Underworld* (ed. Leiden 1976) Part 1 , pp. 23-9 ; al-Najm Wadīʿa *Ṭāhā, al-Qaṣaṣ wa-ʾl-quṣṣāṣ fī al-adab al-islāmī* (ed. Kuwait 1972); Q. al-Sāmarrāʾī, *"Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ wa-ʾl,mudhakkirīn, Majallat majmaʿal-lugha al-ʿarabiyya bi-Dimashq,* 4 (50) 1975 , pp. 849-88.

beginnings of the phenomenon as well as its development, giving particular emphasis to its religious roots, while at the same time revealing its political and social implications. I also aim to show how *qasas* facilitated the formation of a popular conception of Islamic religious amongst the simple masses, in contrast to the normative conception represented by the religious sages.

I.

It would not be easy for researchers of medieval Islam to give an unequivocal definition of the term *qaṣaṣ* (and of those who practice it, known as *quṣṣāṣ*–sing. *qāṣṣ*). The difficulty does not stem from a lack of material, but rather from the very existence of such an extensive variety of material on the one hand, and of such a broad spectrum of functions fulfilled by the *qāṣṣ* on other.

Nevertheless, it may be stated in general that *qasas* originally centered on purely religious matters: from interpretation the Qur'ān; through traditions of the Propget (*ḥadīth*),. stories of ancient prophets, and moral preaching; to admonition against evil of sin and transgression. The *qāṣṣ,* then, must be highly educated to allow him to grapple with the task he has undertaken. In addition, he must be a pious man whose charitable deeds are well-known throughout the community. These are the demands made by the instructions governing those permitted to practice *qaṣaṣ.*[2]

Neither proficiency in subjects of a secular nature nor the ability to integrate them into *qaṣaṣ* itself disqualifies one from the category of *quṣṣāṣ* as Goldziher suggests.[3] Quite the contrary; expertise in the fields of history, biography, and Arabic language, grammar and composition -- in addition to subjects of a religious nature -- is considered a necessary precondition, without which the *qāṣṣ* cannot

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[2] Within the instructions given to the *muḥtasib,* the inspector who secures obedience to the commands and prohibitions of the faith, he is ordered to allow only men of such qualities to perform *qasas* in the mosque. See Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Ma'ālim al-qurba fī aḥkām al-ḥisba,* ed. Reuben Levy (London, 1938), 179.

[3] Goldziher, *op. cit*, II, 152 .

properly fulfill his role. [4] Secular subjects have even been given preference over religious ones, in some cases actually comprising a criterion for granting a particular person the title of *qāṣṣ*.[5] Never, however, have they been considered a substitute for religious matters,which have remained the focal point of the *qāṣṣ* activity. Even when *qaṣaṣ* deteriorated into fraud and char- latanism (as defined by Ch. Pellat),[6] the *quṣṣāṣ*. never actually deviated from religious issues: their apparent "deviations" were never more than strange interpretations given to religious material in order to advance their own personal interests,[7] or specific emphasis placed on a particular type of religious material in order to win over the masses–as, for example, in the case of the *"pauper quṣṣāṣ"*, or *quṣṣāṣ* al-kudya, who used the material of the *isrā'īliyyāt* (i.e.,.jewish and Christian material) in a shortened form, referred to by the poet Abū Dulaf (d. last decade of the 10th century) as *shibriyyāt*, or short stories about the Prophets of Israel.[8]

The researcher of Islam encounters the same degree of difficulty in attempting to establish a specific date for the emergence of *qaṣaṣ*. The source of this difficulty appears to be the inconsistent and contradictory information presented by the Islamic sources with regard to this emergence. Goldziher,[9] Pedersen,[10] and

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[4] Ibn al-jawzī, *al-Quṣṣāṣ wa- l-mudhakkirīn*, ed. Q. Sāmarrā'ī (Riyad, 1983). 79 .

[5] "*Wa- ʿurifa ... bi- l-qāṣṣ, li-annahū kāna yaquṣṣu l-akhbār*". He was called *al-qāṣṣ* because he used to narrate history and citations of the preceding people. See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbas (Beirut, 1978), I, 68 .

[6] Ch. Pellat, "Kāṣṣ", *op. cit.*

[7] See for example the report quoted on the authority of al-Jāḥiẓ who was an eyewitness in a circle of a *qāṣṣ*. Al-Ābī, Manṣūr b. al-Ḥusayn, *Nathr al-durr*, ed. M. A. Qurna and Ḥusayn Naṣṣār (Cairo, 1985), IV, 282 .

[8] Al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatimat al-dahr*, ed. M. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (2nd ed. Cairo, 1965), III, 362 . On the life and works of the poet Abū Dulaf al-khazraji see C. E. Bosworth, *op. cit.*, I, 48-80 .

[9] Goldziher, *op. cit.*, 152-3 .

[10] J. Pedersen, "The Islamic Preacher", *op. cit.*

Bosworth[11] refrain from dealing directly with this issue, while at the same time accepting the tradition which cites Tamīm al-Dārī, companion of the Prophet, as the first to practice *qaṣaṣ* during the reign of ʿUmar .CH. Pellat opposes this stand, basing his opposition upon the element of mysticism surrounding al-Dārī's personality on one hand, and, on the other, Upon the existence of contradictory traditions regarding the question of the first person to practice *qaṣaṣ*. But Pellat--like his predecessors-- does not establish a specific date for the emergence, and points out the difficulties inherent to this question.[12]

The same indecision on this issue also characterises contemporary Islamic researches: particularly prominent is the work of Ms. Wadīʿa Najm, in which she presents the confusion surrounding the traditions which refer to the beginnings of *qaṣaṣ*.[13] Qāsim al-Sāmarrāʾī, on the other hand, establishes unequivocally that the origins of *qaṣaṣ* are associated with the first *fitna,* or first civil war, and that Muʿāwiya, the Umayyad caliph, invented *qaṣaṣ* in the wake of this event.[14]

In my opinion, the opinions of these researchers do not succeed in supplying us with a satisfactory answer to the question under discussion. Despite the existing contradictions, one can characterise a period of time in which the q*aṣaṣ* can be said to have emerged, without citing specific dates or linking this emergence to a particular personality. This characterisation becomes possible when we examine the entire mass of Islamic traditions, being careful not to fall prey to their tendentiousness. As for those traditions which relate *qaṣaṣ* to the early days of Islam -- particularly to the Prophet, who is said to have practiced *qaṣaṣ,*[15] or to have allowed some of his companions to do so and even joined

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[11] Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 26 .

[12] Ch. Pellat, "Kāṣṣ", *op. cit.*

[13] Wadīʿa Najm, *op. cit.*, 26-30 .

[14] Ibn al-jawzī, op. cit., introduction, pp. 15-16 .

[15] Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf,* ed. ʿAbd al-khāliq al-Afghānī (Hyderbad, n. d.), VIII, 555 .

their *majālis* ("sessions")[16]--I do not believe these traditions can comprise a true reflection of the existence of the institution known as *qaṣaṣ* during this early period, since these traditions were intended to grant legitimacy to the phenomenon of *qaṣaṣ*, which was a controversial issue in Islamic society. It is true that the Prophet would preach to tile community of the faithful, but this activity was not within the framework of typical *qaṣaṣ* in the sense of the current, discussion. A different group of traditions indicate that *qaṣaṣ* existed during the reign of ʿUmar I[17] (13-23 A.H./634-643 A.D.); there are even traditions which attribute toʿUmar a negative stance toward this phenomerion, reporting him to have punished people who practiced *qaṣaṣ*.[18]

The emphasis on ʿUmar's supposed disapproval of *qaṣaṣ* was tended to strengthen the stand taken by the opponents of *qaṣaṣ* in the controversy which developed later between its proponents and opponents, particularly in light of the fact that ʿUmar is considered by Islamic tradition to have been a dogmatic ruler who clung to the ideals of ancient Islam, In this context, one tradition cites Abū Sufyan (father of Muʿāwiya, founder of the Ummayad dynasty) as the *qāṣṣ* of the occupying army which invaded Syria a short time before the accession of ʿUmar 1.[19] This pro-Umayyad tradition is intended solely to improve the image of the man who had previously headed the camp which opposed the Prophet, and who had become an easy target for attack by the opponents of the Umayyad regime of his blemished past, It actually comprises part

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[16] Ibn al-Jawzī, op. cit, 70-72 .

[17] Ibn Abī Shayba, op. cit., VIII, 557 ; ibn Saʿd, al-*Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. E. Sachau (Leiden, 1917), 329 , 341 ; VII (1) 28 ; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣāba* (Cairo, 1328), i, 45 ; III, 363 ; ibn al-Jawzī, op. cit., 77 ; ak-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn (4th ed., Cairo, 1975), I, 367; Ibn al-jawzī, *al-Mudhish*, ed. M. Qabānī (2nd ed., Beirut, 1985), 53 .

[18] Ibn Abī Shayba, op. cit., VIII, 558 ; *al-Suyūṭī, Taḥdhīr al-khawāṣṣ min akādhīb - al-quṣṣāṣ, ed. M.L. al-Ṣabbāgh (2nd ed., Beirut, 1984), 247 ; al-Abī, op. cit., II, 29 .*

[19] al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. M. J. De Goeje (Leiden, 1897-1901), I, 2095 .

of the intense effort made by Muʿāwiya (and the other Umayyad caliphs after him) to present themselves as Islamic rulers by divine grace and not by force. From an objective standpoint, a man like Abū Sufyān could not perform such a role, since its minimal requirements included proficiency in the religious material and semblance of religious piety-- both of which he lacked.

Astonishing in this context is the hasty conclusion reached by J. Pedersen on the basis of this unauthentic tradition-- namely, that the *qāṣṣ* functioned during this time as a state-appointed preacher on the battlefield.[20] In fact, the notion *qaṣaṣ* did not exist in the terminology of that early stage; rather, it was limited to the meaning of inciting soldiers and encouraging their will to fight the enemy, as witnessed by the words attributed by Ṭabarī to Abū Sufyān as well as by the content of the *qaṣaṣ* pronounced on various occasions the during battles fought by the Muslims for the conquest of Syria.[21] This meaning is even more pronounced in those cases where Islamic tradition makes use of the same term to denote expressions of incitement or encouragement used by Christian monks to stir up the Byzantine soldiers against the Muslim army.[22] Furthermore, *qaṣaṣ* in this sense was a responsibility assumed by the senior officers in the armies which raided Syria,[23] indicating that *qaṣaṣ* still did not comprise a separate state function. In addition, Abū Sufyān bore no official tittle-- military or otherwise--at the time of the conquest of Syria. He arrived in Syria to join the ranks of the army as an act of *taṭawwuʿ* ("volunteering"), and took his famous wife, Hind, with him to visit his two sons Yazid and Muʿāwiya, who were among the senior command there.[24] It should also he pointed out that

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[20] Pedersen, *op. cit.*, 232 .

[21] al-Azdī, Muh. b. ʿAbd-Allāh, *Tārīkh futūḥ al-Shām,* ed. ʿAbd al-Munʿim jābir (Cairo,1970), pp. 96 , 131 , 134-5 , 218 , 219 .

[22] Ibid., pp. 218-219 .

[23] Ibid., 131 . 96 . 218 . 219 .

[24] al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Cario, 1957), 160 .

Abū Sufyān was already more than seventy years old at the time,[25] a fact which would certainly have impeded his appointment to any position at all.

In any case, the institutionalisation of *qaṣaṣ* and the transformation of the *qāṣṣ* into a battlefield preacher, were not accomplished for at least two generations after the battle of the Yarmūk in which Abu Sufyān took part; nor did these processes take place on the official state plane, but rather within the resurgent army.[26]

Another tradition ties *qasas* to the first fitna and relates to it as *muḥdath*, "innovative", and thus as having no place in the *sunna* of the Prophet. and the four caliphs.[27] This constitutes a total and utter dismissal of the two earlier traditions which attribute the emergence of *qaṣaṣ* to the days of the Prophet or to the reign of ʿUmar. The very linking of *qaṣaṣ* to the *fitna* period totally rejects that phenomenon, by implying that it is negative in nature and not rooted in Islamic tradition. The alleged negative character of *qaṣaṣ* is further established by the tradition which links it to the *khawārij*,[28] the insurgent movement which uncompromisingly tried to undermine the character of the Islamic regime. In other words, the latter group of traditions is more a reflection of the tendency to cast aspersions on *qaṣaṣ* than an indication of the precise date of its emergence.

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[25] Ibid., loc. cit.

[26] The earliest references to this group of *quṣṣāṣ* is the account concerning the battle of ʿAyn al-Warda between Sulaymān b. Ṣurad and the Umayyad army. Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, II, 559. For other references see: ibid., II, 1055 ; *al-Abī, op. cit.*, IV, 289 ; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Lubāb fī tahdhīb al-ansāb* (ed. Beirut, n.d.), III, 8 ; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Maḥsāsin wa'l-masāwi'*, ed. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (2nd., Cairo, 1961), I, 245 .

[27] Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, 222 ; Ibn Abī Shayba, op. cit., VIII, 558 ; Ibn al-jawzī, *op. cit.*, 77 , 78 .

[28] Ibn al-jawzī, *op. cit.*, 78 .

II.

In any case, *qaṣaṣ* developed as an essential necessity of Islamic society at least one generation before the outbreak of the first civil war in 657 A. D. Within this period, the dissemination of Islam reached monumental proportions, not only on the territorial plane, but also with regard to the number of converts. Not only Arab tribesmen converted; there were also members of other nations and ethnic groups in the conquered lands.

Massive migration and resettlement of entire tribes took place during this short period. The tribes were absorbed in the first *amṣār*, or garrison towns, established by the Arabs: Kūfa, Baṣra, and Fusṭāṭ, as well as in existing cities such as Damascus, Tiberias, Beisān, Jerusalern, Alexandria, Aleppo, Emessa, al-Madā'in, etc.--the latter by settling the immigrants in special quarters exclusively allotted to them. Members of non-Arab peoples, some of whom converted to Islam and some of whom did not, were transferred from their birthplace and settled in the coastal cities of the eastern Mediterranean from Antioch at, the north to Alexandria on the Egyptian coast.[29] This engendered the urgent necessity of teaching the new converts to Islam (whether they were of Arab or non-Arab origin) the tenets of their new religion, including the basic doctrines, the Qur'ān (at least elementary texts necessary for the prayers recited five times a day), and those *ḥadīths* and rules of religious law without which the Muslim cannot carry out his day-to-day life.

This task was undertaken by first- and second-generation Mus-lims who had gained considerable experience in these areas, thanks to their relatively lengthy involment with Islam. *Qaṣaṣ*, then, centered at this stage on the Qur'ān (where the *qāṣṣ* would recite passages from it after prayers), and particularly on its interpretation, to aid the simple masses in understanding it. And although various sources have preserved some of the names of

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[29] See my article "Arab Settlement During the Ummayad Caliphate", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam,* VIII (2) 1986 , pp. 185-207 .

people who practiced *qaṣaṣ* during this period, they do not include enough detailed examples of their actual words to enable any positive conclusion regarding content.[30] Nevertheless, the material at our disposal suffices as an indication of the nature of *qaṣaṣ* during the period under discussion. With regard to the abovementioned Tamīm al-Dārī, he is reported to have recited the Qur'ān to people: "*wa-kāna yaqra'u ʿalayhim al-qur'ān*".[31] Less than two generations after al-Dārī, one of the *quṣṣāṣ* used to teach the Qur'ān in the mosque of Damascus.[32] The concentration of the early *qaṣaṣ* upon the Qur'ān continued into the second century A.H./eighth century A. D., as evidenced by the words of al-Jāḥiẓ, who refers to some of the *quṣṣāṣ* in the second and third century A. H. /eight and ninth century A. D. The activity of these *quṣṣāṣ* centered mainly on the Qur'ān and its interpretation;[33] apparently, interpretation of the Qur'ān occupied a considerable role in the activity of the *quṣṣāṣ* as time went on,[34] since the early stage of Islam (in which the main emphasis was placed on the Qur'ān text itself) had already ended, Instruction in the traditions of the Prophet, the *ḥadīth*, was also an integral part of *qaṣaṣ* from its very beginnings.[35]

The combination of these three elements—Qur'ān, interpretation, and *ḥadīth*--as a foundation for the activity of the

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[30] Among the first and the second generation of the *quṣṣāṣ*, some were mentioned:

(1) al-Aswad b. Sarīʿ (d. 36/356), see: *iṣāba*, I, 45 ; *Jāḥiẓ*, op. cit., I, 367 ; idem., *al-Burṣān wa-l-ʿurjān*, ed. M. al-khūrjān, (Beirut, 1972), p. 131 ; ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII (1) 28 .

(2) ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr (68/687-8), see: ibn Saʿd, op. cit., V, 341-2 . A complete list of the prominent *qussās* in this early period is preserved by Ibn al-jawzī, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-118 .

[31] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh madinat Dimashq*, ed. Badrān (2nd ed., Beirut, 1979), III, 360 .

[32] Ibid., V, 298 .

[33] *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn*, I, 368-9 .

[34] Ibid., I, 291 .

[35] Ibid., I, 369 .

early *quṣṣāṣ*, became the example followed by their latter-day counterparts. When Ibn al-Jawzī (sixth century A. H. /twelfth century A. D.) set down the guidelines for what he considered to be the ideal *qaṣaṣ*, he emphasised these three elements.[36] Because of the centrality of the Qur'ān in the classical *qaṣaṣ*, the two became synonymous in the eyes of the people, and were viewed as a single entity. In this context, the words attributed to ʿUmar I appear to be an accurate reflection of this view; when told that a certain person was practicing *qaṣaṣ* in Barsa, ʿUmar is reported to have written that person a letter with the aim of causing him to cease that activity. In that letter, ʿUmar supposedly quoted the verse of the Qur'ān in which God declares that the best *qaṣaṣ* is the Word of God (Sūra XII: 3).[37]

Later evidence which relates to the Qur'ān itself as true *qaṣaṣ* may be found in a letter sent by al-Ma'mūn, the Abbasid Caliph, to a courtier of his named Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, in which he commands him to learn the opinions of senior officials, theologians and sages on the question of *khalq al-qur'ān*, the creation of the Qur'ān. In his letter, al-Ma'mūn refers to the Qur'ān, as well as to various expressions synonymous with "Qur'ān", amongst which he mentions the term *qaṣaṣ*.[38]

The instructional effect of early *qaṣaṣ* is clearly expressed by the use of other languages than Arabic in *qaṣaṣ* circles. The situation which existed in the metropolitan cities of the Islamic states at the time was that large communities had not yet learnt Arabic although they had already converted to Islam; consequently, there arose a need to bring the divine message to these communities in their mother tongue. Since Persian was the language of education and culture, at least on the eastern flank of the Islamic empire, some of the *quṣṣāṣ* undertook the mission of giving their lectures in Persian. It is reported, in this context, that

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[36] Ibn al-jawzī, *op. cit.*, 185-9 .

[37] Ibn Abī Shayba, *op. cit.*, 560 .

[38] "*Fa-sammā 'llāhu taʿālā 'l-qur'ān, qur'ān*ᵘⁿ, *wa-'īmān*ᵘⁿ, *wa-hud*ᵘⁿ, *wa-mubārak*ᵘⁿ, *waʿarabiyy*ᵘⁿ, *wa-qaṣaṣ*ᵃⁿ" Tabarī, III, 1119 .

the *qāṣṣ* Mūsā b. Sayyār al-'Uswārī held study circles where lectures were given in both Persian and Arabic, in order to serve participants from both peoples.[39] This practice apparently became a tradition amongst the *quṣṣāṣ,* and the use of the Persian language concomitantly with Arabic became a necessity of the times. Ibn Jubayr, the Spanish scholar, documents a lecture he witnessed during his trip to the East in the last quarter of the sixth century A. H./twelfth century A D., at one of the study circles of the *quṣṣāṣ* in Medina, in which the discussion took place in both Arabic, and Persian.[40]

As part of the educational or instructional orientation of early *qaṣaṣ,* Islamic scholars related to the question of the *quṣṣāṣ* style of speech.The phenomenon known as *saj ʿ*, "rhymed prose" , was a point of dissension amongst them. Ibn al-Jawzī warns against the use of rhymed prose on the grounds that it is incompatible with the *sunna* of the prophet and his companions.[41] Ibn al-jawzī's warning apparently relies on a tradition attributed (according to one of version) to ʿA'isha, the wife of the Prophet, or (according to a different version) to Ibn-ʿAbbās, the well-known traditionist, in which they warn the *qāṣṣ* of Medina to avoid *saj ʿ* in his lectures.[42]

This very warning attests to the actual use of *saj ʿ* in the lectures of the *quṣṣāṣ,* though there is no actual indication of the having been uttered by either of the above mentioned persons. In fact, al-Jāḥiẓ attests to this phinomenon in relation to al-Faḍl b. ʿIsā al-Riqāshī of Baṣra, alleging that he used *saj ʿ* in his *qaṣaṣ.*[43] Nevertheless, al-Jāhiz does not complain about this, since he considers the injunction against the use of *saj ʿ* to be a circumstantial one, imposed during the initial stages of Islam, because *saj ʿ* was the predominant style of the *kuhhān al- ʿarab,* or

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[39] *al-Bay ān wa- ʾl-tabyīn,* I, 368 .

[40] Ibn jubayr, *Riḥlat Ibn jubayr* (ed. Beirut, 1964), 177-8.

[41] Ibn al-jawzī, *op. cit.*, 187 .

[42] al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (ed. Beirut, 1378), VIII, 91-2 ; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal* (ed. Cairo, 1317), VI, 217 .

[43] *al-Bayān wa- ʾl-tabyīn,* I, 290 .

soothsayers of the Arabs, who had been part of the pagan rituals during the al-Jāhiliyya period. As soon as the danger imposed by the *kuhhān al-ʿarab* was despelled by the strengthening of Islam, al-Jāhiz argues, the ban on *sajʿ* was lifted.[44]

It should ne noted that the participants in al-Fadl's study circles included a number of renowned scholars from Baṣra, several of whom al-Jhiz mentions by name.[45] These certainly had no difficulty understanding lectures full of rhymed sentences, though this would have been much more diffcult for simple people with limited education (if any). The use of *sajʿ* in *qaṣaṣ* lectures principally directed to the masses would surely have interfered with the instructional aims to which *qaṣaṣ* was devoted.

In order to achieve those aims, pious theologians exhibited a great degree of tolerance toward the phenomenon of *qaṣaṣ* itself, although they themselves considered it a negative innovation and a deviation from the rules of Islamic sunna. Ibn Ḥanbal, for example, was prepared to agree to *qaṣaṣ,* despite the negative elements included in it, merely because the *ʿāmma,* or simple people,were likely to derive benefit from it.[46] The fear that the *ʿāmma* would not achieve the expected benefit would unquestionably have been enough to motivate a man like Ibn al-Jāwzi to utter negation of the use of *sajʿ* in *qaṣaṣ* lectures.

Moreover, a knowledge of religious law was a necessary prerequisite for qualifying as a *qāṣṣ;* the activity of any *qāṣṣ* not adequately familiar with the *fiqh* was considered destructive and dangerous. Words to this effect were attributed to Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī, who reportedly believed it, better to have the mosque go up in flames than to have it occupied by a *qāṣṣ* who was not a

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[44] *Ibid.*, i, 289-90 .

[45] *Ibid.*, i, p. 291 .

[46] Ibn al-jawzī, op. cit., 74-75 ; *Idem, Talbis iblīs* (ed. Cairo, n.d.), 17 . in this connection I may refer to the statement made by al-Jāḥiẓ that the repetition of some sentences by the *qāṣṣ* is acceptable, despite the fact that this phenomenon is considered defective in the art of speech. *al-Bayān wa-ʾl-tabyīn,* I, 105 .

faqīh.[47] Ibn al-Jawzī expressed his satisfactin at these words, explaning that unfamiliarity with the religious laws could only he damaging.[48]

Naturally, knowledge of Islamic law was vital to the work of the *quṣṣāṣ*, enabling them to answer the questions of religious observance, the *masā'il*, posed by their listeners following the *qaṣaṣ* lectures--a procedure which became an integral part of the *qaṣaṣ* ceremonies.[49] In view of this development, it is understandable that, in many cases, the responsibility for *qaṣaṣ* was assigned to the *qāḍī*, or religious judge, once the latter position had come under state control, toward the middle of the first century A .H. /seventh century A. D.[50] This context also exqlains the critical anecdotes--especially those compiled by later authors concerning several *quṣṣāṣ* whose knowledge of *fiqh* was dubious.[51]

The familiarity with *fiqh* expected of the *quṣṣāṣ*--similarly to their knowledge of the Qur'an, and especially of the *al-nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh*, or abrogator and abrogated verses, as refledted in a series of traditions attributed to ʿAlī[52] constitute clear proof that *qaṣaṣ* was primarily intended to provide Muslim believers with the minimal means to observe the precepts of their religion and to run their lives in accordance with Muslim religious law. Yet *qaṣaṣ*, from its beginnings, had a second, no less important role, no less

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[47] Abu Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'* (ed. Cairo, 1935), V, 124 ; Ibn al-jawzī, *op. cit.*, 181 .

[48] *Ibid., loc. cit.*

[49] Ibn jubayr, *op. cit.*, 195, 198 ; Ibn al-jawzī, *op. cit.*, 189 .

[50] Abu Zurʿa al-Dimashqi, *Tārīkh Abī Zurʿā*, Ms. Fatih, 4210 , Arsiv, 1143 (part 5) fol. 12 a; "wa-kāna...*Yalī l-qaḍā'a wa- l-qaṣaṣ*". Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Charles C. Torrey (Leiden, 1922), 204, 231-2 , 235 ; Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-quḍāt*(ed. Beirut, n. d.), III, 221 ; Ibn Khallikān, *op. cit.*, I, 68 ; al-'Abī, *op. cit.*, IV, 272 ; al-Maqrīzī, *al-khiṭaṭ* (2nd ed., Cairo 1987), II, 254

[51] See for example this kind of criticism against the background of lack of knowledge in *fiqh* material, in al-Ābī's work, *Nathr al-durr*, IV, 272-5 .

[52] Ibn Abī Shayba, *op. cit.*, VIII, 558 ; Wakīʿ, *op. cit.*, I, 196 ; Ibn al-jawzī, *op. cit.*, 80 .

purely religious in nature than the first. This was the attemps to dictate behavioral norms: to teach believers to live modestly, without greed, and to avoid (as far as possible) the quest for temporal luxuries and pleasures, as the true reward was to be had in the world to come--a belief in line with the slogans championed by the Prophet and expressed in the Qur'an.[53] The search for that goal was fostered by God-fearing believers, who noted that a number of first-generation Muslims had exploited the economic fruits of the Islamic conquests and were exhibiting an ever-growing tendency toward luxurious and the accumulation of worldly goods.Goldhizer, followed by H. A. R. Gibb, has compiled astonishing information on the wealth and property hoarded by eminent personages among the companions of the Prophet in the mid-first century A. H. / mid-seventh century A. D.[54]

In order to combat that tendency, or at least to moderate it, *qaṣaṣ* tended to spill over into the areas of *waʿẓ and tadhkīr*, both of which focussed on the need to shun temporal materialism and luxury, the brevity of this life and concern for the next, and the desirability of preparing for the Day of Judgement, Reports of *majālis al-waʿẓ* and *majālis al-dhikr*, by no means scarce in Islamic sources, constitute testimony to this trend.[55] In this context, let us note a specific type of *waʿẓ*, requested by rulers and princes whenever their courts were visited by renowned religious sages. Fragments of this type of *waʿẓ* have been preserved in Islamic sources under the heading of *maqāmāt al-zuhhād* (a term meaning "short sessions of ascetics"). In such meetings, the *wāʿiẓ* gave the ruler guidance to keep him in the path of Islam, warn him against

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[53] Sūra, IV; 94 ; Sūra, VIII: 67 .

[54] Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, tr. Andras and Ruth hamori (Princeton, 1981), pp. 117-8 ; H. A. R. Gibb, *Dirāsāt fī ḥaḍarat al-Islam*, tr. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (2nd ed., Beirut, 1974), p. 9 .

[55] See for instance: *al-Bayān wa-ʾl-tabyīn*, IV, 26 ; *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, IV, 167-69 ; Ibn al-jawzī, op. cit., 74 , 119-20, 121 , 123 , 127 , 129 ; Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII (2) 206 ;al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿyya al-kubrā*, ed. M. Ṭināḥī and A. M. al-Ḥiliw (ed. Cairo, 1965), III, 59 .

arrogance, open his eyes to the frailty of human life, and strengthen his Muslim belief.[56] In commenting on this phenomenon, J. Pedersen adopts Goldhizer's statement that the request for *wa ʿẓ* by the sovereign constituted a gesture of respect for the *wāʿẓ*.[57] In fact, however, these meetings were intended to confer Islamic religious approval upon the ruler himself, and could add nothing to the status of the *waʿiẓ* delivering the sermon. A tradition in this spirit is mentioned in the *Kitāb al-miḥan*[58].

It thus appears that early *qaṣaṣ* not only helped the Muslim community to fulfill religious precepts and manage their day-to-day lives, but also served to strengthen Islamic religious awareness and to crystallise social values and behavioral norms in the spirit of Islam.

III

Like other phenomena which cropped up in Muslim society, *qaṣaṣ* was affected by the changes taking place in that society, and was especially marked by political changes. The main event which influenced the nature of *qaṣaṣ* was the civil war, or *fitna*, during which the forums of *qaṣaṣ* were exploited for political ends. In this context, let us perhaps note that the same traditions discussed above, linking the initial appearance of *qaṣaṣ* with the *fitna* on one hand, or relating its invention to Muʿāwiya[59] on the other, are not relevant to the question of chronology.

These traditions, in my pinion, were rather meant to indicate the

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[56] This kind of *wa ʿẓ* was given separate chapters in the works of Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhb ār* (ed. Cairo, 1953), II, 333-43 ; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, ed. A. Amīn, A. al-Zayn and I. Abyārī (2nd ed., Cairo, 1952), III, 158-65 .

[57] J. Pedersen, *op. cit.*, 229 .

[58] The tradition goes as follows: "*wa-waʿaẓahū li- tazūla ʿanhu l-ḥujjatu mina l-lāhi*", He gave him a *waʿẓ* in order to clean him from the accusation of God. Abū al-ʿArab, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī, *Kitāb al-miḥan*, Ms. British Museum, Or. 9449 , fol. 163 a.

[59] Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, 222 ; al-Abshīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf* (ed. Cairo, 1379 , reprinted, Beirut, n. d.), I, 99 .

altered roles which *qaṣaṣ* was intended to fulfill. Mu'āwiya, in fact, did not invent qasas, as stated by some traditions; *qaṣaṣ* was a recognised phenomenon at least one generation before Mu'āwiya's accession to the throne. What he did do, though, was to utilise an existing phenomenon in order to promote his own political aims. Nor indeed was the integration of political elements into *qaṣaṣ* first implemented by Mu'āwiya; he was preceded in this practice by his rival 'Alī b. Abī Talib, and responded to that rival's actions by taking similar measures. This is clearly reflected in the tradition cited by al-Maqrīzī: "Wa-*rawā Ibn Lahī'a 'an Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb; anna 'Aliyy[an] qanata fa-da'ā 'alā qawm in min ahli ḥarbihī, fabalaqha dhālika Mu'āwiyata fa-amara raju[an] yaquṣṣu ba'da 'ṣ-ṣubḥi wa-ba'da 'l-maghribi; yad'ū lahū wa-li-ahli 'Sh-Sh āmi. Qala Yazid: wa-k āna dhālika awwala 'l-qaṣaṣ.*" ("Ibn Lahī'a quoted Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb saying that 'Alī invoked God and cursed several of those who were fighting him. This was told to Mu'āwiy, and he commanded that a certain man who was preaching *qaṣaṣ* after the morning and evening prayers, to pray for him and for the Syrians. Yazid said: And that was the begining of *qaṣaṣ*."[60]

According to this account the political elements of *qaṣaṣ* originally centered on *qunūt*, or invocation against political rivals, after prayers. This recalls the *qunūt* invoked by the Prophet against the tribe of Mudar, when he prayed for divine retribution to befall that tribe in the form of a drought as long and continuous as that which had stricken Egypt at the time of Yūsuf the Prophet.[61] In

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[60] al-*Khiṭaṭ*, II, 253 .

[61] Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, IV (1) 96 ; al-Mubarrad, *al-k āmil fī al-luqha wa- 'l-adab*, ed. M. Abū al-faḍl Ibr āhīm (Cairo, n.d.), II, 82 ; Ibn Shahr āshūb, *Man āqib Al Abī Ṭālib* (Najaf, 1956), I, 72 ; al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb fī al-muḍ āf wa- 'l-mansūb*, ed. M. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1965) o. 49 . Concerning this early *ḥadīth* see: M. J. Kister, "O' God Tighten ThyGrip On Mudar", *JESHO*, Vol. XXIV (part iii), pp. 242-73 . On the historical background of the curse tradition of the Prophet, see 'Uri Rubin, "Muḥammad's Curse of Mudar and the Blockade of Mecca", *JESHO*, vol. XXXI (1988), pp. 249-264 .

both cases of *qunūt*--that of ʿAlī and that of Muʿāwiyya -- the invoker asked God to curse his rival. Both men were certainly aware of the religious sanction expressed by *qunūt*. The political background for those curses is elucidated even further by another tradition, which lists the names of the leaders active in the coalition established against ʿAlī and headed by Muʿāwiya.[62]

The integration of *qunūt* or *duʿā'* (the latter term meaning approximately "asking God to curse one's political enemies") as part of *qaṣaṣ* continued under Muʿāwiy's heirs. During the first siege laid by the Syrian army against Ibn al-Zubayr , who revolted against the rule of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, the rebels' *qaṣaṣ* included curses and defamations aimed at the umayyad ruler, this aroused the wrath of the latter's soldiers, who viewed it as an offense against the sanctity of the Caliph.[63] Several years later, ʿAbd al-Malik made use of the same method of *duʿā'*, out of political motives. He reportedly consulted religious sages concerning the emerging political situation, and revealed to them his fears in light of the dangers threatening his rule from all sides. One of those sages, Abū Habīb al-Himsī, then servirig as a *qāḍī*, advised him to pray for God's help against, his enemies. ʿAbd al-Malik adopted the practice of praying against them with his hands raised on high, and instructed the *quṣṣāṣ* to act accordingly.[64]

The *duʿā'* pronounced after prayers, then, included two elements: on one hand, prayers on behalf of the ruler, his household, the members of his court, and all of his officials; and, on the other,

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[62] The account relates that ʿAlī, after he had finished the prayer of the sunset, reviled Muʿāwiya, ʿamr b. al-ʿĀṣ, Abū al-Aʿwar al-Sulamī and Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī *al-Khiṭaṭ*, p. 253 . Another list of opponents whom ʿAlī included in his curse is preserved by Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha* ed. Abū al Faḍl Ibr āhīm (Cairo 1959), IV, p. 79 .

[63] al-Bal ādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashr āf*, ed. Max Schloessinger (Jerusalem, 1938), IVB, 52 . On the *qunūt* as a measure of religious sanctions and its effect on Muslim people in that time, see: Ibn Taghrī Bardī, *al-Nujūm al-z āhira* (reprinted in Cairo 1963) vol. I, 63 .

[64] *al-Khiṭaṭ*, II, 254 .

prayers for the destruction of his enemies, both internal and external. "Internal enemies" in this context included those political adversaries attempting to take over his rule, *ahli ḥarbih;* "external enemies" referred to the classical enemies of Islam, the unbelievers.[65]

This formula of *duʿā'*, invented in ancient times, has remained in existence to this day, as a conclusion to the sermon following Friday prayers. In this connection, let us note that, although Ch. pellat refers to this phenomenon, he gives no consideration to the internal aspect of *duʿā'* (that regarding the ruler's political enemies), but only emphasizes the external aspect (that directed against the unbelievers, enemies of Islam).[66]

In my opinion, the internal political significance of *duʿā'* was the cornerstone of this issue. It was apparently the importance of *qunūt* or *duʿā'*, as well as the severity of its anathemas, which caused renowned theologians to recoil from it, on the grounds that it could cast disaster on all of Islam.[67] Yet the recoil of the religious leaders did not keep Muʿāwiya and later umayyad rulers from continuing along that line. It was Muʿāwiya who institutionalized the *laʿn*, or curse, against ʿAlī, and even devised a formula for use at the conclusion of Friday prayers; the latter became a sunna, or established custom, and remained so throughout the Umayyad period. By maintaining this custom, Muʿāwiya hoped to set it up as an educational norm for future generations, thus creating an ugly, negative image for ʿAlī.[68]

By the continued exploitation of this method, Muʿāwiya's heirs

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[65] *Ibid.*, II, 253 .

[66] Ch. Pellat, "Kāṣṣ", *op. cit.*

[67] When al-Shaʿbī was asked about the *qunūt* he said: "*al-ṣal ātu kulluhā qunūt, qultu: fa-innahū balaghanā anna ʿAliyyᵘᵐ kāna yaqnut, q āla: inna ʿAliyyᵘᵐ k āna yafʿalu dh ālika fī l'-ḥarb. Innama halaktum ḥīna daʿā baʿḍkum ʿalā baʿḍ.*" *Wakīʿ, op. cit.*, III, 60 .

[68] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *op. cit.*, IV, 56-7 . The *laʿn* also included other political opponents of the Umayyads, like Ibn al-Zubayr and al-Mukht ār. Ibn Abī shayba, XI, 113.

hoped to convince their followers that ʿAlī's family had no right whatsoever to rule, and thereby to reinforce their own rule even further.[69]

This practice continued until the ascension of ʿUmar, who triedto forbid it by signing an edict calling for the replacement of the *laʿn* formula, at the close of the Friday sermon, by the recitation of a verse from the Our'ān stressing the divine prohibition against abomination and slander; this new formula thus became: the traditional conclusion of the sermon.[70] In another version of that edict, ʿUmar referred to *duʿā'* itself (of the sort used to conclude daily prayers), in both its aspects: the prayers for the ruler as well as those against his enemies. The document put the blame on the *qussās*, who had invented this custom, that, in essence, they were blessing and praying for the rulers and princes instead of blessing the prophet and His followers. Furthermore, the edict urged the *quṣṣāṣ* to desist from this custom, to concentrate their blessings on the Prophet and the faithful, and to devote their prayers to all Muslims.[71]

It appears, however, that the attempt to abolish *laʿn* was unsuccessful. The phenomenon is known to have recurred during the reign of Caliph Hisham--not, however, as a closing ceremony after Friday prayers, but as a fixed formula concluding *qaṣaṣ* lectures.[72] In this context, let us note that the use of laʿn as a means of political propaganda had a considerable influence on the Muslim masses, and not only in the period under discussion, but in later years as well.

A tradition cited by al-masʿūdi states that the Abbasid Caliph al-Maʾmūn was displeased to find that Muʿāwiya still enjoyed considerable prestige among the populace, who often spoke of his good qualities and gave him precedence among the *ṣaḥāba*, or

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[69] *Ibid.*, IV, 57-8 .

[70] *Ibid.*, IV, 59 .

[71] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, Sīrat *ʿUmar* b. *ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*, ed. Aḥmad ʿUbayd (5th ed., Damascus, 1967), 91 ; *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, V, 338 .

[72] Ibn ʿAs ākir, III, 410 .

Companions of the Prophet. In order to cope with this problem, al-Ma'mūn issued a memorandum in which he ordered preachers to curse Mu'āwiya from the lecterns of their mosques. He was, however, forced to retract this edict, due to the anger and consternation which it aroused among the Muslim community.[73] Parallel to this phenomenon, a tendency, fostered throughout the Umayyad period, to denigrate 'Alī and distort his image[74], manifested itself among the community of believers, and continued to exist for a long while after the collapse of Umayyad rule. Clear evidence of its existence was still to be seen in the last quarter of the fourth century A. H. /tenth century A. D., in *qaṣaṣ* given by Ibn Sam'ūn in the Baghdad mosques, and intended to portray 'Alīs image and memory in a negative light.[75]

IV

From the moment Mu'awiya began to instruct the *qāṣṣ* in Egypt as to the type of material to be included in his lectures, *qaṣaṣ* became an official institution from all standpoints. This does not mean, however, that the classic *qaṣaṣ*, in its original form, was no longer used. Two forums of *qaṣaṣ* now existed simultaneously: the old forum, defined by al-Layth b. Sa'd as *qaṣaṣ al-'āmma* ("the popular preaching"); and the new, official forum, defined by him as *qaṣaṣ al-khāṣṣa* ("the official preaching").[76] The *qaṣaṣ al-khāṣṣa,* however, was not enough to control the factors of political propaganda in the field. It was necessary to stifle the other forum, which operated freely, far from any kind of government supervision.

Only on this background may we understand the measures taken to wipe out the public *qaṣaṣ*. These includes incidents in which the

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[73] Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab,* ed. C. Barbier de Meynard (Paris), VII, 90-93.

[74] Ibn Abī al-Ḥdīd, *op. cit.*, IV, 63-73 ; Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, II 38 .

[75] Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād* (ed. Cairo, 1349/1931), I, 276 .

[76] *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, II, 253 .

ruler himself intervened to prevent several or the *quṣṣāṣ* from continuing in operation.[77] From that point on, *qaṣaṣ al-ʿāmma* required special permission from the ruler or his agent.[78] In order to give this prohibition an aspect of religious legitimization, a *ḥadīth* attributed to the Prophet was propagated among the believers: "*la yaquṣṣu illā amīr*[un], *aw maʾmur*[un] *aw mukhtāl*" ("no one can perform *qaṣaṣ* except the sovereign, or one who was instructed to, or an arrogant one").[79] As we observe, the *ḥadīth* was intended to refer to a situation existing in reality, and was quite in accordance with the official line adopted by the administration.

The theologians and those belonging to the *taṣawuff* were certainly not involved in the forgery of that *ḥadīth*, as Ch.Pellat believes.[80] It is more likely that they were responsible for the forgery of another *ḥadīth*, which negates *qaṣaṣ* entirely, stating that: "*al-qāṣṣu yantaẓiru ʾl-maqt*" ("abomination is the reward of the q āṣṣ").[81] As far as they were concerned, *dhikr* (in its Ṣūfī form, rather than *qaṣaṣ*, was the most important type of preaching for true believers. *Qaṣaṣ* could only distract believers attention from *maj ālis adh-dhikr*.[82]

Nonetheless, subordinating the *qaṣaṣ* forums throughout the vast domains of the Empire to domination by the rulers proved to be a near-impossible task, especially in view of the cracks in the supposedly absolute and continuous control exercised by the

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[77] Al-Bal ādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ed. Max Schloessinger and M. J. Kister (Jerusalem, 1971), Iva, 34-5 ; al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, 226 .

[78] Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, Ms. Ashir Efendi, no. 597 , 598 , Sulaymaniyya Istanbul, II, fol. 1023 ; al-Suyūtī. *op. cit.*, 226 ; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *op. cit.*, XIII, 73 .

[79] Ibn ʿAs ākir, V, 270 ; VII, 430 ; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*, ed. Ṭ āhir A. al-Zāwī and M. M. Ṭināḥī (Cairo, 1965), IV, 70 ; al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, 224 , 225 ; Ibn al-Jawzī, *op. cit.*, 83 .

[80] Ch. Pellat, "Kāss", *op. cit.*

[81] Al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, 228 ; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, IV, 71 ; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab* (ed. Beirut, 1968), VII, 75.

[82] al-Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb* (ed. Cairo, 1961), I, 145-6 ; Johs Pedersen, "The Criticism of the Islamic Preacher", *op. cit.*

central administration over the political scene. As matters stood, the opposition parties exploited the *qaṣaṣ* forum for the promotion of their own ideological interests. Alongside the official, orthodox *qaṣaṣ*, there also existed a *qaṣaṣ* of the opposition, the latter comprising both the *shīʿa* and the *khawārij*. Included in this area were the three *quṣṣāṣ* who accompanied the pro-Alīd leader Sulaymān b. Ṣurad to the battlefield of ʿAyn al-Wardah,[83] as the earliest known nucleus of Shīʿite *qaṣaṣ*. Other examples are mentioned by Ch. Pellat, who, by contrast to Goldziher, considers them an expression of political tendencies.[84] The pro-Shiʿīte political trend in *qaṣaṣ* of this type was obvious. This is reflected in a tradition referring to a Shiʿīte *qāṣṣ* who used to defame Muʿāwiya in his lectures.[85] The politicization of *qaṣaṣ* was necessarily no less suitable to the revolutionary ideology of the *khawārij*, as reflected in the clear political line characteristic of the Kharijite *qāṣṣ* Ṣ āliḥ b. Musarriḥ.[86] This is the perspective from which we should view the tradition ascribing the beginning of *qaṣaṣ to the khawārij* movement. Even if we may agree with the conclusion reached by Goldziher--that, by ascribing the origin of *qaṣaṣ to khawārij*, the traditionists sought to warn against the threat which it posed to the *sunna*[87]--the tradition may still be viewed as indicating their political use of this means.

The use of *qaṣaṣ* exceeded the sphere of political propaganda and ran into theologian-sectarian channels. Ch. Pellat has shown how representatives of such religious sects and theological schools of thought as the *ḥan ābila*, the *qadariyya*, and the *muʿtazila* exploited *qaṣaṣ* as a forum for the propagation of their own beliefs.[88] This activity apparently incurred the negative responses of other streams, as reflected in those *qaṣaṣ* study circles which

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[83] Goldziher, *op. cit.*, II, 152-3 .
[84] Ch. Pellat, "Kāss", *op. cit.*
[85] al-Ābī, *op. cit.*, IV, 288 .
[86] al-Tabarī, *op. cit.*, II, 881-4 .
[87] Goldziher, *op. cit.*, II, 154 .
[88] Ch. Pellat, "Kāṣṣ", *op. cit.*

spread propaganda aimed against the *shī'a* and the *mu'tazila*.[89] Al-Muqaddasī, during his visit to the eastern province in the fourth century A. H. /tenth century A. D., noted the severe intolerance and fanatic sectarianism among the local population, and ascribed them to the activity of the *quṣṣāṣ*, which he believed to have inflamed the feelings of hostility between the various sects.[90] Reflected to no lesser degree in *qaṣaṣ* were social and cultural struggles, as may be observed in the *du'ā'* with which a certain *qāṣṣ* customarily ended his lectures, in condemnation of certain ethnic groups from among the *mawālī*, or Muslims of non-Arab origin--specifically *atrāk* (Turks) and *khurāsaniyy*,[91] two central elements in the professional Abbasid army starting in the mid-third century A. H. /mid-ninth century A.D.

The oppositionist *qaṣaṣ*, aimed at fomenting rebellion among the populace,[92] troubled the ruling circles. They were prepared to show a degree of forgiveness toward political rivals and other hostile factors, but not toward those *quṣṣāṣ* who used *qaṣaṣ* for the purpose of propaganda against them. This may be seen from the tragic end of one of the pro-Umayyad *quṣṣāṣ*, who used to spread anti-Abbasid propaganda in the city of Wāsiṭ in Iraq, then under siege by the Abbasid army. He was executed, while many followers of the Umayyad governor were pardoned and received no punishment.[93] An even more fascinating example was the execution of the *qāṣṣ* and poet Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Quddūs by the

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[89] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *op. cit.*, XIII, 107 ; XIV, 107-9 .

[90] al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1906), 366-7

[91] Al-Ābī, *op. cit.*, IV, 289 . The descriptions quoted by the author fit exactly the main characters of the two groups mentioned, as quoted in other places. *Akhbār al-dawla al-'Abbāsiyya* (anonymous author), ed. A. A. Dūrī and A. J. al-Muṭṭalibī (Beirut, 1971), 206 ; al-Jāhiz, "*Manāqib al-Turk*", *Rasā'il al-Jāḥiẓ*, ed. A. al-Salām Hārūn (Cairo, 1964), I, 16 .

[92] al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, II, 882-4 .

[93] al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām* (ed. Cairo, 1368), V, 239 .

Caliph al-Mahdī, who accused him of *zandaqa*, or heresy[94]--a charge used by the Abbasids to justify the slaughter of political rivals and other hostile elements.[95] The accusation of *zandaqa* against that *qāṣṣ* was disputed at the time, and some traditions utterly rejeet its validity.[96] This fact, appears to indicate that his execution resulted from the *qaṣaṣ* given by him.

In this context, it is especially interesting to note the edict by the Abbasid Caliph al-Mu'taḍid in the year 284 A. H. /897 A. D., which included the prohition of *qaṣaṣ* lectures, in mosques as well as in markets and on street corners, and a clear instruction to preachers to embark on a *la'n* campaign against Mu'āwiya..[97] This edict was his second; the first, issued five years earlier (in 279 A. H. /892 A. D), was similar, but did not include the instruction concerning *la'n*.[98] Goldziher ascribes the publication of the two edicts to an attempt by the ruler to put an and the instances of fraud and deception perpetrated by the *quṣṣāṣ*.[99] Ch. Pellat, on the other hand, believes that the integration of provocative material into qaṣaṣ-whether this was material of Iranian origin, or legendry drawn from *jāhiliya* stories and tales of Jewish or Christian tradition--to have been the reason for prohibitions of this type.[100] These explanations, however, do not appear convincing enough. The political element alone constitutes sufficient background for the issuance of such an edict, especially if we take into account the *la'n* instruction against, Mu'āwiya, who, ever since the Abbasid accession, had become a symbol of all oppositionist movements.

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[94] Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, ed. D. S. Margolioth (2nd ed., Cairo,1922), XII, 6-7 ; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *op. cit.*, IX, 303 ; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-i'tidāl*, ed. M. al-Bijāwī (Cairo, 1963), II, 297-8 .

[95] Fārūq 'Umar, "Ḥawla zandaqat Bashshār b. Burd" *Buḥūth fī al-tārīkh al-'Abbāsī* (ed. Beirut, 1977), 286-304 .

[96] Ibn 'Asākir, *op. cit.*, VI, 378 ; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 298 .

[97] Al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, III, 2164-5 ; Ibn Abī al al-Ḥadīd, op. cit., XV, 171-2 ; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kamil* (4th ed., Beirut, 1983), VI, 85-7 .

[98] al-Tabarī, *op. cit.*, III, 2131 .

[99] Goldziher, *op. cit.*, II, 155 .

[100] Ch. Pellat, "Kāṣṣ", *op. cit.*

To ensure the implementation of this instruction in practice, the Caliph took a series of preliminary measures to prepare for its execution; among others, he issued an order forbidding the activity of the *quṣṣāṣ*[101] --thus proving that the very existence of *qaṣaṣ* during the period under study, troubled the ruling faction, and had it been allowed to continue, could well have interfered with the implementation of the instruction.

The political dimension of this step becomes even clearer in light of a similar measure taken at a later date by the Buwayhid ruler ʿAdud ad-Dawlah (367/977-372/982), who forbade the activity of the *quṣṣāṣ* in Baghdad, as he considered them responsible for inciting the masses to war and hostile actions.[102] In this connection, it is not superfluous to note the strength of the influence exerted by the *quṣṣāṣ* on the masses, and the relative ease with which they could persuade them to rush into the streets.[103]

Not only the oppositionist *qaṣaṣ* disturbed the ruling circles; they were just as upset by *qaṣaṣ* in general, especially that outside the realm of their supervision. An unequivoval expression of this dissatisfaction is presented in the words of governor al-Ḥajjāj. In a conversation with his patron, Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, he warned of the danger posed by *qaṣaṣ* to the very existence of the regime. In his opinion, *qaṣaṣ* opened the eyes of the masses to the weak points of the present rulers, by comparison to the idealistic charachters of the first caliphs, which were often a focal point in the *qaṣaṣ* talks.[104]

In another context,ʿAbd al-Malik complained of the great expectations held of him and his government by the general public, who allegedly expected them to behave like the first caliphs,ʿUmar and Abū Bakr,[105] whose reign was considered by Muslims as an era of exemplary justice to the point of dogma. It is thus probable that,

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[101] al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, III, 2165 .

[102] Mez, *op. cit.*, II, 118 .

[103] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *op. cit.*, X'III, 109 .

[104] al-ʿIṣāmī, *Simṭ al-nujūm* (ed. Cairo, 1368), III, 177-8.

[105] Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* (ed. Cairo, 1963), I, 9 .

had the *qāṣṣ* Muslim b.ʿUqba known of the rulers' fear of *qaṣaṣ*, he would not have wondered so naively at being dismissed from his post: "*mā līu ʿzal? Wa-ʾllāhi mā anā bisāḥibi kharājin wa-lā ḥarb, innamā anā qāṣṣ*" ("Why am I dismissed? By Allah, I ma not in charge of taxes nor of the army; I am no more than a *qāṣṣ*").[106]

[106] *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 243 .

THE BLACK BANNERS AND THE SOCIO-POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF FLAGS AND SLOGANS IN MEDIEVAL ISLAM

When the ʿAbbasids chose black banners and black costumes as the official symbol of their regime, a battleground was created which had not existed previously in the relationships between the groups competing for power in the Islamic arena. This not only led the opposing camps to adopt banners and symbols in various colors, but also engendered a new kind of propaganda war aimed at supporting the political efforts of the respective sides, presenting them as if they were based on Islamic religious foundations, for the sake of legitimacy.

In this article I shall try to shed light on this phenomenon from a number of viewpoints, including its beginnings and the degree to which it is linked to Arab-Islamic tradition. I shall also attempt to illuminate the political background and traditional conceptions in whose shadow this phenomenon grew and prospered.

The issue of black banners was connected to the dissemination of prophetic traditions of a messianic nature, according to which the Prophet Muhammad foresaw the suffering that would be the lot of his family after his death, and informed them that salvation would come from the East when the local people would arise and bear the black flags that would lead them to a final victory against the rule of tyranny and restore justice[1].

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[1] Ibn *ʿAsākir, Tārīh madīnat Dimasq*, ed. Badrān, Beirut, 2nd edition, 1979 , vol. 7 , p. 246 ; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Fitan wa l-malāḥim*, ed. al-Zayni M. Ṭaha, Cairo (n.d.) vol. 1, p. 28 ; *Aḥbār al- ʿAbbās* (The Anonymous author) ed. al-Dūrī, Beirut, 1971 , p. 199 ; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa l-nihāya fī l-tārīḫ*, ed. Cairo, 1351 h. vol. 10, p. 51 ; The Anonymous author, *nubḏa min kitāb al-tārīḫ*, ed. P.

ʿAbbasid propaganda also contributed to the significant dissemination of the black-banner tradition, since the latter was included in the spurious will delivered by Abū-Hāšim, the son of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya to Muḥammad b. ʿAli b. ʿAbdallah b. al-ʿAbbās, and which became known by the name of *al-ṣaḥīfa al-Ṣafrā'*–"the yellow scroll"[2].

In any case, because of the nature of Islamic historiography in general and of the nature of the writing of *ḥadīṯ* literature in particular[3], it is difficult to point with certainty to a precise date at which this type of tradition appeared on the Islamic scene. But it may be stated with certainty that the messianic-mystic traditions are a complete and utter sham. There is practically no controversy on this point--neither amongst contemporary researchers[4] nor amongst medieval Muslim critics of *ḥadīṯ* literature[5].

A. Griaznevich, Moscow, 1960, fol. 246 a, fol. 251 b; Ibn Ṭabāṭabā *al-Faḫrī*, Beirut, 1966 , p. 144 ; al-Basnawī, *ʿAlī Dādah, Muḥaḍarāt al-awā'il wa-musamarāt al-awāḫir*, ed. Cairo, 1300 h., p. 87 .

[2] *Aḫbār al-ʿAbbās*, p. 185 ; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Šarh nahġ al-balāġa*. ed. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhim, Cairo, 1959 , vol. 7, pp. 149-150. It is worth mentioning that the will issue was the basic point within the Abbasid propaganda in its primary stage. M. Sharon, *Black Banners From the East*, Jerusalem, 1983 , p. 139.

[3] In this context one should advice the comprehensive study concerning the writing down of the hadīt literature. Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, ed. S. M. Stern (Translated from the German C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern), London, 1971 , vol. 2 , pp. 181-188 .

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 126 ; Sharon, *op. cit.*, p. 139 ; J. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall* (Translated into Arabic by Yūsuf al-ʿIš), Damascus, 1956 , p. 398 ; G. Van Vloten, *La Domination Arabe* (Translated into Arabic by Ḥasan I. Ḥasan), Cairo, 1934, p. 111 .

[5] al-Hindī, Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, *Taḍkirat al-mawḍū'āt*, Damascus, 1342 h., pp. 221-223 ; *al-Fitan wa l-malāḥim*, vol. 1, pp. 9-10 . This fact was also known to Muslim scholars from the ninth and the tenth century, they had clearly stated that this kind of *ḥadīṯ* is an absolute forgery. Ibn al-ʿImrānī, Muḥammad b. *ʿAlī, al-Inbā' fī tārīḫ al-ḫulafā'*, ed. Q. al-Samarrā'i, Leiden, 1973 , p. 119 . It is clear that the main sources responsible for the currency of

This fact did not influence the strong effect these traditions had on the public, who showed great interest in them. The masses saw in these prophecies a divine predestination whose eventual materialization was inevitable[6]. This attitude was reflected in their behavior, evidencing itself even in the course of their daily lives[7]. Because of the negative political implications that were likely to arise from the masses' fascination with this material, several of the Umayyad rulers were displeased with these messianic traditions and attempted to prevent their dissemination by perpetrating acts of violence against those who spread them[8].

I

With the rise of the ʿAbbasids to power, the black banners ceased to be an item in the propaganda that had preceded the uprising which had brought them to power. The black banners became the banners of the Caliphate, which raises two important

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these *ḥadīṯ* are always converted Christians or Jews. See for example: al-Mubarrad, Muḥammad b. Yazīd, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Abu al-Faḍl, Cairo (n.d.), vol. 3 , p. 235 ; al-Suyuṭī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Tārīḫ al-ḫulafāʾ*, ed. by Muḥammad M. ʿAbdul-Ḥamīd, Cairo, 1964, p. 216 .

[6] al-Rashīd b. al-Zubayr, *al-Ḏaḫāʾir wa'l-tuḥaf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamidullah, Kuwait, 1959, p. 93.

[7] al-Yaʿqūbī, Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿqūb, *Tārīḫ al-Yaʿqūbī*, Beirut, 1960, vol. 2, p. 318, 343, 345; al-Ǧāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa'l-tabyīn*, ed.ʿAbd al-Salam Harun, 4th edition, Cairo, 1975 , vol. 2 , p. 240 ; Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn al-aḫbār*, ed. Cairo, 1963, vol. 2 , p. 44 ; Abu al-Faraǧ al-Iṣfahāni, *al-Aġānī*, ed. Cairo, 1285 h., vol. 16 , p. 88 ; op. cit., vol. 18 , p. 208 ; al-Marzubānī, Muhammad b. ʿImrān, *Nūr al-qabas*, ed. R. Sellheim, Wiesbaden, 1964, p. 264; Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī, *Šaḏarāt al-ḏahab*, ed. Beirut, 1967 , vol. 1 , p. 195 ; Ibn al-ʿImrānī, p. 56 ; Aḫbār al-ʿAbbās, p. 288 .

[8] al-Masʿūdī, *Murūǧ al-ḏahab*, ed. by C. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1861-1876 , vol. 5 , p. 282 ; al-Balāḏurī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *Ansāb al-ašrāf*, MS. Ashir Efendi, Istanbul, Nos. 297-298 , part 2 , fol. 656 a.

questions: Was the adoption of the black banners and black costumes-initially as a symbol of the ʿAbbasid uprising and later as symbol of their regime--an innovation for them? And if so, why did they happen to choose black?

In fact, the ʿAbbasids introduced no innovation at all by choosing the black banners as their symbol. Other rebels against the Umayyad regime had also borne black banners as early as the beginning of the second century of the Hiǵra. In the year 101 A. H (720 A.D.), during the reign of Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, an uprising broke out under the leadership of Yazīd Ibn al-Muhallab, who chose black banners as a symbol of his struggle[9]. Al-Ḥāriṭ b. Surayǵ, who rose up against the Umayyad regime at Ḫurāsān in the years 115-128 A.H., had also borne black banners[10]. Abū Ḥamza, the Ḫāriǵite rebel who seized control of Mecca and Medina during the reign of Marwān II, also carried black banners[11].

But one should not conclude from this that the banners and symbols of rebels in the Umayyad period and in earlier periods were always black. Among the banners borne by the Hawarig were some red ones as well[12]. The banners of the rebels at the battle of the Camel (*Waqʿat al-ǵamal*) were not uniform and were of various colors[13], and the same is true with regard to the followers

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[9] al-Ḏahabī, Šams al-Dīn, Abū ʿAbd-Allah, *Tārīḫ al-Islām*, ed. Cairo, 1368 h., vol. 4 , p. 150 ; al-Ḏahabi, *al-ʿIbar fī ḫabar man ġabar,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munaǵǵid, Kuwait, 1960 , 116 ; *Šādarāt,* vol.1, p. 124 .

[10] Ibn al-Ǵawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, Ms. Bodl., Pococke, 255 , Cat. Uri, 779 , fol. 99 b; *al-Bidāya wa ʾl-nihāya*, vol. 10 , pp. 26-27; Wellhausen, p. 369.

[11] al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad b. Ǵarīr, *Tārīḫ al-rusul wa ʾl-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1879-1901 , vol. 2 , p. 1981; *al-Aġānī,* vol. 20, p. 99 .

[12] The Ḫāriǵite poet ʿAmr b. al-Ḥuṣayn referred to the red flags of Abū Ḥamza al-Ḫāriǵi in his elegy poem saying:
"taḥta ʾl-ʿaǵāǵi wa-fawqahum ḫiraqun,
taḫfiqna min sūdin wa-min ḥumrī"
(The men are fighting while) they covered with the dust of the battle, and black and red flags are fluttering upon their heads, *al-Aġānī,* 20, p. 112

[13] *Murūǵ al-ḏahab,* vol. 4, pp. 309-312 .

of Muʿawiyya at the battle of Ṣiffin[14].

The abundance of colors used in the banners of the Arabs in their wars, was largely due to the internal structure of the fighting units, since the army was largely comprised of tribal units which fought side by side under internal tribal leadership--although all these units and their commanders were subject to the supreme command of a single chief commander--a system which had existed in the days of al-Ǵāhiliyya under the name of *al-tasānud*[15]. Splitting the army along tribal lines was, in the opinion of this writer, the cause of the proliferation of banners, the object of which was to emphasize each unit's tribal identity.

Islamic historians reporting on the black banners of the rebels mentioned above, have never bothered to explain why these rebels chose the color black. But contemporary researchers have pointed to a connection between the rebels and the struggle against the injustice of the Umayyad reǵime. In this context the rebels followed in the footsteps of the Prophet, whose banners where black when he fought against the infidels[16].

II

As for the selection of black banners by the ʿAbbasids, researchers differ on this point. Van Vloten claims that the ʿAbbasids adopted black as a symbol to contrast with the white

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[14] Ibn Muzāḥim, Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Minqarī, *Wagʿat Ṣiffīn*, ed. by: ʿA. S. Hārūn, 2nd edition, Cairo, 1962 , p. 332 , 330 , 453 ; see also: M. Hinds, "The banners and battle cries of the Arabs at Ṣiffin", *al-Abḥāṯ*, vol. 24 (1971), pp. 3-42 . It is worth mentioning that Muʿāwiya at Ṣiffin was no more than a rebellious against the legitimate authority of ʿAlī the caliph of the Muslims.

[15] Concerning the definition of the tasānud, see: *Lisān al-ʿArab*, ed., Beirut, 1968, vol. 3 , p. 222 . On this way of fighting in Jāhiliyya and early Islam, see: Ibn Saʿd, Muhammad b. Saʿd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. E. Sachau, Leiden, 1917, vol. 1 (1), p. 81 ; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-aḫbāruhā*, ed. Charles C. Torrey, Leiden, 1922, pp. 116-117.

[16] Van Vloten, *op. cit.*, p. 125 ; Fārūq ʿUmar, *Buḥūṯ fī l-tāriḫ al-ʿAbbāsī*, Beirut, 1977 , pp. 245-246 .

symbol of the Umayyads[17].

But available sources provide no conclusive evidence regarding the official symbol of the Umayyads; thus, it cannot be assumed that it was white. The only tradition relied on by Van Vloten, namely that regarding the white garments worn by al-Walīd b. Yazīd during prayer, is irrelevant to the official symbol of the Umayyads. There was nothing unusual about this Caliph's having prayed in white garments; in fact, he was following the *sunna* of the Prophet which recommends that all Muslims pray in white garments[18], since white garments symbolize the modesty incumbent upon all Muslims in their attitude toward the Creator, especially during prayer.

It is for this reason that Muslims of all social strata and walks of life have followed the practice of praying in white as a sign of their modesty and piety[19]. Furthermore, the banner of Muʿāwiyya at the battle of Ṣiffin was red[20]. Other units in his army bore black banners[21] or green emblems[22]. There is consequently no cause to conclude that the color white symbolized the Umayyad regime.

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[17] Van Vloten, *op. cit.*, p. 124 . Other modern scholars share Van Vloten this opinion, see: Wellhausen, op. cit., p. 440 ; J. Lassner, *The Shaping of the Abbasid Rule*, Princeton, 1980 , p. 28 . In the same time Van Vloten thinks that the main reason for choosing the black colour was the fact that it denotes the fight against injustice and any deviation from the laws of God. See: ibid., p. 125 . Farūqʿ Umar seems to adopt the same idea of Van Vloten but without referring to him. See: Farūqʿ Umar, ibid., pp. 245-246.

[18] al-Nuwayrī, Aḥmad b.ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, ed. Cairo, 1923-1954 , vol. 18 , p. 283 .

[19] al-Wāqidī, Muḥammad b.ʿUmar, *Kitāb al-Maġāzi*, ed. by Marsden Jones, London, 1966 , vol. 1 , pp. 120-121 ; *Murūǧ al-ḏahab*, vol. 7 , pp. 39-40 ; al-Rāġib al-ʿIṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ*, Beirut, 1961 , vol. 4 , p. 336 ; al Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Amālī al-Murtaḍā*, ed. by Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 2nd edition, Beirut, 1967 , vol. 1 , p. 170 .

[20] Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd* al-farīd, ed. by Aḥmad Amīn al-Zayn and I. Abyārī, Cairo, 1965 , vol. 4 , p. 338 .

[21] *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*, p. 215 .

[22] *Op. cit.*, p. 453 .

M. Sharon, on the other hand, tends to accept the version of Ibn Habīb and Ibn A'ṯam al-Kūfī, who believe the choice of black was a sign of mourning for the murder of the 'Alid rebel Yaḥyā b. Zayd, who died at Ḫurāsān in the year 125/743[23]. But this explanation contradicts the conclusion drawn by Van Vloten that the black banners had nothing to do with mourning, based on the fact that al-Ḥāriṯ b. Surayg and several of the Ḫārijite rebels bore black banners despite the fact that they were not in mourning for the fallen of the *ahl al-bayt* (the family of the Prophet)[24].

In addition, the expression of mourning in Arab tradition prior to the rise of the Abbasids, was not necessarily connected with the color black. Women in mourning refrained from perfuming and decorating themselves, and some shaved their heads--like Hind bint 'Utba, the wife of Abū Sufyān, when she mourned the death of her father and brother at the battle of Badr[25]. Men in similar circumstances avoided perfumes and drinking[26]. In addition, some refrained from sexual relations[27].

When the black banners were first presented at Ḫurāsān, they provoked anxiety and disdain amongst the supporters of the *šī'a*[28], which points beyond a doubt to the fact that the custom was foreign to the Arabs. But it is not unreasonable to assume that black garments became a sign of mourning amongst women only in certain circles--particularly in the court of the 'Abbasid caliphate. This could only have happened after the 'Abbasid regime became well established, as shown by the two cases in which

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[23] M. Sharon, *op. cit.*, p. 178 (note No. 74).

[24] Van Vloten, *op. cit.*, p. 125 .

[25] *al-Maġāzī*, vol.1 , p. 122 ; al-Zabīdī, *Tāǵ al-'arūs*, ed. Beirut, (n.d.) vol. 2 , p. 332 .

[26] *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'*, vol. 3 , p. 174 ; *al-Aġānī*, vol. 8 , p. 68 .

[27] *al-Maġāzī*, vol.1 , p.121, *Nihāyat al-arab*, vol. 17 , pp. 70-71 ; *al-Aġānī*, vol. 8 , p. 68.

[28] *Ansāb al-asrāf*, MS. part 1, fol. 526-527 (Ḥamīdullāh); *Aḫbār al-'Abbās*, p. 247 .

women wore black as a sign of mourning for the caliph[29].

It is reasonable to assume that this custom remained fairly uncommon and did not exceed limited proportions. In its place different customs took root: blue garments came to symbolize mourning in the Islamic countries of the eastern Mediterranean, while white became the color of mourning in Muslim Spain under the Umayyad dynasty[30]. Blue garments may still be seen used as mourning clothes in some eastern Mediterranean Islamic countries.

But it should be pointed out that the same tradition that draws a connection between the black clothes of Abū Muslim and his followers and the mourning for Yaḥyā b. Zayd, contains an additional element which has so far not been given sufficient attention, one which expressed the main motive behind the adoption of black. These men did not dye their clothes black to mourn the death of the ʿAlid Yaḥyā b. Zayd[31], but rather as a public

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[29] The first time was when the female slaves of al-Mahdī put on black mourning garments as a sign of grief on their patron's death. See: *al-Ṭabarī* vol. 3 , p. 525 ; *Murūġ al-ḏahab*, vol. 6 , pp. 226-227 ; Ibn al-ʿImrānī, p. 72 . The second incident was when Zubayda the mother of al-Amīn dyed her garments with black after the assassination of her son, *Murūġ al-ḏahab*, vol. 6 , pp. 485-486 .

[30] Adam Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams* (Translated into Arabic by Muhammad Abū Rīda) 2nd edition, Beirut, 1947 , vol. 2 , p. 228 ; Reinhart Dozy, *Dictionnaire detaille des noms des vetements chez les Arabes*, ed. Beirut (n.d.) p. 20 ; *Muḥāḍarat al-awāʾil*, p. 85 ; Ibn Bassām, Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Bassām al-Šantarīnī, *al-Ḏaḫīra fī maḥāsin al-Ǵazīra*, ed. by Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut, 1979 , vol. 1(2), p. 913 , 914 .

[31] *Ansāb al-ašr āf*, MS. part 1 , fol. 526-527 (Ḥamidullah); *al-Ṣafadī, Ḫalīl b. Aybak, al-Ġayṯ al-musǧam fī šarḥ lāmiyyat al-ʿAjam*, ed. Beirut, 1975 , vol. 2 , p. 308 ; Ibn Ḫaldūn, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḫaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*, ed. Beirut, 1960 , p. 459 ; *Aḫbār al-ʿAbbās*, p. 247 ; al-Dīnawarī, Aḥmad b. Dawūd, *al-Aḫbār al-ṭiwāl*, (ed. by ʿAmir and J. Sayyāl, Cairo, 1959, pp. 360-361 ; al-Ṣūlī, Abū Bakr, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, *Aš ʿār awlād al-ḫulafāʾ*, ed. by J. Heyworth Dunne, 2nd edition, Beirut, 1979 , p. 111 ; Ibn Ḥabīb, Abū Ǵaʿfar Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, ed. Elsa Lichtensteiter, Hyderabad, 1361 h., p. 484 . In this context we may refer to another version according to which the painting in black occurred as a sign of

declaration that they would avenge his death. This opinion is clearly and unequivocally reflected in the tradition quoted by an anonymous writer[32] as well as in the tradition of Abū ʿUbayda as quoted by al-Balāḏurī[33].

The connection between the black garments and the intention to avenge one's death, is an ancient one, dating back to the days of al-Ǵāhiliyya: When Imruʾ al-Qays, the famous poet, received a delegation from the tribe of Asad, who had come to discuss a compromise with regard to the murder of his father, he came out to them wearing black garments, a short-sleeved cloak, light sandals and a black turban--the black turban being the traditional symbol of the intention to avenge a murdered person[34].

This custom has its origins at the outset of the Islamic period, following the battle of Uḥud, in which the Muslims suffered a bitter defeat and numerous casualties. The *anṣār* (the people of Medina) dyed their garments black in accordance with the ancient Arab custom followed at such times of tragedy[35]. This was the anṣār's way of demonstrating their intention to avenge the blood of the Muslim fallen.

The color black had an additional effect: it emphasized the legitimacy of the desire for revenge on the one hand, and, on the other, expressed the desire to undo the wrong that had been done

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grief on the murder of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and not on Yaḥyā's murder. See: *al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī, Ḫarīdat al-qaṣr wa-ǵarīdat a-ʿaṣr*, ed. Dusūqi and ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm, Cairo, 1964 , vol. 4(1) p. 60 . It was reported also that the painting in black was a sign of grief on the murder of Ibrāhīm al-Imām, *Muḥāḍarāt al-awāʾil*, p. 84 .

[32] *Aḫbār al-ʿAbbās*, p. 247 .

[33] *Ansāb al-aš̆rāf*, MS. part 1 , fol. 526-527 (Ḥamidullāh).

[34] *"fa-ḫaraǵa ʿalayhīm fī qibāʾin wa-ḫuffin wa-ʿamāmatin sawdāʾa. wa-kānat al-ʿarabu lā taʿtammu bi-s-sawādi illā fī-t-tirāti" al-Aġānī*, vol. 8 , p. 75 . It was reported that the Prophet used to avoid to put on black clothes except the above mentioned parts of dress. See: al-Qummi, Ibn Bābawayh, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, *ʿIlal al-Š̆arāʾiʿ*, ed. al-Naǵaf (Iraq), 1966 , p. 347 .

[35] *Aḫbār al-ʿAbbās*, p. 247.

by the attackers. When Manẓūr b. Zibbān heard that his daughter had married al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī without asking his permission, he felt his honor had been smeared. In reaction, he arrived in Medina and flew a black flag in the courtyard of the mosque. All people of Qaysite origin then united under that flag to undo the wrong that had been done to the dishonored elder[36].

It is in this light that the explanation included in Ibn Ḫaldūn's account of the adoption of the color black, may be understood: He says "*wa naʾyan ʿalā Banī Umayyata fi qatlihim*", intending to demonstrate publicly the ugliness and disgrace of the murder carried out by the Umayyads against the members of the family[37]. The ultimate intention was to sway public opinion toward the justification of revenge.

But this was not the way things were, according to the official propaganda of the ʿAbbasids, the intention of which was to lend legitimacy to their seizure of power, and which included the matter of *sawād*, the color black. This propaganda passed through two stages, each of which was characterized by certain points of emphasis.

At the first stage, the propaganda was based on the testament of Abū Hāšim, known as "*al-Hāšimiyya*". But during the second stage the emphasis shifted, and the foundation became the right of the ʿAbbasid dynasty in inherit solely the heritage of the Prophet, to the exclusion of the other members of the family, the ʿAlids[38].

Following the difference between these two stages, there is a difference between the explanations given for the adoption of the *sawād*. Thus, we see during the first stage that the instruction to adopt the *sawād* for both garments and banners was given by the first *imāms* Muḥammad b. ʿAlī and his son Ibrāhīm, whose right to

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[36] *al-Aġānī*, vol. 11 , pp. 56-57 ; Ibn Ḥagar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz as-ṣaḥāba*, ed. Cairo, 1328 h., vol. 3 , p. 463 .

[37] *al-Muqaddima*, p. 459. Concerning the significance of the term "*naʾy*", see *Lisāin al-ʿArab*, vol. 15 , p. 335 .

[38] M. Sharon, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87; Farūq ʿUmar, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

the *imāma* stemmed directly from the testament of Abū Hāšim[39].

But the second stage witnessed a drastic change in the ʿAbbasids' explanation of the adoption of the *sawād*. The explanation at this stage focused on two main arguments: first, that the *sawād* was part of the family heritage of al-ʿAbbās, father of the dynasty, and second, the destined Islamic-religious role of the *sawād*-clad ʿAbbasids, expressed in the messianic traditions attributed to the Prophet .

In the context of the first argument, the official propaganda stresses that the color black has always been a blessing upon the family of the Prophet. The first signs of this blessing appeared when the black arrow chosen by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib won in the lots cast between him and the Meccan nobility, when the latter competed against him for ownership of the golden statues and pearls he had found while digging the well of Zamzam near the kaʿba[40].

The family's banners were also black, as was the banner of the Prophet when he conquered Mecca. So was the banner of ʿAlī at the battle of Ṣiffīn against the Umayyads[41]. As for the Prophet's banner, the sources are unanimous in their opinion that he bore a black banner on the day Mecca was conquered[42]. Furthermore, the

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[39] *Aḫbār al-ʿAbbās*, p. 245 ; Anonyme, *op. cit.*, fol. 246a, 251b; *al-Biddāya wa l-nihāya,* vol. 10 , p. 30 ; Anonyme, *al-ʿUyūn wa l-ḥadāʾiq*, ed. M. J. De Goeje, Leiden, 1869, p. 187 , 197 .

[40] *Aḫbār al-ʿAbbās*, pp. 246-247 .

[41] *Aḫbār al-ʿAbbās*, pp. 245-246. According to another version it is said that the Prophet entered Mecca putting on a black turban, and this why the Abbasids adopted the black colour to be their slogan. *Al-Bidāya wa l-nihāya,* vol. 10 , p. 51 , 67 ; *Tārīḫ al-Islām,* vol. 5 , p. 323 .

[42] *al-Maġazī*, vol. 2 , p. 813 ; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd vol.17 , p. 273 ; al-Ḏahabī, *al-Sīra l-nabawiyya*, ed. by Ḥusām al-Qudsi, Beirut, 1981 , p. 344 ; al-Ḥalabī Burhān al-Dīn, *al-Sīra l-ḥalabiyya*, ed. Cairo, 1964 , vol. 3 , p 137 ; al-Diyārbakrī, Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, *Tārīḫ al-ḫamīs,* Beirut (n.d.), vol. 2 , pp. 189-190 ; Ibn al-Jawzī, Abū al-Faraj Abd al-Raḥmān, *al-Wafā bi-aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā,* ed. M.ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, Cairo, 1966 , vol. 2 , pp. 669-670 ; al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. *ʿAlī, Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, ed. by M. M. Šākir, 2nd edition,

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black banner had been adopted by the Prophet ever since his first battle against the Qurashites[43], and not only on the day he conquered Mecca.

But attention should be drawn at this point to the 'Abbasids' attempt to rewrite the *sīra* of the Prophet with the intention to advance their political interest and create a legitimate background upon which they could seize power. These attempts are reflected in several stories of the life of the Prophet, which they rewrote[44]. One should therefore not overlook the possibility that the attribution of black banners to the Prophet Muḥammad may be part of this attempt on the part of the 'Abbasids.

As for the banner of 'Alī at the battle of Ṣiffīn, sources include several versions which contradict the black-banner claim completely. The black banner attributed to 'Alī at this battle was none other than the banner of the Rabī'a tribe, led by al-Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundir[45], who united under his command all warriors of the tribe of Bakr b. Wā'il[46]. Another account names the color of the banner not as black, but as red[47]. Furthermore, 'Alī's camp at this battle included other banners of various colors[48].

Qaṭar (n.d.) vol. 1, p 377 ; *Muḥāḍarāt al-awā'il*, p. 87 .

[43] Ibn Hišām, 'Abd al-Malik b. Hišām b. Ayyūb al-Ḥimyarī, *sīrat an-Nabī*, ed. by M. M. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo, 1963 , vol. 2 , p. 445 , *Nihāyat al-arab*, vol. 17 , p. 10 . The Prophet used also to give a black banner to some of his companions whom he sent in military campaigns. See: Ibn Kaṯīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm*, ed. Beirut, 1969, vol. 4 , p. 161 ; *Iṣāba*, vol. 2 , p. 32 ; *Nihāyat al-arab*, vol.17 , p. 283 , 253 ; *al-Ḥalabiyya*, vol. 3, p. 199; Daḥlan Aḥmad Zaynī, *al-sīra wa l-āṯār al-Muḥammadiyya*, Cairo, 1310 h., vol. 1 , p. 193.

[44] M. J. Kister, "Notes on the Papyrus Account of the Aqaba Meeting", *Le Museon*, 86 (1963), pp. 403-417 .

[45] Ibn Ḥazm, 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Andalusī, *Ǵamharat ansāb al-'Arab*, ed. by 'A. S. Hārūn, Cairo, 1962 , p. 317 .

[46] *al-'Iqd al-farīd*, vol. 4 , p. 339 .

[47] *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 289 .

[48] *Op. cit.*, p. 332 .

Thus, there is no proof to support the claim that the black banner was exclusively ʿAlī's, as the pro-ʿAbbasid version would have it. in this context there are other traditions which attribute the black flag precisely to the *opposite* camp, that of Muʿāwiyya, since it was ʿAmr b. al-ʿAs who bore a black banner that he had kept it ever since he got it from the prophet[49]. The appearance of this banner in the Umayyad camp embarrassed the commanders of ʿAlī's army, who acted quickly to provide adequate rationalizations that would silence critics and remove the embarrassment[50].

As an expression of the ʿAbbasids' efforts to present the color black as the exclusive heritage of the family, we may note the action of Hārūn al-Rašīd, who banished the traditionist Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāš from his native Kūfa into exile for having delivered the *hadīt* regarding the black banner given by the Prophet to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ[51]

Within the framework of the second argument, two elements of an apocalyptic-messianic nature are emphasized. The first may be seen in the *ḥadīṯs* attributed to the Prophet in which the angel Gabriel foresees the future reign of the descendants of al-ʿAbbās, the Prophet's uncle, whose typical attire would be black[52]. But in the second element, dreams are the central means by which the future reign of al-ʿAbbās' descendants and their symbols are conveyed. The dreamer is al-Manṣūr himself, who tells how in his sleep he saw the Prophet giving the black banner both to his brother Abu'l-ʿAbbās (who preceded him in his position) and to

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[49] *Op. cit.*, p. 215 .

[50] *Op. cit.*, p. 321 .

[51] al-Yazīdī, Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās, *Kitāb al-amālī*, ed. Hyderbabd, 1369 h., p. 83 .

[52] Ibn ʿAsākir, vol. 7, pp. 247-248 ; *al-Bidāya wa l-nihāya*, vol. 10 , p. 51 ; *Tārīḫ al-ḫamīs*, vol. 2 , p. 324 ; *Iṣāba*, vol. 2 , p. 357 ; *Muḥāḍarāt al-awā'il*, p. 87 .

him personally, at the *ka ʾba*[53]. The gift of the banner in the dream, comprised no less than formal investiture--the most supreme form of ordainment according to the Islamic conception of that time.

III

Following the establishment of the ʿAbbasid reign, the color black became the trademark of the new regime. This is clear from the answer of Abū Muslim when asked about the black garments he wore[54]. Black became the official symbol of the ʿAbbasids, from whence the epithet *musawwida*--those who wear black--became synonymous with the name of the dynasty[55]. While the epithet did indeed appear earlier, when it was given to the Ḫurāsān rebels led by Abū Muslim during the reign of the Umayyads[56], the *sawād* did not become the official symbol of ʿAbbasid reign until a few years later, despite the fact that the first Caliph of the dynasty, al-Saffāḥ, had worn black garments when he made his speech of acceptance

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[53] Ibn al-ʿImrānī, pp. 62-63 ; *al-ʿUyūn wa l-ḥadāʾiq*, p. 216 ; *al-Bidāya wa l-nihāya,* vol. 10 , p. 122 . As to the contribution of the dreams to the legitimacy of rule in Islam, see: M. J. Kister, "The Interpretation of Dreams", *Israel Oriental Studies,* 4 , T. A.(1974), pp. 67-103 .

[54] When Abū Muslim was asked once about the *sawād,* he answered: "*.. anna rasūla ʾl-lāhi daḫala makkata yawma ʾl-fatḥi wa-ʿalayhi ʿamāmatun sawdāʾu, wa-hya ṭiyābu ʾl-hayʾati, wa-ṭiyābu ʾd-dawlatī*". In another occasion Abū Muslim referred to the black dress as if it denotes the prestige of the ʿAbbasid regime. *ʿAḫbār al-ʿAbbās*, p. 247 .

[55] *al-Faḫrī*, p. 145 ; Ibn Saʿd, vol. 6 , p. 245 ; vol. 7 (2) p. 170 , 179 ; *Murūǧ al-ḏahab*, vol. 7 , p. 344 ; vol. 8 , pp. 194-195 ; al-Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr,* ed. by Ḥusayn Naṣṣār Beirut, 1959 , p. 62 , 113 .

[56] *Aḫbār al-ʿAbbās*, p. 290 , 294 , 295 , 306 , 372 . It is notable in this context that Muslim historians had transmitted in details concerning the place in which the clothes were painted and who put on the black dress first. See for example: *Murūǧ al-ḏahab,* vol. 6 , p. 60 ; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Imāma wa ʾl-siyāsa*, ed. Cairo, 1969 , vol. 2 , p. 138 ; al-Qalqasandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā*, ed. Cairo (n.d.), vol. 4 , p. 395 ; Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Kitāb al-awāʾil,* ed. M. al-Maṣrī and W. Qaṣṣāb, Damascus, 1975 , vol. 1 , p. 377 ; Ibn Ḥawqal, Abū al-Qāsim, Muḥammad b. Alī, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. Leiden, 1967 , p. 365 ; *Muḥāḍarāt al-awāʾil*, p. 84 .

following his appointment[57].

It was the second Caliph, al-Manṣūr, who institutionalized the *sawād*, giving it its status as an official symbol, when in 145 A. H. he issued a decree requiring all inhabitants of Kūfa, without exception, to wear black garments[58]. The people of Kūfa, fearful lest they disobey the orders of the Caliph, were forced to dye all of their clothing in black ink to escape punishment[59].

But it should not be understood from this that the decree was simultaneously applied to all provinces throughout the empire. In Egypt, for example, it took twenty years of ʿAbbasid rule before the preacher of the mosque appeared in black[60]. This delay was apparently caused by the indifference of the ʿAbbasid rules to the enforcement of black attire in all areas. Their policy in this respect differed from locality to locality. In Iraq, for example, the people were particularly careful to obey the decree of al-Manṣūr.

Persons known for their hatred of the regime were forced to appear in black garments, lest they provoke the ruler's revenge[61]. Others dared not remove their black clothing without receiving special permission from the officials[62], since failure to appear in

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[57] al-Yaʿqubī, vol. 2 , p. 350 ; Ibn al-ʿIbrī, *Tārīḫ muḫtaṣar* ad-duwal, ed. by Anṭūn Ṣalḥanī, Beirut 1958 , p. 120 .

[58] al-Ṭabarī, vol. 3 , p. 294 ; Abū al-Faraġ al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil al-ṭālibiyyin*, ed. by Aḥmad Ṣaqr, Teheran, 2nd edition, 1970 , p 319 ; *al-Aġānī*, vol. 16 , p. 85 .

[59] *Maqātil*, p. 319 . The poet Abū ʿAṭāʾ al-Sindī who was a negro expressed his disappointment of imposing the black uniform by al-Manṣūr, as if the *sawād* had doubled his own original sawād. He said:

"kasibtu wa-lam akfur mina ʾllāhi niʿmatan,
sawādan ilā lawnī wa-dinnan mulahwajā".

al-Aġānī, vol.16 , p. 85 .

[60] al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. *ʿAlī, al-Mawāʿiẓ wa ʾl-iʿtibār bi-ḏikr al-ḫiṭaṭ wa ʾl-āṯār*, ed. Cairo, 1270 h., vol. 1, p. 307 .

[61] *ʿIlal al-šarāʾiʿ*, p. 34

[62] The famous theologian al-Awzāʿi asked al-Manṣūr a permission to take off his black uniform, and al-Manṣūr accept to the question. *al-Bidāya wa l-nihāya*, vol. 10 , pp. 119-120.

black clothing was suspiciously interpreted by the regime as symbolizing sympathy with its enemies[63].

In other localities, on the other hand, enforcement was lenient. In Egypt, rather than exercise its authority by enforcing the decree, the authorities chose a different system: plots of land were given to those who agreed to wear black garments[64], as a sign of encouragement for those who cooperated with the objective of extending the decree to this province.

In any case, we have no conclusive evidence as to whether al-Manṣur's decree was in effect throughout all provinces of the empire, or to how long it was enforced. But it is known that in 153 A.H. al-Manṣūr decreed that his courtiers and the members of his entourage must adopt a uniform which, in addition to the black garments, would include the *qalansuwa*, a cone-shaped cap. Their swords would be hung on a belt round their waist, and a verse of the Qur'ān would be inscribed on their backs[65]. This uniform was not to the liking of some of al-Manṣūr's courtiers, as we may learn from the poem of Abū Dulāma, one of Caliph al-Manṣūr's closest courtiers[66].

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[63] *Wulāt Miṣr,* P. 469 . Meanwhile, putting on the black uniform was considered as a sign of loyalty to the Abbāsid regime. al-Ḏahabī, Šams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallah, *Taḏkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ,* Hayderabad, 1956 , p. 197 .

[64] *al-Ḫiṭaṭ,* vol. 1 , p. 304 .

[65] *al-Aġānī,* vol. 9 , p. 121 ; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 3 , p. 371 ; *al-Bidāya wa l-nihāya,* vol. 10 , pp. 110-111 ; Ibn Taġrī Bardī, *al-Nuǵūm al-zāhira fī-muluk miṣr wa ʾl-qāhira*, ed. Cairo, 1963 , vol. 2 , p. 20 ; *Muḥāḍarāt al-awāʾil*, p. 85 .

[66] He says: "*wa-kunnā nuraǵǵī- min imāmin ziyādatan,*
fa-ǵāda bi-ṭulin zādahū fi-ʾl-qalānisi".
Instead of the increase of our salaries which we expect from the Caliph, he made that increase in our turbans. *Al-Aġānī,* vol. 9 , p. 121 ; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 3 , p. 371 ; *al-Bidāya wa l-nihāya*, vol. 10 , pp. 110-111 ; *Muḥāḍarāt al-awāʾil*, p. 85 ; *al-Nuǵūm al-zāhira*, vol. 2 , p. 20 . The above-mentioned *qalansuwa*, has other synonym names, of which the word *ṭawīla* was the most in use, al-Ṭabarī, vol. 3 , p. 1503 ; *al-Aġānī,* vol.1 , p. 165 . Sometimes it was called *ruṣāfiyya,* which seems to be the royal turban which the Caliph used to put on. *al-Ǵāḥiẓ*,

Objections notwithstanding, the uniform became compulsory for all members of these circles--even in provinces such as Egypt, where the official code of dress had heretofore not been enforced[67].

The uniform introduced by al-Manṣūr in the middle of the second century A.H. remained in force for several centuries thereafter, as the official uniform both of the Caliph and of his entourage[68]. But in light of special circumstances, some caliphs made changes in the traditional uniform[69]. The *sawād* was not only the official uniform within state boundaries; it extended beyond them: Imperial emissaries wore it at the courts of neighboring kingdoms[70].

Some Caliphs, unwilling to limit themselves to the traditional royal uniform, went further--making use of various objects and articles which were also black. Hārūn al-Rašīd was one such

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al- Tāǵ fī aḫlāq al-mulūk, ed. by Aḥmad Zakī, Cairo, 1914 , p. 49 , 48 . A full description of the *ruṣāfiyya* was made by Dozy, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-189 . As to the similarity between it and the traditional dress of the Jews in Medieval age, see Adam Met, *op. cit.*, vol. 1 , pp. 101-102 . Al-Muʿtaṣim had reshaped the *ruṣāfiyya* according to Persian style, and then its new name became *al-muʿtaṣimiyya. Murūǵ al-ḏahab*, vol. 4 , p. 302 . It was reported that the first Muslim ruler who put the qalansuwa on his head, was Hišām the Umayyad Caliph. *Muḥāḍarāt al-awāʾil*, p. 85.

[67] *al-Ḫiṭaṭ*, vol. 1 , p. 307 . But some people were exempted from putting on the black uniform after they got a special permission from the Caliph. *al-Aġānī,* vol. 9 , p. 121 .

[68] al-Ṭabarī, vol. 3 , p. 1372-1373, 1368, 1503 ; al-Hamdānī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik, *Takmilat tārīḫ at-Ṭabarī*, ed. by Albert Kanʿān, Beirut, 2nd edition, 1961 , p. 29 , 99 , 113 , 123 , 163 , 176 , 219 ; Ibn Ḫallikān, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. by Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut, 1968 , vol. 1 , p. 330 ; Ibn al-ʿImrāni, p.157.

[69] One example of these changes was that done by the Caliph al-Nāṣir at the end of the sixth century. *al-Faḫrī,* p. 322 . Or that done by the same Caliph later. Ibn Gubayr, Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Gubayr, *Riḥlat Ibn Ǧubayr*, ed. Beirut, 1964 , p. 204 .

[70] al-Ṭabarī, vol. 3 , p. 1449 .

Caliph[71]. During his reign the circle of those compelled to wear black was expanded to include religious figures and theologians. who were made to wear the black uniform at the initiative of Abū Yūsuf al-Qāḍī, who served as chairman of the judicial institution at the Caliph's court[72]. Other members of the court consistently wore the black uniform on both official and unofficial occasions[73]. The officials' insistence on the uniform was constant, and although some articles were occasionally altered or overlooked[74], The black turban was always strictly maintained[75].

In the course of time the sawād gained prestige in the eyes of the ruling elite. It was given religious sanction, and care was taken not to hold drinking parties, for example, while dressed in the official uniform[76]. The sawād also became symbolic of social class: Persons striving to improve their social standing, sought permission to appear in the black uniform[77]. This indicates that the *sawād* was the symbol of a very exclusive social circle patronized by the Caliph himself.

In the middle of the third century A.H., the *sawād* was beyond the reach of commonfolk who had no link to court circles[78]. Toward the late sixties of that century, the short-sleeved cloak--one of the traditional articles of the official uniform--became the most prestigious gift a Caliph could give one of his clerks in appreciation

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[71] Ibn al-ʿImrānī, p. 60 , 87 .

[72] *Wafayāt*, vol. 2 , p. 303 ; *Muḥāḍarāt al-awā'il,* p. 86 .

[73] *Ibid.*, vol. 1 , p. 330 ; *Amālī l-Murtaḍā*, vol.1 , p. 174 .

[74] al-Ṭabarī, vol. 3 , p. 1385 ; *Murūǵ al-ḏahab*, vol. 6 , p. 477 .

[75] Ibn Miskawayh, *Taǵārib al-umam,* ed. Cairo, 1914-1919 , vol. 6 , pp. 44-46 ; *al-Bidāya wa l-nihāya*, vol.10 , p. 51 .

[76] *Wafayāt*, vol. 1 , p. 330.

[77] It was reported that Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī asked the Caliph al-Ma'mūn to let him appear in public with the black uniform but the Caliph refused this request. *Nihāyat al-arab,* vol. 5 , p. 3 .

[78] al-Ṭabarī, vol. 3 , p. 1817 .

of distinguished service to his patron[79].

The *sawād* became the official trademark of the regime, giving official authority and standing to those who wore it. When uprisings broke out in North Africa, the leader of the rebels wrote to the provincial leader, demanding that he remove the black uniform that symbolized the authority given to him by the Caliph[80]. The *sawād* also symbolized loyalty to the regime. Officials who betrayed the faith of the ruler were punished by having their black garments removed[81]. In extreme cases, the offenders were not only prohibited from wearing black garments; they were forced to wear white ones[82].

It should be noted in this context that even renegade princes like the Buwayhids, continued to relate to the *sawād* as their official symbol, despite the fact that they had separated themselves from the central regime of the caliphate in Baghdad[83]. The Buwayhids' insistence upon the black uniform expresses beyond all doubt the attitude common at that time, which saw in the *sawād* an expression of legitimacy to rule while being loyal to the central Caliphate.

IV

In contrast to the official ʿAbbasid propaganda, which glorified the *sawād* as an Islamic tradition whose religious origins were venerable, the anti-ʿAbbasid opposition-particularly the ʿAlid Šīʿite circles--did not remain indifferent, but initiated their own propaganda campaign against the *sawād*. The aim of this counterpropaganda was to deny any connection between the *sawād*

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[79] Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, vol. 8 , p. 201 .

[80] Ibn al-Abbār, al-Quḍāʿī, *al-Ḥulla l-siyarāʾ*, ed. by Ḥusayn Muʾnis, Cairo, 1963, vol. 1 , p. 102 .

[81] A Muhallabid man was ordered to take off his black uniform as a kind of punishment because he showed sympathy to the Alīdi cause. *al-Bayān waʾl-tabyīn*, vol. 3 , p. 373 .

[82] *al-Ḫiṭaṭ*, vol. 1 , p. 319 .

[83] "*Wa-kāna ʿalā ʿAḍudi ʾd-dawlati qibāʾun aswad, wa-sayfun wa-minṭaqatun*". *Takmilat tārīḫ al-Ṭabarī*, p. 219 .

and Islamic tradition as founded by the Prophet, portraying the *sawād* as a *bid'a*, a negative innovation contrary to the Islamic *sunna*, initiated by Abū Muslim[84]. He had not received the black banners from the *imam*, as 'Abbasid propaganda had claimed, but had dyed scraps of cloth and made them into banners with the aim of misleading the masses[85].

The Prophet himself would have despised the *sawād;* in fact he was astonished when the angel Gabriel appeared before him dressed in black[86]. The *sawād* as clothing was odious to him, with the exception of certain articles[87].

Quotations from 'AIī and other 'Alid leaders forbid the wearing of black clothing, as it is the clothing of such tyrants as Pharaoh, or because it is the clothing of those who deny the faith in Hell[88]. Theologians and religious figures, like al-Awzā'i, hated to wear black clothing because they were utterly foreign to Islamic tradition[89]. In parallel to the traditions of black clothing, traditions appeared which glorified the color white--*bayāḍ*--and of those who wore white, *mubayyiḍa;* these traditions became popular amongs

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[84] Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā' wa-ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyā'*, ed. Cairo, 1967 , vol. 7 , p. 49 ; Ibn Šahrāšūb, Muḥammad b.'A lī, Rašīd al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, ed. al-Naǧaf, 1956 , vol. 3 , p. 86 . In accordance with the hostile attitude towards the *sawād*, it was described as a colour which drew ill-luck upon the Muslim community. *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, vol. 5 , p. 192 ; Ibn Šahrāšūb, *op. cit.,* vol. 3 , p. 86 . Si'īte circles used to avoid dressing black clothes, because they considered it the colour of the devil and catastrophic, Dozy, *op. cit.,* PP. 6-7 .

[85] Ibn 'Asākir, vol. 2 , p. 291 .

[86] *'Ilal al-šarā'i'*, p. 348 .

[87] Ibid., P. 347 . In fact the Prophet used not to prefer a specific colour. He used to dress clothes of different colours, black, white, yellow, red and green. *Tārīḫ al-ḫamīs,* vol. 2 , p. 191 ; *Nihāyat al-ʾarab*, vol. 18 , p. 283 ; al-Dahabī, Sīrat *an-nabī,* p. 343 , 348 , 349 ; Ibn al-Gawzī, *al-Wafā* vol. 2 , pp. 565-566 .

[88] *'Ilal al-šarā'i'*, p. 346 , 347 .

[89] *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'*, vol. 4 , p. 372 ; *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, vol. 10 , pp. 119-120 , p. 124 .

the masses[90].

Within the framework of the struggle against the ʿAbbasid regime, the opposition adopted colors and symbols deliberately in contrast to those of the ʿAbbasids; it is against this background that they became known as "*al-musawwida*"[91].

It is true that in certain cases the rebels bore white banners and symbols despite the differences in ideological background that had spurred these uprisings[92]. But in other cases the rebels bore banners of other colors. In fact, the two ʿAlid rebels who became personally known as "*mubayyiḍa*", Muḥammad and his brother Ibrāhīm, did not carry white banners at all; Ibrāhīm's banner, for example, was of gold color[93]. In a different pro-Šīʿite uprising[94], the garments and symbols of the rebels were green[95]. And in the uprising of the *zanj*--included by Islamic historians amongst the uprisings of the *mubayyiḍa*[96]--the symbols were red[97].

In light of all of this, it is impossible to point to a direct correlation between the epithet "*mubayyiḍa*" and the symbols or banners of these rebel groups, as has been attempted by several

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[90] Wakīʿ, Muḥammad b. Ḫalaf b. Ḥayyān, *Aḫbār al-quḍāt*, ed. Beirut (n.d.), vol. 2 , pp. 159-160 .

[91] al-Ṭabarī, vol. 3 , pp. 443-444 , 296 , 298 , 1504 , 1561 ; *Maqātil*, p. 361 ; *Murūǧ al-ḏahab*, vol. 8 , p. 33 , 140 , 194-195 . *al-Bidāya wa l-nihāya* vol. 10 , p. 248 ; Ibn al-ʿIbrī, p. 126 .

[92] al-Ṭabarī, vol. 3 , p. 361 , 233 ; al-Yaʿqūbī, vol. 2 , p. 357 ; *Nūr al-qabas*, p. 81 ; *al-Bidāya wa l-nihāya*, vol.10 , p. 88 , 108 , 52-53 ; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vol. 7 , p. 128 .

[93] "*wa-bayna yadayhi ʿalamun muḏhabun markūz*". Maqātil, p. 345.

[94] al-Ṭabarī, vol. 3 , p. 1021 . *tabyīḍ*, in this context is no more than a term which denotes the revolutionary action taken by the rebellions elements. In fact, it had nothing to do with the slogans of the revolution or the colour of its flags. See: *ibid.*, vol. 3 , p. 1017 .

[95] al-Ṭabarī, vol. 3 , p. 1346 .

[96] *Murūǧ al-ḏahab*, vol. 8 , p. 33 . Concerning the red slogans of the *muḥammira* of Ǵurgān, see al-Ṭabarī, vol. 3 , p. 493 , 645 .

[97] *Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd*, vol. 8 , p.133 .

modern researchers[98]. And from the same point of origin, it is impossible to rely on the observation by Ibn Haldun that the term *"mubayyiḍa"* was given to the ʿAlid opposition because they carried white banners[99], since in fact these rebels carried banners of other colors as well, and since non-ʿAlid groups not belonging to the *šīʿa* were also known by this epithet.

Furthermore, the choice of white symbols or banners by the pro-ʿAlid rebels, if it was true, during the ʿAbbasid reign, was not a continuation of any ancient ʿAlid tradition. On the contrary, if the family had any characteristic color at all, it was black, since the patriarch of the family, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, always wore a black turban[100], in deference to the will of the Prophet, who had chosen this color when he personally wrapped a black turban round ʿAlī's head[101], the black turban became a family trademark, and when the people of Kūfa were expecting the arrival of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī in 63 A. H., and Ibn Ziyād suddenly appeared in the city streets, they thought he was al-Ḥusayn because he was wearing a black turban[102]. As a sign of identification with the family symbols, the Šīʿite supporters of the ʿAlids, who fought under their command in the uprisings against the ʿAbbasids, used to wear black turbans[103].

It is important in this connection to note the link between the turban on the one hand and the banners and symbols on the other, within the framework of Arabic-Islamic tradition: in times of the battle, it was customary to tie one's turban round one's spear, turning it into a banner[104].

It follows from all of the above that the term *"mubayyiḍa"*

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[98] Van Vloten, op. cit., p. 124 ; Farūqʿ Umar, *op cit.*, pp. 247-248 ; Adam Mez, *op. cit.*, vol. 1 , pp. 126-127 .

[99] *al-Muqaddima,* p. 459 .

[100] *al-Aġānī,* vol. 19 , p. 60 .

[101] *al-Iṣāba,* vol. 2 , p. 282 .

[102] al-Ṭabarī, vol. 2 , p. 241 ; *Maqātil,* p. 96 .

[103] *Maqātil*, p. 321.

[104] *al-Bayān wa l-tabyīn*, vol. 3 , p. 105 .

became a generic term incorporating all rebel movements that revolted against the ʿAbbasid regime, including Šīʿites, pro-Umayyads, religious elements, and uprisings connected to social class, as in the case of the *zanǵ*.

V

In the same way that the *sawād* became the official symbol of the ʿAbbasid dynasty through the famous decree of al-Manṣūr, its symbolism was eventually cancelled, by a different decree. Fifty years after the original decree, a second decree was made, this time by the Caliph al-Ma'mūn in 201 A. H. The new decree outlawed the black uniform and in its place instituted a green one including a complete set of articles of clothing[105].

The explanation for al-Ma'mūn's step was never fully articulated and has not been reported by historians. It is clear, in any case, that the decision to replace the black uniform with a green one was concomitant with a more drastic decision, to appoint the ʿAlid leader ʿAlī b. Mūsā, known as *al-Riḍā*, as al-Ma'mūn's heir[106].

Thus the claim made by many researchers, that the color green was the symbol of the ʿAlid dynasty, and that the transition from

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[105] al-Ṭabarī, vol. 3 , p. 1013 , 1016 ; *al-Bidāya wa l-nihāya*, vol.10 , p. 247 ; Ibn Ḫayyāṭ, Ḫalifa b. Ḫayyāṭ al-ʿUṣfurī, *Tārīḫ Ibn Ḫiayyāt*, ed. by S. Zakkār, Damascus, 1967-1968 , vol. 2 , p. 764; *Maqātil*, p.563 ; *Tārīḫ al-ḫamīs*, vol. 2 , pp. 334-335 ; Ibn al-ʿImrānī, p. 98 ; *Murūǵ al-ḏahab*, vol. 7 , p. 60 ; Ibn Qutayba, ʿAbdullāh b. Muslim, *al-Maʿārif*, ed. Ṯarwat ʿUkāša, 2nd edition, Cairo, 1969 , p. 388 ; al-Masʿūdī, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, *al-Tanbīh wa l-išrāf*, ed. by M. J. De Goeje, Leiden, 1894 , p. 349 ; *Tārīḫ al- ḫulafā'*, p. 307 ; Ibn al-ʿIbrī, p. 134 ; al-Azdī, Abū Zakariyya Yazīd b. Muḥammad, *Tārīḫ al-Mawṣil*, ed. by Alī Ḥabiba, Cairo, 1967 , p. 342 ; *al-Faḫrī*, p. 217 ; *Amāli al-Murtaḍā*, vol. 1 , p. 483-484 , al-Arbilī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sunbuṭ, *Ḫulāṣat al-ḏahab al-masbūk*, ed. by Ǵasim Makki, Baġhdad, 1964 , p. 199 ; al-Šablanjī, Muʾmin b. Ḥasan, *Nūr al-abṣār*, ed. Beirut, 1978 , p. 172 ; *Muḥāḍarat al-awā'il*, p. 84.

[106] Ibn Ḫayyāṭ, op, cit., Vol. 2 , p. 764 ; Ibn al-ʿImrānī, p. 98 ; *al-Maʿārif*, p. 349 ; *al-Bidāya wa'l-nihāya*, vol.10 , p. 247 ; *Tārīḫ al-ḫamīs*, vol. 2 , p. 334.

black to green uniform came in the wake of the appointment[107]. As we have already seen, this contention is completely baseless, since the color green had not heretofore served as the characteristic color of the ʿAlid dynasty. On the contrary, green had been one of the symbols of their adversaries, the Umayyads[108]. Other theories in this context may similarly be discounted, since they are no more than speculation with no basis in conclusive evidence[109].

As for traditions which draw a connection between the green uniforms and the uniforms of the Persian Empire and the symbols typical of the Magian rite[110], these may be seen, first of all, to be of a *Šuʿūbī* character; furthermore, they were planned as deliberate acts against al-Fadl b. Sahl, al-Ma'mūn's *wazīr*, designed to raise false accusations against him and dissuade the caliph from the step he had taken. For these two reasons, the reliability of these traditions is doubtful.

Al-Ma'mūn's step was not vulnerable to pro-Persian influences (if in fact that was the intention of his *wazīr*): the *wazīr* had in fact objected to this step and tried to prevent it[111]. The adoption of green was meant to be conducive to an atmosphere of reconciliation which Al-Ma'mūn strove to bring about between the two rival branches of the Prophet's family[112]. Green was naturally suitable to

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[107] This is the opinion of F. Gabrieli, as presented by Farūq ʿUmar. *Ibid.*, p. 252.

[108] *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*, p. 330 , p. 453 ; Ibn Šahrāšūb, op. cit., Vol. 3 , p. 85 . Although the green uniform became the distinguished dress of the nobility from the Prophet family since the eight century of the *hiǵra* in Egypt. Dozy, *op. cit.*, p. 7 ; Adam Mez, *op. cit.*, vol. 1 , p. 127 . It was during the reign of as-sulṭān of Egypt, named al-Ašraf Šaʿbān, in 773 h., *Muḥāḍarāt al-awāʾil*, p. 85 .

[109] Farūq ʿUmar, *op. cit.*, p. 254 .

[110] Al-Ǵahsiyārī, muḥammad b. ʿAbdūs, *al-Wuzarāʾ wa ʾl-kuttāb* (ed. by Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā, Abyārī and Šalabī) Cairo, 1938 , p. 313 ; *Murūǵ al-ḏahab*, vol. 4 , p. 48 .

[111] *Maqātil*, p. 562 .

[112] Farūq ʿUmar, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-255 .

this atmosphere, since according to Islamic tradition, it is the color in which the people of Paradise will be clothed after Judgement Day[113].

With the publication of the decree, green became the official uniform of the clerks in the service of the caliph and his army[114], and cooperation in the various provinces was practically total[115]. But the reaction in Baghdad, the capital, was different. There were those who obeyed the decree, while others--particularly the ʿAbbasid dynasty and those close to it--refused to accept it and even rejected al-Ma'mūn, appointing Ibrahīm b. al-Mahdī as Caliph in his place[116].

Despite the death of the ʿAlid heir in the year 203 A. H., the green uniform continued to serve as the official uniform. It was changed a year later, after al-Ma'mūn entered Baghdad and put down the uprising of the ʿAbbasid princes led by Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī[117]. The black uniform was returned to its former status as symbol of the ʿAbbasid caliphate, and al-Ma'mūn reinstituted it and compelled the adversaries of the dynasty to wear black, as his predecessors had done[118].

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[113] Qur'ān, 18:31 , 55:76 , 76:21 ; see also: *al-Iṣāba,* vol. 2 , pp.166-167. According to the Arabic tradition in Ǵāhiliyya, the green colour denotes generosity and noble origin. *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ,* vol. 4 , p. 372 .

[114] *al-Bidāya wa l-nihāya*, vol.10 , p. 238 .

[115] al-Yaʿqūbī, vol. 2 , pp. 448-449 .

[116] al-Ṭabarī, vol. 3 , pp.1013-1014 ; *al-Fahrī*, p. 217 ; *Tārīḫ al-ḫulafāʾ*, p. 307 ; al-Gahsiyāri, p. 312 .

[117] *Tārīḫ al-Mawṣil*, p. 353 ; *al-Bidāya wa l-nihāya*, vol. 10 , p. 250 ; Ibn Ḫayyāṭ, *op. cit.*, vol. 2 , p. 767 ; *Murūǵ al-ḏahab*, vol. 7 , p. 62 ; *al-Tanbīh wa l-iśrāf*, p. 350 ; al-Yaʿqūbī, vol. 2 , p. 454 .

[118] The very outstanding example for al-Ma'mūn's new policy was his order to impose the black uniform on the ʿAlīdi heads who wanted to meet him in his royal palace. al-Ṭabarī, vol. 3 , p. 1063 .

THE APPOINTMENT AND DISMISSAL OF KH ĀLID B. AL-WALĪD FROM THE SUPREME COMMAND A STUDY OF THE POLITICAL STRATEGY OF THE EARLY MUSLIM CALIPHS IN SYRIA

The glory with which Khālid b. al-Walīd began his military political career in the early days of Islam, took a crushing blow following his humiliating dismissal from his distinguished post as supreme commander of all the Arab armies which invaded Byzantine Syria during the fourth decade of the seventh century (634-640 A. D.). Furthermore, Islamic traditions display a strange tendency to minimise the value and spoil the prestige of this eminent commander. Notwithstanding explanations for his dismissal quoted by the literature, and notwithstanding modern researchers' discoveries regarding this affair, there are still major questions which research will have to answer.

In the present article I shall attempt to deal with some of these questions which have either remained unanswered by the literature on the one hand or, on the other, have been ignored or insufficiently dealt with by existing research.

I. The Issue of Khālid's Appointment

Unlike the appointment of other commanders, whose armies invaded Syria following the succesful suppression by Abū Bakr's Medina regime of the tribal revolts which broke out following the death of the Prophet (known by the Islamic epithet *ḥurūb al-ridda,* "the apostasy wars"), Khālid's appointment was not only delayed, it also met with considerably controversy as reflected in the contradictory accounts provided by Islamic tradition.

When the Arab armies began to move from Medina in the direction of Syria during the autumn of 633 , Khālid b. al-Walīd

and his forces were not in the area. Following his victory against Musaylima at Yamāma, Khālid headed for Ḥīra in Iraq with the intention of taking action on the ground in the fashion of al-Muthannā al-Shaybānī, one of the prominent leaders of the large Bakr b. Wā'il tribe, who led frequent raids into Persian-controlled Iraqi territory without coordinating at all with the Islamic regime in Medina.[1] It is likewise doubtful whether Khālid's action was coordinated with Caliph Abū Bakr, who heretofore had shown no interest in the conquest of Iraq, at a time when the majority of Medina's efforts and resources were directed toward conquering Syria.[2]

But Islamic tradition presents Khālid's activity in the Iraqi arena as an act not only coordinated with Medina but even carried out according to the caliph's clear instructions. In this connection, it is reported by Ibn al-Kalbī that Abū Bakr had instructed Khālid to leave Yamāma on a march which would begin in Iraq and whose final destination would be Syria.[3] Another tradition reports that Khālid was directed to Iraq at the suggestion of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who was to rule in Medina after Abū Bakr's death and thus Khālid would be close to the arena of combat in Syria should the need arise.[4]

In actual fact both these traditions purport to cover the selfreliant nature of Khālid's action, since the invasion of Iraq could not have contributed anything to achieving Medina's central goal of defeating Syria. Had it been in the caliph's power to influence Khālid's decisions, he would certainly have sent him

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[1] C.H Becker., 338 .

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibn Ḥubaysh, ms. fol. 120 b. "*waḥakā Ibn al-Kalbī, annahu qāla:. Kataba Abū Bakr ilā Khālid b. al-Walīd wa-hwa bi-l-Yamāma, an yasīra ilā-ash-shām, wa-amarahū an yabda'a bi-l- 'Irāq, fa-marra biha ...*"

[4] *Ibid., fol. 118a, "fa-qāla lahū ʿUmar: ibʿath Khālidᵃᵐ maddaᵃᵐ li-Muthannā, yakūnu qarībᵃᵐ min ahli 'sh-Shām.*

directly to Syria, as he had done to all the other commanders before him; in fact, he did precisely that a few months later, when he ordered him to leave Iraq and to unite his soldiers with the Arab fighting forces in the Syrian arena.[5]

Furthermore, some obvious hints may be found in the Islamic traditions alluding to Khālid's unilateral decision to go to Iraq after the battle of Yamāma. The fact that most if not all of the *ṣaḥāba* ("Companions of the Prophet") who participated in that battle returned to Medina afterwards,[6] was a sure indication of their disapproval; more precisely, it was their act of protest against their commander's intention to Iraq. The only elements who remained within his ranks were fighters from tribes adjacent to the territory of Medina.[7] In other words, these were fighters from the *aʿrāb* who were not part of the Islamic nobility par *excellence*, the *al-muhājirūn*, and whose degree of faith in Islam would not have satisfied the minimum requirements of a believer.[8] As a result of these fighters' departure, Khālid was forced to make changes in the structure of his army and appointed tribal commanders to replace those *ṣaḥāba* who had left for Medina.[9]

In any case, faced with increasing pressure at the hands of the Byzantine army, after the latter had endured the initial offensive of the Arab invaders, the Medina regime was forced to send additional reinforcements to the battlefield. Among these was Khālid, who had arrived at the head of a brigade of horsemen from

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[5] al-Balādhurī, I, 129 ; Ṭabarī, I, 2075-6 , 2109, 2115 ; *Aghānī,* xv, 12 ; Ibn Aʿtham, I, 133 ; *al-Kāmil,* II, 278-9 ; al-Diyārbakrī, II, 229, 230.

[6] Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

[7] Ibn Ḥubaysh, ms. fol.117 B. "*wa-baqīya Khālidᵘᵐ fī alfayni mina-ʾl-qabāʾili l-latī ḥawla-ʾl-Madīna* ".

[8] Athāmina Kh.,"Aʿrāb and Muhajirūn in the Environment of Amṣār", *Studia Islamica*, (LXVI), 1987, pp. 5-25 .

[9] Ibn Ḥubaysh, ms. fol.120 A. "*fa-waḍaʿa makānahum rijālᵃⁿ wa-wallāhum umūrahum*".

Iraq and arrived at the outskirts of Damascus in April of 634.[10]

Khālid's appearance in Syria raised two problematic questions. First, who had given him the order to quit Iraq; was it, Abū Bakr, or was it ʿUmar, after the latter had inherited the caliphate from his predecessor? Second, had he been appointed supreme commander over all armies in Syria; if so, who appointed him? Was this position assigned by the Medina regime, or was it granted to him by the local commanders?

Our sources do not offer unequivocal answers to these questions; indeed, the gamut of interpretations is bewildering and contradictory. As for Khālid's journey from Iraq to Syria, one account, quoted by several sources, claims it was Abū Bakr who ordered Khālid to Syria to reinforce the Islamic army there and to serve as supreme commander of all forces on that front.[11] In his order, Abū Bakr explains his decision to appoint Khālid as supreme commander, citing his superior military talents and his glorious military record.[12] It is apparently this version which leads C. H. Becker[13] and Andreas N. Stratos[14] to the conclusion that Khālid's dispatch to Syria was intended solely to give him supreme command and to allow him to conduct the campaign against the Byzantines, since the conquest of Syria had become a central goal in Medina's policy. But another version, quoted by al-Balādhurī, implies that Khālid was not empowered by Caliph Abū Bakr to assume the supreme command, but that his colleagues, the commanders of the other armies active in Syria, would grant Khālid this position when their armies happened to come together in their war against the Byzantine enemy--a gesture

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[10] Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 341 , Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 75 . But other dates are suggested by some scholars, see: Stratos, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-3 .

[11] al-Balādhurī, I, 138 ; Tab., I, 2121-2091 , 2190 , Ibn Aʿtham, I, 133 ; Fasawī, III, 296 ; *Agh.*, XV, 12 ; Ibn Ḥubaysh, ms., fol. 58 B.

[12] al-Azdī, p. 86 ; al-Diyārbakrī, II, 231 .

[13] Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 344 .

[14] Stratos, *op. cit.*, p. 52 .

expressing their recognition of his military prowess and bravery.[15]

Even if we suppose that a man like Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān or Shurahbīl b. Hasana might have been willing to subordinate himself to Khālid voluntarily, it is inconceivable that a man like ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṢ would agree to do so. In this context it deserves mentioning that ʿAmr had urged Abū Bakr, before the armies' departure to Syria, to grant him supreme command on that front.[16] Furthermore, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ had already attained the post of supreme commander in one of the first battles in Palestine, before Khālid's arrival, as reported by the sources.[17]

A parallel account regarding Khālid's expedition and appointment, suggests that he was sent to Syria after Abū Bakr's death and that it was ʿUmar who gave him the order to depart for Syria. According to this account, the order was given after ʿUmar was asked by Abū ʿUbayda, who was already in Syria, to send reinforcements to the Muslims there.[18] The obvious tendentiousness of this account renders it unreliable *a priori*; it is, of course, designed to raise the prestige of Abū ʿUbayda (who was destinated to succeed Khālid) and to present his status as superior to that of the other commanders in Syria while at the same time playing down Khālid's importance and the central role he played in tipping the scales on that front in favour of the Muslims. Most important, it contradicts the chronology of events in Syria: Khālid's arrival in Syria actually preceded Abū ʿUbayda's by a considerable interval, as the present article will show.

In this context another tradition, attributed by the traditionists to Khālid himself, has Khālid complaining against ʿUmar that the latter had appointed him supreme commander only to dismiss him after he had fulfilled his mission with complete success--thus

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[15] al-Balādhurī, I, 129 .

[16] Ibn Ḥubaysh, ms. fol. 55 a, "*fa-qāla: yā Khalīfata rasūli llāh, anā al-wālī ʿalā n-nās? qāla: lā, wa-lākinnaka aḥadu- l-umarā*"

[17] Balādhurī, I, 138 ; Tab., I, 2091 .

[18] Fasawī, III, 292 ; Ibn ʿAsākir, I, 135 ; *al-Bidāya*, VII, 23-4 .

preventing him from enjoying the fruits of his victory.[19] This tradition, among other things, serves as the basis for De Goeje's conclusion that Khālid was appointed by ʿUmar rather than by his predecessor, Abū Bakr.[20]

One should not interpret this tradition as establishing unequivocally that the appointment was made by ʿUmar; the expression, *ista ʿmalanī,* could mean that ʿUmar approved Khālid's continued service in his post. In other words, ʿUmar was not necessarily the one who initiated the appointment; he could well simply have reconciled himself to the situation and allowed Khālid to continue in his position. Evidence to this effect may be found in the lengthy correspondence which took place between ʿUmar and Khālid in the latter's capacity as supreme commander.[21] It should be noted in this context that the versions which allege that ʿUmar dismissed Khālid immediately upon assuming power, are unreliable traditions.[22]

II. *The Appearance of Abū ʿUbayda and Khālid's Dismissal as Supreme Commander*

According to one version in the Islamic tradition, Abū ʿUbayda arrived in Syria as commander of one of the armies sent there by Caliph Abū Bakr before Khālid arrived at the Syrian front.[23]

Another tradition presents Abu ʿUbayda as supreme

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[19] "*inna ʿUmara ista ʿmalanī ʿalā sh-shāmi wa-hwa lahū muhimm*[un], *fa-lammā alqā Sh-Shāmu bawāniyahū wa-ṣāra bathaniyyat*[un] *wa-ʿasal*[un] *ʿazalanī wa- ʾsta ʿmala ghayrī*", Ibn Durayd, 149-50 ; al-*Nihāya*, 1 , 95 , 156 , 164 ; Ibn Abī Shayba, xiii, 38-9 ; al-Harawī, IV, 28-9 ; *al-Bidāya*, VI, 203 .

[20] De Goeie, p. 68 .

[21] Concerning these correspondence one may consult, al-Bustī, p. 460

[22] Ibn Khayyāṭ, I, 106 ; Ṣafwat, I, 156-7 . It seems that P. Crone had been misled by this tradition when she states that ʿUmar immediately dismissed Khālid after Abu Bakr's death in 13/634. See: Crone, "Khālid", E.1. 2 .

[23] al-Bustī, p. 457 ; Ibn Ḥubaysh ms. ibid., fol. 56 B-57 A, fol. 48 A; *Agh.* XV, 12 ; Azdī, 85 , Masʿūdī, 286.

commander of all armies sent to that territory.[24] As a matter of fact, Abū ʿUbayda arrived in Syria after Abū Bakr's death, as stated by most researchers who have dealt with this issue.[25] This conclusion is strengthened by a criticised account of the Islamic historian al-Balādhurī, who generally tended to criticise his sources and express his views on topics that raised a controversy among the traditionists.[26] Relating to the tradition which includes Abū ʿUbayda among the commanders sent by Caliph Abū Bakr, Balādhurī says "there is no truth to this claim", but adds: "Abū Bakr indeed intended to send Abū ʿUbayda at the head of one of the armies, but the latter asked the caliph to relieve him of this mission."[27]

Apparently, despite Abū ʿUbayda's prominent position among the ten highest-standing friends of the Prophet and despite his having taken part in a large number of military raids which took place during- the Prophet's lifetime,[28] he had no military aspirations and lacked the military experience and credit necessary to convince him to undertake a military post as important as the one he had been offered.

Certain allusions in the sources lend credence to this characterisation of Abū ʿUbayda. When the Prophet assailed Mecca, about two years before his death, a large number of troops and commanders took part in the campaign, Of all of them, Abū ʿUbayda took command of an unarmed non-combat unit, the unit of *al-ḥussar*.[29] His military limitations were apparently no secret, and when he was appointed supreme commander of the armies in Syria, certain critical voices were heard in the ranks of the

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[24] Ibn Ḥubaysh, ms. fol., 46 A, Ibn Aʿtham, I, 139 , 140 .

[25] Gibb, "Abū ʿUbayda", E.I.[2]; Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 340 ; Ḥitti, II, 6 ; Stratos, p. 52 ; A. R. Hill, p. 76 .

[26] S. D. Gojtein, "Introduction"; ʿAthāmina, "Sources", *loc. cit.*

[27] al-Balādhurī, 128 ; al-Fasawī, III, 291 ; Ibn ʿAsākir, vi, 30 .

[28] Gibb, *op. cit.*

[29] *Ansāb*, I, 335 .

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[26] S. D. Gojtein, "Introduction"; ʿAthāmina, "Sources", *loc. cit.*

[27] al-Balādhurī, 128 ; al-Fasawī, III, 291 ; Ibn ʿAsākir, vi, 30 .

[28] Gibb, *op. cit.*

[29] *Ansāb*, I, 335 .

military.[30]

Abu 'Ubayda's arrival in Syria occurred only after 'Umar had taken power. He was sent at the hand of one of the reinforcements which were frequently dispatched from Medina to strengthen the Muslim ranks deployed on the Syrian front.[31]

Referring to this issue, modern research has approved this version and even places his arrival after the first siege upon Damascus in 636 a.d.[32] Before being commander-in-chief, Abū 'Ubayda was commander of one of the Arab armies acting in Syria. He was appointed to the chief command only after the battle of Yarmūk.[33] There is no significant controversy within Islamic tradition concerning this issue, and most versions follow these lines.[34]

However, some accounts allege that his appointment took place during the preparations for the battle of Yarmūk or at the peak of the fighting, and that it was only Abū 'Ubayda's courtesy and modesty that prevented him from making his appointment known publicly and seizing the position from Khālid, in order not to embarrass or offend him.[35] Such accounts are not reliable, not only because their presentation of the facts runs contrary to any military logic, but also because they are designed to impart a dramatic character to the appointment and dismissal on the one hand, and

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[30] Ibn Sa'd, III (1), p.301 .

[31] al-Fasawī, III, 202 ; *al-Bidāya*, VII, 23-4; Ibn 'Asakir, I, 135.

[32] Elisseeff, *op. cit.;* Hill, 78 ; Ḥitti, II., 6 ; Gibb, *op. cit.*; Stratos, *op. cit.*, pp 52 , 59 .

[33] Gibb, *op. cit.*; Ḥitti, II, 14 ; Elisseeff, *op. cit.*; De Goeje, *op. cit.*,67 ; Stratos, *op. cit.* , p. 74 .

[34] Ibn Ḥubaysh, ms. fol. 66 B; fol. 67 A; Fasawī, III, 296-7 ; Ibn 'Asākir, V, 107 ; Ibn Khayyāṭ, I, 112 ; *Uns*, I, 246-7 ; al-Fasī, IV, 294 ; Balādhurī, 137 , 150 ; Qudāma, 289 ; *al-Bidāya*, VII, 19 ; Ṭabarī, I, 2147 ; al-Fakhrī, 76 .

[35] Ṭabarī, I, 2145 ; al-Bustī, 463-5 ; al-Bakrī, 1393 ; *al-Bidāya,* VII, 12 ; *Iṣāba*, (n.) 8373 .

to present Abū ʿUbayda's moral superiority and unselfishness on the other.

In any case, it is reasonable to assume that Abū ʿUbayda's appointment did not come as a complete surprise to him, as several obvious allusions in the literature indicate that he was aware of Caliph ʿUmar's intention of dismissing Khālid and making him supreme commander in Khālid's stead.

Throughout Abū ʿUbayda's sojourn in Syria he maintained communication with Medina; letters went back and forth via ʿUmar's emissaries, who would visit Abū ʿUbayda's encampment, showing special interest in the contacts and movements of Khālid b. al-Walīd.[36] In addition, the secrecy with which Khālid's dismissal and Abū ʿUbayda's subsequent appointment were carried out, was justified in light of the circumstances on the ground. There was serious apprehension that the reaction of Khālid and his men might well be no less than a full-blown armed mutiny headed by the deposed commander, which could have brought about a *fitna* ("civil war"), as stated by one tradition.[37]

III. *Reasons for the Dismissal*

The literature offers no shortage of reasons and excuses underlying Caliph ʿUmar's decision to depose Khālid as supreme commander. Examining these explanations as reflected in the traditions, reveals a broad and varied spectrum of categories linked either to Khālid's character, or to his past, or to his fiscal policies, or to his personal relationship with ʿUmar, or to anxiety over the possible development of a personality cult around Khālid

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[36] Iby Ḥubaysh, ms. fol. 65 as, *"fa-qāla lahū ar-rasūlu: yā Abā ʿUbaydata, inna ʿUmara yaḳūlu laka akhbirnī ʿan ḥāli-ʾn-nāsi, wa akhbirnī ʿan Khālid b. al-Walid ayyu ra-Julin huwa?"*; al-Azdi, p. 99 .

[37] *"wa-khīfa min fitnatin taḥduthu min ʿazli Khālidin idhā balaghahū ʾl-khabar"*, Yafiʿī, vol. I, 69-70 .

himself.[38] The very existence of such a large variety of explanations raises doubts concerning their reliability and obscures the true reasons for ʿUmar's decision.

Relating to this question most researchers cite the fact that the defeat of the Byzantines at Yarmūk necessitated replacing the military leader with a capable political administrator like Abū ʿUbayda.[39]

But this explanation cannot be accepted easily, for two reasons: first, while Abū ʿUbayda may have had excellent administrative capabilities, how can one assume that Khālid did not have satisfactory administrative talents in addition to his military qualifications? Did Khalid ever fail when put to the test? Second, why were none of Khālid's fellow commanders not dismissed by the same rationale--like, for example, ʿAmr b, al-ʿĀṣ,

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[38] It was reported that Khālid was extremely independent in taking his decision and rarely coordinated his steps with Medina. See: al-Fāsī, IV, 293 ; *Thimār*, 23-4 ; 23-4 ; *Iṣāba*, I, 414-5 ; Ibn ʿAsākir, V, 115 . Khalid's record in the nearer past even contributed more to his passive image, especially the murder of the Tamīmī leader Mālik b. Nuwayra during the *ridda* campaign and his marriage with the slained leader's widow soon after his murder which contradicts the laws of the sharīʿa. See: Ṭabarī, I, 2148 ; *Bidāya*, VII, 18 ; al-Fāsī, IV, 293 ; *al-Kāmil*, II, 344 ; *Thimār*, 24 ; Ibn ʿAsakir, V, 107 ; al-Kutubī, III, 233 ; *Aghānī*, XIV, 67 ; *Wafayāt*, VI, 14 ; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 179 ; XVII, 202 ; Ibn al-Wardī, I, 217-8 ; *Sarḥ*, 87 . As to the fiscal policy of Khālid he was accused of distributing money generously to some members of tribal nobility from those who do not deserve it. In the same time, members of the Muslim nobility who are eligible for it were deprived of it. Moreover, Khālid had never reported to Medina concerning this policy. See: *Bidāya*, VII, 115 , 117 ; al-Fāsī, IV, 293-4 ; *Thimār*, 23-4 ; Ṭabarī, I, 2526 ; Ibn ʿAsākir, V, 110 , 115 , 116. The personal enmity of ʿUmar towards Khālid was also emphasized in the sources. See: Yaʿqūbī, II, 140 ; Ṭabarī, I, 2148 ; *Bidāya*, VII, 18 , 112 ; Ibn ʿAsākir, V, 112 . As to the personality cult, ʿUmar was intimidated of the heroic image of Khālid among the people, which may develop into personality cult if it should continue. See: Ṭabarī, I, 2528 ; *al-Kāmil*, II, 344 , *Bidāya*, VII, 81 , 116 .

[39] Beeker, *op. cit.*, p. 344 ; W. Muir, p.130 ; Ḥitti, II, 6 ; Stratos, *op. cit.*, p. 174 .

who was appointed by ʿUmar to govern Egypt after his troops had conquered it? Furthermore, the sources show not a sliver of evidence that it was the administrative issue which underlay Khālid's dismissal.

Other researchers regard as important ʿUmar's unfriendly disposition toward Khālid, citing it as one of the factors which contributed to ʿUmar's decision.[40] If the factor of personal emnity was a real one, it need not necessarily have influenced ʿUmar's decision, It is known, after all, that Khālid continued to serve in his capacity for a considerable period during ʿUmar's reign--six months by the most conservative estimate and two years by the most liberal[41]--during which time the element of personal enmity had no effect, The matter of Khālid's indiscriminate spending of money, cited by Stratos as one of the factors which brought about the dismissal,[42] does not seem to De Goeje to be a consequential factor; furthermore, De Goeje is not convinced that Khālid succeeded in accruing such a large amount of money from the spoils of his first battles in Syria.[43] Nor did distribution of funds seem to ʿUmar's peers to be a convincing reason; citing this matter as a factor seemed strange to them, causing them to ask: "If this is really the reason, why does ʿUmar not also dismiss the commander of the Mesopotamian front, ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanam for the same reason?"[44]

On the contrary, people of ʿUmar's generation viewed the

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[40] De Goeje, *op. cit.*, p. 65 ; Stratos o*p. cit.*, p. 74 ; Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 130 ; *History of the Arabs,* I, 205 . In this issue, though Shaban refers to the personal enmity, he states that it played no role in ʿUmar's decision to dismiss Khālid, Shaban, 31 .

[41] Ṭabarī, I, 2145-6 ; Fasawī, III, 295 ; De Goeje, *op. cit.*, p. 67 ; Ḥitti, *op. cit.*, II, 14 .

[42] Stratos, *op. cit.*, p. 74 . The same reason was also produced by M. Gil, when he refers to this question. See. Gil, *op. cit.*, p. 40 .

[43] De Goeje, *op. cit.*, p.70 .

[44] Ṭabarī, I, 2866 .

bestowal of large financial grants to guests or to high-ranking delegations visiting the court of a powerful person as correct behaviour harmonious with the *sunna* of the Prophet, since the latter had sanctioned this custom by giving financial gifts (*ijāzat al-wafd*) to those who visited his court in Medina.[45]

In my opinion, the motive for Khālid's dismissal must have been vital. Judging by the image of ʿUmar painted by Islamic tradition, he would never have allowed himself to settle personal accounts with Khālid or anyone else during the sensitive period following the battle of Yarmūk, when considerable areas of Syria had not yet been conquered and the confrontation with the Byzantines in Egypt had not yet begun, and when the Byzantine emperor had not yet raised his hands in surrender.

Against this background, there must have been a more serious reason behind the action taken by ʿUmar, and the new appointment must have provided a worthy response to all possible developments on this front. At the same time, it must have been clear to ʿUmar that Abū ʿUbayda, with all his military limitations, could not have provided a worthy replacement for Khālid's incomparable talents, yet he nevertheless dismissed Khālid. What could his reasons have been?

The literature offers several allusions which may be of assistance in solving this mystery. One tradition says: "*wa-innama ʿazalahū lirujḥāni maṣlaḥatⁱⁿ ẓahart la-hū fī Abī ʿUbaydata*",[46] he dismissed him, in fact, for the sake of a specific interest which Abu ʿUbayda alone could help to achieve". This interest, as we have seen above, could not simply have been administrative organisation, notwithstanding the importance of this factor. it must have been within the domain of a comprehensive military strategy for the region, some interest which could not have been served by Khālid's continuing to hold his post.

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[45] *al-Maghāzī*, 557 . On further examples see: Ibn Saʿd, I(2) p. 63 , 64 , 65-66 , 67 , 71-2 .

[46] Yāfiʿī I, 69-70 .

The end of the great battle of Yarmūk did not mean the end of the Byzantine threat to the Arab conquest of Syria; it was crucial to establish a military defence structure that could repel possible attempts by the Byzantines at recapturing Syria. But with no regular army at the disposal of Medina, and in light of the need to deploy the occupying forces (which had invaded Syria from the Arabian peninsula) on other fronts, it was necessary to form a defence structure based mostly on local Arab tribes who had gained extensive military experience in the service of the Byzantine empire.

These tribesmen lived in the territories which begin at the southern boundaries of Syria, delineate the peninsula, and extend northward. This was the homeland of Banū Kalb, which was demographically the dominant force in the region.[47] Coexisting with them were two other tribes which lived together in harmony, known as Lakhm[48] and Djudhām.[49]

Even before the Islamic conquests, this trifold federation of Kalb, Lakhm and Djudhām had begun to penetrate northward into the territory controlled by the Ghassānids, who were allies of the Byzantines.[50]

It will be remembered that the Chassānids' prestige began to fade at the time of the revolt of al-Nuʿmān, the Ghassānid prince, and of his son al-Mundhir, against the Byzantine empire, which culminated with the arrest of the two leaders between the years 580 and 583 . The crushing blow to the Ghassānids was the Persio Byzantine War (613-614), which brought their prestige and status in Syria to an end.[51]

As a result of these blows, the tribe underwent a process of internal disintegration, which opened the door to separatist

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[47] A. A. Dixon, "Kalb", E. I.(ⁿ); Qalqashandī, I, 316 ; *al-Buldān*, 324

[48] Irfan, "Lakhm", E.I.(ⁿ)

[49] Bosworth, "Djudhām", E. I. (ⁿ)

[50] Jawād, III, 440 .

[51] "Ghassan", E. I. (ⁿ).

movements distinct from the princely dynasty and created about fifteen sub-tribal bodies within the tribe, each such group headed by a different leader.[52]

The Muslims had attempted to make contact with the Ghassānid legation in Syria as early as the time of the Prophet, when the latter sent a letter to the prince who was then residing in the city of Buṣrā. But the attempt was never answered.[53]

A second and final attempt was made during the reign of ʿUmar after the battle of Yarmūk, when contacts between Abū ʿUbayda and Ghassānid leader Jabala b. al-Ayham proved fruitless.[54] The Muslims were therefore compelled to seek another ally in the area, namely the Kalbites, whose importance was rising.

Initial contact with them had been initiated by the Prophet when he chose Usāma b. Zayd b. Ḥāritha for the campaign of vengeance for the murder of the latter's father at Mu'ta on Syria's southern border. It was no coincidence that Usāma was chosen to head the campaign; he was, after all, of Kalbite descent. Another member of the tribe, Diḥya b. Khalīfa, bore the Prophet's letter to the Byzantine ruler in Syria.[55]

The most important step in the strengthening of relations between the Muslim regime in Medina and the Kalbites on the tribal level, was the pact made between the Prophet and one of the prominent leaders of the tribe, named al-Aṣbagh b. ʿAmr, who is reported by Islamic tradition to have converted to Islam. He also established family ties with Medina when ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, the famous *ṣaḥabī,* married al-Aṣbagh's daughter; unlike many other tribal leaders, al-Aṣbagh kept the pact with Medina and did not take part in the *ridda* wars.[56]

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[52] Pegulevskia, pp. 252-3 .

[53] Watt, *op. cit.*, p. 114 ; Ibn Saʿd, I (2), p.17 , 20 .

[54] al-Maʿārif, p. 664 .

[55] Watt, *loc. cit.*, p. 114 .

[56] Dixon, *op cit.*; *Maghāzī*,561 ; *al-Ḥalabiyya,* III, 184; Ibn ʿAsākir, I, 118 .

In their pact with the Muslims, the Kalbites undertook, among other things, two commitments toward the Muslims: to care for their interests, and to keep loyal to the pact--*al-nuṣḥ wa- l-wafā*.[57] According to testimony from the period, these two obligations were fulfilled on behalf of the Kalbites at least by al-AṢbagh and those tribesmen who were under his authority. Unlike the other tribes in Syria, which vacillated in their support between the Muslims and the Byzantines, the Kalbites remained neutral in the battle for Syria.[58] Furthermore, there are clear hints that one or more groups of Kalbites took part in the Muslims' attempts at conquest as early as the first stages. One example of such evidence is the fact that a particular Kalbite named ʿAlqama b. Wā'il was charged by the Muslims with the task of distributing the spoils of the victory at Yarmūk[59]--an extremely important and sensitive assignment, considering the complex tribal map characterising the Arab army.

Wishing to utilise all possible opportunities, the Muslims attempted simultaneously to establish friendly ties with Djudhām and Lakhm, two other tribes which were geneologically close to Kalb and which resided in harmony with the latter. As early as the days of the Prophet, the first contacts had been established with the Djudhām tribe, and a pact had been made.[60]

One of the leaders of the tribe, Farwa al-Djudhāmī, who was governor at Maʿān on behalf of the Byzantines, was accused of treason (against the background of his links with Medina) and executed by the Byzantines.[61] Similar relations were cultivated with other elements of the Lakhm tribe, which resided in the areas

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[57] "*wa-lanā ʿalaykum an-nuṣḥa wa-l-wafā*)" Ibn Saʿd, I(2) 69 .

[58] Dixon, *op. cit.*; It is worth mentioning that no one of Kalb was reported to join the side of the Byzantines during the Muslim campaign against Syria, Ibn Ḥubaysh, ms. fol. 89 b.

[59] Ibn Ḥazm, 458 .

[60] Watt, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44 .

[61] Ibn Saʿd, I(2) 83 .

adjacent to the Syrian border.[62] Relations with both tribes bore fruit during the early conquests in Syria; it is reported that members of both tribes fought alongside the Arabs at the battle of Yarmūk.[63]

The Kalbite orientation of Medina's policy was, in my opinion, responsible for Khālid's removal from the scene in Syria--not because Khālid was unloyal to this policy, but because the objective circumstances in which Khālid found himself were incompatible with the implementation of this policy. The problem was not Khālid himself; rather, it was the tribal elements constituting the army which arrived with him from Iraq.

The dominant elements in this army came from the norther tribes, whose stay in Kalbite territory was necessarily unsatisfactory for the Kalbites and their allies in the southern part of Syria. Among these northern tribes the following have been mentioned: Muzayna, Djuhayna, Aslam, Ghifār, and Ḍamra, as well as a number of people from the ʿAbd al-Qays tribe, which belongs to the Rabīʿa tribal brigade.[64]

The number of fighters from these tribes who departed for Iraq with Khālid directly after the battle of Yamāma is estimated at some two thousand.[65] They were joined by about eight thousand members of the Muḍar and Rabīʿa who had been drafted by al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr, the Tamīmī leader who had been sent by Abū Bakr to reinforce Khālid's troops.[66] Not only had a significant number of these troops recently participated (in the framework of their individual tribes) in uprisings against Medina; the

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[62] Watt, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110 .

[63] Ibn Ḥubaysh, ms. fol. 89 b, As to the reports that members of the above mentioned tribes joined the Byzantine camp in the war against the Arabs, It is relivant only to those clans who were dwelling to the north of Damascus and in Mesopotamia.

[64] Ibn Ḥubaysh, ms. fol. 117 b.

[65] *Ibid.*, fol.119 b.

[66] *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, fol. 119 b.

commanders of the tribal brigades within this army were also among the rebels, or had actually taken part in the rebellion. Their appointment as brigade commanders was incongruous with the policies of the Medina regime, which was careful not to assign a command post to anyone who had participated in the *ridda wars*.[67]

In addition, there were approximately one thousand horsemen under Khālid's command who were members of the northern Banū Sulaym tribe, whom the Prophet had placed at Khālid's disposal when they converted to Islam.[68] When Khālid was sent by the Prophet from Tabūk to raid Dūmat al-Djandal, he departed at the head of a unit made up exclusively of members of the *A'rāb* who had not performed the Hijra.[69]

The magnitude of this problem could have been smaller were it not for the large number of Khālid's troops on Syrian soil, estimated in the thousands. As for the number of soldiers who accompanied Khālid from Iraq, the accounts differ on this point; some estimate between 500 and 800 at most, while other estimates fluctuate between 3,000 and 10,000 .[70]

Modern researchers believe that the first estimate is more realistic.[71] This number apparently did not remain stable, but gradually grew as new troops--both those who had been in Iraq and those who had not--began to join Khālid's ranks in Syria, primarily out of materialistic motives focussing on the spoils of battle, *ghanīma*, of which a large portion was distributed to the troops that had taken part in the battle. A considerable number of these soldiers brought their families with them or invited them to join them; this custom had existed during the pre-Islamic period and was intensified with the advent of Islam, becoming a prevalent

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[67] 'Athāmina, *op. cit.*, especially, pp. 14-15 .

[68] *al-Bidāya*, IV, 150 .

[69] *al-Iṣāba*, (no. 549); *al-Bidāya*, V, 118 .

[70] On such overestimated figures see: Ibn Ḥubaysh, ms. fol. 60 a, fol. 93 a; Fakhrī, 76 .

[71] Stratos, *op. cit.*, p. 53 .

phenomenon with the onset of the Islamic conquest.[72] Most of these families were apparently returned to Iraq together with the army, but others stayed on in Syria for a while and were only returned later.[73]

There is evidence to suggest that troops were recalled to Iraq with such urgency that some of them did not have a chance, or were not permitted, to stay on long enough to collect their families and pack their belongings. The number of troops recalled to Iraq under the command of Hāshim b. ʿUtba (defined by tradition as Khālid's army), is estimated at around ten thousand,[74] not a surprising number in view of the ever-increasing number of new recruits among Khālid's ranks.

A number as great as this--even ignoring the threefold or fourfold population comprised by the families-might well have created social, economic and security-related tensions along the periphery of the Kalb, Lakhm, and Djudhām tribes, as well as affecting the demographic character of the local population, thus by necessity disrupting the balance of tribal power in the entire region. The Kalbites and their neighbours could not sustain a threat such as this, nor could they forgive the Medina regime were the latter to refrain from intervening and removing this threat.

Medina intervened in due course, since in its own estimation the prevailing situation could have sabotaged the security strategy the regime was striving to carry out. Not only was Khālid dismissed from his command; units of his that were composed of northern tribesmen were evacuated from the area, as were certain southern elements who had only recently arrived in Syria after the

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[72] ʿAthāmina, "Settlement", *op. cit.*

[73] ʿUmar gave his instructions to send back the families and properties of the Banū Yarbūʿ clan (a sub-group of Tamīm) to Iraq, long time after the departure of Khālid's troops. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadid, vol. XVII, 206-207 .

[74] Ibn Ḥubaysh, ms. fol. 68 B.

onslaught of the Islamic invasion,[75] tribesmen whose presence in the area might apparently have hindered the implementation of the Kalbite orientation within the policies of the Medina government.

The first tangible indication of the implementation of this policy was the inclusion of the Lakhm and Djudhām tribes within the arrangement known as *'aṭā'*, the annual fighters' pension[76], which had been instituted by 'Umar when he visited the Muslim camp at al-Djābiya.[77]

Mu'awiya's appointment as supreme commander and governor general of Syria after the death of Abū 'Ubayda (who did not hold the post for very long), proves the regime's commitment to this policy. From the moment he was appointed, Mu'āwiya persevered in cultivating contacts with the Kalb tribe. His son and heir to the caliphate, Yazīd, followed in his father's footsteps in this context, as a result of which the Kalb tribe became the central pillar of the Umayyad regime in Syria in particular and in the Islamic world in general. This tribe's unconditional support of the Umayyad dynasty remained in force up until the end of this dynasty's reign.[78]

Mu'āwiya, too, as well as the other Umayyad caliphs, strictly prevented members of the northern tribes Muḍar and Qays from settling in the Syrian territory of al-Sham throughout their reign;[79] if their numbers increased for any reason, this population would be reduced and resettled in other places outside Syrian territory.[80]

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[75] *"fa-atammahum bi-unāsin mi-mman Lam yakun minhum, fihim al-Ashtar wa-Qays" Ibn Ḥubaysh,* ms. fol. 68 B. The two mentioned figures are, al-Ashtar al-Nakha'ī and Qays b. Makshūḥ al-Murādī, both of them were prominent tribal leaders of Yemenite origin who played a significant role on the scene of events in the future to come.

[76] *Amwāl*, 374-5 .

[77] Lammens, "al-Djābiya", *op. cit.*

[78] Bayḍūn, *op. cit.*

[79] 'Athāmina, "Settlement", *op. cit.*

[80] 'Athāmina, *op. cit.*

Khālid's dismissal passed quietly. Public opinion was prepared for such an act, but not only out of awareness of the animosity ʿUmar felt toward Khālid, as De Goeje sees it.[81] This animosity alone could not have been a just basis for such a serious decision, neither in ʿUmar's view nor in the view of his contemporaries. ʿUmar actually exploited the mood prevailing at the time, a mood characterised at least by revulsion if not utter enmity toward the Banū Makhzūm clan to which Khālid belonged.

The leaders of this clan displayed considerable hostility toward the Prophet and toward Islam; Khālid's cousin ʿAmr b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra, who was known by the derogatory epithet "Abū Djahl", stood at the head of those who opposed the Prophet and originated the idea of boycotting the Prophet and his family.[82] His father, al-Walīd b. al-Mughira, is strongly condemned in the Qur'an.[83] Khālid himself was the architect of the victory of the Meccans over the Muslims at the battle of Uḥud, in which the Muslims suffered severe casualties and the Prophet himself was wounded.[84]

All of these factors were still fresh in the memories of the people, many of whom had witnessed the events and were presumably left with considerable ill feeling toward Khālid's family, particularly among those whose faith was still fervent. The Arab nobility, too, constituting the people of Quraysh and the tribal leaders, had good reason to dislike Banū Makhzūm, who had become known for their conceit and arrogance.[85]

ʿUmar had not only put his faith in the support and understanding of the people; he had taken preemptive measures to prevent Khālid from acting. The letter ordering Khālid dismissed

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[81] De Goeje, *op. cit.*, 65 .

[82] "Abu Djahl", *op. cit.*

[83] Sura, 74 : 11-26 .

[84] *Maghāzī*, 232-40 .

[85] *Thimār*, *op. cit.*, p. 117 .

and Abū ʿUbayda appointed in his place, includes an additional instruction to the new commander: that the units comprising Khālid's army be dispersed and placed under the control of the other commanders, and that Khālid be subordinated to a petty officer under Abū ʿUbayda's personal command.[86]

At a later stage he added the order recalling all units to Iraq (discussed above), thus forcing Khālid to throw up his cards. Umar's prudence was farreaching: Along with his dismissal of Khālid, he also dismissed Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana, one of three commanders who had been sent by Abū Bakr. ʿUmar's excuse for this dismissal was that he sought a more worthy, more competent candidate.[87] However, I believe the reason lay in ʿUmar's fear of any possible collaboration between Khālid and Shuraḥbīl, since the latter had formerly been a servant under Khālid's command in Iraq (before being commissioned and dispatched to Syria), having arrived from Iraq in Medina as Khālid's emissary.[88] The fact that ʿUmar appointed no one to replace Shuraḥbīl, but rather dispersed his army among three commanders in the region,[89] proves that Shuraḥbīl's dismissal was a preemptive, cautionary measure.

When ʿUmar visited al-Djābiya and first referred publicly to Khālid's dismissal, one version of his speech includes the emphatic allegation that Khālid, rather than reserving money for weak and poor Muslims, had been handing it out to war heroes, noblemen and poets.[90]

Among all those assembled, not a single voice was raised in support of Khālid. One solitary criticism was heard from a young

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[86] Ibn Aʿtham, *op. cit.*, I, 158 .

[87] Ibn ʿAsākir, VI, 302-3 ; Tab., I, 2523 .

[88] *al-Kāmil*, II, 278 .

[89] Tab., I, 2523 ; Ibn ʿAsākir, VI, 300 .

[90] Ibn ʿAsākir, V, 110 ; al-Bidāyn, VII, 115 . It seems that because of Umar's speech at al-Djābiya, some Muslim traditionists thought that the dismissal of Khālid occurred during the visit in 17/638 See: Tab. I, Ibn ʿAsākir, VI, 302-3 .

member of Khālid's family, who claimed that ʿUmar's action violated the authority that had been personally vested in Khālid by the Prophet.[91]

As for the tradition which has expressing regret over Khālid's dismissal,[92] or other traditions which attest to mass mourning among the women of Medina when they heard the rumour of Khālid's death,[93] or the *ḥadīth* (attributed to the Prophet) enjoining Muslims not to harm Khālid,[94] or the *ḥadīth* prophesying the injustice that would be done to Khālid despite the magnitude of the latter's contribution to Islam[95]--all of these traditions are no more than latter-day expressions of sympathy on the part of subsequent generations for the heroic character of Khālid as portrayed by Islamic tradition.

Abbrevibaions:

Abū Jahl: M. Watt, "Abū Djahl", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new edition).
Aghānī: Abu al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī* (ed. Bulaq, 1285 a.h.).
Amwāl: Abū ʿUbayd b. Sallām, *al-Amwāl*, ed. by Muḥammad Kh. Harrās, (Cairo, 1968).
Ansāb: al-Balādhurī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol. I, ed. by Muḥammad Ḥamidul-lāh (Cairo, 1959).
ʿAthāmina: Khalil ʿAthāmina, "Aʿrāb and Muhājirūn in the Environment of the Amṣār", *Studia Islamica*, (LXVI) 1987 , pp. 5-25 .
ʿAthāmina-Sources: Khalil ʿAthāmina, "The Sources of al-Balādhuri's Ansāb al-ashrāf", *Jerusalem Studies* of *Arabic and Islam*, vol. 8 (1986), pp. 185-202 .
Azdī: Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allah Al-Azdī, *Futūḥ al-Shām*, ed. by ʿAbd al-Mumin. Jābir (Cairo, 1970).
Bakrī: Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam māstaʿjam* ed. M. al-Saqqā (Cairo, 1951).
Balādhurī: Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. Ṣalaḥ al-Dīn al

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[91] Ibn ʿAsākir, V, 110 ; Maqrīzī, op. cit., p.101 ; *Iṣāba*, (no. 414).

[92] *Maghāzī*, 884 .

[93] *Aghānī*, XV. 12 ; Barr, *op. cit.* vol. I, 110 , Qurṭubī, xx, 108 ; *ʿIqd*, III, 235 ; *Bidāya*, VII, 116 .

[94] *Maghāzī*, 883 ; *Iṣāba*, I, 403 , 414 .

[95] *Bidāya*, VII, 114 .

Munajjid (Cairo, 1956-8).
Barr: Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb* (on the margin of *Iṣāba* (ed. Cairo, 1328 a.h.).
Bayḍūn: Ibrāhīm Bayḍūn, *"Muʾtamar al-Djābiya*, offprint of the Fourth Conference of the History of Bilād al-Shām (Amman, Jordan, 1987).
Becker: C. H. Becker, *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. III, chap. XI (The Expansion of the Saracens) pp. 329-364 (4th ed. Cambridge, 1957).
Bidāya: Abū al-Fidāʾ, Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-al-nihāhya* (4th ed. Beirut, 1981).
Bosworth: C. E. Bosworth, "Djudhām", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (new edition).
Buldān: al-Yaʿqūbi, *Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. M. J. De Goeje (Leiden, 1852).
Bustī: Abū Ḥātim b. Ḥayyān al-Busti, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya wa-akhbār al-Khulafāʾ*, ed.ʿAzīz Beg (Beirut, 1987).
Crone: Patricia Crone, "Khālid b. al-Walīd" *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new edition).
De Goeje: M. J. De Coeje: *Mémoire sur la conquête de la syrie* (ed. Leiden, 1900).
Dixon: Abd al-Amir Dixon, "Kalb", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new edition).
Diyārbakrī: Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-Khamīs* (ed. Cairo, 1283 a.h.).
Elisseeff: Elisseeff, "Dimashk", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new edition).
al-Fakhrī: Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā al-Fakhrī, *al-Ādāb al-sulṭāniyya* (ed. Beirut, 1966).
al-Fasawī, Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān, *al-Maʿrifa wa-al-tārīkh*, ed. by Akram al-ʿumarī (2nd ed. Beirut, 1981).
Gibb: H. A. R. "Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Djarrāh", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new edition).
Gil: M. Gil, *Palestine During the First Muslim Period*, (634-1099), Part 1 (in Hebrew) (Tel-Aviv, 1983).
Goitein: S. D. Goitein, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol. V (ed. Jerusalem, 1936).
Ḥalabiyya: Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya* (ed. Cairo, 1964).
Harawī: Abū ʿUbayd al-Harawī, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* (ed. Hyderabad, 1964).
Hill: D. R. Hill, *The Termination of Hostilities in the Early Arab Conquest* (London, 1971).
History of the Arabs: Phillip Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (in Arabic) 3rd. ed. (Beirut, 1962).
Ḥitti: Philip Hitti, *History of Syria* (in Arabic) (ed. Beirut, 1959).
al-Ḥadīd: Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, ed. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1959).
Ibn Abī Shayba: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. by Abdul-Khālīq al-Afghānī, (Hyderabad, n. d.).
Ibn ʿAsākir: Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb taʾrīkh Dimashq*, ed. by A. Badrān (4th ed.

Beirut, 1981).
Ibn A'tham: Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* (ed. Hyderabad, n. d.).
Ibn Durayd: Ibn Durayd al-Azdī, *al-Ishtiqāq*, ed. by 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn (2nd ed. Bagdad, 1979).
Ibn Ḥazm: Ibn Hazm al-andalusī, *jamhaat ansāb al-'arab*, ed. by Abd al-Sālām Hārūn (Cairo, 1962).
Ibn Ḥubaysh: *Kitab dhikr al-ghazawāt*, ms. or. 343 (Leiden).
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ARAB SETTLEMENT DURING THE UMAYYAD CALIPHATE

One of the results of the Arab conquests of the first century after the Hijra was the settlement of Arabs in both traditional urban centers and newly established military camps located in the recently conquered territories. Military needs were the main reason for this settlement of tribesmen, due to both the far distance of these territories from the center of the Empire and the need to concentrate troops near the boundaries of enemy lands. From the very beginning, al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra, along with other military camps in Syria Egypt and North Africa, were set up to serve as standing camps and administrative centers. But these *amṣār* were soon to become mere transit camps from which Arab immigrants left to settle in other places.[1]

In order to draw a clear picture of the Arab settlement, we will describe separately every district of the occupied lands.

1. khurāsān

Settlement in Khurāsān was mainly nourished from the Iraqi centers, particularly from al-Baṣra, from where Arab troops were sent to invade this area[2]. The first presence of the Arabs in Khurāsān was regulated in the reign of the third *Rashīdī* Caliph,

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[1] J. Wellhausm, *The Arab Kingdom And Its Fall*, Arabic trans. Y. al-ʿIsh (Damascus, 1956), p. 28.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 329.

ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, when an Arab garrison was left behind after the main army had returned to its base in al-Baṣra before winter.[3] According to this arrangement, Arab soldiers, together with their families, were located in central cities and strategic citadels.[4] They took up residence in either abandoned houses or in separate quarters, which had been evacuated especially for this aim.[5]

When the civil war of A.D. 646-651 finally came to an end, Muʿāwiya, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, conscious of the resentment of the Arab soldiers against the long absence away from home and family, decided to set up standing camps in Khūrāsān. He thus sent there a large number of troops together with their families.[6] The vast majority of them came from Iraq, which remained the most attractive center for the tribal immigrants from the Arab Peninsula, from the first conquests up to the last days of the Umayyad regime.[7] Simultaneously, a spontaneous migration of tribesmen, individuals and clans, was active in addition to the one initiated by the authorized institutions of the state.[8] Some of those immigrants were in a way adventurers who sought riches and found that Khurāsān, as *thaghr* (frontier), was a place to realize their aspirations.[9]

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[3] Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa l-mulūk*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1879-1901), I, 2906.

[4] Wellhausen, pp. 492-493.

[5] Within this framework, some houses of the natives in Bukhārā were confiscated; see al-Narshakhī, *Taʾrīkh Bukhārā*, trans. to Arabic From Persian and ed. Amīn Badawī and N. al-Ṭarazī (Cairo, 1965),.pp. 73, 80. As to Samarqand, see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munajjid (Cairo, 1956-7), 111, 519; see also Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-taʾrīkh*, (Leiden, 1863-1871), V, 5.

[6] Ṣ.A. al-ʿAlī, "Istiṭān al-ʿArab fī Khurāsān," *Majallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb* (Baghdad), III (1959) 36-38; see also Wellhausen, p. 415.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 411.

[8] Al-Baladhurī, *Futūḥ*, II, 454.

[9] W. Barthold, *Turkistan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, 2nd ed.(London, 1928), p. 187.

The Arab Peninsula was also one of the main sources from which tribal elements arrived to the eastern provinces, especially Khurāsān. These would cross the Persian Gulf to the east without receiving permission from the authorities, whose officials did not know anything about these happenings.[10] In this case, Iraq did not play its previous role as a collecting camp. A striking example of this independent immigration was the arrival of the *khawārij*, from the adherents for Najada b, ʿĀmir, who escaped to Fārs and Ahwāz under the command of Ibn ʿAṭiyya.[11] The way from Kirmān to Khurāsān was opened, and many *khawārij* flocked into it; others concentrated around Harāt, which became a favourite target for their raids in the coming few generations.[12] The remnants of the rebellious army of Ibn al-Ashʿath, who took refuge in the eastern provinces, should be included within this framework of independent migration. They seized control over lands and villages in the countryside, before they established Qumm, which later became a sacred Shiʿī center.[13]

The assessment made by J. Wellhausen of the Arab population in Khurāsān,[14] based on the lists of the *dīwān* is, therefore, not accurate. The actual number of the Arabs was greater than that suggested by Wellhausen, even during the governorship of Qutayba b. Muslim, taking into consideration the outlawed tribesmen who arrived to this district illegally, or those who sought refuge there and were never enlisted in the *dīwān*. Most of them, if not all, preferred to settle in safe places far from the metropolitan centers,

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[10] Al-Baladhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, XI, ed. W. Ahlwardt (Greiswald, 1883), 135.

[11] M.A. Shaban, *Islamic History*, A.D. 600-750 (Cambridge, 1971), p. 97.

[12] Anon, *Al-ʿUyūn wa ʾl-ḥadāʾiq*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1869), p. 108.

[13] Yaqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, ed. W. Wūstenfeid (Leipzig, 1866), IV, 175-176; see also al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, MS. Suleymaniya (Istanbul), nos. 597, 598, Pt. II, fol. 19a.

[14] Wellhausen, p. 493; see also al-ʿAlī, p. 40.

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where they could live and act freely without the interference of the state.

In this connection, one should mention the Arab mercenaries whom the Türgesh Su-Lu used in his sudden attack on Kashgaria in A.D. 717.[15] Bands of adventurers sometimes operated on their own account, independent of imperial control; whose military activity was concentrated in Transoxania. An example, from a different province, was the governor of al-Mansūr who arrived in Sind, in the course of his operations on the Indus. He found a colony of Arabs in possession of Qandabīl and drove them out.[16] An important instance, which may furnish a clue to the existence of these bands, is the activity of Mūsā b. Khāzim.[17] The confused political conditions of the Empire favoured these developments.

The question of the *qurā* is relevant to the settlement issue in Khurāsān. Our sources mention the names of a number of these qurā which individual Arabs possessed.[18] Referring to this question, al-ʿAlī assumed that only the income of these *qurā* was allotted to some groups among the Arab soldiers, as a kind of military-financial arrangement known later in the reign of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk dynasties, Al-ʿAlī also suggested that the *qurā* served as residential places for the Arabs on the basis of the

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[15] H.A.R. Gibb, "Chinese Records Of The Arabs In Central Asia" BSOAS, 2 (1923), 613-622, esp. 617.

[16] Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, III, 543-544.

[17] Al-Ṭabarī, II, 11450ff.

[18] Referring to this question, al-ʿAlī (pp. 67-68) mentions only some of these *qurā*. It is to be remarked that al-ʿAlī confined himself solely to al-Ṭabarī. Similar reports are available in other sources. Names of such qurā can be found in al-Narshakhī, p. 81; Anon., *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās*, ed. ʿA.ʿA. al-Dūrī (Beirut, 1971), on. 272, 274, 275, 276, 278, 279, 299, 311; al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1877), p. 292; Yaqūt, II, 465, IV, 175-176, 700; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashq*, V, 394, ed. and rev. A. Badrān (Damascus,1329-1332); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS., Pt. II, fol. 696b; al-Istakhrī, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, 2nd. ed. (Leiden, 1927), pp. 322-323; al-Ṭabarī, II, 1862, especially those *qurā* to which al-ʿAlī does not refer.

tribal divisions in that period.[19] Wellhausen, in contrast to Al-ʿAlī, remarked that the *qurā* were merely private estates, which belonged to some prominent soldiers, who sometimes had slaves in them. In some cases the owner chose to live on his estate, especially in those around Marw, the capital of Khurāsān.[20]

Actually, the *qurā* were never designed for the residence of the Arab soldiers. The term *qarya* as it appears in our sources in this specific context, does not mean more than a private estate, or rather a mere farm bestowed by the local governor or his officials on some prominent tribal leader or brave soldier, in consideration of a specific service or any other valiant deeds. A typical grant of such sort was the *qarya* granted by Ṣāliḥ b. Muslim, the brother of Qutayba, to Naṣr b, Sayyār who had fought bravely under his command.[21]

The original meaning of the term can be found also in an account preserved by Yāqūt concerning a small town called Khulm, in Transoxania.[22] The significance of the *qurā*, as transmitted by Yāqūt, could not be more than private estates or private farms around this town, which belonged to a few members of different tribes, such as Asad, Tamīm and Qays, who lived in Khulm. The lexical definition of the term gives some further support to our point of view.[23] Moreover, some of the *qurā* mentioned were private properties of identified tribe members, who in some cases possessed more than one *qarya* at the same time; the outstanding example was that of the tribal leader

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[19] Al-ʿAlī, p. 68. It is worthwhile to point out that the references of al-ʿAlī in this connection are irrelevant.

[20] Wellhausen, p. 493, who does not refer here to his sources.

[21] The *qarya* granted was called Tanjāna; see al-Ṭabarī, II, 1180.

[22] Yāqūt, 1I, 465.

[23] Ibn Manẓūr. in *Lisān al-ʿArab, s.v. q.r.w.; see also Ibn al-Athīr, al-Nihāiya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*, ed. Ṭināḥī & Zāwī (Cairo, 1963), IV, 56.

Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzā'ī who had two *qaryas*.[24]

It is ridiculous, therefore, to assume that the term *qarya* should have the regular meaning, familiar to us nowadays. But because of the tribal nature characteristic to the Arab community at the time in Khurāsān, the granted estates were concentrated as far as possible in one place. This is seen in the case of *qurā Khuzā'a*, which were in the suburbs of Marw.[25] However, some of these estates probably became in the course of time residences for relatives of the owners, who themselves often preferred to live there after their retirement from the *dīwān*.

The big centers and main cities of Khurāsān and Transoxania continued to attract Arab immigrants, a process which began right after the first half of the first century A.H. It is only in the Ushrusānā district that the Arabs did not succeed in settling.[26] As to the reports concerning the Arab community in Farghānā during the governorship of Qutayba,[27] Gibb did not accept them, because of the lack of territorial continuity between this area and the rest of the occupied terrjtory in Transoxania during that period.[28]

2. Fārs

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[24] The first *qarya* was called Safīdhanj; see al-Ṭabarī, II, 1953. The second one was called Shanfīr; see *Akhbār al-'Abbās*, p. 274. According to these reports one may venture to say that Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzā'ī had two estates, or at least two big farms. About other private estates possessed by other men, see al-Ṭabarī, II, 1952, 1953; see also *Akhbār al-'Abbās*, p. 278.

[25] *Ibid.*, on. 275, 276. About further examples of such concentrated tribal *qurā* of the Qays, Shayban, Tamīm and other Muḍarī groups, see *ibid.*, pp. 299, 311.

[26] Al-Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1892), pp. 294. It is to be remarked that Ashrūsāna was not an urban center, and there was no specific city of this name, rather it was a name of a district; see al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 325; see also Yāqūt, I, 197.

[27] Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 111, 529.

[28] H.A.R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquests In central Asia*, (London, 1930), p. 49.

The kernels of Arab settlement in this area were the Arab garrisons which were located in advance positions in order to secure the occupied lands.[29] Soon, when the conquered area was further expanded, these advance positions lost their strategic significance. The Arab soldiers stationed there evidently adapted themselves to a civilian life-style and later they bequeathed lands and properties to their descendants.[30] It is noteworthy that some of the Arab settlement points were considered *dār hijra* (i.e. a center of immigration to which Muslims should move, according to the principles of the new faith). As a result many tribesmen from the Arab Peninsula flocked to them via Iraq or across the Persian Gulf; a typical example was the Persian town called Tawwaj.[31] Some temporary camps developed into administrative centers: Shīrāz was one of the outstanding examples of this type.[32]

In Fārs, as in Khurāsān, there was a spontaneous migration of individuals and clans. They overpowered the local population and appropriated lands and properties for their own use. One example is an ʿIjlī clan called Banū Maʿqil, who arrived in this area and settled near Hamadhān, conquering a big area known as Miss (or

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[29] Typical garrisons of this sort were those of Qazwīn; see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, II, 395; see also Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-buldān*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1885), p. 281. Other settlements were set up in the same way. such as: Tabrīz, Tuwwaj, Jurjān, al-Rayy; see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, II, 405, 476; see also al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed ʿĀmir & Shayyāl (Tehran. 1960), p. 133; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 55; *al-ʿUyūn wa l-hadāʾiq*, p. 24; al-Yaʿqubī, *Taʾrīkh al-Yaʿqubī*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma (Leiden, 1883), II, 164.

[30] In Qazwīn there were 500 soldiers under the command of Ṭulayḥa al-Asadī, the false prophet. At first they were stationed to guard the borders, then they settled permanently in the area, bequeathing their properties to their descendants. See Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 281.

[31] Dīnawarī, p. 133; see also al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, II, 476; Yāqūt, II, 56.

[32] Al-Iṣṭakhrī, pp.124-125. See also *ibid.*, p. 97; al-Muqaddasī, p. 423.

Mass).[33]

The same type of Arab garrison settlements also existed in the Iṣbahān district, whose new inhabitants had farms and estates.[34] Various Arab clans were scattered throughout this province.[35] One of the groups which immigrated to this district had a rebellious background, These were the adherents of the Khārijī leader ʿUrwa b, Udayya, of Banū Ḥanẓala of Tamīm, who had sought refuge after him being murdered. They landed on the Persian coast, and from there they began to expand their control over the neighbouring lands, Soon they became rich landowners, and their descendants settled in Iṣṭakhr and its suburbs.[36]

Despite the fact that an Arab community existed in the main cities of this province, it was only a small minority in relation to the native population, At the same time, it was of mixed tribal origins.[37] In some places, such as Qumm, however the Arabs constituted a majority of the total population.[38]

3.Al-Mawsil

The Arabic traditions are not unanimous concerning the establishment of al-Mawṣil and the date in which it became a *miṣr* (military camp). al-Balādhurī, quoting an account on the authority

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[33] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, II, 385. One of the famous members of this clan was Yasār b. Maʿqil, according to some reports, the patron of Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī. Another was Idrīs b. Maʿqil, a land-owner who possessed many farms and estates in the area; see *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās*, p. 265.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 258-259.

[35] Ibn al-Faqih, p. 275.

[36] Those refugees were from Tamīm, other groups from the Azd also arrived at the same place by sea; see al-Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 140-141.

[37] Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 274.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 274; see also al-Istakhrī, p. 201. About Arab communities in other cities such as al-Kharj, Ṭūs and Nisabūr, see Ibn al-Faqīh, pp. 273, 277, 278.

of Ibn al-Kalbī, says that Harthama b.ʿArfaja al-Bāriqī was the first to settle Arabs in al-Mawṣil and make it into a military camp; this was during the Caliphate of ʿUmar I.[39] According to another report quoted by al-Dīnawarī, the original *miṣr* was al-Ḥadītha, which was established before al-Mawṣil. As to al-Mawṣil the account says that it was set up at a later date by Marwān b. Muḥammad, the last Umayyad Caliph.[40] A contradictory tradition, preserved by Yāqūt, says that Marwān established al-Ḥadītha and not al-Mawṣil.[41]

An interesting interpretation concerning its name is preserved by al-Muqaddasī. He reports that al-Mawṣil was an ancient city called Khawlān. The Arab quarter, called al-Mawṣil, was located far from the old city, but when the Arabs' numbers had increased, their quarter reached the walls of the city, and therefore it was also known as al-Mawṣil.[42] For unknown reasons, al-Mawṣil attracted the attention of some Umayyad Caliphs. Hishām, for instance, had a royal palace there, and used to spend his leisure time in it while still crown prince.[43] He also possessed lands, where he planted palm trees and other kinds of fruit trees.[44] It seems that Hishām valued highly al-Mawṣil, as he chose his brother-in-law, al-Ḥurr b. Yūsuf, to be its governor, This appointment was made just to appease his most beloved wife, Umm Ḥakīm, who was al-Ḥurr's sister.[45]

During his governorship, al-Ḥurr dug a large canal to supply the city with drinking water. As it was a huge project, it took fifteen years to complete. During these years the entire income of the

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[39] Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, II, 407; see also *Yāqūt*, II, 223

[40] Al-Dīnawarī, p. 167.

[41] Yāqūt, II, 222.

[42] Al-Muqaddasī, pp. 138-139.

[43] Al-Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, ed. ʿAlī Ḥabība (Cairo, 1967), p. 24.

[44] This estate was bought by Hishām before his accession to the throne, its former owner was a man of Banū Burayda; see *ibid.*, p. 172.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

district's treasury was invested in this project.[46] Eighteen water mills were built on the canal, and all the income from them was also dedicated to the maintenance works.[47] All the streets of al-Mawṣil were paved in this period.[48]

Among the Arab settlers of al-Mawṣil, it seems that the Azdī group was the most dominant, This conclusion is deduced from indirect reports concerning the revolt of Ibn al-Muhallab, the Azdī leader. One of his close councellers advised him before the rebellion began to go first to al-Mawṣil; from there he should declare war against the Umayyads, since his kinsmen could join him and fight for his cause.[49] Some of the Arab settlers in al-Mawsil enjoyed the respect of the Umayyad Caliph Hishām, as he used to glorify the Harathima family, whose grandfather was the founder of the city.[50]

4. Ādharabyjān

The first raids against the territory of Ādharbayjān, which were carried out in the reign of ʿUmar I, did not lead to far-reaching

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[46] *Ibid.*, no. 29, 33, 43; see also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 133, 241; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Al-Nujūm al-zahira fī mulūk miṣr wa ʾl-qāhira* (Cairo, 1963), I, 259.

[47] Al-Azdī, P. 43; see also Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (Leiden 1938), p. 219.

[48] "*Wa-min Banī Murrata, al-Walīdu ʾbnu Khālidin... wallāhu Hishāmun... al-Mawṣila, wa-hwa farashahā bi ʾl-ḥijārati*", see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS., Pt. II, fol. 1108 (h). According to other reports it was Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik who paved its streets; in another version the man was Ibn Tulayd, the officer-in-chief of the police force; set Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, II, 408.

[49] "*...Qīla li-Yazīdi ʾbni ʾl-Muhallabi...; iḥmil hādhā ʾl-māla wa ʾkhruj bihi ilā ʾl-Mawṣili, fa-ʾd'u ʿashīrataka bihā,*" Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS., Pt. II, fol. 705b.

[50] When Hishām was blamed by his wife Umm Ḥakīm, because he had appointed her brother to the governorship of al-Mawṣil, he answered: "*...amā yarḍā akhūki an yusalliya khalfahu ʾl-Harāthimatu...*"; See al-Azdī, p. 24.

results.[51] Al-Ash'ath b, Qays, the early governor of Persia, made the first serious effort to make the Arab conquest of this area permanent. He settled a group of Arab soldiers in Ardabīl, which soon became a *miṣr*.[52] The first settlers came from al-Kūfa and were of mixed tribal origin, A tradition of al-Balādhurī serves as evidence for this. He reports that when the Arabs settled in Ādharbayjān, many of their fellow tribesmen from Syria, al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra joined them. Every tribal group obtained part of the available territory, Some of them bought lands from the natives, and others became the legal owners of lands and even of complete villages, since the right of ownership was transferred to them by the *iqtā'al-īljā'* system. This meant that farms and their owners came under the patronage of a strong Arab captain or influential tribal leader, who could guarantee their lives and properties.[53]

Doubtless, the way in which Arab immigrants arrived to this area was similar to that in which they arrived to Khurāsān and other territories in the eastern provinces.

As to the settlers' identity, our sources supply no decisive answer. We do find some identified clans of Southern origin; among them appear a number of Azdī clans. The family of al-Rawwād al-Azdī was their most representative clan.[54] Another Azdī clan arrived at Urmiā, and became the master of affairs in the city and its suburbs.[55] Some Hamdānī clans had control over two districts, the first being Khalābāthā, and the second Mayānāj.[56] The district of Pirzā was under the domination of Awdī clans.[57]

Narīz (and not Narīr as al-Munajjid writes it) was the residence of a group of Ṭayyi'. They built there a regional market and

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[51] Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, II, 400-401.

[52] *Ibid.*, II, 404.

[53] *Loc. cit.*

[54] Yāqūt, II, 13; see also Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, II, 405.

[55] *Loc. cit.*

[56] *Loc. cit.*

[57] *Ibid., II, 406.*

compelled the authorities to recognize them as the patrons of the town.[58] In Sarāw (not Sarāt, as suggested by al-Munajjid) there was a group of Kinda, who were the descendants of the soldiers led by al-Ashʿath b. Qays in the first campaign in this area.[59]

In fact, Arab immigration to Ādharbayjān began earlier and on a larger scale than in other areas; in this early period, however, the exact size of of the Arab community is unknown. Nevertheless, their number can be estimated at myriads. This conclusion is drawn on the basis of an indirect report in *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. When the tribal struggle between Qays and Taghlib broke out during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik, and Taghlib was badly defeated, the former called their fellow tribesmen in Ādharbayjān for help, and a cavalry unit of 2000 horsemen quickly came to reinforce their kinsmen.[60]

The continuity of Arab immigration to Ādharbayjān was uninterrupted for several generations, from the first conquests up to the first decade of the third century A.H. Numerous traditions of Ibn al-Kalbī shed light on this fact.[61]

Some prominent leaders possessed private estates in Ādharbayjān. Marwān b. Muhammad's private estate at al-Marāghā is the most outstanding example. After the collapse of the Umayyad regime, it was confiscated by the ʿAbbāsids and became a major military camp.[62] Eventually al-Marāghā lost its significance, when Ardabīl replaced it as the main center of this province.[63]

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[58] *Loc. cit.* About the accurate spelling of the name Narīz, see Yāqūt. V, 281; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Lubāb fī tahdhīb al-ansāb* (Beirut, n.d.), III, 306.

[59] Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, II, 406.

[60] Abū al-faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *Kitāb al-aghdānī* (Beirut, 1285/1868-9), XI, 62.

[61] For example, see Ibn al-Kalbī, *al-Jamhara fī'l-nasāb*, MS. British Museum no. 23297, fol. 144.

[62] Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, II, 404, 405; see also Yaqūt, V, 93.

[63] Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 181.

5. Armenia

Arab settlement in Armenia began a few months after the early campaigns in this area, The first settlers were 2000 Syrian soldiers who were dispatched by Muʿāwiya, the governor of al-Shām, in order to face the threat of a probable Armenian attack against the Arab invaders who had earlier occupied Qālīqalā and banished its inhabitants, The lands of the former population were distributed among the Arab soldiers, who then became a permanent *murābiṭa* (garrison).[64]

Qāliqalā continued to be an Arab settlement up to the last days of the Umayyad Caliphate in A.H. 133, At that time, the Arab inhabitants were left to face their cruel fate alone; some of them were killed and the rest were taken prisoners by the Byzantine army.[65] But six years later, Qālīqalā was recaptured and rebuilt by al-Manṣūr, the second ʿAbbāsid Caliph, The former Arab prisoners were able to resettle there, as al-Manṣūr had ransomed them and set them free, Al-Manṣūr also sent fresh forces from al-Jazīra and other places to join the Arab settlers.[66]

As in the case of Qālīqalā other military centers, like Dabīl, Nashwā, Baylaqān and Bardhaʿa were rebuilt by the first Arab commanders.[67] Bardhaʿa and Dabil were the main administrative centers in Armenia.[68] It seems that the settlers of Bardhaʿa were of Syrian origin, because they followed the model of a Syrian adminstrative center.[69]

In Armenia, as in other territories, the Arab settlement process continued uninterrupted and so even during the turbulent period of the first civil war (A.D, 656-661). The Arab settlement in Takrīt is

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[64] Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, I, 234.

[65] *Ibid.*, I, 236.

[66] *Loc. cit.*

[67] *Ibid.*, I, 242.

[68] Al-Iṣṭakhrī,.p.188.

[69] Yāqūt, I, 308.

the striking example. At first it was set up as a temporary military camp for ʿAlī's forces, but after his murder it became a civilian settlement and its inhabitants gradually broadened their control over the neighbouring area.[70]

A serious pause in the settlement process occurred during the second civil war when the population of most of the Armenian districts threw off the yoke of the Arab conquest.[71] After the collapse of Ibn al-Zubayr's resistance, the Marwānids adopted a new settlement policy which was selective and designed to serve solely the military needs of the kingdom. For instance, Maslama b.ʿAbd al-Malik, the brilliant captain of Hishām, settled- 24,000 Syrian soldiers in the citadel of Bāb al-Abwāb,[72] because of its strategic importance.[73] The same thing was done in the Kisāl district by Maslama's successor, Marwān b. Muhammad.[74] As for the other strategic citadels, Marwan destroyed them and obliged their native dwellers to leave them and settle in the plains or at the foot of the mountains.[75]

Al-Manṣūr continued in the way of his predecessors and set up two new centers: Arjīsh al-Ṣughrā and Arjīsh al-Kubrā. These he manned with Syrian soldiers, whom he had brought from Palestine.[76] By these actions, al-Mansūr was imitating the Umayyad Caliphs, who had initiated the Arab settlement in Armenia.[77]

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[70] Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, ed. De Goeje (Leiden, 1873), no. 167-170, esp. n. 9 in the margin.

[71] Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, I, 242.

[72] Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, I, 244. About the Arab garrison in Bāb al-Lān see Yāqūt, I, 351.

[73] Yāqūt, I, 305.

[74] Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, I, 244.

[75] *Ibid.*, I, 246: "*fa-adh'ana bi 'l-ṭa'ati wa 'l-inḥidāri ilā 'l-sahli...*".

[76] *Loc. cit.*

[77] Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādin al-jawhar*, ed. C. Barbier De Meynard (Paris, 1861), II, 5.

6. Mesopotamia and Syria

Long before the Muslim invasion of Syria, Southern Arab tribes had left their homeland in Yemen and found a new home there. Qudāʿa was the first Arab tribe to settle in al-Shām.[78] Under the patronage of the Byzantine Emperor, they took responsibility over the whole tribal community in Syria, and collected taxes from them on behalf of the Emperor.[79] The ruling family from Quḍāʿa was called Banū Sāliḥ, known publicly as Ḍajāʿima, after their grandfather's name.[80] The Ḍajāʿima were replaced by a clan from the Ghassān tribe called Banū Jafna,[81] who had arrived together with other Southern tribal groups after the destruction of the barrage dam of Ma'rīb, and gained supremacy soon after their arrival.[82]

The Arab immigrants, who came from the Northern tribes as well, were scattered over almost the entire Syrian territory. Among the Arab community in South Syria, those of Southern origin formed the majority.[83]

Long before the advent of Islam, Kalb and Quḍāʿa had settled

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[78] Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar* (Istanbul, 1286/1869-90) I, 72; see also al-Masʿūdī, III, 215. About the Quḍāʿa tribe, see M.J. Kister, E.I.^{2}, *s.v.* "*Kuḍāʿa.*"

[79] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*, ed. Ilse Lichtenstaedter (Hyderabad, 1942), p. 370, al-Yaʿqubi, I, 207.

[80] Ibn Hazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn (Calm, 1962), p. 450; see also Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-ishtiqaq*, ed. W. Wūstenfeld (Gottingen, 1854), p. 545.

[81] Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 371; al-Yaʿqūbī, I, 207; Abū a'l-Fidā', I, 72.

[82] Ibn Hishām, Sīrat al-Nabī, ed. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo, 1383/1963), p. 7. See also al-Yaʿqūbī, I, 204; Yāqūt, V, 37; al-Masʿūdī, III, 389.

[83] H.A.R. Gibb, "Arab-Byzantine Relation under the Umayyad Caliphate," in *idem Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, ed. J. Shaw & R Polk (London, 1962), on. 47-61, esp.P.49.

in central Syria.[84] Reports preserved in the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* of al-Balādhurī and many traditions in the *ayyām* literature also bear witness to the early Arab settlement in Syria. Tanūkh and Ṭayyi' were found in the environs of Qinnasrīn; some of their subgroups embraced Islam soon after the Arab conquests, while the remainder did not give up their old belief in Christianity.[85]

The indigenous Syrian Arabs living in urban centers (e.g. Southern Arabs in Qaysariyya and Ba'lbek[86]), as well as the nomadic element,[87] played an important role in the new Arab settlement after the Muslim conquest. For example, they took part in the settlement of Bālis,[88] a small town in North Syria. From the rise of Islam, Southern elements have formed the majority among Syrian Arab tribes.[89]

Nevertheless, there was a Qaysī presence among the Arab community in pre-Islamic Syria. Qaysī pockets were scattered here and there, particularly in Arīḥā, 'Ammān and in the Jawlān Heights; in the latter location they formed the majority of the population.[90]

In Palestine, where the Arab community was of mixed origins, many tribes were represented, such as Lakham, Judhām, 'Āmila, Kinda, Kināna and Qays.[91] In the Syrian *bādiya*, the Southern groups were the dominant element, although many tribal groups of

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[84] Wellhausen, p. 132.

[85] Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, I, 172; Yāqūt, I, 328.

[86] Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, I, 154, 168.

[87] About the Arab community in Ḥims, Ḥamāt, Tadmur, Ḥawrān and Dimashq, see Ibn al-Faqīh, no. 324, 326; see also *al-Aghānī*, XIV, 121.

[88] Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, I, 178.

[89] When Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, who led a rebellion against the Umayyads, heard about the march of the Syrian army to suppress his uprising, he did not seem anxious because he was sure that the majority would side with him. His words were as follows: "*...wāmā ahlu 'l-Shāmi? wa-hal hum illā tis'atu asyāfin; sab'atun minhā lī, wa-sayfāni 'alayya*"; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS., Pt. II, fol. 705b.

[90] Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 326.

[91] *Ibid.*, p. 329.

Northern origins were also to be found there.[92]

It is noteworthy, that some prominent Jāhilī leaders had possessed lands and properties in Syria before Islam, A typical example is the private estate of Abū Sufyān, the Meccan leader, in al-Balqā' district.[93]

As to Mesopotamia, some tribal groups of Southern origin had settled there many generations before the Muslim conquest. Specifically, we are informed about Tanūkh and Ṭayyi'.[94] Sub-groups of Quḍā'a also arrived at al-Jazīra, where they overpowered the local inhabitants and gained regional supremacy, until they were later expelled by a Persian force.[95] It is from this time that al-Jazīra became the permanent home for the Taghlib tribe.[96] The Taghlibīs, who were concentrated in the plains of al-Tharthār valley,[97] led a semi-nomadic life-style.[98]

Northern Arab elements also immigrated to al-Jazīra in their attempt to find a secure asylum. A group of Iyād b. Nizār, afraid of the wrath of the Persian king whom they had provoked, left their homeland in South Iraq and escaped to al-Jazīra. Their stay there was short, however, because soon afterwards they had to move on to Syria because of the Persian threat.[99]

The Muslim conquest gave a new impetus to Arab settlement in Syria and Mesopotamia. Immediately after the first military victories, the Arab settlers arrived wave after wave. Some of them immigrated as part of the expeditionary troops who set out from

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[92] Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 23.

[93] Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, I, 153.

[94] *Ibid.*, I, 172-173.

[95] Yāqūt, II, 134-135.

[96] *Naqā'id jarīr wa 'l-farazdaq*, ed. A.A. Bevan (Leiden, 1905-1912), p. 886.

[97] *Al-Aghānī*, XI, 62.

[98] Yāqūt, II, 75.

[99] Al-Anbārī, *Sharḥ al-qaṣā'id al-sab' al-jāhiliyāt*, ed. 'A.S. Hārūn, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1969), pp. 482-483.

al-Madīna,[100] while others came spontaneously in the course of the regular wanderings of the nomadic tribes.[101] In order to provide the new settlers with houses, the Arab commanders stipulated in the peace treaties that the conquered inhabitants should vacate half of their houses and churches for the sake of the conquerors.[102]

The Arabs also made use of the buildings which had been evacuated by their owners, either of their own will or by force.[103] In spite of the fact that some tribal groups of Qaysī origin had left their homeland in North Arabia and joined their brothers in Syria,[104] the tribal balance of power in this area remained unchanged and the Southern Arabs kept their numerical superiority. It was the Umayyad interference which led to this situation, as they diverted the course of the Qaysī immigration to

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[100] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munajjid (Damascus, 1951), 1, 570.

[101] Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, I, 140, 152, 178.

[102] Such terms appear in the peace treaty with the Tiberians, as well as in the peace treaty with the inhabitants of Damascus; see *ibid.*, I,138, 146.

[103] This example had occurred in Damascus and according to one version, in Ḥims, Ḥalab, Antioch and most of the Lebanese sea-ports; see *ibid.*, 1, 146, 155, 150-151, 174.

[104] For example, when all the Banu Mujāshiʿ left for Syria , al-Farazdaq, feeling sorry for their departure, wrote:"*alā layta shiʿrī mā arādat Mujāshiʿun/ilā ʾl-Shāmi, am mādhā arāda amīruhā*," al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS., Pt. II, fol. 447a. In the same occasion al-Farazdaq had said:"*Alam naku aʾlā Dārimin fī diyārihā / wa-aktharahā in ʿudda yawman nafīruhā/fa-lā tafraḥā yā ʾbnay Raqāshin bi-naʾyihā/ fā-qad kāna mimmā an tatimmā buḥūruhā*;" *Dīwān al-Farazdaq*, I, 236. Al-Farazdaq had expressed his grief for their departure in another verse, where he wrote:"*fa-ʾin abkī qawmī yā Nawāru fa-innanī, arā masjidayhim minhumu kaʾl-balāqiʿi;*" *ibid.*, I, 394; *Ansāb*, MS., Pt. II, fol. 447a. Banū ʿAmir had also completely left their native home in al-ʿĀliya during the reign of Muʿāwiya, and immigrated to al-Jazīra; see *al-Aghānī*, X, 74. During the reign of Hishām, a new wave of tribal immigrants left al-Madīna for Syria in the aftermath of a drought; all of them were of Qaysī origin; see al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, ed. E. Levi-Provencal (Cairo, 1953), pp. 170-171, 246.

Mesopotamia instead of Syria.[105] The Umayyad Caliphs, hoping to secure the permanent loyalty of the Yemenite tribes, especially of Kalb, forbade any Qaysī settlement in Syria.[106]

Muʿāwiya allocated a separate area far from the urban centers for every tribal group.[107] Mesopotamia, in accordance with his policy, was divided into three main parts, each subsequently with its own administrative center: the first was Diyār Rabīʿa, whose center was al-Mawṣil; the second was Diyār Muḍar, whose center was al-Raqqa; the third was Diyār Bakr, whose center was Āmid.[108] The main sources of livelihood of the Arab settlers in this province were farming of winter crops, and traditional herding.[109]

On the Syrian coasts, a series of Arab settlements were set up as soon as the Arab occupation begun. From the beginning, these were designed to defend the Syrian territory against the raids of the Byzantine navy. At first, small garrisons were put in coastal positions. If the Byzantines launched an attack against one of the Muslim posts, reinforcements could come from the neighbouring bases; when the danger had passed these would then return to their regular camps. This arrangement continued until the end of ʿUmar's reign, when his successor ʿUthmān gave instructions to Muʿāwiya, then his governor in Syria, to rebuild and fortify the military positions along the Syrian shores, to fill them with Muslim

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[105] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashq*, ed. Badran, V, 304; see also Wellhausen, p.132.

[106] when the name of Shabīb, the Kharijī leader, was removed from the lists of the *dīwān* because of his frequent absences, he asked ʿAbd al-Malik to enroll him again. However, the Caliph refused his request and said: "*inna Bakra ʾbna Wāʾilin wa-Banī Tamīmin kathīrun sharruhumā, wa-mā uḥibbu an yakthurū bi-hādhihi ʾl-bilādi. wa-qāla ʾl-Haythamu ʾbnu ʿAdiyyin:kāna Banū Marwāna lā yafriḍūna li-Bakrin wa-li-Tamimin bi-l-Shāmi.*" Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS., Pt. II, fol. 643b.

[107] Of these groups, we are informed about Tamīm, Qays, Asad and Rabīʿa; see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, I, 211.

[108] Al-Muqaddasī, p.137.

[109] Ibn Ḥawqal, *al-Masālik*, p.155; see also al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, I, 211.

soldiers and to grant them salaries.[110] It seems that some of those fortifications were destroyed during the first civil war, and it was necessary to rebuild them again. This was the case with Sūr, ʿAkkā and ʿAsqalān, which were repaired at first by ʿAbd al-Malik and then by his son Hishām.[111]

It is worth mentioning that most of the military forces dispatched to the coast were of non-Arab origin. The *futūḥ* traditions mention soldiers of various ethnic origins: Persians, Jews, Copts from Egypt, Asāwira, Zuṭṭ and Sayābija from India, Syrian Arabs and Christians of Byzantine origin.[112] In choosing foreigners the Umayyad Caliphs tried to fill the manpower gap which resulted from the lack of Arabs trained in maritime skills,

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[110] Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, I, 152. These measures were taken according to the instructions of the Caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; see *ibid.*, p.152.

[111] *Ibid.*, I, 139, 171; see also Ibn al-Qūtiyya, *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, ed. M. Rivadeneyra (Madrid, 1867), p. 5.

[112] As to the Persians they were in Antioch, Baʿalbek, Tripoli, Ḥims, Ṣūr, ʿAkkā (Acre), Ṣaydā, Beirut, Jubayl and ʿArqa; see Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 327; see also al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, IVa, ed. Max Schloessinger, rev. and annotated by M.J. Kister (Jerusalem, 1971), 3, 13; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, I, 139. The Ḥamrāʾ al-Daylam, whom Muʿāwiya transferred to the Syrian coasts, were identified also as Persians (*ibid.*, II, 343). As to the *Asāwira*, it was reported From where they came, but there is not any information as to where they were dispatched (*ibid.*, I, 139). With regard to the Jews, they were stationed in the citadel of Tripoli (*ibid.*, I, 151). The Egyptian Copts, who were professionals in navigation and other naval affairs, were brought to Acre by Muʿāwiya in A.H. 49 (*ibid.*, I, 140). The Zuṭṭ and the Sayābija came into two groups; the first one was settled by Muʿāwiya in Antioch and its suburbs. The second group was made of prisoners of war, who were captured by al-Qasim b. Muḥammad al-Thaqafī on the Indian front; they were dispatched to the Syrian coast in the reign of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (*ibid.*, I, 192; II, 463). Christian Arabs of Syrian tribal origin, who embraced Islam at an early stage, were settled in Balīs (ibid., I,178). The Byzantine elements, who evidently were the remnants of the forces who had stayed in Syria (for unknown reasons) after the Arab conquest, maintained a typical Byzantine community in ʿAkkā (*ibid.*, I, 140).

particularly among the Northern tribes who were completely inexperienced. It was not an accident that Muʿāwiya sent Southern Arabs on sea missions, while the Northerners were used solely in land operations.[113]

7. Egypt

When the Arabs captured Alexandria, the commander of the campaign, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, intended to make it the residential center of the Arab troops, so as to spare the efforts of building a new military camp. ʿAmr's plan, however, was not approved by the Caliph in al-Madīna.[114] Ibn al-ʿĀṣ then had no choice and decided to set up al-Fusṭāṭ as the new military camp, in the same place where he had pitched his tent in the front of the fortress of the Byzantine city of Alyūna.[115]

Even after the conquest of Egypt was accomplished, the need for fresh Arab forces continued as a result of the constant threat of a Byzantine landing, which finally materialized with the reconquest

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[113] See Ibn ʿAsākir, Ta'rīkh Dimashg, ed. Badran, V, 301; see also al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IVa., 82; *al-Aghānī*, XVII, 50. Southern Arabs were bitterly scorned by their cousins from the north, because they engaged in fishing' shipping and other sea affairs. Among the Southern tribes, al-Azd suffered much insult due to this fact; a great deal of anecdotes are reported in the works of *adab* literature and the *mathālib* works, See, for instance, *al-Aghānī*, XIX, 28; al-Jāḥiẓ, *āl-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, ed. EA.S. Hārūn, 4th ed (Cairo, 1975), IV, 66.

[114] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-akhbāruhā*, ed. Charles C. Torrey (Leiden, 1922), p. 91. The reason behind ʿUmar's refusal of the request was his anxiousness for the fate of the Muslim army if they crossed the Nile, and their possible separation from the occupied territory. See Yaqūt, Iv, 263.

[115] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam. p 91;see also Yāqūt, IV, 263; al-Ṭabarī, I, 2589;.al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, I, 249. This is the reason why the place was called al-Fustāt. But according to another version, the name was given because the Arabs considered the place as the main center in which they used to assemble (*ibid.*, I,24).

of Alexandria four years after its fall.[116] The constant rise of the *muqātila* enrolled in the lists of the dīwān[117] bears witness to the numerical growth of the Arab community in Egypt, which could only result from the tribal immigration to this province.

Immediately after the establishment of al-Fusṭāṭ, the first groups of tribal immigrants began to arrive in Egypt, among them a group of Judhām.[118] Simultaneously, a large tribal group of Quḍāʿa arrived from Syria; they were estimated at a third of the total Quḍāʿa in Syria.[119] The arrival of the Quḍāʿīs to Egypt was planned by the Syrian authorities, who had wanted to kill two birds with one stone; their first aim was to thicken the Arab population of Egypt, and the second was to preserve the tribal *status quo* and to prevent tribal friction in Syria, which had already began to manifest itself.[120]

As a result of the rise in the number of immigrants in al-Fusṭāṭ, it was necessary to expand the built-up area, so a new quarter called al-Jīza was established on the western bank of the Nile in order to absorb the surplus.[121] Besides Syria, the tribal immigrants also came from Iraq. A group of them, from the Asad tribe, had arrived from al-Baṣra during the Caliphate of Muʿāwiya, having been despatched by Ziyād, Muʿāwiya's deputy there.[122]

The permanent settlement of Alexandria started later than that of al-Fusṭāṭ. At first, small units of Arab soldiers were temporarily

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[116] *Ibid.*, vol.I, 260; see also Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, pp. 175, 178; Yaqūt, I,188.

[117] Al-Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, ed. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār (Beirut, 1379/1959), p. 92; see also al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa ʾl-iʿtibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa ʾl-āthār*, (Cairo, 1270/1853-4), I, 94.

[118] Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Bayān wa ʾl-iʿrāb ʿammā ḥalla bi-miṣra min al-Aʿrāb*, ed. ʿA. ʿAbdīn (Cairo, 1961), p. 23.

[119] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, p.116; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Bayān*, p. 29.

[120] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, p.116.

[121] *Ibid.*, PP128-129.

[122] Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ*, II, 78.

stationed in the abandoned houses for summer and winter duty.[123] Then a big garrison was permanently stationed there, numbering about 27,000 soldiers, during the reign of Muʿāwiya.[124] In order to encourage Arab settlement in Alexandria, the authors of early *futūḥ* and *faḍāʾil* works referred to some traditions ascribed to the Prophet or to his close companions, which extol Alexandria, lay stress upon its sanctity and emphasize the martyrdom element of those who had been killed or those who will sacrifice themselves for its sake.[125]

Since the early days of the Arab conquest in Egypt, a special arrangement had afforded the opportunity for Arab settlement outside of the main military camps. The Arab soldiers would leave al-Fusṭāṭ in the spring by special permission from the governor, leading their flocks and horses to the grazing lands in the countryside. They then returned when the grass-season was over.[126] But a significant number of them never came back to al-Fusṭāṭ, preferring to settle permanently in the country. The Mudlij tribe and other sub-groups of Ḥimyar were a notable example of this phenomenon.[127]

Besides the annual salary which they got from the state, the *muqātila* also used to cultivate lands or manage businesses.[128] This kind of activity opened the door to leaving the *dīwān* and passing on to civilian life. Alarmed of this development, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and his representative in Egypt tried to put an end to

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[123] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam. p.130.

[124] Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ*, I,151.

[125] Al-Kindī, *Faḍāʾil miṣr*, ed. I. al-ʿAdawī & ʿAlī M. ʿUmar(Cairo, 1971), p. 49; see also Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, p. 42. About the *faḍāʾil* of Egypt in general see Ibn Taghrī Birdī, I, 27-33, esp. 31; see also Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, p. 141.

[126] *Ibid.*, pp.141-142; IbnTaghrī Birdī, I, 73, 74.

[127] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, p.142.

[128] *Ibid.*, P.162; see also al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, I, 257.

it.[129]

Arab settlement on a large scale was initiated by the highest authority in the state during the reign of the Umayyad Caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (A.D, 724-743), when he was asked by his governor in Egypt, Ibn al-Ḥabḥāb, to enlist more soldiers in the *dīwān* of Egypt, But before giving his consent, Hishām gave instructions that the new immigrants should not take up residence in al-Fustāt, but be settled in another place. About 3,000-5,000 Qaysī families were accordingly mobilized in the Syrian desert and sent to the eastern side of the Delta, known as al-Ḥawf al-Sharqī.[130]

The Qaysī immigrants arrived gradually, the first group comprising about 400 families of different tribes: Banū Naṣr (Ibn Quʿayn), Banū ʿĀmir, Hawāzin and Sulaym. Then more waves of Qaysī clans joined them, and their total number reached 5,000 during the Caliphate of the ʿAbbāsid al-Manṣūr.[131]

The new Qaysī settlers were permitted to cultivate lands, a privilege from which the earlier *muqātila* were forbidden, as mentioned above. They also received financial help from the local treasury, which had dedicated all the income of the alms-tax of Egypt to them. The Qaysīs had the monopoly of carrying food supplies and other goods to the sea port of al-Qulzum, from where they were exported to Makka and al-Madīna.[132] Moreover, they were encouraged to breed horses.[133] As a result of these measures, the economic situation of the Tennīs settlers clearly improved and soon they built big houses instead of the humble shacks in which they dwelt soon after their arrival.[134]

The Qaysī community in the Delta region preserved its Arab

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[129] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, p. 162.

[130] Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ*, I, 80, 303; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, p. 143; al-Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, pp. 98-99; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Bayān*, p. 66.

[131] Al-Azdī, p. 31.

[132] Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ*, I, 80; al-Azdī, p. 31.

[133] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, p.143.

[134] Yaqūt, II, 52.

identity for a long time. When the famous poet al-Mutanabbī visited Egypt during the tenth century A.D., he passed by Bilbīs, where Qaysī immigrants had settled. He mentioned its Qaysī inhabitants in panegyric verses which were preserved in Yāqūt's work.[135]

It is important to point out that the Qaysī settlement in Egypt was preceeded by the first Coptic uprising in the Delta district against the taxation measures which had been imposed by Ibn al-Ḥabḥāb, the treasurer of Egypt in the reign of Hishām.[136] Additional troops had been sent there to suppress the uprising which lasted for several months.[137] It is possible that the Qaysī settlement, which occurred two years later, had been designed to maintain public order in the region and to prevent any further attempts to disturb Arab rule.

8. North Africa

The first military camp in this region was at al-Qayrawān, which was established in A.H. 50 by ʿUqba b. Nāfiʿ, the representative of Muʿawiya.[138] But as a result of the instability of the military situation during the first century, the Arab settlers were obliged to evacuate this camp and to retreat towards the east.[139] Eventually, when the second civil war came to its end, and upon the subsequent strengthening of Arab control over the area, al-Qayrawān became a *miṣr*, similar to the other *amṣār* throughout

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[135] *Ibid.*, I, 479.

[136] Al-Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, p. 95; Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ*, I, 79.

[137] Shaban, p. 149.

[138] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, p. 119; Ibn Khayyāṭ al-ʿUṣfurī, *Taʾrīkh ibn khayyāṭ*, I, 247; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, I, 269; Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 347; Yāqūt, IV, 420; Ibn ʿAdhārī al-Marrākrushī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib fī akhbār al-andalus wa ʾl-maghrib*, ed. Levi-Provencal (Leiden, 1948), I, 19.

[139] *Ibid.*, I, 30-31.

the Muslim state.[140] Tanja was later set up as a *miṣr* by *Mūsā* b. Nuṣayr during the Caliphate of al-Walīd b.ʿAbd al-Malik.[141] Both al-Qayrawān and Tanja served as military bases from which the Arab raids set out. Unlike other *amṣār*, they never served as civilian settlements, at least during the Umayyad period. In A.H. 114, Tūnis was set up as a naval base near the ruins of Qirṭājanna by Ibn al-Ḥabḥāb, the governor of the province (his authority had been extended to North Africa). A ship building basin was also set up there as part of the efforts made by the Caliph Hishām to establish a strong naval force.[142]

9. Spain

The number of Arab soldiers who arrived in Spain from its conquest until the end of the first century A.H. remained small and never exceeded a few hundred.[143] The vast majority of the Muslim army which took part in the invasion to Spain across the strait of Gibraltar was of Berber origin. Even the commander of the campaign, Ṭāriq b. Ziyād, was a Berber.[144] The Berber soldiers who survived the first wave of fighting were estimated at 9,000 men.[145] Ṭāriq was conscious of the threat from the Visigoths, who had

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[140] *Ibid.*, I, 32.

[141] Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, I, 272.

[142] Al-Qalqashandī, *Maʾāthir al-ināfa fī maʿālim al-khilāfa*, ed. ʿA. Farrāj (Kuwayt,1964), p. 155; see also Yāqūt, II, 62.

[143] In addition to those who joined the campaigns of Ṭāriq and his patron Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, only two small groups of Arabs arrived in Spain. The first came with al-Ḥurr al-Thaqafī in A.H. 94; E. Levi Provincal, *Histoire d'Espange Musulmane* (Paris, 1944), I, 83. The second group came six years later, with al-Samḥ al-Khawlānī (Ibn al-Quṭiyya, pp. 201-202).

[144]There were 12,000 soldiers and only 300 Arabs; see al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb*, ed. R. Dozy, W. Wright et. al. (Leiden, 1855-1860), I, 142; see also al-Ṭabarī, II, 1235. According to another version, there were 10,000 soldiers; see al-Maqqarī, I, 143.

[145] Muʾnis Ḥusayn, *Fajr al-Andalus* (Cairo, 1959), p. 75.

begun to prepare for the decisive battle after their first defeat. He therefore called for reinforcements from his base in North Africa.[146] Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, the patron of Ṭāriq and the governor of Africa, hastily recruited 10,000 soldiers, most of whom were Berber, although the number of the Arabs this time was larger than in the first campaign. Mūsā then joined his *mawlā* on the battlefield in Spain.[147] After his successful campaign, Mūsā returned to North Africa, while a considerable part of his army stayed behind him.[148]

Afterwards, a spontaneous Berber immigration began.[149] Some Berber tribal leaders, along with other military elements, were encouraged by the easily achieved victories. Tempted by the plentiful spoils, they recruited private military units from among the Berbers and crossed the straits to Spain.[150] Even the Berber soldiers who had not intended to settle permanently in Spain had at least hoped to get rich from their share in the spoils. But alarmed at the adverse effects of this phenomenon on the position of the already established Arab community, the Berbers were forbidden from landing on the coasts of the Peninsula during the reign of the Umayyad Caliph Hishām b.ʿAbd al-Malik.[151]

According to a unique report in Ibn al-Qūṭiyya's work, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr had distributed the conquered lands among his soldiers, but a considerable area was preserved under the supervision of the state and was regarded as *khums*. Acording to a special arrangement, the *khums* were divided among some of the Arab captains, solely for the sake of cultivation. The Arabs possessing this right, which passed hereditarily from father to son; were called *ahl al-akhmās*, and their, descendants were known as *abnā'*

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[146] Ibn Qutayba, *al-Imāma wa ʾl-siyāsa* (Cairo, 1969), II, 118.

[147] Al-Ṭabarī, II, 1253. However, the number given in al-Maqqarī (I, 176-177) was 18,000.

[148] Ibn ʿAdhārī, II, 23.

[149] Mu'nis Huṣayn, p. 75.

[150] Levi-Provencal, I, 86.

[151] Ibn ʿAdhārī, II, 4.

al-akhmās.[152] This special arrangement was found in Spain instead of the *'atā'* system prevalent in the eastern provinces of the Muslim empire. According to this system, soldiers took a share from the crops of the cultivated land instead of an annual salary.[153]

The Arab soldiers included within the category of *khums* were scattered all over the occupied territories in Spain, in the urban centers or in the military fortresses, where they led their lives in a manner similar to feudal lords. Qurṭuba (Cordova) was still the administrative center, and most of the *muqātila* were concentrated in it.[154] In the eyes of the Berbers, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr's land division was unjust. These elements in the Muslim army were ill-treated: while the plain and the fertile fields fell to the Arabs, the Berber soldiers were concentrated in the rocky hills and the grazing grounds, with which they were all too familiar from their original environment.[155]

The year A.H. 123 was a turning point in the history of the Arab settlement in Spain. At least 10,000 Syrian soldiers, who had been part of the army despatched to suppress the Berber uprising led by Maysara in North Africa, were besieged in Sabta after the decisive defeat of the Syrian army. The besieged force had no choice but to flee to Spain. The governor of the Peninsula, who at first refused to let them in, was obliged, under the pressure of a parallel Berber uprising in Spain itself, to send them boats to sail from Sabta to the Peninsula.[156]

The internal situation in Spain enabled the commander of the Syrian force, Balj al-Qushayrī, to seize power there after he killed its former governor. As a result of the governor's murder, the

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[152] Ibn al-Quṭiyya, pp.199-200.

[153] Levi-Provencal, I, 85.

[154] Ibn al-Abbār (al-Quḍā'ī), *al-Ḥulla al-Siyarā'*, ed. Ḥusayn Mu'nis (Cairo, 1963), I, 61.

[155] Levi-Provencal, I, 87-88.

[156] Al-Maqqarī, II, 12; see also Ibn al-Quṭiyya. pp. 37-38; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* Vol. V, 251; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, p. 220; Ibn 'Adhārī II. 30.

ʿaṣabiyya dispute between the Qays and the Yaman elements erupted on a large scale. The violent activities continued for about three years, but due to the intervention of the governor of North Africa, the civil war came to an end.[157] According to the compromise achieved between the two fighting camps, the Syrian force had to evacuate Qurṭuba and was scattered in the six other centers named after the territorial adminstrative division, known as the *ajnād*, prevalent in Syria.

These new Spanish centers, which bear the original names of the *ajnād al-Sham*, were on the eastern coast of Spain. Most of these Arabs were granted estates from the lands which were confiscated especially for this purpose.[158]

The collapse of the Umayyad regime in the east, a few years after these events, and the setting up of the young Umayyad state in Spain by the refugee prince, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya b. Hishām b.ʿAbd al-Malik[159] (known as al-Dākhil), paved the way to a new Arab immigration from the eastern provinces. Long lists of Arab immigrants can be adduced from the *ansāb* works, particularly from the work of Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī.[160]

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[157] Ibn al-Abbār, I, 61; see also Ibn ʿAdhārī, II, 33; Ibn al-Quṭiyya, pp.17, 41-46.

[158] Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 491; see also al-Maqqarī, I, 146-147; Ibn al-Quṭiyya, pp. 19-20; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāta fī akhbār ghirnāṭa* (Cairo, 1319/1901-2), p. 18; Ibn ʿAdhārī, II, 33; R. Dozy, *Notices sur quelques manuscrits arabes*, (Leiden, 1847-1851), p. 46; Ibn al-Abbār, I, 61-63.

[159] Ibn ʿAdhārī, II, 44-47; see also Ibn al-Abbār, I, 35-36; Ibn Qutayba, II,103.

[160] There were either small tribal clans or sub-tribal groups, some of whom belonged to the Umayyad ruling dynasty, while the others were Umayyad allies from among the Northern and Southern Arabs; see e.g. Ibn Ḥazm, pp. 85, 89, 104, 106, 109, 154, 178, 189, 192, 219, 267, 290, 302, 328, 392, 397, 418, 421, 423.

A'RĀB AND *MUHĀJIIRŪN* IN THE ENVIRONMENT OF *AMṢĀR*

An optimal portrait is painted in the eyes of contemporary Muslims of early Islamic society. But was it indeed so? And were there different sides to this same society?

In this article I will try to shed light on the two major dominant groups in early Muslim society: the *muhājirūn* and the *a'rāb*; I will examine several aspects of their lives and the status of both of them in society on the basis of a new examination of those Islamic written traditions which are available.

(I)

The creation of a Muslim community during the life of Muhammad in al-Madina, was considered the first attempt to bend the tribesmen to the control of some kind of central authority represented by Muhammad himself.[1] The absence of a state mentality among the Northern tribes of Arabia in the way in which it existed among the Southern tribes was the main difficulty that faced the Prophet and his successors.[2] The concept of tribe was the only form of political awareness of the Arabs in Muhammad's time; they certainly had some superficial knowledge of the neighbouring states, but it did not affect their political concepts, which were based solely upon tribal understanding and identity.[3]

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[1] Donner F. McGraw, *The Early Islamic Conquests*, Princeton University Press, 1981, p. 54.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[3] Watt M., *Muhammad At Medina*, Oxford University Press, 1968, pp. 238-239.

On the basis of this understanding the tribesmen considered the central government to be no more than the personality of the leader, or his ruling dynasty.[4] Once the leader disappeared or became weak, they seized the opportunity to get rid of the state yoke. The most striking example clearly reflecting this concept, was the opposition movement known as *ḥurūb al-ridda*, apostacy wars, which occurred after Muhammad's death.[5] Whether the *ridda* aimed to challenge either the political arrangement reached in al-Madina by the Muslim aristocracy, or the ordinances of the new faith by proposing rival ideologies, or indeed both of them, it merely represents, after all, an attempt to destroy the hegemony of the Islamic regime.[6] Despite the failure of this attempt, the tribesmen continued fighting towards this goal during the reign of the Caliph *'Uthman*.[7]

One of the main challenges faced the ruling theocracy was how to secure the nomads' loyalty, for the only type of loyalty they knew was to their own tribe.[8] Moreover, the nomads continued to believe that the tribe was the only form of power parallel to that of the Caliphate.[9] And they considered the desert the only safe asylum

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[4] Gibb H.A.R., "Evolution Of Government In Early Islam", *Studies On the Civilization or Islam*, Boston, 1968, pp. 34-46

[5] Al-Balādhuri, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed., by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, Cairo, 1956, vol. I, p. 114.

[6] Donner, pp. 85-86.

[7] Gibb, *ibid.* (The Arabic translation) by Iḥsān'Abbās, Beirut, 1974, pp. 52-53.

[8] Watt, M., *Muhammad At Mecca*, Oxford University Press, 1972, p. 21; see also: Donner, p. 39.

[9] When Banū 'Āmir grazed their flocks in the cultivated lands near al-Baṣra, and were to be arrested by local police sent by the Governor of that garrison town, they shouted the cry of war familiar in pre-Islamic time, "yā Āla 'Āmir", see: Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *al-Aghānī* (ed. by Bulaq Press) Cairo, 1285 A.H., vol. IV, p. 138.

in the face of the ruling institutions and their system of law.[10]

From the beginning, the ruling aristocracy adopted quite a hostile attitude to the nomadic way of life.[11] All those who continued to behave in a nomadic manner were scorned, not only because of their superficial belief in the new faith, but also because of their savage and brutal behavior.[12] Some unpropitious phrases directed against wicked tribal groups and attributed to the Prophet himself may reflect the critical attitude of the Muslim community towards the nomadic tribes. In this context note the comprehensive study of M. J. Kister about an early *ḥadīth*, in which the Prophet invokes God to afflict the tribal confederation of *Muḍar* with years of drought like those at the time of Joseph.[13] The hostile attitude towards the nomads was not only limited to words, but was also reflected in more serious ways, such as in the field of law, and was characterized by a tendency to disdain the residents of the desert in comparison to the non-nomadic residents of the town.[14]

It is not surprising, therefore, that early Islam appears to have cultivated the ideals of the settled life by urging those who embraced Islam from among the nomadic tribes to leave their home land in *al-bādiya* and join the community of the believers in

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[10] The Tamīmī poet sawwār b. Muḍarrib al-Sa'dī, quoted when he escaped the punishment of al-Ḥajjāj, a verse which serves evidence in this respect: "*atarjū Banū Marwāna sam'ī wa-ṭā'atī, wa-qawmī Tamīmun wa 'l-falātu warā'iyā*", see: al-Aṣma'ī, *al-Aḍdād*, ed. by August Haffner, Beirut, 1913, p. 20; see also: al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ed. by W. Ahlwardt, Greifswald, Germany, 1883, p. 278; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil fī al-lugha wa 'l-adab*, ed. by W. Wright, Leibzig, 1864, p. 289; Ibn Durayd, *Gamharat al-lugha*, ed. by Haydar Abad, India, 1351 A.H., vol. I, p. 177

[11] Donner, p. 263.

[12] Qur'ān, sūra: 9, v. 90, 97-99; sūra: 11, v. 48; sūra: 14, v. 49; sūra: 16, v. 48; sūra: 20, v. 33.

[13] M. J. Kister, "O God Tighten Thy Grip On Muḍar", some socio-economic and religious aspects of early *ḥadīth*, J.E.S.H.O, vol. XXIV, part III, pp. 242-273.

[14] Goldziher I., *Muslim Studies* (Translated from the German by C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern) ed. by S. M. Stern, London, 1967, vol. I, p. 17.

al-Madina by performing *hijra*.[15] But *hijra* did not, in all cases, have to be performed without any alternative form of action. A new convert was able to choose between moving to al-Madina, regarded as *dār hijra*, and thus achieving the status of *muhājir*, or staying in his homeland in the desert and thus belonging to *a'rāb al-muslimīn*, a group who could not enjoy their part in the booty unless they actually took part in the holy wars.[16] These two alternatives were used in old Muslim terminology connected with the allegiance of the Muslim to the Prophet, *bay'a*. Thus two forms of *bay'a* emerged: one that implied a commitment to emigrate, *bay'at al-hijra*, and other, *bay'a a'rābiyya*, which contained no such commitment.[17]

This principle in itself indicates a step towards discrimination between two kinds of Muslims--those who performed *hijra* and those who did not, and consequently could not enjoy all the privileges from which their brothers benefitted.

Some tribal groups, despite that sharp division, were considered *muhājirūn* without having to leave their territories in *al-bādiya*.[18] Being thus classified, they had to take part in the *jihād* endeavors and be ready to help the Muslim community as necessary.[19] It seems that *hijra* in this context means solely the readiness to join the Muslim campaigns against the infidel.[20] A change in the significance of *hijra* doubtless testifies to an elasticity which

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[15] Donner, p. 79.

[16] Al-Wāqidī, Muhammad b.'Umar, *al-Maghāzī*, ed. by J. Jones, London, 1966, p. 757.

[17] Ibn Sa'd, Muhammad, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. by Eduard Sachau, Leiden, 1908, vol. IV (2) p. 66.

[18] Ibn Sa'd, voll. I (2) p. 42, 38, 24, 25.

[19] *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, p. 215.

[20] Al-Shaybānī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, *Sharḥ kitāb al-siyar al-kabīr* (ed. by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid) Cairo, 1958, p. 94; see also: Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *al-Amwāl* (ed. by M. Kh. Harras) Cairo, 1968, No. 538.

characterized the activity of the Prophet during the first years of Islam. Some statements attributed to the Prophet may shed light on this issue. It was reported on the authority of *Ṭāwūs* that the Prophet had told the new converted nomads to stay in their home districts, since the *hijra* was interrupted and the stress was now layed on the holy war and the right will to take part in it.[21] There was, therefore, no particular importance attached to where the Muslim lived, whether he chose to stay in his homeland or move to another.[22]

From this point of view one can understand the connection between the conquest of Makka and the famous announcement by the Prophet in which he invalidated *hijra*[23] as a precondition imposed on the new convert.[24] The cancelling of the implementation of the *hijra* principle after the conquest of Makka, the main goal of the Prophet, and adopting another meaning for it, reinforced the belief that *hijra* was originally designed to strengthen the Muslim community in al-Madina, so as to increase the military potential of the Muslims in order to use it against Makka. From the moment at which this goal was achieved there was no further need to impose *hijra* on those who converted to Islam.

The command to perform *hijra* was emphasized again when the Islamic conquests entered a new phase after the *ridda* wars. It is, I believe, the time at which another version of the *ḥadith* concerning the *hijra* emerged, a version which unequivocally states that *hijra* should continue while there was still fighting against the

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[21] *Al-Amwāl*, No. 532.

[22] *Ibid.*, No. 534-535.

[23] Al-Shaybānī, p. 94; Ibn al-athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*, ed. by Haydar Abad, India, 1311 A.H., vol. V, p. 244; *al-Amwāl*, No. 531.

[24] *Al-Shaybānī*, p. 94; Qur'ān, sūra: 8, v. 72; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, ed. by 'Ukasha Tharwat, Cairo, 1969, p. 331.

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infidels.[25]

The continuity of the *hijra* is stressed in a tradition attributed to the Prophet, in which the geographical element is clearly emphasized.[26] Al-hijra was henceforth to be performed into one of the new garrison towns, the *amṣār*, that had recently been established by the Muslims.[27]

Stressing the importance of *hijra* to *amṣār* did not only deprived Madina of its priority as *dār al-hijra*, but also indicated the relationship between *hijra* and the military needs which had increased towards the beginning of the Muslim conquests. During this period in which *hijra* gained momentum, the emigration to *amṣār* was massive, and certain tribes had already moved *en bloc* to settle in the garrison towns, so that none of them remained in the *bādiya*.[28] The distance factor became a criterion in formalising the status of the *muhājir* from the economic and social points of view. As to the first of these, those *muhājirs* who came from far away were rewarded with a higher annual stipend than those who came from nearer.[29] This principle became, in the course of time,

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[25] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. Bulaq Press, Cairo, 1328 A.H., vol. III, p. 373; *al-Amwāl*, No. 536.

[26] *Al-Nihāya*, vol. V, p. 244.

[27] Ibn Manẓūr al-Miṣrī al-Ifrīqī, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, ed. Beirut, 1968-1388 A.H., vol. V, p. 251; *al-Shaybānī*, p. 95; al-Baghdādī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b.ʿUmar, *Khizānat al-adab*, ed. Bulaq Press, Cairo, 1299 A.H., vol. II, p. 99.

[28] This fact is reflected through a statement of Ibn al-Kalbī; referring to a certain tribal group he says: "*wa-laysa li-Banī Ruʾāsa bādiyatun al-yawma*", see: Ibn al-Kalbī, Hishām b. Muḥammad, *al-Jamhara fī al-nasab*, Ms., British Mus. No. 23297, fol. 128b. In another place he refers to another group who moved entirely to the garrison town, none of them remaining in their homeland in the desert; he says: "*wa-laysa lahum bādiyatun, wa-kulluhum biʾl-Kūfa*", see: ibid., 101. 153b.

[29] The words of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, make it clear enough; he says: *fa-lā yalūlmanna aḥadun illā munākha rāḥilatih*", one has not to blame anyone but to blame only oneself; because he himself chose the place to settle in; see: *al-Amwāl*, No. 547; Ibn Rās Ghanama, *Manāqil al-durar fī manābit al-zahar*,

difficult to implement. Even the Caliph ʿUmar himself, to whom this statement was attributed, refused to give priority to those who claimed a higher stipend because they came from far away over those who came from neighbouring regions.[30]

But it seems that dwelling in the garrison towns was not the ultimate condition for receiving the yearly stipend; in fact the *muhājir* in this case was considered as a man of *ahl al-amṣār* but never a man of *ahl al-dīwān*, those who were enrolled in the lists of the stipend system.[31] This fact may clarify the vague phrase "*ʿidāduhu fī aʿrāb al-Baṣra*" which appears frequently in some works of biographical literature.[32]

As to the social aspect, emigrating from or to a distant place was still considered one of the criteria for gaining access to a higher social rank, and even became a focus of boasting for those whose fathers had experienced such a move.[33] Certain tribal groups who emigrated to a neighbouring garrison town, like *Banū Tamīm* who emigrate to *al-Baṣra*, were often disgraced and put to shame as a result.[34]

Furthermore, the *muhājir's* relationship to his former homeland was to be cut totally in order to free his attention for the *jihād*

MS. Chester Beatty, Ar. No. 4254, Dublin, fol. 97b-98a.

[30] Al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad b. Jarīr, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*, ed. by M. J. De Goeje, Leiden, 1879-1901, vol. I, p. 2343.

[31] *Al-Shaybānī*, p. 95.

[32] *Al-Iṣāba*, vol. II, p. 466, p. 57; vol. I, p. 268; vol. III, p. 635.

[33] When Bilāl b. Abī Burda wanted to scorn Khālid b. Safwān, the Tamīmi Kinsman, he just indicated to the nearer place from which he imigrated, he said: "*wa-udhakkiruka bi-dāri aʿrābiyyatika wa-hijratika: ammā dāru aʿrābiyyatika fa'l-Ḥīratu, wa-ammā dāru hijratika fa'l-Baṣratu*" see: al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, Ms. Istanbul, Nos. 597-598, Part 2, fol. 737b.

[34] According to another version Bilāl said to Khālid: "*wa-dāru hijratikum aṭnābu buyūtikum*", it means that they emigrated from very nearer. *Ansāb*, Ms. Part 2, fol. 737b.

alone.[35] Once the nomadic tribesman had emigrated, he was forbidden to leave the sedentary life in garrison town, *miṣr*, and return to the desert.[36] If he intended to leave, that is to perform *ta'arrub*,[37] he had to get special permission from the ruler or his deputy in that *misr*.[38] Without such permission he would be subject to punishment as if he was *murtadd*, who committed the crime of apostacy.[39] The strong punishment meted out shows the importance attributed to an increased settlement of those garrison towns which separated the Muslim areas from those of the infidels during the early stages of the Islamic conquest. But it seems that this rule only belonged to the theoretical legal field, and there is no evidence that it was put into effect.

The *ta'arrub* in this sense, was classified as belonging to the category within Islam of those with impolite manners, as clearly expressed in a dialogue between *al-Nābigha al-Ja'dī*, the well known poet, and the Caliph *'Uthmān*.[40] The crime of *ta'arrub* in this sense carries a religious connotation, and it was regarded as a regular sort of crime. But under certain circumstances, the Caliph changed his role, and instead of discouraging *ta'arrub*, since it was

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[35] Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Sirat 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz*, ed. by Aḥmad 'Ubayd, 5th edition, Damascus, 1967, p. 95.

[36] *Al-Nihāya*, vol. III, p. 202; L.A., vol. I, p. 587; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'arūs*, ed. Bulaq Press (n.d.) vol. I, p. 377.

[37] According to another interpretation, as was introduced by Prof. M. J. Kister in his lecture in memorial of M. Plesner, *ta'arrub*, means to live a farming life and cultivate lands. In another version *ta'arrub* means to abandon ones faith and not a mere returning to live in the *bādiya*, see: al-Qummī, *'Ilal al-sharā'i'*, ed. al-Najaf, Iraq, 1966/1381 A.H., p. 481.

[38] *Al-Iṣāba*, vol. II, p.139; L.A., vol. I, p. 587.

[39] *Al-Amwāl*, p. 314; L.A., vol. I, p. 587. Concerning the punishment of apostasy as stated by the canonical law, see: Abu Yūsuf, Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhim, *al-Kharāj*, 4th edition, Cairo, 1392 A.H., pp. 194-196.

[40] It was reported that al-Nābigha came to 'Uthmān and asked him to let him depart from al-Madina for *al-bādiya*, and 'Uthmān said: "*ata'arrubun ba'da 'l-hijrati yā Abā Laylā? amā 'alimta anna dhālika makrūh*?, see: *Aghānī*, vol. IV, p. 131.

legally regarded as a crime, he imposed it as a punishment on those who dissatisfied him in order to reduce their social status.

The *ta'arrub* which was considered a violation of the *sunna*, was now used as a mean to punish those who violate the regulation of the *sunna*. This indeed happened when the Caliph *'Uthmān* exiled to the desert outside al-Madina the prominent Companion of the Prophet, the so-called *Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī*.[41] The helpless Abū Dharr, as was reported, said in grief as if complaining to God: "*raddanī 'Uthmānu ba'da l-hijrati a'rābiyyan*", he changed my status from a status of *muhājir* to that of *a'rābī*.[42] In order to get rid of the negative consequences of the *a'rābiyya* imposed on him, Abū Dharr used to visit al-Madina frequently to keep in contact with his *dār hijra*.[43] He had, of course, his own reasons for being saddened and depressed as a result of his exile; he did not want to be so unfortunate as to die in the place from which he had originally emigrated. He had in mind the words of the Prophet in which he criticised one of his Companions Sa'd b. Khawla, who met his death in Makka and not in his *dār hijra* at Madina.[44] In this context it is worth referring to another tradition attributed to the Prophet, in which he had entreated Allah not to let him die in Makka from where he had originally emigrated.[45]

A'rābiyya as an indicator of social status was relevant both to the nomadic tribesmen and to the sedentary population who did not

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[41] *Ṭabarī*, vol. I, p. 2862; *Ma'ārif*, p. 253

[42] Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ed. by S. D. Goietein, Jerusalem, 1936, vol. V, p. 54.

[43] *Ṭabarī*, vol. I, p. 2860.

[44] *Al-Nihāya*, vol. V, p. 244.

[45] The prayer says: "*allāhumma lā taj'al manāyānā bihā*", see: *al-Nihāya*, vol. V, p. 214. 'Umar, the second Caliph, used to pray to God to make him die in al-Madina, the city of the Prophet. See: *Ibn Sa'd*, vol. III (1) p. 239. the 4th Caliph, also refrained from sleeping in Makka after his immigration; during the pilgrimage ceremonies he performed his prayers in Makka, and then left to sleep out of it in order not to die there. See: *'Ilal*, p. 452.

perform *hijra*. Striking evidence may be sought in a message sent by the Umayyad Caliph 'Abdul-Malik to his deputy in *al-Baṣra*,[46] in which the Caliph blames his deputy for having appointed his own brother as commander of an army sent from *al-Baṣra* to fight against the *Khawārij*, since he was an *aʿrābī* from Makka.[47] Al-Ḥajjāj, who had a sedentary background also referred to *aʿrābiyya* as if to a personal defect. Pointing out his merits and his superiority to others in his famous speech in the mosque of al-Kūfa, he proudly emphasized the fact that he was a *muhājir* and not an *aʿrābī*.[48] Using the term *aʿrābī* in the above mentioned message and in the speech of al-Ḥajjāj undoubtedly mirrors the low status of the *aʿrābī* in comparison with the higher status of the *muhājir* on the one hand, and extends the significance of *aʿrābiyya* to include both the nomadic as well as the sedentary elements, on the other.

(II)

The distinction between aʿrāb and *muhājirun* was responsible for creating different policies towards two different though not legally separated classes: the upper privileged class and the lower discriminated one. Despite the distinction, the members of both classes were both Arabs and Muslims. The implementation of such a discriminatory policy had its impact on various aspects of life within the Arab society. In addition to the hostile attitude

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[46] *Ṭabarī*, vol. II, p. 825.

[47] "*...fa-qabbaḥa ʾllāhu raʾyaka ḥīna tabʿathu akhāka aʿrabiyyan min ahli Makkata ʿala ʾl-qitāli*", Ṭabari, vol. II, p. 825.

[48] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 864, *al-Nihāya*, vol. III, p. 202; L.A., vol. I, p. 587.

towards the *aʿrāb* from a legal standpoint, an ugly image of them was painted by the ruling elite.[49] The interpretation of the *Qurʾān* not only contributed to a deepening of the negative image that people had of them,[50] but it also gave it a religious sanction.

Disgust of the *aʿrābiyya* reached the point that even calling someone "*yā aʿrābī*" would provoke feelings of humiliation and an angry response.[51] This, of course, strengthened the impression that *aʿrābiyyā* had become an unattractive social characteristic which people feared. Women from this social grouping were also not excluded from the effects of this attitude. The women of the *aʿrābiyya* did not answer to the characteristics demand of the ideal of the beautiful woman, *ḥawāriyyāt*, for this ideal was exclusively for those who belonged to the another class.[52]

Moreover, the *aʿrābī* was represented as uncivilized member of Islamic society, who did not know how to manage his life or indeed what he wanted.[53] The *aʿrāb* according to some traditions, were wholly unfamiliar with Islamic duties; they were unable to perform their prayers correctly,[54] and rarely performed a ritual ablution.[55] They were so ignorant where ritual washing was concerned that they used to express their astonishment at seeing a

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[49] *Al-Iṣāba*, vol. II, p. 75; *al-Nihāya*, vol. III, p. 419; *Manāqil*, 43a; al-ʿIṣāmī, ʾAbd al-Malik b. Ḥusayn, *Simt al-nujūm al-ʿawāli*, ed. Bulaq Press, Cairo, 1280 A.H., vol. III, p.199; *al-Mubarrad*, p. 202; al-Bayhaqī, Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad, *al-Maḥāsin wa ʾl-masāwiʾ*, ed. by Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo, 1961, vol. 1, pp. 312-313.

[50] Al-Ṭabari, Muh. b. Jarīr, *Jāmiʿal-bayān fi tafsīr al-qurʾān*, ed. Cairo, 1903, vol. XI, p. 4.

[51] *L.A.*, vol. I, p. 586; *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, vol. I, p. 371.

[52] Al-Harawī, Abū ʿUbayd, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, ed. Haydar Abad, India, 1384 (A.H.)/1965 (reprinted in Beirut, 1396/1976) vol. II, p. 16.

[53] *Khizāna*, vol. II, p. 99.

[54] *Al-Mubarrad*, p. 202.

[55] Ibn ʾAbdi Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd* (ed. by Aḥmad Amīn, Aḥmad al-zayn and al-Abiari I.) Cairo, 1956, vol. III, p. 415.

man washing as if they had never heard of it.[56] In, comparison with other Muslim groups they seemed less familiar with the ways and manners of Islam.[57] They were even regarded as foreigners by their brothers the Muslims, so that the Prophet warned his Companions not to accept their gifts. In a certain case the Prophet had to justify himself for accepting a gift of milk presented to him by an *a ʿrābiyya* woman called *Umm Sunbula*.[58]

In the light of such reprehensible representation, it does not seem surprising to find critical statements attributed to the Prophet denouncing the *a ʿrāb* and representing them as the real threat to the Islamic faith.[59]

(III)

The impact of the discriminatory policy against the *a ʿrāb* was more crucial in the practical and the material fields; first of all they were removed from high positions of command during the early phase of Islamic conquests under the pretext of their taking part in the *ridda* wars.[60] Victorious commanders from the *a ʿrāb* who were not marked with the *ridda* stain had met the same treatment of disgust and rejection by the individual soldier of the *muhājirūn*, simply because they were of nomadic origin.

The most representative example of those commanders was al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha, who achieved impressive victories in the

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[56] Ibn Rusta, Aḥmad b.ʿUmar, *al-Aʿlāq al-nafīsa* (ed. M. J. De Goeje) Leiden, 1892, p. 194; *Maʿārif*, p. 557.

[57] *Jāmiʿ*, vol. XI, p. 4.

[58] *Ibn Saʿd*, vol. VIII, p. 215; *Goldziher*, vol. I, p. 17. Concerning the refusal of the infidels' gift, see: *al-Amwāl*, Nos. 625, 626, 627, 632; *Maʿārif*, p. 337.

[59] *Al-Iṣāba*, vol. III, p. 145.

[60] Donner, p. 225; see also: Tabarī, vol. I, p. 2225, 2327, 2457-2458, "*Lā yastaʿīnu Abū Bakrin fiʾr-riddati wa-lāʿalāʾl-aʿājimi bi-murtaddin, wa-ʿstanfarahum ʿUmaru wa-lam yuwallī minhum aḥadan*".

Persian front long before the Muslim campaigns even began.[61] It happened after the Muslim defeat in the battle of al-jisr in which the Muslim commander was killed and al-Muthannā took command. In response, all the *Anṣārite* troops left the Muslim camp and went back to al-Madīna in protest leaving al-Muthannā with only a small number of his tribal kinsmen.[62]

As far as the appointment of al-Muthannā is concerned there are contradictory versions. According to one version, he took over command without being authorized by the ruler of al-Madina.[63] The main conclusion to be drawn from this tradition is the intention of clearing the high Muslim officials in al-Madina from the responsibility of appointing that *aʿrābī* to this high military post. According to another version, his appointment was made by the ex-Caliph Abū Bakr.[64]

Similar to the case of al-Muthannā, the appointment of ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd who preceded him in command, aroused opposition among the Companions of the Prophet who suggested giving the command to one of them.[65] Despite the rejection of their demand, ʿUmar had instructed him to consult the Companions and share the decision-making with them.[66] In doing so, ʿUmar, in fact, deprived him of the absolute authority generally given to military commanders.

The reservation against putting the *aʿrāb* in charge during the early Islamic phase, was not restricted to the military field only; it was extended to include civilian positions. It was ʿUmar himself

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[61] Ṭabarī, vol. I, p. 2160.

[62] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 2180.

[63] "*Kāna ʾUmaru yusammī ʾl-Muthannā: al-muʾammiru nafsah*", *al-Iṣāba*, vol. III, p. 362.

[64] *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 396.

[65] "*fa-qīla li-ʾUmara: ammir ʿalayhi rajulan lahu ṣuḥbatun*", see: *Ṭabarī*, vol. I, p. 2161, 2160.

[66] "*ismaʿ min aṣḥābī ʾn-nabiyyi wa-ashrikhum fī ʾl-amri*", see: *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 2161.

who blamed the governor of al-Kūfa because he appointed a man of nomadic origin to be his deputy during his absence; ʿUmar's words made it unjust and inconvenient that settled men, *ahl al-madar*, be ruled by a man of nomadics, *ahl al-wabar*.[67] But keeping the aʿrāb away from administrative posts was not strictly observed for any length of time; this may be seen from critical notes attributed to the Umayyad Caliph ʿUmar b.ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz about his preceding Caliphs. Referring to the injurious practices of al-Walīd b.ʿAbd al-Malik,ʿUmar strongly condemns him for appointing a certain *aʿrābī* called Qurra b. Sharīk to be the governor of Egypt.[68]

Al-Walid was not the first Caliph who broke the rules concerning this issue; the deviation from such policy had already occurred from the outset of the Islamic conquests.[69] It was systematically pursued by Muʿāwiya who used to appoint *aʿrāb* to command *al-ṣāʾifa*, the summer campaigns against the Byzantine borders.[70] His successors from among the Umayyad Caliphs continued this policy; a striking example is the appointment of ʿUmar b. Hubayra, an *aʿrābī* from the Fazāra tribe, as the governor of the Eastern province during the reign of Yazīd b.ʿAbd al-Malik,[71] and then the appointment of an unknown *aʿrābī* called Abū al-ʿĀj al-Sulamī to an administrative office in al-Basra in the region of the Caliph Hishām.[72]

Certain traditions attributed to the Prophet and ʿUmar in favor of the *aʿrāb* and their significant contribution to the success of

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[67] *Futūḥ*, vol. II, p. 421, *Ṭabarī*, vol. I, p. 2386.

[68] "*min ẓulmi l-Walīdi annahū wallā miṣra Qurrata b. Sharīk, aʿrabiyyan jilfan jāfiyā*", *Manāqil*, fol. 34a; *Simt*, vol. III, p. 199.

[69] *Al-Iṣāba*, vol. II, p. 77.

[70] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 56.

[71] It was said that because Ibn Hubayra was an illiterate *aʿrābī*, the order in Iraq district was strictly secured during his region. See: *al-Mubarrad*, p. 171.

[72] *Ansāb*, Ms. Part 2, fol. 752a, "*wallā Abū l-ʿĀji shurṭatahū Muḥammad.... wa-kāna Abū l-ʿĀji aʿrābiyyan*".

Islam,[73] are, therefore, understandable against this background. These traditions were undoubtedly designed to justify the conduct of the Caliphs, and to give legitimacy to a practice entirely opposite to that of the formal *sunna*.

Appointing the *a'rāb* to high administrative positions had contributed too much to the prestige of the tribal clan on the one hand,[74] and secured its loyalty to the court of the Caliph on the other. The office of governor, *imāra* was the most attractive and the most influential job among the administrative positions.[75] The ruling dynasty was naturally conscious of the power given to their officials;[76] at the same time, they were anxious to get the maximum use out of them. If however, they failed to satisfy their patrons then their fate was sealed.[77]

(IV)

Discrimination against the *a'rāb* was deliberately carried out through the *dīwān al-'aṭā'*, the system of annual stipends given to the Muslim soldiers. according to the rules of this system, settled

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[73] See for instance one of those *ḥadīths*, in which the Prophet praises the *a'rāb* and describes them as the fore fathers of the Arabs and the source of potential for the Islam, *al-Kharāj*, p.15; *Ibn Sa'd*, vol. III (1) p. 243; *al-Amwāl*, No. 567.

[74] Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ed. by Max Schloessinger, Revised and annotated by M. J. Kister, Jerusalem 1971, vol. IV (A), p.136.

[75] *Al-'Iqd al-farīd*, vol. I, p. 81.

[76] When the governor of al-Madina ordered the head of the police to destroy the houses of Banū Hāshim and Banū al-Zubayr, the oppositionist clans in the early phase of the Marwānid regime, and he refused to carry out his orders, the governor dismissed him from his office saying: "*alqi sayfanā*", cast off our sword, which means depriving him of his authorities. See: *Aghānī*, vol. IV, p. 156; *Ṭabarī*, vol. II, p. 77.

[77] Wellhausen J., *The Arab Kingdom And Its Fall* (Translated by Weir M.G.) ed. by A.H. Harley, London, 1973, p. 333. A real threat against those who failed to fulfill the wishes of the ruler is mirrored in the words of Ibn Ziyād to some of his officials. See: *Ṭabarī*, vol. II, p. 242.

men known as *ahl al-ḥāḍira*, had priority over the nomadic tribesmen known as *ahl al-bādiya* in being eligible for the *ʿaṭā'*.[78]

Enrolling the *aʿrāb* in the lists of *ahl-al-ʿaṭā'*, those who were eligible for stipend, was stipulated together with the obligation on them to leave their homeland and join the garrison towns.[79] But it seems that joining the *amṣār* was not enough to become eligible for the *ʿaṭā'*, and it was necessary to take part in the military campaigns, a rule which was still observed up to the first decades of the second century (A.H.).[80] This may explain the existence of many poor people in the garrison towns of Iraq during the region of Muʿāwiya, for they had no access to the *dīwān al-ʿaṭā'*.[81]

Excluding the *aʿrāb* from the category of *ahl al-ʿaṭā'* did not necessarily mean depriving them of any kind of financial or substantial aid from the treasury; they still had the right to obtain their share from the *fay'*, the Caliphate revenue, in specific circumstances.[82]

Excluding the aʿrāb was not always strictly observed; certain individuals and groups who never performed *hijra* to the amṣār

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[78] It was reported that ʿUmar had instructed one of his captains saying: "*mur li-ʾl-jundi bi-ʾl-farīḍati, wa-ʿalayka bi-ahli ʾl-ḥāḍirati*", *Futūḥ*, vol. III, p. 561. In another version also attributed to him he said: "*wa-ʾllāhi lā arzuqukum ḥattā arzuqa ahla ʾl-ḥāḍirati*", see: *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 561.

[79] When Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ was asked by a group of nomadic tribesmen to let them be enrolled in the lists of *dīwān al-ʿaṭā'*, he answered: "*lā wa-ʾllāhi, lā arzuqukum ḥattā arzuqa ahla ʾl-ḥāḍirati, fa-man arāda baḥbaḥata ʾl-Jannati fa-ʿalayhi bi-ʾl-jamāʿati*", see: *al-Amwāl*, No. 558.

[80] *Ibid.*, No. 325.

[81] This fact is mirrored by two verses of al-Farazdaq, who would not agree to go back to al-Kūfa despite the promise of Ziyād, its governor, not to punish him:

"daʿānī Ziyādun li-ʾl-ʿaṭāʾi wa-lam akun,
li-ātiyahū mā nāla dhū ḥasabin wafrā.
wa-ʿinda Ziyādin law yurīdu ʿaṭāʾahum,
rijālun kathīrun qad amātahum ū faqrā".

See: Ansāb al-ashrāf, vol. IV (A) p. 197; *Aghānī*, vol. XIX, p. 31.

[82] *Al-Amwāl*, No. 559, 561, 562.

were considered within the category of *ahl al-ʿaṭāʾ*.[83] The only explanation for this exceptional treatment lies in the fact that they were loyal to the ruler. In this context remember the privileged men including the courtiers and the members of the ruling dynasty who received *ʿaṭāʾ* without any obligation to fulfill their military duty.[84]

In addition to the difficulties involved in enrolling the *aʿrāb* in the lists of the *ʿaṭāʾ*, there was still a considerable discrepancy between the amount of money they received and the sum received by the *muhājirūn* who, as usual, received more than the *aʿrāb*.[85] In order to make their stipend equal to the higher sum, it was necessary to change the status of the *aʿrābī* to that of Qurayshite *muhājirs*, who enjoyed primacy among all the Arab tribes both because of their noble descent and because they were of the Prophet's tribe,[86] two principles which were taken into consideration since the establishment of *dīwān al-ʿaṭāʾ*.[87] Within this framework the name of Ḥāritha b. Badr al-Ghudānī was erased from his tribal pay rolls and registered in the pay rolls of Quraysh.[88]

It seems that it was an inevitable procedure to ensure the legality of the rise in the stipend either in the case of an individual or

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[83] "*wa-kāna Ṣaʿṣaʿatu...yuʿṭā l-ʿaṭāʾa fī dārihi*", see: *Ansāb*, Ms. Part 2, fol. 1036a. Concerning another case see: *Aghāni*, vol. XVIII, p. 70. Unconditioned *ʿaṭāʾ* was also given to a sub-group of ʿAnaza, see: ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārikh*, ed. Leiden, 1863-1871, vol. IV, p. 397.

[84] *Ṭabarī*, vol. II, pp. 1747-1748.

[85] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-ʿUthmāniyya*, ed. by ʾAbd al-Salam Harun, Cairo, 1955, p. 213; *Aghānī*, vol. XXI, p. 40.

[86] On the primacy of Quraysh among the Arab tribes, see: *Muhammad At Mecca*, p. 10; see also: *Ibn Saʿd*, vol. I (I), p. 2; *Ṭabarī*, vol. I, p. 1823; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salam Harun, Cairo, 1962, p. 6.

[87] *Futūḥ*, vol. II, pp. 449-450; *al-Amwāl*, Nos. 548, 549, 552.

[88] Ibn Durayd, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, *al-Ishtiqāq* (ed. Abd el-Salam Harun, Bagdad, reprinted in Beirut, 1979), p. 229; *Aghānī*, vol. XXI, p. 22.

group.[89] The process of changing status was not an innovation on the part of the later Caliphs, it was rather an imitation of the Islamic *sunna* based upon the conduct of the Prophet who, it was reported, had annexed a certain nomadic sub-group to the Qurayshite clan Banū ʿAbd-Manāf, in order to allow them to enjoy the same rights as this Qurayshite clan.[90]

(v)

In the case of Ḥāritha al-Ghudānī, it was an attempt by the ruler to win over to his side not a mere man of the street, but a good fighter and a prominent tribal leader.[91] The idea of winning tribal leaders to the side of the ruler was deeply rooted in Islamic tradition. It was initiated earlier by the Prophet himself after the conquest of Makka and known as the conciliation of hearts, *ta ʾlīf al-qulūb*.[92]

Winning the loyalty of the tribes through the traditional leaders gradually disappeared, and new means were adopted to achieve the same goal. The rulers became powerful enough to impose their will on the tribes, and they were able to appoint the leader whom they found fit for the *ri ʾāsa*, the job of tribal leadership.[93] In this context the *ri ʾāsa* of Bakr b. Wāʾil, which was removed from one to another according to the instructions of the Caliphs, seems typical.[94]

The interference of the ruling circles always played the decisive

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[89] Ibn Ḥabīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Munammaq fī akhbār Quraysh*, ed. A. F. Khurshid, Haydar Abad, India, 1964/1384 A.H., p. 312.

[90] "*wa-kataba rasūlu ʾl-lāhi li-Banī Juʿaylin min Baliyyin, annahum rahṭun min Qurayshin, thumma min Banī ʿAbdī Manāfin, lahum mithlu ʾladhī lahum...*", *Ibn Saʿd*, vol. I(2), p. 24.

[91] *Donner*, p. 260.

[92] *Muhammad At Medina*, p. 74; 348 ff.

[93] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa ʾl-tabyīn*, ed.ʿAbd al-Salām Harun, 4th edition, Cairo, 1975, vol. III, p. 108.

[94] *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 108, see also: *al-Iṣāba*, vol. III, p. 365.

role in the contest for *ri'āsa* between rival factions within the same tribe, as happened for example, when the Caliph Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya instructed his deputy in Iraq to act in favor of Ashyam b. Majza'a against his rival for the *ri'āsa* of Bakr.[95] The ruler sometimes took far reaching measures and did not refrain from dismissing the tribal leader from his office and replacing him.[96]

Sometimes it was not necessary to take such a drastic step against the traditional leader; instead, he was gradually deprived of the resources of power in order to weaken his influence with his kinsmen. There were various means available to the rulers to undermine the influence of the traditional leader and to establish instead their own authority.

Ḍiyāfa, hospitality, as a basic custom of nomadic society,[97] was a favourable target over which to have control. It now became undesirable from the rulers' point of view for tribal leaders to continue practising this custom; and *ḍiyāfa* became a local institution under the patronage of the district governor. When the Caliph 'Uthmān learned that one of the tribal chiefs in al-Kūfa had opened his house to visitors and new immigrants who came to settle there, he gave orders to establish *dār al-aḍyāf*, the visiting house,[98] which soon became a model adopted in other districts of the Empire. A similar visiting house was later erected in *al-Fustāt* in Egypt by its governor 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān, the brother of

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[95] *Ṭabarī*, vol. II, p. 488.

[96] The murder of Qutayba b. Muslim by Waki' b. Abī Sūd is explained by Waki''s hatred of him since it was he who dismissed Waki' from the *ri'āsa* office of Tamim in Khurāsān. See: *Ṭabarī*, vol. II, p. 1290; al-Dhahabī, *Tarīkh al-Islām*, ed. Cairo, 1368 A.H., vol. V, p. 46.

[97] *Goldziher*, vol. I, p. 22.

[98] "*kāna Abū al-Sammāli lā yughliqu. bāba dārihī, wa-kāna lahū munādin yunādī: man laysa lahū khuṭṭatun fa-manziluhu 'alā Abī 's-Sammāli. Fa-balagha 'Uthmanā dhālika, fa-'t-takhadha dāran li-aḍyāfihī*". See: *al-Iṣāba*, vol. II, p. 116; *Ṭabarī*, vol. I, p. 2842. A visiting house in al-Madina was established earlier by 'Umar, and was called: dār al-daqīq. See: *Ibn Sa'd*, vol. III (1), p. 203.

ʿAbd al-Malik.[99]

In addition to *dār al-aḍyāf*, district governors used to give a daily meals, *mawāʾid*, and made it available to all those who wished to attend.[100] Sometimes the food was prepared in *dār al-aḍyāf* and transported in special carriages to be distributed among the inhabitants of the different quarters as was done in *al-Fusṭāṭ*.[101]

The *mawāʾid* institution was familiar in Iraq as early as the period of Ziyād governship; he used to give a standing dish for both lunch and dinner in the metropolitan centers of al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra.[102] Al-Ḥajjāj, his successor carefully observed this custom tens of thousands of people used to attend his meals while he would watch. In addition to soup, he offered them roast meat and fresh fish; as light drinks they were offered milk or water mixed with honey.[103] During the fasting month, *ramaḍān*, the number increased and the menu was enriched.[104]

Khālid al-Qasrī and then Yūsuf b.ʿUmar did not depart from the custom set up by their predecessors; on the contrary, the institution of *mawāʾid* developed further in this period.[105] It was now not

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[99] "*thumma ʾbtanā ʿAbdul-ʿAzīz dāra ʾl-aḍyāf*", see: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-akhbāriha* (ed. by Charles C. Torrey) Leiden, 1920, p. 133.

[100] "*wa-kāna yūḍaʿu ʿalā mawāʾidi Yūsufa anwāʿu ʾṭ-ṭaʿāmi, fa-yaʾkulu kullu ʾmriʾin mā yashtahī*". *Ansāb*, Ms. Part 2, fol. 750b, fol. 1043 (Ḥamidullah).

[101] Al-Kindī, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, *Wulāt Miṣr*, ed. by Ḥusayn Naṣṣar Beirut, 1959, p. 51.

[102] *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol. IV (A) p. 210, p. 86.

[103] Al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. by Muh. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, ed. Caīro (n.d.), vol. I, p. 305.

[104] *Ansāb*, Ms. Part 2, fol. 1229 (H.).

[105] On the *mawāʾid* of Khālid al-Qasrī, see: al-Tabrīzī, *Muktaṣar sharḥ al-ḥamāsa*, ed. Cairo (reprinted in Beirut), n.d., vol. I, p. 138. On the *mawāʾid* of Yūsuf b.ʿUmar see: *Ansāb*, Ms. Part 2, fol. 750a; *al-Dhahabī*, vol. V, pp. 191-192.

restricted to the inhabitants of the *amṣār*, but the nomadic *a ʿrāb* from outside could also attend. In drought years the *a ʿrāb* from the *bādiya* would move to the *amṣār* and the *mawā ʾid* of Khālid al-Qasrī who used to give them three meals a day; their number was estimated at between thirty and thirty six thousand.[106]

The ultimate aim of the *mawā ʾid* was to weaken the attachment of the tribesmen to the traditional leadership of their tribes, and then to help them transfer their loyalty to the ruler. This can be deduced from a letter sent by al-Qasrī, the governor of Iraq to the Umayyad Caliph Hishām.[107] While supplying food to the *a ʿrāb* through the *mawā ʾid* was portrayed as an act of good will, it was in fact one of the state's main responsibilities towards its subject from the point of view of legal literature.[108]

The tribal custom of generosity was another tradition which the rulers wished to change. They showed no flexibility at all towards those who displayed exaggerated generosity in public, practising the so-called *inhāb al-rizq*, inviting people to benefit from one's properties;[109] it was considered an infringement of the law and

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[106] "*qāla Khālidun: kuntu uṭ ʿimu fi- ʾl-ḥuṭamati sittatan wa-thalāthīna alfan fī kulli yawmin, qāla al-Madā ʾiniyyu: innamā aṭ ʿama... fī kulli yawmin thalāthīna alfan, qāla al-Haythamu... fa-kāna yuṭ ʿimu thalātha akalāt.*" *Ansāb*, Ms. Part 2, fol. 743a. In this connection, there is a tradition which ascribed the establishment of the *mawā ʾid* institution to al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī, who took control over the province of Iraq during the second civil war between Ibn al-Zubayr and the Marwanid dynasty, *al-Maḥāsin wa ʾl-masāwi ʾ*, vol. II, p. 69.

[107] "*wa-kataba ilā Hishām: innī anfaqtu ʿalā ʾl-a ʿrābi min mālika liyakthura laka ʾl-du ʿā ʾu, wa- ʿalayka ʾl-thanā ʾu wa-yajiba laka ʾsh-shukru*". *Ansāb*, Ms. Part 2, fol. 743b.

[108] *Al-Amwāl*, No. 559.

[109] *L.A.*, v, (n-h-b); *al-Nihāya*, v. (n-h-b). The *inhāb al-rizq* custom was rooted in the Jāhilite tribal ideals long before Islam, *al-Iṣāba*, vol. III, p. 404, *al-Naqā ʾid*, ed. by A. Bevan, Leiden, 1908-12, p. 417, 625, 1070; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī; *Mu ʿjam al-buldān*, ed. Beirut, vol. III, pp. 431-432; Abū ʿAlī al-Qālī, *Dhayl al-amālī wa ʾl-nawādir*, ed. by M. al-Aṣma ʿī, Cairo, 1926, pp. 52-54; al-Āmidī, al-Ḥasan b. Bishr, *al-Mu ʾtalif wa- ʾl-mukhtalif*, ed. by Farrāj ʿAbd al-Sattār, Cairo, 1961/1381 A.H., p. 290.

liable to punishment.[110] That is exactly what happened when the well known al-Farazdaq distributed a large sum of money and clothes in the market place of al-Baṣra.[111] The anxiety of the ruler was due to his belief that such a conduct might encourage people to plunder.[112] The implementation of this policy would empty the tribal value system of its inherent principles. The destruction of these principles would damage the typical character of the tribe and would cause its internal social structure to crumble.

The state officials also tried to stop the hereditary custom of *jiwār*, granting protection to an undefended person by the tribal chiefs who felt unsafe against the threat of the authorities if they dared to grant the *jiwār* to those who were persecuted. As a result of this policy many tribal leaders were obliged to give up this custom.[113]

(VI)

In order to improve the control of the ruling circles over the tribesmen in the garrison towns, a new office was created headed by the *ʿarīf*, who took charge of distributing the annual stipend to *ahl al-dīwān*.[114] The fact that the *ʿarīf* was appointed by the local governor suggests that the ruler intended to overshadow the tribal *raʾīs*. Moreover, the *ʿarīf* was gradually authorized to deal with other things within the field of the *raʾīs*.[115] His authority was

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[110] *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol. IV (A) p. 195.

[111] *Ṭabarī*, vol. II, pp. 95-96.

[112] "*wa-balagha dhālika Ziyādan fa-qāla: hādha ʾl-ahmaqu yughri ʾn-nāsa bi-ʾn-nahbi*". *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol. IV (A), p. 195.

[113] *Al-Naqāʾid*, p. 616; Ṭabarī, vol. II, p. 192, pp. 95-96; *Aghānī*, vol. XVII, p. 56.

[114] *Ṭabarī*, vol. I, p. 2496; Abū Zurʿa al-Dimashqī. *Tārīkh*, Ms. Fatih, No. 4210, Arsiv, 1143, fol. 130a; *Ansāb*, Ms. Part 2, fol. 738b.

[115] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. by A. Badran, Damascus, 1329-1332 A.H., vol. II, p. 262; al-Tamīmī, Muh. b. Yūsuf, *al-Musalsal fī gharīb al-lugha*, ed. by Muh. Abd al-Jawad, Cairo, 1957, v. "ʿa-r-f"; Ibn

sometimes extended beyond the limits of the garrison town to include his kinsmen who preferred to remain in the *bādiya*.[116]

Extending the activities of the *ʿarīf* can be seen from the fact that several officials were subordinated to him in order to carry out the various necessary tasks.[117] Powerful *ʿarīfs* felt sufficiently independent to be subordinated to the local governor and, when needing permission for anything, used to apply directly to the court of the Caliph.[118]

In choosing the right man for this office, the rulers attached more importance to the question of loyalty, and the more loyal candidate stood a greater chance of getting the job. A letter from ʿUmar b.ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to one of his deputies serves as evidence.[119]

Religious and Islamic qualifications were considered only after his loyalty was secured.[120]

The institutionalization of the *ʿirāfa* provoked a counter-reaction which, as was usual in Islamic society, was expressed in *ḥadīth* litterature.[121] It is not surprising, therefore, that *ʿirāfa* was identified with *riʾāsa* from the point of view of legal literature.[122] The *ʿarīf*,

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Sīda,ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl, *al-Muḥkam wa'l-muḥīṭ al-aʿẓam fī al-lugha*. Ed. Farrāj ʿAbd al-Sattār, Cairo, 1958, vol. II, p. 79; Ibn Durayd, vol. II, p. 381.

[116] "*kāna Qutaybatu wallāhu amra Banī Tamīmin bi-Khurāsāna waʾl-bādiyati*", *Ansāb*, Ms. Part 2, fol. 855a; *Aghānī*, vol. II, p. 186.

[117] "*wa-kāna li-kulli ʿarīfin qaṣrun yanzilu fīhi man maʿahu min aṣḥābihī*". *Futūḥ misr*, p. 124.

[118] It happened when the *ʿarīf* of the tribal group of Ḥadramawt who were in Egypt wrote directly to the Caliph Muʿāwiya to get permission for his kinsmen to leave Egypt for Palestine. *Futūḥ miṣr*, p. 124.

[119] ʿUmar b.ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz wrote: "*fa-ʾnzur ʿurafāʾa ʾl-jundi; fa-man raḍīta amānatahū lanā wa-li-qawmihī fa-athbithu*", *Ibn Saʿd*, vol. V, p. 293.

[120] The outstanding example of such an appointment is the case of al-Shaʿbī, the famous traditionist and theologian, who was appointed to this office by al-Hajjāj, al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, ed. Haydar Abad, India, 1956/1376 A.H., p. 74.

[121] *Goldziher*, vol. II, Chap. III, p. 89 fl.

[122] *Al-Shaybāni*, p. 142.

according to a tradition attributed to the Prophet is doomed to suffer in Hell.[123]

(VII)

Both the *hijra* on the one hand, and the settlement in the garrison towns on the other, contributed to the disunity of the tribe. Members of a tribe did not settle in the same *miṣr* or even in the same district. The clans of a tribe were scattered widely throughout the Empire, and had no opportunity to settle together in the same place. In al-Kūfa, for instance, there were several clans of different Yemenite tribes,[124] Whilst other closely related clans of the same tribes had settled in the garrison town of *Fusṭāṭ* in Egypt.[125] Tribal dispersal continued after the establishment of the *amṣār*, especially when the number of tribesmen of the same tribe was steadily increased in the same *miṣr*, as a result of the continuity of the *hijra*. Many clans were removed from al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra to settle in Khurāsān during the region of Ziyād.[126]

In the same period a considerable number of Azdite clans were moved to Egypt, after they were accused of sympathising with the *Khawārij*.[127] A few years earlier, during the first civil war, many tribal sub-groups left the *amṣār* of Iraq and joined the camp of

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[123] "*wa-lākinna 'l-'urafā'a fī 'n-nār*". *Al-Shaybāni*, p. 142; *al-Iṣāba*, vol. III, p. 658. Another version of the *ḥadīth* gives legitimacy to the office of the *'arīf*, but in the meantime it does not free him of suffering in Hell. *L.A.*, v. "'a-r-f". It was said in another place that the entreaties of the *'arīf*, like those of the *'ashshār*, the tax collector, for forgiveness in the day of judgement would not be answered, *Aghānī*, vol. XVIII, p. 161.

[124] *Ṭabarī*, vol. I, p. 2495.

[125] 'Abd al-Barī, *al-Qabā'il al-'Arabiyya fī Miṣr*, ed. by Dar al-Kātib, Cairo, 1967, pp. 121, 129, 137-138, 140, 172, 180, 183, 195.

[126] *Ṭabarī*, vol. II, p. 81.

[127] Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār li-wāsiṭat 'iqd al-amṣār*, ed. Bulaq Press, Cairo, 1893, vol. IV, p. 34; *Mu'jam al-buldān*, vol. II, p. 21; *al-Iṣāba*, vol. III, 622.

Muʿāwiya in Syria. There they were settled by Muʿāwiya in Qinnasrīn which from then on was a *miṣr*.[128]

The administrative reforms ascribed to Ziyād contributed even more to the tribal disunity in the *amṣār*; by that reform he reshaped the residential quarters in al-Kūfa and reduced them from seven to four.[129] In doing so, Ziyād not only put some tribal groups outside the boundaries of the quarter allotted to that tribe, but he also mixed several tribal groups of different origins within the same living area. Breaking the territorial unity of the tribe seems to be characteristic of the early days of Islamic rule. This policy emerged when about four thousand tribesmen of Iyād, seeking refuge in Byzantine territory, were returned and scattered throughout the Muslim territory.[130]

The unity of the tribe was also influenced by the technical arrangements of *dīwān al-ʿaṭā'*: individuals or small groups from a tribe were attached to a bigger tribal group for administrative purposes. Accordingly, an individual had to join the tribal group to which he was attached, and not his own tribal group to which he belonged and with which he lived.[131] It seems that these groups felt humiliated as a result of this arrangement, and would come to look for the right moment to get rid of this shameful and perplexing situation.[132]

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[128] *Ṭabarī*, vol. I, p. 2673, 2674.

[129] Wellhausen, J., *The Arab Kingdom And Its Fall* (Arabic Translation) by al-ʿIsh Yusif, Damascus, 1956, p. 103.

[130] *Ṭabarī*, vol. I, p. 2508-2509.

[131] "*wa-in kāna rajulun min ahli l-Kūfati dīwānuhu maʿa ahli l-Baṣrati, fahwa maʿa ahli dīwānihī*", *al-Shaybānī*, p. 170. The technical formula used in this case is the following: "*wahwa min Kindata, wa-ʿidāduhū fī Banījumaḥ*", he is a kinsman of the tribe of Kinda, but he is registered in the pay rolls of Banu Jumaḥ, *al-Iṣāba*, vol. III, p. 310.

[132] In this connection we may refer to some of the most striking examples, such as that of ʿAnaza sub-group who asked Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik to attach them back to Banu Asad, and to take them out of the pay rolls of Rabīʿa. *Ansāb*, Ms. Part 2, fol. 730a. For a further case similar to that of ʿAnaza, see: *al-Iṣāba*, vol. III, p. 299.

SOME ADMINISTRATIVE, MILITARY AND SOCIO-POLITICAL ASPECTS OF EARLY MUSLIM EGYPT

a. The administrative division

During the first three centuries of Muslim rule, Egypt's geo-political influence was felt much beyond its natural borders. In administrative terms, the authority of the governors of Egypt extended over different and widely separated regions such as Libya to the west, the northern regions of modern Sudan and the territories along the eastern coast of Africa (present Eritrea and Ethiopia).[1] Other regions which enjoyed a status of independent provinces such as Tunisia (and by extension the whole North African coast), and Muslim Spain were put occasionally under the authority of the governors of Egypt, too.[2] In 133/750, Ṣāliḥ ibn ʿAlī, the Abbasid governor of Egypt, was simultaneously entrusted to run the affairs of *jund* Palestine (the province of Palestine).[3] And three years later Tunisia was submitted to his governorship, also.[4] In 236/876, Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, the ruler of Egypt, was entrusted with the responsibility over the Syrian marshes (al *thughūr al-shāmmiyya* i.e. the frontier sites bordering with Byzantium).[5] In my opinion, the extension of the administrative

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[1] Kindi, *Al-Wulāt wa-Kitāb al-Quḍāt*, (ed.) R. Guest (reprint Cairo, n.d.), 116 (here after, Kindi); Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, (reprint Beirut, n.d.), s.v. "misr".

[2] Ibn ʿAdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, (eds.), G.S. Colin and Lèvi-Provençal (Leiden, 1948), I, 47, 48.

[3] Kindi, 100-l.

[4] *Ibid*, 102.

[5] *Ibid*, 217.

powers and legal jurisdiction of the governors of Egypt is an outcome of the central position of Egypt in the western flank of the Muslim empire as well as from Egypt's unique role as a base for the Muslim naval forces in the Mediterranean.

In the early days of the Arab rule in Egypt, the country was divided into two administrative regions: Upper Egypt (*al-ṣa ʿīd*) and Lower Egypt (*asfal al-arḍ*) including the Nile Delta. For each region a separate governor, answerable to the Caliph in Medina, was nominated. However, in 23/6434, with the ascendancy of ʿUthman to the Caliphate, this subdivision was abolished and the whole country was placed under the authority of a single governor.[6] The governor, from now on, appointed his deputies over Upper and Lower Egypt[7] while Alexandria constituted a separate administrative region.[8] The garrison city of al-Fusṭāṭ, founded in the early days of the Arab conquest of Egypt, became the capital of Egypt, the seat of the governor and the focal point of ruling institutions.[9] Only for a short period of time, during the governorship of ʿAbd al-ʿAziz ibn Marwān, Fusṭāṭ ceased to serve as the capital of Egypt. Marwan, due to an outbreak of Black Plague (*ṭāʿūn*), moved out of Fustāt to a barren desert region east of the town where he established the town of Ḥulwān as a new

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[6] Fayyūm served as the administrative center for Upper Egypt (*ṣa ʿīd*) while Fusṭāṭ, the new garrison town, for the Delta (*asfal al-arḍ*). The administrative unification of Egypt took place in 25/645 under the governor Abd Allah ibn Abi Sarḥ, see Ibn Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Misr wa-Akhbārihā*, (ed.) C.C. Torrey (Leiden, 1920), 173-4; Ibn al-Abbar, *Al-Ḥulla al-Siyarā* , (ed.) H. Munis (Cairo, 1963), I, 18; Kindī, 10; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, (reprint Cairo, 1963), I, 66. According to another version it took place in 27/647, see Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh Khalīfa*, (ed.) S. Zakkār (Cairo, 1967), I, 164.

[7] Kindī, 84.

[8] *Ibid,* 81, see also, 58.

[9] Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, (ed.) Ṣ. al-Munajjid (Cairo, 1956), 249; Ibn Abd al-Ḥakam, 912; Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa- l-Muluk*, (ed.) M.J. De Goeje (Leiden, 18791901), I, 2589; Ibn Taghri Bardi, I, 64-5; *Maqrīzī, Khiṭaṭ*, (Cairo, 1987), 2nd edition, I, 173.

governmental center (70/689).[10] In 750, with the rise of the Abbasids, the seat of the governor was moved to ʿAskar (a camp), a new quarter adjacent to Fusṭaṭ. At ʿAskar, where the Abbasid army which besieged Fustat had camped, the palace of the governor was built, and religious, financial and administrative institutions were established.[11]

Despite of the centrality of Fusṭāṭ as the focal point of the governmental activity in Egypt, Alexandria occupied a special administrative and military place in the life of the country. From the time of its conquest by the Arabs the town came to be known as a *ribāṭ* (border fortress) commanded by one of the most senior Arab officers in Egypt.[12] One quarter of the *ahl al-dīwān* (Muslim military force in Egypt) stationed in Alexandria as a garrison force on a semi-annual tour of duty.[13] It was a particrllarly large force, especially in view of the fact that another quarter of the army was spread along the whole continental and maritime borders of Egypt.[14] Egypt's coastal towns, known as *mawāḥīz miṣr*, received special attention from the government. Permanent garrison forces were stationed there. These troops, in addition to their regular salaries and expenses, derived incomes also from certain fixed sources of revenues which were allocated to them.[15] The importance of Alexandria was twofold: it played a central role in the defence of Egypt against Byzantine naval attacks and, prior to the establishment of naval bases in Acre and Tyre, was a point of

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[10] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 236-7; Kindī, 49; Yāqūt, s.v. "Ḥulwān"; Maqrīzī, I, 302; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, I, 645.

[11] Kindī, 102; Yāqūt, s.v. " ʿAskar"; Maqrīzī, I, 304-5; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, II, 71. In 146/763, on the instructions of the Caliph al-Manṣūr, the seat of the governor was moved back to Fusṭāṭ, see Kindī, 115. The seat of the governor was moved again during the rule of Ibn Ṭūlūn, see Maqrīzī, I, 305, II, 264-5.

[12] Kindī, 58.

[13] Ibn Abd al-Ḥakam, 130.

[14] *Ibid*, 130.

[15] Kindī, 418-9.

departure for the Muslim naval raids on Byzantium.[16] The fleets from Tunisia and North Africa used to call at Alexandria.[17] Alexandria became a military bastion strong enough to deter any Byzantine naval raids. Other regions of Egypt suffered much from Byzantine naval raids which were quite destructive in terms of human and material losses.[18] Alexandria served also as a port for the ships of the Spanish pirates (*marākib al-andalusiyyīn*) which sailed across the Mediterranean. In 210/825, the Spanish pirates conquered the island of Crete and swore allegiance to the Abbasid Caliph al-Rashīd, who gave his protection to the island.[19] From 825 until the Byzantine re-conquest of Crete in 350/961, the island was put by the Abbasid Caliphs under the administrative and judicial responsibility of the governor of Egypt.[20] Ships from Crete used to visit Alexandria and Damietta bringing goods and exotic foodstuffs for the Egyptian markets and buying military supplies and provisions.[21] The continued presence of seamen from Crete at Egyptian ports led to their involvement in local events including internal conflicts and fights.[22]

b. *The military organization*

The Arab regime in Egypt relied on a military force (*jund*) which belonged to a military system known as *dīwān*. The first

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[16] Balādhurī, 140.

[17] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 119; Ibn ʿAsakir, *Ta'rīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, (ed.) Badrān (Damascus, 1329-32 H.), III, 254.

[18] The main targets of Byzantine naval raids on the Egyptian coast were the towns of Dimyaṭ and Tinnīs which were attacked during the Umayyad and Abbasid period, see Kindī, 70, 102, 201; Ibn ʿAsakir, IV, 3875 Ibn Taghrī Bardī, I, 277; Maqrīzī, I, 302, 303, 314.

[19] Balādhurī, 279; Ṭabarī, III, 1092; Yāqūt, s.v. "Aqrīṭish".

[20] M. Abbady, *Moslem Sea Power in Egypt and Syria*, (Beirut, 1981), 39.

[21] *Ibid*, 39-40.

[22] Kindī, 157-8.

troops in Egypt were the tribesmen who came from Palestine under the command of 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ. They numbered no more than four thousand, but were augmented by reinforcements sent to the province; following a resistance that 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ's force encountered in Egypt. Eventually, the overall number of troops in Egypt was as high as twelve thousand[23] and continued to increase following an emigration to Egypt in the first decades after the conquest of the country.[24] The enrollment of soldiers (*muqātila*) into the army continued under Mu'awiya, the first Umayyad Caliph (661-680). The government appointed special officials (*rajuls*) whose duties included keeping records of the tribal population in Egypt, registration of births and deaths and taking census of the population of the tribes who continued to immigrate to the country.[25] Consequently, the number of soldiers registered in the *dīwān al-jund* (literally: the Office of the Army, meaning the army) of Egypt reached forty thousand under Mu'āwiya.[26]

In the wake of the second civil war (680-692), it became necessary to update the rolls of the *dīwān al-jund* of Egypt. The rolls of the *dīwān* were reexamined during the governorship of 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Marwān, in the years 65-86/684-705,[27] and they were updated during the governorship of Qurra ibn Sharīk.[28] In 100/718, five thousand new names were added to the lists of the *dīwān*.[29] In 102/720, Bishr ibn Ṣafwān, the representative of the Caliph Yazīd II, created a separate diwan for the soldiers belonging to the Quḍā'a tribe who were organized in a special unit of their own.[30] In 109/727, with the arrival of many hundreds of clans of the Qays (i.e. the Northern tribes) to the Delta region, there was a

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[23] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 61; Kindī, 9; Balādhurī, 250-1.
[24] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 118-9, 128.
[25] Ibid, 94; Maqrīzī, I, 94.
[26] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 118-9, 128.
[27] Kindī, 71; Maqrīzī, I, 94.
[28] Kindī, 65.
[29] Ibid, 68.
[30] Ibid, 70-1.

further increase in the number of soldiers registered in the *dīwān*. However, the sources are contradictory as to the exact figures of those who were added to the *dīwān's* register.[31]

A significant enlargement of the rolls of the *dīwān* took place under Yazid III (744). The Caliph ordered his representatives in Egypt to add thirty thousand new *muqātila to the dīwān*.[32] But this policy was totally revoked by Yazid III's successor. Yazid III's motives were purely political. The Caliph wished to ensure the support and loyalty of the Arab population in Egypt especially in light of the internal rift which divided the Umayyad ruling family during the rule of al-walīd II (743-744). Yazid III's policy was successful; the Arabs in Egypt supported his regime. However, this policy and its outcome were viewed with great apprehension by Marwān II, Yazīd III's rival within the Umayyad family. When Marwan II took the reins of power into his hands, he immediately cancelled the addition of the thirty thousand *muqātila* to the *dīwān* ordered by Yazīd III. It was a retaliatory policy aimed against the Arab population in Egypt, but it brought about the eruption of a rebellion in Egypt against the Caliph in Damascus and his local governor.[33]

The same kind of policy, the enlargement of the rolls of the *dīwān* in order to gain political support, was adopted by the first Abbasid governor in Egypt. He added two thousand new names to the *dīwān*.[34] The new soldiers were enlisted from the tribal groups that supported the new regime. In addition, grants of land (*iqṭā's*) were divided among the Abbasid supporters in Egypt.[35] However, the enrollment of Arab tribal troops faded away with the increasing recruitment of Turkish troops by the Abbasids. This trend began under Hārūn al-Rashīd (786-808) and intensified under his

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[31] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 143; Kindī, 656.

[32] Kindī, 84.

[33] Maqrīzī, I, 303.

[34] Kindī, 103.

[35] The text says "*wa-aqṭaʿa Ṣāliḥ ibn ʿAlī al-ladhina sawwadū*", see Kindī, 101.

successors reaching a climax during the rule of al-Mu'tasim (834-841). Al-Mu'tasim abolished the *dīwān* system in the empire, including Egypt.[36]

Thus, the Arab tribesmen ceased to comprise the backbone of the military forces in the Abbasid state. It is worth mentioning that in line with this policy,'Anbasa al-Ḍabbī was the last Arab governor who served in Egypt.[37] Following his departure in 242/856 no more Arab governors were appointed in Egypt. This reflects, in my opinion, the new orientation of the Abbasid Caliphs who came to trust their Turkish mercenaries. In Egypt, during the early fourth/tenth century, most of the army was made up of foreign troops either of central Asian origin (*mashāriqa*) or of North African Berbers (*maghāriba*).[38] Non-Arab military groups were not strangers in Egypt. Immediately following the conquest of Egypt such groups were incorporated into the military system. Nonetheless, until the shift of policy under al-Mu'taṣim, such groups were always a minority in comparison to Arab soldiers. The Arab army that conquered Egypt included also troops of non-Arab ethnic origin; Greeks (Byzantines) and Persians. The Persians, referred to by the Arabs as *al-ḥamrā'*, could have been descendants of Persians who settled in Yemen following the Sassanid conquest of the region (c.600). The other possibility is that these two groups joined 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ's forces in Palestine. The Greeks and the Persians, like the Arabs, were incorporated in the *dīwān* and were allocated plots of land in Fustat to build their homes.[39]

During Mu'āwiya's rule the Arab naval forces were formed and experienced Egyptian Copts were recruited to serve as sailors and navigators.[40] A separate naval command (*baḥr ahl miṣr*) was

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[36] Kindī, 139, Ibn Taghrī Bardī, II, 223.

[37] Kindī, 202.

[38] *Ibid*, 282.

[39] *Ibn* ᶜAbd al-Ḥakam, 129. For Ethiopians recruited by ᶜAmr ibn al-ᶜĀṣ, see Maqrīzī, I, 206.

[40] M.A. Shaban, *Islamic History. New Interpretation*, (Cambridge, 1971), 157-8.

established.[41] The Copts were registered along with the Arabs in the diwan. However, the Copts appeared on the *dīwān's* rolls under the names of the Arab tribes who bestowed their patronage (*walā'*) on them. The converts to Islam among the Copts (i.e. the *mawālī*, clients) used to be identified with the Arab patron clan instead of their original Coptic identity.[42] A massive recruitment of *mawali* was not very common. In 127/744, following the rise of Yazīd III to power, the governor of Egypt, Ḥafs ibn al-Walīd enlisted thirty thousand Copts. They became to be known as *al-ḥafṣiyya*.[43]

Another non-Arab military formation in Egypt was the *qudaydiyya*. In 173/789-90, they rebelled against the official in charge of taxation (*ṣāḥib al-kharāj*) due to his failure to pay them their salaries. In response, the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd sent one of his officers to Egypt with orders to remove them from the *dīwān* and to disperse their unit.[44] Following the abolishment of the *dīwān* system by al-Mu'taṣim non-Arab ethnic groups: Copts, blacks from Eastern Africa and Berbers, became predominant in the military forces in Egypt.[45]

c. *Patterns of Arab settlement*

The religion of Islam, in whose name the Arabs set out to conquer the neighboring countries, was slow in spreading among the population of the conquered regions. The peoples of these regions continue to adhere to their ancestral faiths for centuries after the Islamic conquest. In contrast to the slow Islamization of the conquered regions, the presence of Arab settlers in both the Eastern and Western provinces of the Muslim empire was more and more visible. The Arabs settled in Egypt immediately after the conquest of the country. Following the conquest of Alexandria,

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[41] Kindī, 79.
[42] *Ibid*, 51.
[43] *Ibid*, 84.
[44] *Ibid*, 133-4.
[45] *Ibid*, 214, 268; Maqrizi, I, 94.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ intended to settle his soldiers and their families in the town. He asked the permission of the Caliph ʿUmar I who refused by saying that he did not want that water (meaning the Nile) should separate his army in Egypt from Medina.[46] The same considerations were behind the instructions that the Caliph sent to his commanders in Iraq.ʿUmar I made it clear that the garrison town to be established in the province must not be separated by a *baḥr* (i.e. a water barrier/rivers) from Medina.[47] ʿUmar I's policy reflected the total lack of any sailing experience among the Arabs in the early stages of their expansion. In light of the consistent policy of the Caliph concerning the selection of the locations for the establishment of garrison towns, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ was forced to choose an alternative site for a garrison town in Egypt. Fusṭāṭ was set up on the eastern bank of the Nile.[48]

The residential quarters of Fustāt were actually tribal communities. Plots of land (*khiṭaṭ*) were allotted to tribes, sub-tribes and individual households to build their homes on them. Ancient Islamic literature preserves the names of over forty *khitats*. The list of the *khiṭaṭs* reveals that the southern tribes, the Yemeni tribes, comprised the vast majority of the settlers.[49] Two of the Yemeni tribes, Baliyy and Ghāfiq, were the most prominent. Together they comprised about two thirds of the total number of settlers in Fusṭāṭ.[50] And over four thousand clans (*ahl-bayt*) belonged to a third Yemeni tribe, the ʿAkk.[51]

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[46] *Ibn* ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 91; Yāqūt, s.v. "Fusṭāṭ". On the foundation of Fustāt, see W. Kubiak, *Al-Fusṭāṭ Its Foundation and Early Urban Development*, (Cairo, 1987), 58-81. On the topos issue connected with this sort of tradition, see A. Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition*, translated into English by M. Bonner (Princeton, 1994), 19-20.

[47] Balādhurī, 338.

[48] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 91; Balādhurī, 249; Ṭabarī, vol. I, 2589.

[49] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 91128.

[50] *Ibid*, 116, 121; Kindī, 8.

[51] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 56.

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In 25/645, for a short period of time a Byzantine sea-borne force re-conquered Alexandria. From Alexandria the Byzantines attacked other places as well. In the ensuing fighting the Arabs suffered many casualties including many among their crack troops.[52] This Byzantine attack illustrated the need to increase the Arab fighting force in Egypt, which meant in practical terms an increase in the number of Arab settlers in the province. On direct orders of the Caliph 'Umar I, one third of the Quḍā'a tribe was transferred from Syria to Egypt.[53] The policy of encouraging Arab immigration to Egypt continued during the reign of the Caliph 'Uthman (644-656). These immigrants were known as *amdād* or *madadiyyūn* (meaning literally: reinforcements).[54] The new emigrants to Egypt found it difficult to find for themselves suitable plots of land within the area of Fustāt. The shortage of land in Fustāt drove the people to establish a new quarter on the west bank of the Nile. The name al-Jīza indicates the location of this new quarter on the opposite side of the river Nile. The southern tribe of Hamdān was the first one to settle in Jīza, and other tribal groups associated with Hamdan followed suit. For the protection of the inhabitants of Jīza a fortress was built there.[55] The lack of free land in Fustāt brought about an another development: the emergence of multistory buildings. But this practice was opposed on moral grounds, namely that the privacy and modesty of the people living on the lower floors was infringed by those watching them from the higher floors. In light of these considerations an order was issued to stop the construction of multistory buildings.[56]

Elsewhere in Egypt, in the Delta region, Kharibta became a focal point of Arab settlement. In 37/657, ten thousand men among

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[52] *Ibid*, 1756; Balādhurī, 260; Yāqūt, s.v. "Iskandariyya".

[53] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 116; Maqrīzī, *Al-Bayān wa-'l-I'rāb*, (ed.) A. Abdīn (Alexandria, 1989), 29 (hereafter, *Al-Bayān*).

[54] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 128, 118-9.

[55] *Ibid*, 1289; Maqrīzī, I, 206.

[56] Ibn ʿ Abd al-Ḥakam, 104.

those enrolled in the *dīwān* lived there.[57] Most of the inhabitants of Kharibta belonged to the Mudlidj tribe and sub-tribe of Ḥimyar, a southern tribe.[58] Kharibta owed its existence to a practice known as *murtaba ʿal-jund*, i.e. the seasonal leaving of Fustat by troops to, pasture their horses and beasts of burden in the countryside. By established custom each tribal group had its traditional grazing region.[59] Before leaving Fustāt they received letters from the governor of Egypt, who resided in the capital, addressed to the local authorities.[60]

The duty of lodging troops in the rural areas was imposed on the Copts as part of the capitulation treaty which defined the relations between Coptic peasantry and the Arab regime.[61] The literature dealing with the Arab conquests (*futūḥ*) contains the names of towns and villages that were obliged to lodge Arab soldiers during the grazing season. However, some Arab tribal groups, without the knowledge of the central authorities, entered into other regions of Egypt, too.[62] On the whole, the practice of grazing of animals by the Arabs was instrumental for Arab settlement and integration with the rural population.

Ribāṭ constituted an another form of Arab settlement in Egypt. *Ribāṭ* was a military outpost which acquired also a religious significance. Since the re-capture of Alexandria, following the Byzantine sea-borne attack on it, the town attained the status of a *ribāṭ*.[63] It is estimated that twenty-seven thousand soldiers were stationed in Alexandria during the period of Muʿāwiya's rule.[64] Other towns which acquired the status of *ribāṭ* were Tinnis and Damietta. Both were attacked repeatedly by the Byzantine navy in

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[57] Kindī, 21; Yāqūt, s.v. "Kharibta".
[58] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 142.
[59] *Ibid*, 139-41; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, I, 73.
[60] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 141.
[61] *Ibid*, 153; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, I, 17.
[62] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 14-13.
[63] *Ibid*, 181-92; Balādhurī, 262; Maqrīzī, I, 167.
[64] Maqrīzī, I, 168.

the late eighth century and the first half of the ninth century.[65] These three port towns, and especially Alexandria, are frequently mentioned in the literature dealing with the Holy War (*jihād*), and the *faḍā'il* works (i.e. works in praise of towns and countries). This type of literature extols the idea of dying in the defence of *ribāṭ* and praises those who settle there permanently.[66]

The Arab soldiers in Egypt were discouraged from cultivating the land. Agricultural activities were regarded as a distraction from military service. Therefore, a permit was needed for engaging in agriculture. Nonetheless, many soldiers left Fustāt for the rural areas without a proper authorization to till the land.[67] They regarded agriculture as a mean to supplement their annual pay. To the great worry of the central government in Medina, involvement in agriculture life became widespread in Egypt and included even the governor in Fusṭāṭ.[68] It seems that this process intensified following the abolishment of the *dīwān* system by al-Mu'taṣim.

The settlement of Arabs in rural areas brought about their assimilation within the Coptic population, especially with Coptic converts to Islam. In that way the nucleus of an Arab-Muslim society in Egypt was formed.[69]

After the foundation of Fusṭāṭ, a second large influx of Arab settlers to Egypt took place during the reign of Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik (724-743). This was the initiative of the governor of Egypt, Ibn al-Ḥabḥāb,[70] who paid a visit to the court of the Caliph in Syria and argued that the presence of tribes of the northern federation, Qays, in Egypt is very limited. In fact, only two tribal groups of the Jadīla belonging to Qays settled in Egypt. The Caliph gave his consent to the settlement of Qays tribesmen in Egypt but stipulated

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[65] Abbady, 46-8.

[66] Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 42, 141; Kindī, *Faḍā'il Miṣr*, (eds.) I. ʿAdawī and A.ʿ Umar (Cairo, 1971), 49; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, I, 27-33.

[67] Ibn ʿ Abd al-Ḥakam, 162.

[68] Balādhurī, 257.

[69] Maqrīzī, 1, 82.

[70] Kindī, 76; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, I, 265; Maqrīzī, I, 80; *Al-Bayān*, 65-6.

that the new immigrants could not settle in Fusṭāṭ.

In 109/727, the first Qaysi tribesmen from Syria arrived in Egypt. A year later their number reached three hundred households. During the next ten years, a further five thousand households arrived in Egypt. They settled in Bilbīs, a town on the eastern edge of the Delta.[71] The choice of this area was not incidental. In 109/727, in Bilbīs, the first Coptic uprising broke out. It erupted in reaction to a tax increase imposed on the Copts by Ibn al-Ḥabḥāb.[72]

In comparison to the early Arab settlers in Egypt, the Qaysi tribesmen were given a far-reaching concession: they were allowed to till the land. In addition, they were granted subsidies from the revenues generated by the tithe collected from Muslim landowners. The Qaysi settlers used that money for buying camels and starting a transportation business between the Egyptian port of Qulzum, on the Gulf of Suez, and the port of Jār, in Arabia. Most of the cargo transported between the two ports consisted of food, and the incomes reached ten dinars per household. Another source of income for the Qaysi tribesmen in Bilbīs was the breeding of horses, taking advantage of the rich vegetation of the area. These Qaysi immigrants adjusted themselves easily to Egypt and quickly prospered. Their success attracted other Qaysi tribesmen to the area.[73]

The settling of Qaysi tribesmen in Egypt was politically motivated and influenced by inter-tribal rivalries. Most of the Arab population in Egypt belonged to southern tribes which were not wholehearted supporters of the Umayyads. In 35/655, the rebel Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfa, received a sweeping support in Egypt in his challenge of the Caliph 'Uthmān.[74] Most of the force, six hundred men strong, that besieged 'Uthman's palace in Medina,

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[71] Kindī, 76; Azdī, *Ta'rīkh al-Mawṣil*, (ed.) A. Ḥabība (Cairo, 1967), 31; Maqrīzī, 80; *Al-Bayān*, 66-7.

[72] Kindī, 73-4; Maqrīzī, I, 79.

[73] Kindī, 77; Maqrīzī, I, 80.

[74] Kindī, 14; Balādhurī, 269; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, I, 94-5; Maqrīzī,II, 335.

came from Egypt while the garrison towns of Iraq contributed only a few dozen men.[75] Following the killing of 'Uthmān his supporters in Egypt abandoned him, shifting their allegiance to the new Caliph,'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib. The man responsible for this change of heart was Qays ibn Sa'd, Ali's governor of Egypt, who in subtle ways eroded the support for the Umayyad dynasty in Egypt.[76] Thirty years later, the entire Arab population in Egypt, including the remaining small pro-Umayyad faction, recognized 'Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr, the anti-Umayyad rebel (64/683).[77] Similar events took place toward the end of the Umayyad period. In 127/744, the Arabs in Egypt supported for a year another anti-Umayyad rebel, Thābit ibn Nu'aym al-Judhāmī, a tribal leader from Palestine.[78] It should not come as a surprise that the last Umayyad Caliph, Marwān II, who fled to Egypt in face of the advancing Abbasid army, found little support in the province. The hostility of the Arabs in Egypt to the Umayyad house made it difficult for Marwān II to mount an effective stand against the Abbasid army which invaded Egypt and killed the fleeing Caliph.[79]

The Arab regime made several gestures of good will towards the Copts. Ibn al-'Ās re-installed the exiled Coptic Patriarch (*baṭrak*), Between 39-56/659-675, Aghano served as the Coptic Patriarch in Egypt. During his period, the church of Murḳuṣ was built in Alexandria (this church was destroyed in the twelfth century by Saladin's brother, al-Malik al-'Ādil),[80] and an another church was constructed in Fusṭaṭ. This was the first church to be built in the Arab garrison city, and its construction provoked the anger of the population which had to be appeased by the governor.[81] The data

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[75] Kindī, 178; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Ta'rij* (*La Historial*), (ed.) J. Aguade (Madrid, 1991), 113, Maqrīzī, II, 335.

[76] Kindī, 20; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, I, 96; Maqrīzī, II, 336.

[77] Kindī, 40-2; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, I, 165.

[78] Kindī, 85-8.

[79] *Ibid*, 94-7; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, I, 3167.

[80] Maqrīzī, II, 492.

[81] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 132.

at our disposal indicates that the first fifty years of Arab rule in Egypt were characterized by tolerance toward the Copts. A change of attitude took place only with the rise to power of the Marwanid branch of the Umayyad dynasty (65/684). Following this shift of power within the ruling family, for the first time a poll-tax (*jizya*) of one dinar was imposed on the monks in Egypt. In order to control the taxation, a census of the monk population was undertaken, At the same time church properties were confiscated and other temporary levies were imposed.[82] These fiscal impositions stood in contrast to earlier policies of the Umayyad regime which granted to monks and the Church exemption from taxes.[83] Usāma al-Tanūkhī, the governor of Egypt on behalf of the Caliph Walīd I (705-715), forced every monk to wear a metal band on his arm. On it were engraved his name, the name of his monastery and the date on which he paid his poll-tax. The penalty for not wearing the arm band was amputation of a hand. In order to enforce that edict surprise searches of monasteries were carried out. Ordinary Copts were obliged to carry receipts proving that they had paid their taxes.[84] Under Yazīd II (72-724), the oppressive policy against the Copts reached a peak, An order was issued to demolish churches in Egypt and to remove statues from the churches.[85] However, with the ascendancy of Hishām to the throne (105/723), these policies were revoked and the taxation of monks ceased.[86]

Two centuries later, a taxation of monks and priests was re-introduced in Egypt. It was imposed in 313/925 by the Abbasid Caliph al-Muqtadir. However, a Coptic delegation went to visit the Caliph in Baghdad and managed to bring about a reversal of this

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[82] Maqrīzī, II, 492.

[83] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 114; D.C. Dennet, *Conversion and the Poll lax in Early Islam*, Arabic translation by F.F. Jad Allah (Beirut, 1960), 108; I.M. Lapidus, "The Conversion of Egypt to Islam", *IOS*, II (1972), 248-62.

[84] Maqrīzī, II, 492.

[85] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 114; Kindī, 71-2; Maqrīzī, II, 493.

[86] Maqrīzī II, 492-3.

policy and the cancellation of the earlier imposition.[87]

Another significant development took place during the rule of the Umayyad Caliph Hishām, who authorized the return of a Melkite bishop to his seat in Alexandria. In 107/725, the bishop Qasīma, who was appointed by the Byzantine emperor Leo III, visited Hishām in Damascus and offered him gifts sent by the emperor. Hisham ordered the return to the Melkite Church of properties that had been seized seventy years earlier by the Copts.[88] The attitude of the regime toward the Copts was inconsistent, marked by many ups and downs. Apparently there was no overall defined policy and much depended on the personal attitudes of the different Caliphs in power.

Generally speaking, the Copts were adversely affected by the political instability which followed the rise of the Abbasids to power. In Egypt, a province far away from Baghdad, the Copts were more at the mercy of whimsical policies of the local governors.

The continuous Coptic rebellions were totally ineffective in correcting the injustice caused by the oppressive arbitrary fiscal policies of the rulers.[89] In 216/831, the Copts suffered a harsh repression by al-Afshīn, the general of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn. Al-Afshīn put down in a brutal way a tax rebellion which erupted in Egypt. Many were killed, and women and children were taken into captivity and sold as slaves. The spirit of the Copts was broken, and the Arabs took control of the rural areas.[90]

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[87] *Ibid*, 494-5.
[88] *Ibid*, 493.
[89] Kindi, 734, 81, 94, 96, 116, 119; Maqrizi, I, 79-80.
[90] Maqrizi, II, 494.

Taxation reforms in early islamic Khurāsān: A Reassessment

The religious factor had never affected the Arab-Khurasanian relationship during the first epoch of the Islamic conquest of Khurāsan. And despite the existence of religious institutions dominated by the local clergymen, there never arose in Khurāsān a religiously motivated movement to resist the Islamic invasion.[1]

Islam as the official religion of the state, had no particular significance among the native inhabitants of Khurāsān.[2] The few Iranians who were attracted to the new faith, were largely motivated by their pursuit of some materialistic gains that would improve their social or political status.[3]

Until the end of the first century (A.H.), conversion to Islam was still too modest. But the conversion process was accelerated during the first decades of the second century, when converts flocked to Islam on a larger scale. In this connection, it was reported about a Khurasanian delegation of the Mawāli who came to Damascus and complained to the Umayyad pious Caliph, ʿUmar b.ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, that there were about twenty thousand Muslims in Khurāsān who still paid the poll-tax, although they embraced Islam.[4] Such a complaint leads, neceṣsarily, to the conclusion that conversion to Islam, so far, was not enough guarantee to exempt

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[1] Barthold W., *Turkistan Down to the Mongol Invaion*, (2nd edition) London, 1928, p. 181.

[2] H. A. R. Gibb, *Arab Conquests in Central Asia*, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1930, p. 10.

[3] Wellhausen j., *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, (Translated by M. G. Weir) ed, by A. H. Harley. London, 1973, p. 495.

[4] Muḥammad b. Jarīr Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, (ed. by M. J., De Geoje) Leiden, 1978-1901, vol. 2, p. 1354.

the new convert *mawlā* from paying the *jizya*. Accordingly, one can imagine why the native Iranians in the Eastern province did not show zeal to embrace Islam during the Umayyad rule. Though 'Umar issued orders to his deputy to remove injustice, the situation remained unchanged, and the converts continued to suffer of maltreatment.[5]

It is clear that till then there was no well-defined policy regarding the spreading of Islam in Khurāsān. The initiative remained during the first century, in the hands of those who wished to convert. The turning point took place during the mandate of Ashras al-Sulamī, who sent his officials from *Marw* to the Sughdian people in Transoxania to invite them to embrace Islams[6]. It is more likely that Ashras was acting under the pressure of political circumstances which prevailed in the area.[7] There is no any conclusive evidence that he based his step on religious considerations.

The main point in Ashras' plan was the promise to exempt Sughdian/residents who will respond to the call of Islam from paying the poll-tax.[8]

For the sake of our reconsideration of this issue, we may refer first, to the views of other scholars concerning the plan of Ashras. According to Wellhausen, the Ashras' plan was an attempt to appease the turbulent Sughdians.[9] In the light of the situation in the area, the assumption of Wellhausen sounds logical. It wets only natural that Ashras would try to win the Sughdian over to the side

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[5] It is worthmentioning that the instructions of 'Umar b. 'Abd-al-'Azīa to his representative in Khurāsān were not respected, and those who embraced Islam continued to pay the poll-tax, al-Jarrāḥ al-Ḥakamī, then was discharged of his office in charge of disobedience, see ibid. vol. 2, p. 1354, 1356.

[6] Ibid. Vol. 2, p. 1507.

[7] About the Turgish military pressure in the area, and other internal disturbances, see: ibid. vol. 2, pp. 1512-1526.

[8] Ibid vol. 2, p. 1507.

[9] Wellhausen, p. 456.

of the Arabs in the face of the Turgish offensive. Or, at least, to keep them neutral in that struggle. But the attempt of Ashras was far from achieving its goal, because the local gentry and the agrarian nobility, *dahāqīn*, who were conscious of his intention, stood fast against the implement of the plan, so as to thwart his effort. They were afraid that if the plan will succeed, it would put an end to their dream of restoring the freedom and independence of the Sughdians. But the princes and the *dahāqīn* did not reveal their fears, they pretended that their opposition stemmed from their concern over decrease in revenues as a result of the remission of the poll-tax.[10] This opposition eroded the chances of success for Ashras' plan. He not only gave it up, but his means of tax-collection became more severe.[11]

As for taxation in Khurāsān, in general, there are but scanty information in our sources. Even the jurist's works which were liable to give a clear picture of the taxation system, had nothing to add in this connection. A fact which may explain why most of the modern scholars had to rely solely upon the vague reports quoted

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[10] Gibb, ibid. p. 69; Van Vloten, *al-Siyāda al-ʿArabiyya wa ʾl-Isrāʾiliyyāt*, (Translated from French) Cairo, 1934, p. 53; Barthold, ibid p. 190; Daniel c. Dennet, *Conversion and the poll Tax in Early Islam*, (Harvard University Press) 1950, p. 125.

[11] Ṭabarī, vol. 2, pp. 1509-1510; al-Narshakhī, Abū Bakr, Muḥammad b. jaʿfar, *Tārīkh Bukhārā*, (Translated from Persian) ed. by Amīn Badawī and N. al-Ṭarazī, Cairo, 1965, pp. 87-88; *Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kamil fi-al tārīkh*, Leiden, 1863-1871, vol. 5, p. 148. As to the cancelling of Ashras plan, it was reported that many people embraced Islam just to get rid of the poll-tax, and not because the Islamic faith itself, a letter in this sence was sent by the prince of *Samargand* to Ashras, who put specific conditions to secure that the Islamization process was real and pure. See, *Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 1508. Relying upon this tradition, Dennet assume that the cancelling of the plan was due to religious reasons, see: Ibid. p. 123. In the same time, Van Vloten states that the belief in Islam among the convert Sughdians was genuine and true, because they didn't abandon the faith despite the violation of the promise was given by Ashras. See Ibid, p. 55.

in al-Ṭabarī,[12] when they had to deal with the question.

According to al-Ṭabarī, Ashras had invited to his court Abū al-Ṣaydā', a prominent figure of the *mawālī*, known as a pious and God-fearing person in Khurāsān,[13] and Ashras entrusted him with the task of converting the Sughdictn people to Islam. Before he accepted the task, Abū al-Ṣaydā', had demanded and was promised that all those embracing Islam should be exempted from paying the *jizya*, since the *Kharāj* of Khurāsān was imposed on male-capita, according to his words.[14]

In an attempt to explain the reason for Abū al-Ṣaydā' condition, Dennet assumes that a former reform in the taxation system in Khurāsān had been accomplished long before Ashras became governor of this province. According to that alleged reform, Dennet adds, that the status of land in Khurāsān had been changed from *'ahd*, i.e. lands which yielded to the Muslims according to peace treaty, to *kharāj* lands, i.e. lands which yielded to the Muslims by force, consequently, embracing Islam was enough to free the native subjects from paying the jizya. In view of this, Abū al-Ṣaydā' demanded that the same measures applied in Khurāsān be applied in Transoxania as well.[15]

However, Sha'bān does not agree with Dennett. He denies that such arrangement was effected in Transoxania, saying that the Sughdians had to pay two kinds of taxes; one on lend, and the second on merchandise. Therefore, the exemption suggested by Ashras applied to both kinds of taxes.[16] But al-Dūrī believes that

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[12] The first tradition is connected with Ashras' plan in transoxania, see, *Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, pp. 1507-1510. The second tradition is connected with the taxation reform of Naṣr b. Sayyār when he was in *Marw*, see ibid. vol. 2, pp. 1688-1689.

[13] Wellhausen states clearly that Abū al-Ṣaydā' was of Arabic origin, see: Ibid. (Arabic translation by al-'Ish Yuṣuf) Damascus, 1376/1956, p. 358.

[14] Ṭabarī, ibid. vol. 2, p. 1507.

[15] Dennett, ibid. p. 122.

[16] M. A. *Shaban, The Abbasid Revolution*, Cambridge, 1970, p. 111.

there was a land-tax in Khurāsān, and so he tended to agree with Dennett.[17] On the contrary, Van Vloten thinks that there was only one kind of tax in Khurāsān which the inhabitants had to pay in cash. The *dahāqīn* were entrusted with collecting it under the supervision ofArab officials whom the governor used to send as his representatives.[18]

Wellhausen maintains that the tribute (annual payment) in Khurāsān, was based upon several elements. And it was known as *Kharāj* or *jizya*, two different names which were still synonymous so far.[19]

To put things in their right perspective, one should take into consideration the early capitulation agreements between the Arab generals and the native leaders of the Khurasanian communities. These agreements which defined the nature of the relationship between the two parties had fixed also the sum of the tribute to be paid by the inhabitants to the treasury.[20] One of these capitulation agreements, for instance, states that the tribute is to be equally and justly levied on the lands of the area.[21] In an another agreement, the persons of the lands peasantry were mentioned together with the land.[22] In a third one the inhabitants were given the freedom to divide among them as they see fit, the sum agreed upon, while the

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[17] Al-Dūrī A. "Niẓām al-ḍarā'ib fī Khurāsān "*Majallat al majma' al-'ilmī al-'Iraqī*, (11) 1384/1964, p. 81.

[18] *Van Vloten*, ibid. p. 50.

[19] *Wellhausen*, ibid. p. 480.

[20] *Al-Dūrī*, ibid. P. 79.

[21] Al-Balādhuri, Aḥmad b. Yaḥya, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, (ed. 8. al-Munajjid) Cairo, 1956-1957, vol. 3, p. 501. "*Wa-ṣālaḥū 'an Harāt, sahlihā wa-jabalihā, 'ala an yu'addi min al-jizyati māṣālaḥahū 'alāyhi, wa-an yaqsima dhālika 'alā al-arḍīna 'adlan baynahum*".

[22] In the agreement reached between the Arabs and Marw-al-Rūdh, was said: " *'alā an tu'addi 'an akaratika wa-fallāḥīka wa-l-arḍīna sittīna alfa dirham*", al Dūrī, ibid. p. 78.

Arabs had nothing to do with the way it was collected.[23]

From the above-mentioned three examples, it will be abundantly clear, that the land and the human beings were the fundamental base on which taxes in Khurāsān area were imposed. They were both acted upon side by side. Therefore, the alleged views of the aforementioned scholars except that of Wellhausen, seem irrelevant.

Furthermore, it seems that the taxation principle was more a previous local custom than an arrangement invented by the Arabs who did nothing to alter such an arrangement.[24] A crucial evidence to that, may be found in the fact that some Arabs who possessed lands in Khurāsān were until 77 (A.H.) subordinated to the authority of the *dahāqīn* as far as paying taxes was concerned.[25] For the sake of accuracy I'd like to say that the abovementioned capitulation agreements did not include all the places in Khurāsān district. Or, perhaps our sources failed to mention them if they really existed. Consequently, the statement of Dennet that the land of Khurāsān was *'ahdiyya*,[26] is so general that it is far from accuracy. At the same time it ran counter to the tradition quoted by Abū Yūsuf al-Qāḍī in which he considered the land of Khurāsān and the land of al-*Baṣra* as similar to the land of the *Sawād* area.

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[23] *Wa-anna 'alayhim qasmu l-māli, wa-laysa 'alā 'l-muslimīna illā qabḍu dhālike*" see: *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, vol. 3, p. 502.

[24] Dennet, *al-Jizya wa 'l-Islām*, (Translated by Fahim jad-Allah) Beirut 1960. p. 185.

[25] *Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 1029. Meanwhile al-Dūrī says that the land-tax was collected since the early days of the Arab conquest, and there were Arab officials who were responsible for the tax collection. The *dahāqīn*, as he says, were responsible only for the annual tribute. The assumption of d-Dūrī seems less well-founded because it is contradictory with the report quoted by Ṭabarī, more-over, the Arab officials were a mere representatives of the governor, who joined the *dahāqīn*, after the collection was accomplished, those representative used to carry the money back to the treasury in Marw. Henceforth, it happened that some of them were accused with treachery.

[26] Dennet, ibid. p. 118.

So it must be treated accordingly, in other words, land occupied by force should be considered as *Kharājiyya* unless an agreement was reached, then the terms of agreement should be carried on.[27]

It should be recalled, in this connection, that the Arabs collected two kinds of taxes within the category of *Kharājiyya* land; the *jizya* imposed on non-muslim subjects, and the *Kharāj* imposed upon their lands.[28]

Going back to Ashras' plan, one finds that it lacks details about the system in Transoxania. It did not make clear the suggested changes. Nevertheless it suggested that taxation in Transoxania be the same as that in Khurāsān.[29] From this it becomes abundantly clear that the system of taxation in Transoxania prior the implement of Ashras' plan, was not similar to the system in Khurāsān. Here again it seems that Dennet's statement concerning the similarity between the systems, was no more than a mere assumption.[30]

The opposition of the princes and the *dahāqīn* to Ashras' plan, if we take in mind their declared arguments, gives an obvious hint that the tax imposed on 'native Sughdians was called *jizya*, or at least, the total amount of the tribute in Transoxania, was based solely on the poll-tax, which Ashras suggested to abolish.

This conclusion may take support from a single tradition cited by al-Balādhurī, this tradition was either ignored by those who dealt with the issue, or it was not paid attention it deserves. The tradition of al-Balādhurī goes as follows: "*zāda Ashrasu fī waẓā'ifi Khurāsāna, wa-'stakhaffa bi-d-dahāqīni, we-da'ā ahla mā warā'a 'n-nahri ilā 'l-islāmi, wa-amara bi-ṭarḥi 'l-jizyati 'an man aslama,*

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[27] Abū Yūsuf, Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm al-qaḍī, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, (4th edition) 1392, p. 59.

[28] *al-Kharāj*, ibid., p. 26.

[29] Ṭabarī, vol. 2, P. 1507; "*fa 'innama Kharāju Khurāsāna 'ala ru'ūsi r-rijāli*".

[30] *Dennet*, Ibid., p. 122

fa-sāra ʿūilā'l-islāmi",[31] Ashras had increased the annual tribute of Khurāsān and slighted the *dahāqīn*.. He called the inhabitants of Transoxania to embrace Islām and ordered to exempt who embrace Islam from paying the poll-tax. So they hurried to embrace Islām. The tradition leaves no doubt that Ashras knew, for sure, that the total sum of the tribute will be reduced as a result of the suggested exemption. But in order to offset this reduction on the one hand, and to secure success for his plan, on the other, raised the sum tribute, so that the total income of the treasury will not be cut.

Raising the total sum of the tribute was not a step invented by Ashras. More than half a century earlier, a similar step was actually taken by the governor Khurāsān during the reign of Muʿāwiyā.[32] This leads us to the conclusion that the total sum of the tribute, *al-waẓīfa*, was not fixed by the capitulation agreement. In this case, it was up to the ruler to raise the total sum or to reduce it if he deems it necessary to do so. This kind of agreements was familiar in Egypt at the time of the Islamic conquest.[33]

Therefore, the damage inflicted on the *dahāqīn* by the plan of Ashras was twofold; it not only prevented them from collecting the *jizya* from those who will convert to Islām,[34] a fact which forced them to offset the ensuing deficit by increasing the rate to be paid by those who prefer to adhere to their original faith, but it also compelled them to face the issue of the increase on the tribute

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[31] *Futūḥ al-buldān*, vol. 3, p. 526.

[32] *Al-Dūrī*, ibid., P. 38, note no. 1.

[33] Typical agreements were existed in Egypt, when ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ didn't agree to fix up the amount of the tribute, to make it possible to raise or to reduce the amount according to the circumstances. See. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakām, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, (ed. by Charles c. Torrey) Leiden, 1922; p. 153. See also: *al-Kharāj*, ibid. p. 92.

[34] In Bukhārā for instance, poor men considered the exemption of the poll-tax, as an important achievement, and they were very anxious about cancelling it. The tradion in *Tārīkh Bukhārā* expressed clearly his anxity: "*Wa-kāna l-fuqarā'u yarghabūna fil-ḥuṣūli ʿala hādhayni d-dirhamayni,*" See: *al-Narshakhi*, ibid. p. 74.

according to the plan. Above all, the rate of increase in the total amount of tribute per individual was ever growing as a result of the massive response by the poor men of the Sughdians to the call of Islām.[35] According to the tradition quoted by al-Tabarī, Ashras, under pressure put by the *dahāqīn*, and the princes, violated the promise given to Abū al-Saydā'; he abrogated his instructions to exempt converts from paying the *jizya*.[36]

One cannot help but wonder: Why did Ashras humilate the greats of the *'ajam*, when the demand of the *dahāqīn* had been finally met? Why did he set his officials on the *dahāqīn* who were placed under the scorching sun, their garments torn and their girdles tied round their necks?[37]

It is obvious that the ill treatment meted out to the *dahāqīn* and the Iranian aristocracy did not take place after Ashras retreated his plan. It is illogical that this would happen after their opposition to the plan had borne fruit. There should have been another reason.

Trying to explain this behavior, Dennet suggests that it was an attempt to oblige the *dahāqīn* to pay the tribute.[38] But the tradition of al-Ṭabarī upon which Dennet relies, gives no explanation to this behavior at all.[39] Therefore, Dennet's assumption is not convincing..

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[35] "*Wa-kānat raghbatu 'n-nāsi fi 'l-Islāmi tazdādu kulla yawmin, lam yattasi' lahum lidhālika l-masjidu*", See: *al-Narshakhi*, ibid. p. 75. The situation in Samarqand was similar to that in Bukhārā, whereas, the crowd swarmed to the mosks to embrace Islam, see *al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2 (3) p. 1508.

[36] "*fakataba Ashras ila Hāni' wa-ilā l-'āmil: Khudhū l-Kharāja mimman kuntum ta'khudhūnahū minhu, fa-a'ādū l-Jizyata 'alāman aslama*", See *al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 1508.

[37] Al-Ṭabarī, ibid., vol. 2, pp. 1508-1509; *al-Kāmil*, vol. 5, p. 148.

[38] Dennet says that Ashras had odered his men to collect the former tax, that's to say, the land-tax and the poll-tax, the result was a revolt, after the revolt was suppressed the tax collectors continued to collect the former taxes, this deed was considered as a humilation to the *dahāqīn* whom were obliged to pay the annual tribute. See: *Dennet*, ibid. p. 123.

[39] *Ṭabarī*, ibid. vol. 2, pp. 1509-1510.

I think that the above-mentioned tradition of al-Balādhurī gives a satisfactory explanation of that act. The mere increase in the total amount of the tribute decided by Ashras, was seen as a disdain of the *dahāqīn* and the greats of the *'ajam*. That increase coupled with the exemption of the converts from paying the *jizya*, constituted the backbone of their opposition to Ashras' plan. When he acquiesced in their pressures to abolish the exemption order, he did not abolish the increase he imposed on the annual tribute, because there is no hint in our sources which insinuate that. This prompted them to carry on with their opposition. But Ashras reacted by humilating them to as to force them to continue payment of the tribute.

Following the retraction of Ashras' plan, matters did not proceed as he wished. All the sections of the Sughdian people, including the *dahāgīn* and princes, converts and infidles alike, had united to stand against Arab rule in Transoxania. This situation gave rise to a sweeping rebellion all over the country and paved the way for a violent Turgish offensive that threatened the very existence of the Arab-Muslim rule not only in Transoxania but in Khurāsān proper.[40]

Despite the failure of Ashras plan, it is considered the first start of islamizing the inhabitants of the Eastern province in general and the Sughdian people in particular. And it seems that the pledge given by Ashras to Abū al-Ṣaydā', though retracted, yet it still occupied the minds of the inhabitants of this province. Anyone who embraced Islam thereafter saw the pledge as a legal argument used against poll-tax collecters. No sooner had some years elapsed when the local prince of Bukhārā complained to Asad al-Qasrī, during his second term as governor of Khurāsān, that some of his subjects who embraced Islam had refused to pay the *jizya*. They went so far as to become an element of agitation in that province. Al-Qasrī had to issue his orders to his military forces stationed in Bukhārā to put down the rebellion and to restore security and order

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[40] Al-Ṭabarī, ibid. vol. 2, p. 1510 "*fakafart al-Sughd, wa-Bukhārā wa-stajāshū' T-Turka*".

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The Tax Reforms of Naṣr b. Sayyār

Eleven years after Ashras had announced his above-mentioned plan, Naṣr b. Sayyār, the last governor of Khurāsān during the reign of the Umayyad dynasty, declared his tax-reform in this province.[42] Scholars who dealt with this issue were not unanimous concerning the nature of this reform. While Wellhausen considers it a new organization of the whole tax system,[43] Dennet assumes that Nasr was not an innovator, he was no more than an organizer and a reformer who corrected past mistakes and eliminated misuse of authority that was rife in the previous taxation system.[44] Other researchers as like Lokkegard[45] and Shaban[46] share this opinion with Dennet.

Corruption in the previous tax system was mirrored in imposing *jizya* and land tax on the Muslim inhabitants, particularly, collecting *jizya* from the poor subjects who were legally exempted from paying it. At the same time the tax burden was reduced for some distinguished sectors.[47]

The terms *jizya* and *Kharāj*, which so far have been synonymous, were used for the first time as separate terms in the speech of Nasr. *Jizya* from now on definitely, means the poll-tax, whereas the term *Kharāj* means, in its narrow sense, the landtax,

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[41] *Al-Narshakhi*, ibid. pp. 87-88.

[42] *Al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 1688-1689

[43] *Wellhausen* ibid. p. 481.

[44] *Dennet*, ibid. p. 126.

[45] Lokkegaard, F., *Islamic Taxation in The Classic Period*, Kopenhagen, 1950, pp. 130-133.

[46] *The Abbassid Revolution*, p. 130.

[47] *Al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, pp. 1688-1689 *"fa-ayyumā rajulun mina 'l-muslimīna kāna yu'khadhu jizyatun min rāsihī aw thuqqila 'alayhi fī kharājihī wa-khuffifa dhālika 'an al-mushrikīna ..."*

in addition to its wider sense, i. e., the taxation system in general.[48] In this connection, Wellhausen states that according to the Nasr's reform, the total amount of the annual tribute will only be determined on the basis of land tax, the *jizya*, imposed on the non-muslim subjects, will not be part of the tribute from now on.[49]

The exemption from paying the *jizya* which Naṣr granted to the Muslims, will necessarily bring a decrease in the total sum of the tribute. So Nasr, simultaneously, promised that this will not happen at all and insisted on getting as much as his predecessors.[50]

But how in fact, can he fulfills the two ambivalent promises? In order to find a satisfactory answer to this question, we must consider the version quoted by al-Ṭabarī right after reporting the text of Naṣr's speech. It goes as follows: "*thumma ṣannafa ʾl-kharāja ḥattā waḍaʿahū mawāḍiʿahū, thumma waẓẓafa ʾl-waẓīfata, ʾl-latījarā ʿalayhāʾṣ-ṣulḥu*", he reclassified the landtax, and fixed it according to the legal arrangements in force. Then he refixed the annual tribute as was stipulated in *ṣulḥ* treaties.[51] Before coming to analize the significance of this tradition, we should, at first, examine what was said by modern scholars concerning this issue.

Wellhausen states that Nasr had reassessed the land-tax so that all the landowners, Muslims and non-Muslims, had to bear the burden of the annual tribute.[52] Here we should remind the reader that Muslim Arab landowners used to pay landtax long before Nasr's reform. They had even complained about the maltreatment at the hands of the *dahāqīn* entrusted with tax collecting.[53]

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[48] Al-Ṭabarī, ibid.; vol. 2, pp. 1688-1689; *Al-Jizya wa-l-Islam*, ibid. p. 192; *Wellhausen*, ibid., pp. 297-300.

[49] *Wellhausen*, ibid. pp. 479-481; *Dennet*, pp. 125-126.

[50] "*Illā annahū lā yuqbalu minnī illā tawaffī ʾl-Kharāji ʿalā ma kutiba waruſiʿa*", *Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 1688.

[51] *Tabari* ibid., vol. 2, p. 1689

[52] *Wellhausen*, ibid. p. 482.

[53] See above, note No. (25).

If the Arab land-owners shared the burden of the tribute, what then was new in Naṣr's reform? Does the reassessment mean an increase in the volume of taxes to be paid by the land-owners, Muslims and non-Muslims? Is this what Naṣr really wanted to achieve? Did he want to burden the Muslims with taxes? Naṣr's step did not aim at that. On the contrary, it was he who openly declared that he intended to grant the Muslims a special favour and lift the injustice they sustained, and to shift their burden to be borne by the infidles.[54] And Wellhausen himself admits that Naṣr sought to apply the principle of equality among the Arabs and the non-Arabs.[55]

Other scholars who have dealt with Naṣr's reform give no satisfactory answer to the question. Shaʿbān maintains that Naṣr's reform was designed to remove injustice inflicted by the *dahāqīn* against Arab settlers in Khurāsān, he also refers to re-classifying the *Kharāj* and fixing the annual tribute.[56] But Shaʿbān does not explain how Naṣr made it. Al-Dūrī denies any connection between the land-tax and the reform of Naṣr. He also rejects the assumption of Dennet and Wellhausen, and asserts that land-tax was never fixed at all in Khurāsān. According to him, the tax was the only fixed tax in this region and it was the only source of injustice.[57]

In fact, injustice was caused by both; the poll-tax to which al-Dūrī refers, and by the land-tax as is shown by the speech of Naṣr.[58] In order to remove that injustice, and to find a solution to the issue of exempting converts from paying the *jizya*, not only because of its economic impact, but also because it was considered

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[54] *Ṭabarī* vol. 2, p. 1688.

[55] *Wellhausen*, p. 482.

[56] *The Abbassid Revolution*, pp. 129-130.

[57] *Al-Dūrī*, ibid., pp. 86-87.

[58] "*fal-yarfaʿ dhālika ilā ʾl-Manṣūr b. ʾUmar*", See: *Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, pp. 1688-1989.

as a symbol of degradation,[59] and in the same time to maintain the former level of income from this province, Nasr took two measures; he taxed lands in Khurāsān according to regular standards accepted in legal Islamic circles. That's to say, he re-classified lands of Khurāsān into two kinds of lands; the *ʿushr-lands*, whose owners payed tenth of its annual output, possessed by Muslims, particularly the Arab owners, and the *Kharāj*-lande, whose owners had to pay larger percent of its annual product to the treasury, possessed by non-Muslim owners.[60] This act will necessarily leads to reducing the tax-payment on Muslim land-owners,[61] and to imposing the real sum of land-tax on non-Muslim land-owners, according to the *Kharāj* regulations.[62]

The second step taken by Naṣr, was to abolish the additional sum imposed on the total amount of the tribute by his predecessors; at first during the Caliphate of Muʿāwiya and then by Ashras al-Sulamī during the Caliphate of Hishām. This is the only

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[59] The *jizya* was also considered as a symbol of humalation during the Sassanid period; when the Persian king, Kisrā Anū Shirwān carried on his reform, he had exempted the aristocracy of it, see: Al-Dīnawarī, Abū Ḥanīfa Aḥmad b. Dāwūd, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, (Tehran, 1960) p. 71, "*wa-waẓẓafa l-jizyata ʿala arbaʿi ṭabaqātin, wa-asqaṭahā ʿan ahli ʾl-buyūtāt*". From the same point of view the representatives of the Persian aristocracy were exempted from paying the *jizia* in Islam, *Kanat al-ashrāfu min ahli Iṣbahān . . . dakhalū fī-ṭ-ṭāʿati ʿalā an yuʾaddū al-kharāja, wa-anifū mina ʾl-jizyati fa-aslamū*', See: *Futūḥ al-buldān*, vol. 2, p. 385; See also: *lokkegaard*, ibid., p. 131. For more comprehensive understanding of this issue, see the article of Prof. M. J. Kister, "ʿan yadin wahum ṣāghirūn", (qurʾān, IX/29) attempt at interpretation, *Arabica*, 11 (1964) pp. 272-278. The symbol of humalation is emphasized also in other places, see, for instance, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, vol. 1, 216: "*fa-innahum qawmum min al-ʿArabi yaʾnafūna mina ʾl-jizyati*", see also, p. 217: "*amma idha lam takun jiyatun kajizyati ʾl-aʾlājifa-inna narḍā wa-dinanā*. *Ṭabarī*, vol. 1, pp. 2509-2510.

[60] *Lokkegaard*, ibid. p. 72-78.

[61] Abu ʿUbayd, al Qāsim b. Sallām, *al-amwāl*, (ed. by Harras M. Khalil) Cairo, 1388/1968, p. 227 (no. 433).

[62] *Al-Kharāj*, ibid., p. 75; Yaḥya b. Ādam, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, (ed. by Aḥmad M. Shākir) Cairo, 1347, p. 164.

conclusion that might be drawn from the abovementioned phrase: "*thumma waẓẓafa ʾl-waẓīfata ʾl-latījarā ʿalayhā ʾṣ-ṣulḥu*".[63]

Making this, Naṣr decreased the total sum of the annual tribute, and fixed it as was stipulated by the capitulation agreements at the time of the conquest. By doing so, Naṣr, in fact, laid down the basis of the tax-reform for the benefit of all the inhabitants in the Eastern province. The Arab residents, from now on, will pay less than they used to pay before to the *dahāqīn*. The native subjects who embraced Islam will be exempted from paying the poll-tax, as if they were infidles. And the non-Muslim population will pay the total sum of the annual tribute as was stipulated by the capitulation agreements. In order to secure the implementation of his reform, Naṣr, not only entrusted Arab officials with carrying out his instructions,[64] but he ordered to re-write in Arabic all the official records in Khurāsān.[65]

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[63] Ṭabarī, vol. 2, p. 1688.

[64] Ibid. vol. 2, p. 1688.

[65] *Wa-Kāna awwala man naqala l-kitābata mina ʾl-fārisiyyati ilā ʾl-ʿArabiyyati, bi-Khurāsāna ... Kana maʿa Naṣr b. Sayyār wa-Khuṣṣa bihī*'. See: Al-Jahshiyāri, Abū ʿAbd-Allah Aḥmad b. ʿAbdūs, *Kitāb al-wuzarāʾ wa- ʾl-kuttāb*, (ed. Saqqa & Shalabi) Cairo, 1357/1938, p. 67.

Socio-Cultural and Legal Changes in the Status of Women in Early Muslim Society
A Study of the Phenomenon of the Female Slaves

The institution of slavery was well known during the *jāhiliyya* period, and slaves were used for commonplace daily tasks. Female slaves, in addition to the usual services, also provided sexual services to the elite class of this society. Such sexual services were provided on a private, individual basis (the female slave was purchased by the master) or on a public, commercial basis (the slaves were employed by their masters as hostesses to entertain and amuse customers in taverns or houses of prostitution.

Despite the widespread existence of slavery, female slaves were not commonplace, and were usually concentrated in urban centers. They were, in fact, so few in number that the names of these sexual hostesses are reported in traditions regarding the pre-Islamic period.

Indeed the onslaught of the Islamic conquests brought about a dramatic change in the form of an astronomical upswing in the number of men and women taken into captivity during the battles and sold into slavery. Their numbers continued to swell as the map of the Islamic conquests expanded, but once these had ceased and there was no longer an active source of slaves, the numbers dwindled.

As Muslim society continued to thrive, the need for slaves in general grew more acute as did in particular the need for female slaves.

According to the religious laws of Islam a slavemaster who had purchased female slaves could have sexual relations with them with no religious or social commitment on his part. These female slaves apparently filled a void which existed in the sex life of the

Muslim male, since the Arab wife, bound as she was by conservative tradition and the values of dignity and modesty, could not give her husband what the female slave colud. The Arab woman remained tied to her home and her family and was not permitted to take part in her husband's day-to-day life, nor even to appear in the company of men-let alone to take part in their debauched, carousing nightlife.

Without exception, these female slaves were of non-Arab origin, having come from more liberal cultures. Thus, they could well fill the hereditary void in the sex life of the Arab male.

It was not many years before the institution of female slavery had become a commonplace fact in Muslim society. In time, this institution accrued resources of power and influence in other areas as well, such as culture, art, the economic and administrative spheres, and politics.

The institution of *jawārī*, female slavery, brought about a change in the anthropological structure of Arab society, since a not insignificant proportion of the birth rate came from among the *jawārī*. This fact nccessitated the allocation of a new legal status in the realm of family law, which had not existed before.

I

In this lecture, I shall atempt to present several aspects related to the issue of female slavery and to shed light upon the various implications of that issue which developed along with the institution of *jawārī*.

Female slaves, *al-jawārī*, were an historical institution in the social life of hte *jāhiliyya*. The repeated raids which typified inter-tribal relations, were designed first and foremost to provide prisoners of war for both sides, both men and women. In exchange for the freedom of these prisoners the tribe demanded a material ransom. Without which the prisoners would be taken slave by their

captors.[1] The fighters in the tribe would divide the captive women among them; in certain cases, lists have come down to us containing the names of captive women who had fallen into the hands of the outstanding fighters of the abducting tribe.[2] The prevailing custom was for these women to become the concubines, *surriyya*, of their captors, whether or not the women were married.[3] Sexual relations between captor and captive did not depend on the woman's becoming the property of her captor, and could take place regardless of the question of whether or not she would be returned to her family.[4]

It should be pointed out that the release of the female prisoners in exchange for a material ransom was not a foregone conclusion, and many such female prisoners became their captors' permanent slaves.[5] There were also cases in which the captors did not wish to keep them and preferred to sell them to others.[6] For this purpose, the female prisoners were led to seasonal marketplaces which were held throughout the year in various parts of the Arabian peninsula.[7] The practice of trading in male and female slaves was so prestigious and prevalent that even the Meccan aristocracy did not scorn it. The outstanding example of this was ʿAbdullāh b. judʿān the rich and famous Meccan leader. Who amassed a fortune from his profession of *nakhkhās*, "slave trader".[8]

The "clientele" of these male and female slaves must certainly

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[1] R. Smith, p. 89.

[2] *Naqā'iḍ*, p. 241.

[3] J. Schacht, p. 277.

[4] *Naqā'iḍ*, p. 679.

[5] Ibid., 170, 1068.

[6] *al-kāmil*, vol. I, p. 344.

[7] In a poem ascribed to Ḥassān b. Thābit, the poet mentions the sale of prisoners of war in these markets. See: Ibn Hishām, p. 597. A list of the seasonal markets which were held in Arabia is reported by M. Ibn Ḥabīb in *al-Muḥabbar*, pp.263-268.

[8] Masʿūdī, IV, p, 154. See also: Ibn saʿd, III (1) p. 161.

have been affluent and from among the urban and tribal aristocracy, who bought female slaves for sexual purposes, and to whom these slaves consequently bore sons. Muhammad b. Habib cites two lists of Meccan and tribal aristocrats who were born to Christian slave women and to slave women from Ethiopia.[9]

A child born to a foreign mother who was not a free citizen, was called *hajīn*. Such a child was not legally recognized as a legitimate son and was not entitled to a part of his father's inheritance.[10] One representative of this category of slave women's sons was the poet ʿAntara al-ʿAbsī, who was born to an Ethiopian slave woman and retained the status of slave. He did not bear his father's name nor that of the tribe until after he had performed an act of courage which saved the honor of the tribe.[11]

The change in ʿAntara's status was not a unique case. Recognition could always be given to sons born to slave women, if they happened to be able to prove their worthiness by means of their deeds (*idhā anjaba*," if he was able to do noble and honorable deeds").[12] There was no change in the legal status of the slave woman who had born the child, except that she would henceforth bear the title of *umm walad*.[13]

The change in the legal status of the *umm al-walad* took place during the Islamic period, apparently as a necessary outgrowth of a sort of primitive, systematic reasoning, and not by virtue of any provision or instruction in the Qur'ān or in the *sunna* of the Prophet.[14] Islamic tradition attributes this change to ʿUmar I, who declared that a slavemaster whose female slave had born him a

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[9] *al-Muḥabbar*, pp. 305-309.

[10] *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, VI, 129.

[11] *Aghānī*, VII, 150.

[12] Ibid, VII, 148. ʿAntara was listed among a group of brave horsemen called *aghribat al-ʿarab*. because of their color (all of them were Negroes). *Thimār al-qulūb*, 159-160.

[13] J. Schacht, 264 ff; R. Brunschwig, "ʿAbd" EI².

[14] Ibid., p. 264-5.

son, could not sell her, nor alienate her (i.e., give her as a gift), nor bequeath her to his descendants, but would have to possess her all the days of his life, and that after his death she would become a free woman.[15] But it is very reasonable to assume that the imputation of this decree to ʿUmar was anachronistic and no different from other decrees attributed to him, and that this imputation was intended to grant religious legitimacy to and arrangement which in fact had come into practice during a later period.

In any case, if such a decree did exist on the part of ʿUmar, it was not reflected at all in the will of ʿAlī, the fourth caliph, with regard to his nineteen slave women: the will stated that any of these women who were *umm walad* would be included in her son's portion of the inheritance after her fiscal value had been established.[16]

Another act carried out a few years later, this time by the governor of Medina, Marwān b. al-Hakam, also reflected complete disregard of the decree which is attributed to ʿUmar: he made a gift of one of his *umm walad* slave women, along with her infant child, to one of his freed slaves.[17]

This arrangement with regard to the fate and status of an *umm al-walad* was in fact a latter-day compromise between two opposed views representing prevalent theological schools of thought in Iraq.[18] The trend of liberating the *umm al-walad* gained momentum and became an indisputable religious arrangement. In fact, it has already been noted that the notion of the *umm al-walad* expanded to include a slave woman who had become pregnant but

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[15] *Muwaṭṭa'*, p. 776; ʿAbd al-Razzāq, VII, 292, 290, 287; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, I, 267.

[16] ʿAbd al-Razzāq, VII, 288-298.

[17] *Aghānī*, IX, 36.

[18] J. Schacht, pp. 264-265.

had not yet born her child.[19] Even a slave woman who had miscarried was granted the status of *umm al-walad* and was entitled to be freed from bondage.[20] In fact, in an attempt to flee the shackles of slavery, slave women would use various sly means to become pregnant by the master and thus gain the status of *umm al-walad.*[21].

The interest taken by Muslim theologians in the *jawārī* (slave women) on the juridic level, stemmed from the fact that the number of the latter–like the number of male slaves–had swelled continuously from the onset of the Islamic conquests outside Arabia during the first half of the seventh century. The *jawārī* were involved in most areas of daily life in Muslim society, particularly the daily life of the elite social class, e.g., merchants, landowners, financiers, authors and scholars. Senior officials, and the ruling Arab aristocracy.

An ethnic-functional categorization attributed to the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (65/684-86/705) cites several of the daily domains in which female slaves were involved. Among these are satisfying the master's sexual needs, bearing children, nursing infants, and household chores.[22] Ibn Buṭlān adds to this list domestic maintenance and babysitting.[23]

The purchase of *jawārī* did not serve solely as a response to the immediate needs of the slaveowner's family. In several cases, slave owners purchased tens, hundreds, and even thousands of *jawārī* and kept them in their courts. This ostentatious purchase of *jawārī* and of male slaves was perceived as a symbol of the

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[19] Al-Ma'mūn, the caliph, once desired to acquire a famous slave girl called Mutayyam. Her master, who was fond of her, did not have the courage to refuse the caliph's wish and had no recourse but to make her pregnant. See: *Aghānī*, VII, 31.

[20] ʿAbd al-Razzāq, VII, 295-296; *Biḥār*, vol. 100, p. 131.

[21] Ibn Buṭlān, 358.

[22] *ʿIqd*, VI, 103; *Mustaṭraf*, II, 223; *Akhbār al-nisā'*, 11-12.

[23] Ibn Buṭlān, 352.

purchaser's social standing: the more slaves he had, the more his prestige and social status improved. The slaves' outward appearance and clothing also added to their master's prestige.[24]

The number of slaves accompanying the slavemaster as he strolled the streets or appeared at a social function, was an excellent indicator of his social standing.[25] Parades of such entourages became increasingly prevalent, since many members of the ruling Arab aristocracy were able to purchase significant numbers of male and female slaves. This was not condoned by the representatives of the regime, who warned against these parades, threatening the offending slavemasters with capital punishment or seizure of property should they continue the practice. Such a threat was made by al-Ḥajjāj against the Arab aristocracy in Kūfa when he was appointed governor of Iraq.[26]

Particularly great in number were the *sarārī* (Concubines) purchased by the Abbasid caliphs and by the Muslim Arab aristocracy, whether connected to the regime or not. A record number of *sarārī* were purchased by al-Mutawakkil (235/849-247/861), who had twelve thousand concubines, according to one version.[27] According to another version,[28] he had four thousand concubines and enjoyed sexual relations with all of them.

Aḥmad b. Marwān (453/1061), the separatist Kurdish ruler who controlled the emirate of Diyārbakr during the fifth/eleventh century, had five hundred concubines in addition to the female slaves who served them.[29] The commissioner of taxes at the gold mines on the Egyptian-Sudanese border in the year 441/1049, had

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[24] *al-Muntaẓam*, XII, 356.

[25] Ibid., XIII, 180.

[26] Ibn ʿAsākir, IV, 56-57.

[27] Mez, I, 271.

[28] Masʿūdi, VII, 276.

[29] *al-Kāmil*, VIII, 92.

three hundred *jawārī*, some of whom also served as *sarārī*.[30] Mālik b. Anas (713-795), founder of the school of religious law that bears his name, is also reported to have purchased three hundred *sarārī* and would spend one night a year with each of them.[31]

II.

The *jawārī* played a significant role in the diplomatic relations between the Muslim ruler and the rulers of foreign countries which bordered upon the Islamic states. In 273/886, a gift is reported to have been sent to the palace of the caliphate in Baghdad by the Queen of the Franks, which included twenty male slaves and twenty female slaves from the *Ṣaqāliba*.[32] A similar gift was sent by Basilius, the Byzantine ruler, to the separatist ruler of Halab in the second decade of the fifth/eleventh century.[33]

Although the number of male and female slaves sent as gifts was meager, it was apparently significant, particularly in light of the fact that the slave trade and the supply of slaves to the local market would sometimes dwindle during times when security on the borders and along the trade routes became precarious–as pointed out by the geographer al-Muqaddasī.[34]

Giving *jawārī* as a gift to a ruler was a way of gratifying him and gaining his support. Government officials or district governors would take advantage of the opportunity to send such gifts to the caliph's palace. Particularly prominent in this context was the gift sent by the governor of Khurāsān, Ibn Ṭāhir, to the caliph al-

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[30] *Safar Nāmeh*, 69.

[31] *Thamarāt*, 280.

[32] *al-Mustaṭraf*, II, 54. On the Ṣaqāliba, the meaning of the term, their homelands, how they were brought to the realm of Islam, one may consult D. Ayalon's comprehensive study with its far-reaching results: "On the Eunuchs in Islam", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, I (1979). Jerusalem, pp. 67-124 (especially 92-124).

[33] al-Ma'arrī, p. 691.

[34] *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 242.

Mutawakkil when the latter aceded to the throne–a gift which included two hundred *waṣīf* and *waṣīfa*, pire-adolescent male and female youths.[35]

Wives of the caliphs who wished to please their husbands and prove their loyalty, chose *jawārī*, in particular, as a means of achieving their goal and presented them to their husbands as gifts. One such example was the wife of al-Rashīd (176/786-193/803), who gave her husband ten *jawārī*, two of whom bore him sons–al-Ma'mūn and al-Muʿtaṣim–who were appointed caliphs themselves.[36] Earlier, the wife of the Umayyd caliph Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (101/719-105/723) had presented her husband with a gift–a *jāriya* with whom he had fallen in love–in order to persuade him to appoint her son as heir apparent.[37]

III

Jawāri in the Islamic countries came from all corners of the world. In a treatise written in the fifth/eleventh century, the author provides a physical description and a description of character which serve to distinguish between various types of female and male slaves according to their geographic origin. He then provides a list of races and lands of origin, citing the unique features of each race.[38] From this treatise and other sources it becomes clear that the *jawārī* came from nineteen disparate regions and countries and a variety of ethnic origins.[39] These, of course, were in addition to second-and third-generation *jawārī* who were born to slave

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[35] Masʿūdī, VII, 281. According to another verson, the present included 400 young slave girls. *Aghānī*, XIX, 133; *Nihāyat al-arab*, V; 112; Ibn al-Sāʿī, 92.

[36] *Nihāyat al-arab*, V, 93.

[37] Ibid., V, 59; *Aghānī*, XII, 155.

[38] Ibn Buṭlān, 372-378.

[39] Ibid., 373-378; *al-Maʿārif*, 375-394; *al-Suyuṭī, Ḥusn al-uswa*, 284-264.

families in Islamic cities; these latter bore the title *muwalladāt*.[40] Included in this group were *jawārī* who were born and grew up in the cities of Ḥijāz, such as Mecca, Medina, and Ṭā'if, or in Yemen.[41] But the *muwalladāt* of Baṣra ,Iraq–particularly those of fair complexion, *ṣufr*–were considered the finest type of all because they were both beautiful, intelligent, and skilled.[42]

The female slave market was fed by four distinct resources. Two of these had to do with the war effort related to the campaigns of conquest carried out by the Muslims in the framework of the *jihād*. These battles created a tremendous number of prisoners of war of both genders, who were considered part of the spoils of battle, *ghanīma*. Which were divided among the warriors.[43] These huge numbers of prisoners were enslaved as a result of these wars. It has been said, for numbers of prisoners were enslaved as a result of these wars. It has been said, for example, that Musā b. Nusayr, who invaded Spain during the reign of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, brought thirty thousand virgin maids back with him from among the Visigoth aristocracy.[44]

The number of prisoners of war allotted to the state treasury, *bayt al-māl*. was estimated at sixty thousand, only a fifth of the total number of prisoners.[45] As for the accuracy of these estimates, they should certainly not be taken at face value as they have been transmitted by the traditions; however, they do serve as an indication that the number of prisoners was particularly high.

While the supply of slaves from the spoils of war could be characterized as a one-time event, the Arabs had another more permanent source of slaves, in accordance with their *ṣulḥ*

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[40] *al-Nihāya*, V, 225.

[41] Ibn Buṭlān, 373-375.

[42] *Nihāyat al-arab*, V, 71, 82, 73.

[43] *Futūḥ*, 236; Zaydān, II; 236; Goldziher, I, 119.

[44] *al-Kāmil*, IV, 124.

[45] Ibid., IV, 112.

(capitulation) agreements with neighboring countries and other ethnic groups. These treaties stipulated terms under which the local population was obliged (in addition to paying the annual tribute) to supply slaves of both genders. The number of these slaves varied according to the size of the local population and the residents' objective ability to serve.[46] Weak communities and groups lacking in resources, such as the residents of the Barḳa region and the barbaric Lawāta tribe in North Africa, were given the oppotyunity to pay the annual tribute in slaves taken from the tribe, rather than in currency or agricultural produce.[47]

These agreements continued to be valid and were implemented for decades after they were signed. In 200/815, over 150 years after the province of Khurāsān was conquered, slaves continued to be sent by the governor of that province to the state treasury in Baghdad in accordance with the capitulations signed at the time of conquest. Tūlūn, the separatist leader who gained control of Egypt and considerable part of Syria between the years 870 and 905, was sent by the governor, Nūḥ b. Asād, along with others, in the framework of the annual tribute levied from this province.[48]

To receive the slaves that were sent from the provinces, special buildings were set up in Baghdad, the capital, and in other provincial capitals as well, known as *dār al-raqīq*, "slaves' houses". These buildings served as temporary housing for the slaves; the most famous of them was the one built in Baghdad,

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[46] According to the terms of the capitulation signed with the Nubian people, the latter had to supply four hundred slaves annually to the Muslim authority. See: al-Hamdānī, 74; Ibn Khurdādhbeh, 78. The province of Khurāsān had to supply over two thousand slaves a year. See also: al-Hamdānī, p. 297. More than one thousand slaves were supplied every year by the khazar and some Armenian regions. See: *Futūḥ*, 245.

[47] *al-Amwāl*, 214, 267.

[48] al-Balawi, p. 33; al-Maqrīzī, I, 313.

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which was later named after a residential district in that city.[49] A similar building was erected in Fusṭāṭ, Egypt, which was later known as *birkat al-raqīq*, "pool of the slaves".[50] The institution and the slaves it housed were under the authority of the central or provincial commissioner of the treasury.[51]

Yet another source that supplied slaves to the local Muslim market was thievery. A band of thieves from the coast of West Africa, south of Morocco in the region of Ghāna and Takrūr, would raid the adjacent areas, kidnap Negro slaves and bring them to the markets of North Africa..[52] Other bands of thieves would carry out their raids on the east coast of Africa, bordering on Egypt, and would bring slaves from the tribes of al-Buja.[53] Similar raids took place in the eastern lands bordering on the territory controlled by the Muslims; the raiders would infiltrate the land of the Daylam or the territory of the Turks and sell their human spoils in local markets.[54]

Since the slaves became highly sought-after merchandise, the slave trade became a profitable branch of commerce on both a local scale (i.e., within the Islamic countries) and an international one. Particularly famous was the international trade route from Europe via North Africa, Egypt, Arabia, and on to the southern shores of China.

Another led across the shores of the Mediterranean and eastward to Baghdad. The traders who ran this route were inferior merchants known as *Rādhāniyya*.[55] The slaves were transferred to

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[49] Ṭabari, dār al-raqīq (index); Masʿūdī, VI, 460; Yāqūt (the same article); Ibn saʿd, VII (7) 81.

[50] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, p. 92.

[51] Ibn ʿAsākir, V, 44.

[52] *al-Muqaddima*, 93.

[53] *Safar nāmeh*, 73.

[54] al-Iṣṭakhrī, 205; *al-Muqddima*, 112.

[55] Ibn Khurdādhbeh, 131-132.

the provincial markets, some of which served as transit points from which they were moved on to the internal marketplaces which served the general Muslim public. Such markets existed both in the west and in the east.

Particularly prominent in the east was the marketplace of Samarqand in Transoxania, which served as a collection point and depot for slaves from the adjacent regions and was known for the excellent quality of the slaves it exported.[56]

Another slave market was that of Bukhārā; the slave markets in that city were held inside and outside the city walls, on a monthly rota basis.[57] A third market was held in Herāt, a city currently located on the western border of Afghanistan, adjacent to Iran. At that market, non-Muslim slaves from an adjacent region known as al-Ghawr were sold.[58] Yet another market was held on the parallel side, in the town of Bāb al-Abwāb in the region of Ṭabaristān, to which slaves were brought from the adjacent lands and regions.[59]

At the western side of the empire was the market of Zawīla, a town located on the border between North Africa and the Sahara, to which Negro slaves were brought from the southern Sahara.[60] The markets in Notrh Africa were particularly active transit points for both light-skinned slaves (*bīḍ*) and dark-skinned ones (*sūd);* both were brought via Spain and the Sahara.[61]

Another type of slave trade, albeit one which took place on a smaller scale, was barter trade. This took place particularly between the merchants of Egypt and those of Sūdān and the Nūba region, where slaves were exchanged for foodstuffs.[62]

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[56] al-Iṣṭakhrī, 205; *al-Muqaddima*, 112.

[57] Ibid., 314.

[58] Ibid., 281.

[59] Ibid., 184.

[60] *al-Buldān*, 102; al-Iṣṭakhrī, 44, 41; Yāqūt (Zawīla).

[61] al-Iṣṭakhrī, 45, 44; al-Hamdānī, 80.

[62] *al-Amwāl*, 215.

IV

The sexual role of the *jawārī* occupied a central poisiton among the other household and social functions which they fulfilled in Arab social functions which they fulfilled in Arab society. But in a society that afforded such critical importance to the issue of the noble parentage of its sons, being the son of a female slave was not easy.

The sons of slave women became the target of contempt and derision.[63] Even caliphs and sons of caliphs who were born to women that were *sarārī* were not saved from scorn. The caliph Ma'mūn was derided in one poem because his mother was *a jāriya*.[64] The Arab aristocracy was appalled at the idea of their daughters' marrying princes born to mothers who were *umm walad*.[65] The Umayyad governor of Iraq, Khālid al-Qasrī, was censured because he was the son of a *jāriya*.[66]

The contempt for sons of *jawārī* was not limited to the social plane; it also had an impact upon succession to power in the days of the Umayyad dynasty. The Umayyad regime prevented the succession to power of children born to *jawārī*, since they were not accepted by Arab society.[67] The Umayyad rulers themselves were convinced of this, and in fact, their reasons for refraining from appointing such sons to the caliphate did not stem solely from a fear of undermining public order. Additional reasons are reflected in a dialogue which took place between Caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik and Zayd b. ʿAlī, the prominent ʿAlīdi leader who lusted after the seat of power and led unsuccessful shīʿite rebellion in

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[63] Goldziher, I, 115-116.

[64] *al-Maʿārif*, 387.

[65] *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, IV, 12.

[66] *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, VI (B), 108; *al-ʿUyūn wa-al-ḥadāʾiq*, 83.

[67] "*Kānat banū umayyah, lā tastakhlif banī-l-ʾimāʾ wa-qālū lā taṣluḥ lahum al-ʿarab*". *ʿIqd, VI*, 130, 128.

Kūfa 122/739 in the hope of achieving his desire.[68]

But the social and political reluctance felt toward the sons of the *sarārī*, which was evident during the reign of the Umayyads, began to dwindle. There were several factors which brought about the decline in the obstinant, conservative attitude toward the sons of *jawārī* and toward the phenomenon of mixed marriage.

Among these were the understanding attitude presented by Islam toward the institution of slavery, the decline in the basic concepts of the Jāhilī heritage in favor of the basic values of Islam, and the increasing number of *jawārī* which resulted in an ever-increasing number of births to non-Arab mothers among the Arab aristocracy–both as a result of legal matrimony and via the institution of concubinage. Clear evidence of this change of attitude may be seen in the fact that only three of the Abbasid caliphs, of which there were more than 35, were born to Arab mothers; the rest were born of freed slave women (*ummahāt awlād*).[69] For the most part, the sons and daughters of these caliphs, too, were the offspring of *jawārī*. A few examples to reflect the turnabout which took place:

Musā al-Hādī, the fourth caliph in this dynasty, begot sons by *ummahāt awlād*.[70] The *ʿAlīdi imām,* al-Kāẓim, who was classified as the seventh *imām* according to the theory of the shīʿite group known as the *ithnāʿashariyya* ("twlevers"), had 37 sons, all of whom were born to *ummahāt awlād*.[71] His father, the *imām* jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, married four women, three of whom were *jawārī*; it was only those three that bore his sons.[72]

In this context, it is sufficient to examine the *nasab*

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[68] In this dialogue, Zayd is asked by Hishām: How could you demand the position of caliph when you are the son of a *jāriya*?" *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, VI (B) 84; Tabarī, II, 1676; *Rabīʿal-abrār*, III, 33.

[69] *al-Maḥāsin*, 230-231.

[70] *al-Kāmil*, V, 80.

[71] *Biḥār*, vol. 48, 283-287.

[72] Ibid., vol. 47, 241.

(geneological literature) and the biographical literature in order to see how common the phenomenon was in Arab society; in fact, it extended to all sectors of the Islamic countries of the Middle Ages.

In two satirical poems written by al-Mubarrad, the third/ninth-century scholar, the poet depicts the extent of the phenomenon and its expansion throughout the Muslim state.[73]

The change in attitude toward the phenomenon of the *jawārī* began to become evident in a series of proverbs and expressions attributed by literary tradition to senior figures within the regime as well as to writers and Islamic theorists. These expressions were designed to grant social legitimacy to the phenomenon, while at the same time allowing for the practical benefit of marrying *jawārī* and begetting sons by them. One such tradition states that the people of Medina shunned marriages with *jawārī until three sons were born*-- ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, and Sālim b. ʿAbdullah–who were superior to all of their peers and were leaders in the fields of religious jurisprudence, erudition, and religious faith, and that they brought in their wake a surge of marriages to *jawārī*.[74]

The importance of this tradition lies in two aspects: The first is that the change took place in the attitude of the people of Medina, which was the capital of Islam in the days of the Prophet Muḥammad and in the days of the four Righteous Caliphs that succeeded him; hence, the prestige attributed to this city and the reverence with which it was regarded. Furthermore, the people of Medina were the elite of the Islamic religious aristocracy which produced the greatest scholars and theologians. The second aspect has to do with the identity of the three men who were born to *ummahāt awlād*: these were the respective grandchildren of ʿAlī, Abū Bakr, and ʿUmar–three of the four first caliphs in Islam. The fact that these men had *jawārī* mothers did not harm them; on the

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[73] *Rabī al-abrār*, III, 32.

[74] *ʿIqd*, IV, 128; *Rabīʿ al-abrār*, III, 19; *al-Mustaṭraf*, II, 75.

contrary, it was the secret of their success, as the aforesaid tradition teaches us.

In this context, ʿUmar is reported to have recommended to one Meccan clan that they marry foreign women in order to improve the stock of their descendants.[75] Another tradition glorifies the descendants of foreign mothers, particularly of Persian women.[76] Marrying *jawārī* was designed, in addition to improving the stock of the descendants, to lighten their swarthy skin. To this end, Mu'āwiya, the Umayyad caliph, gave a *jāriya* of Greek origin to one of his men so that she would bear him white sons (*bayyiḍ bihā waladaka*).[77] As for men who were lacking in means and therefore found it difficult to marry a free woman, it was recommended that they marry a woman from among the *jawārī*.[78]

The sons of mixed marriages were no longer the target of derision, as had previously been the case. They were now regarded with tolerance, out of an awareness that the origin of one's mother did not detract from the noble origins about which the Arabs were so particular. Two anonymous poems reflect this new attitude.[79]

When marriage to a free Arab woman was weighed in the balance against marriage to a slave woman, the scales tipped in favor of the latter, who was preferred because she could be obtained at a lower cost, provided better service to her husband, and did not incur numerous daily expenses.[80]

The predilection for *jawārī* also stemmed from sexual considerations, since the *sarārī* were less particular about modesty and dignity during sexual relations than was the Arab woman, who

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[75] *ʿIqd*, VI, p. 117.

[76] *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, IV, 3; *Rabīʿ al-abrār*, IV, 299.

[77] Ibn ʿAsākir, IV, 92; *Iṣāba*, II, 367. A poem ascribed to Ḥatam al-Ṭā'ī refers to the white children born by the slave women. See: *ʿIqd*, VI, 131.

[78] *Nihāyat al-arab*, IX, 123.

[79] *ʿIqd*, VI, 128; *al-Mustaṭraf*, II, 223.

[80] *Al-maḥāsin*, 230.

was bound by a heavy burden of conservative tradition.[81] In this context, one prince from the Umayyad dynasty is reported to have said that he could find no justification for a man who has *sarārī* to seek a marriage with a free Arab woman.[82]

Taking all of this into consideration, it is no wonder that high-ranking individuals–particularly the caliphs–showed extreme passion for some of their *jawārī*, whether or not they had born them sons. They could not tolerate being away from them for even a short time, and would therefore bring them along on their military campaigns, as did the three caliphs al-Ma'mūn , al-Muʿtaṣim, and al-Wāthiq.[83] al-Rashīd, father of the first two caliphs, ardently loved a *jāriya* named Haylāna, whom he mourned on the day of her death and for whom he personally wrote a dirge and even encouraged poets to write songs of eulogy in her memory.[84]

Marwān II, the last of the Umayyad caliphs, left his *jāriya* in Ramla while fleeing to Egypt in the face of the Abbasid armies, and wrote a poem in which he expressed his longing for her and the feelings of pain and anguish over his separation from her.[85]

When Ḥabāba, sweetheart of Yazīd II, the Umayyad caliph, died, the caliph was so overcome with emotion and incapable of believing she had died that he ordered her body exhumed and nearly went insane over her death. He did not survive long after her.[86]

It is reported that al-Ma'mūn was the rival of his *wazīr*, al-Fadl b. Sahl, and that the caliph arranged to have the man murdered in

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[81] *Rabīʿ al-abrār*, IV, 281; *al-Maḥāsin*, 230.

[82] *Rabīʿ al-abrār*, IV, 290.

[83] Ṭayfūr, 153; *ʿIqd*, VI, 62; Ibn al-Sāʿī, 55.

[84] Ibn al-Sāʿī, 54-55; Yāqūt (ḥawḍ Haylāna).

[85] *Ṭabā'iʿ*, 213.

[86] *Aghāni*, XV, 122.

order to win the slave woman that was the delight of his life.[87]

V

The *jawārī* were not a homogenous group. In addition to difference in ethnic origin and skin color, there were differences in profession and intellectual level among them. The most prestigious profession for a slave woman was that of singer. In addition to possessing a natural talent, the singer needed to under go continuous and arduous rehearsal and exercise. A set of requirements and criteria were established, under which candidates for this profession were selected.[88]

Muslim society took a particular interest in song and singers, and extensive literature has been written on the subject. One such work which has come down to us is the book *al-Aghānī*, by Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, in which the biographies of male and female singers comprises a central part. The book contains a list of famous female singers, including over twenty singers who were leaders in their field and represented the various schools of artistic song. Most of them had access to the palace of the caliphate and had even been purchased by the caliphs.[89]

The beginnings of singing as a profession were in Medina, during the Umayyad period. Among the first singers was one named ʿAzza al-Maylā', whose admirers were among the *ṣaḥāba*. "Companions of the Prophet". Prominent among these admirers were Ḥassān b. Thābit and his brother Zayd.[90] Some of the leaders of the first generation of male and female singers in Medina learned their vocation in the studio of ʿAzza.[91]

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[87] Masʿūdi, VII, 2-3.

[88] *Nihāyat al-arab*, X, 117.

[89] A list of twenty-one female singers appears in *Nihāyat al-arab*, pp. 111-117. See also: *Aghānī* (index).

[90] *Aghāni*, XVI, 14-15; see also: ʿIqd, VI, 22.

[91] *Nihāyat al-arab*, V, 50-52.

The founder of the Medina school of song was the singer jamila. Her home became a studio for dozens of budding vocalists who paid a considerable fee for her tutelage.[92] When she made pilgrimage to Mecca, she was accompanied by the foremost male and female singers, as well as by poets and numerous aristocrats. No fewer than fifty female singers in training joined her on her trip, sent by their husbands.[93] Because of the distinguished position and reputation she acquired, she sang only in her own home, and her admirers from among the aristocracy would come there to hear her.[94]

During the Abbasid period, when Medina relinquished its position as the cultural and artistic capital in favor of the cities of Iraq, the city of Baṣra became the center for studying vocal arts. Vocal students would come to the studios of Baṣra from various places, including the capital, Baghdād. The famous female poet and singer ʿArīb, whose name is associated whit that of the caliph al-Ma'mūn, was a graduate of the vocalists' studio at Baṣra.[95] The number of female singers and vocal students studying at the home of singer and composer Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (125/742-188/803) reached eighty at one time; these were sent by their masters to study the vocal profession and were known as *wadāʿi'*, "slave women on deposit".[96]

The number of female slave-singers, known as *qiyān*, continued to grow. In Baghdad, a census was held in the middle of the fourth/tenth century, which showed 460 professional singers who were considered to be at the top of their class, as well as another 120 professional female singers who were free citizens. This, in

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[92] Ibid., V, 41-42.

[93] *Aghānī*, VII, 134-135.

[94] Ibid., VII, 144-145; *Nihāyat al-arab*, V, 42-43.

[95] *Aghānī*, XVIII, 178-179; *Nihāyat al-arab*, V, 97. On the subject of slave singers, see: *Aghānī* (index); Ibn al-Sāʿī, 55-63; Ṭayfūr (index).

[96] *Aghānī*, V, 6.

addition to other singers whom it was difficult to pinpoint because they were employed privately to persons who could not easily be located, as well as women who were competent singers and sang on occasion, but were not always active in that profession.[97]

A slave trader from Baghdad who was also a well-known writer and traditionist, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥārith,[98] kept a stock of slaves at his home whose value was estimated at one hundred thousand dinārs. His clientele was exclusively limited to caliphs and wasīrs.[99]

For the slave trader (*nakhkhās*), singer-slaves (*qiyān*) were a worthwhile and lucrative investment, since they brought excellent prices which sometimes bordered on the fantastic, estimated at thousands or tens of thousands of dinārs.[100] For example, the fortune amassed by Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī came from trading in *qiyān*.[101] The price he once collected for a single *jāriya* whom he sold to the caliph al-Rashīd, was thirty six thousand dinārs–actually six times what he had paid for her. When the caliph sent an intermediary to try and lower the price, the slave trader complied with his request and granted the caliph twice the discount he had requested, so that the final price he charged was twenty four thousand dinārs, or four times the price he had paid.[102]

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[97] *al-Imatā' wa-al-Mu'ānasa*, II, 183.

[98] A traditionist who died in Baghdad in 258/871. He transmitted many of the works of Madā'inī and was considered one of the most reliable authorities on this historian. He left a legacy of many works, including one entitled *abnā' al-sarārī*, "The Sons of the Concubines". On him, see: *Tārikh baghdād*, IV, 122-123; *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, III, 3-8.

[99] Ibn al-Mu'tazz, 426.

[100] High prices were paid for some of the prominent slave-singers. For example: a slave-singer called Ḥabashiyya was sold for 120,000 dinārs (the Muslim gold coin), *al-Qiyān*, 177. A *jāriya* of Ibn Rā'iq was sold for 14,000 dinārs, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī*, 101. A *jāriya* was purchased by al-Mahdī for 10,000 dinārs, *Ash'ār awlad al-khulafā'*, 11. A *jāriya* was bought by al-Rashīd for 40,000 dirhams (silver coins). *Aghānī*, V, 6.

[101] *Aghānī*, V, 6.

[102] Ibid., V, 7.

Training *jawārī* to sing was not solely for the purpose of providing merchandise to the palace of the caliphate. Singing and female singers became a highly popular commodity among the prosperous strata of society, as had been the case in Arab society during the reign of the early Abbasids. Dozens of private entertainment clubs were held at the homes of those who had bought singers and were open day and night to those who sought pleasant entertainment in the company of singers, young women, and revelry. al-Jāḥiẓ cites the names of eleven such homeowners to whom he addressed a treatise defending them against criticism that had been directed against them.[103] Other names of homeowners who operated such clubs may be found in the *adab* literature and in other literary sources,[104] and it is very reasonable to assume that tens and hundreds of others existed who were not mentioned.

The technical term used to describe a person who kept a house of entertainment was *muqayyin*,[105] derived from the word *qayna*, which refers to any female slave and at the same time was used to denote a female singer-slave.[106] The clients who frequented the home of *muqayyin* were known as *rubaṭā'*, the plural form of the singular *murābiṭ*.[107] These persons usually belonged to the elite, e.g., poets, writers, and scholars.[108] Officials of the regime and persons of means were also among the patrons of these

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[103] *al-Qiyān*, 143-181.

[104] Some of these persons are mentioned in such sources as: Abū ʿUmayra; *Aghānī*, XX, 43; Yaḥyā b. Nafīs, *Nihāyat al-arab*, X, 73; Ibn Ramīn; Ibid., V, 75; *Aghānī*, XIII, 114-118; Ibid., X, 135; Ibid., XIII, 127-133. See also regarding Ḥārith b. Ṣihrāb and Muḥammad b. Ḥammād in *Aghānī*, XIX, 73; VIII, 21.

[105] *al-Qiyān*, 178-179.

[106] al-Asad, 15-24.

[107] *al-Qiyān*, 177-179. In another variation: *mutarābbiṭ*. Ibid., p. 171.

[108] *Aghānī*,XVII, 50. Sometimes names are mentioned: *Nihāyat al-arab*, V, 77; *Aghānī*, X, 135-136; *al-Qiyān*, 179-180.

institutions.[109]

Despite the differences between various types of *rubatā'*, two factors were common to all of them: the desire to listen to singing, drink and enjoy oneself, and the willingness to spend money and give expensive gifts.[110] The home of the *muqayyin* had private "meeting rooms" which enabled a customer to be alone with one of the house singers; he could also spend the night in one of these rooms in exchange for a fee.[111] The *muqayyin* was sometimes willing to provide "home service" to a client and would send him the singer he had ordered.[112]

Of all the customers, the poets were considered the most important by the *muqayyin*, because of the power inherent in their poetry–precisely the effective means of communication and advertising the *muqayyin* required in order to attract a broader clientele.[113]

The slave traders believed it was worth while to train and educate female slaves so that the latter would attain better profit for them, since an educated slave woman was worth more than an uneducated woman.[114] The market made a clear distinction between an educated slave woman and an uneducated one, who was known as *sādhaj*.[115] The demand for educated slave women was greater, particularly among clients from the ruling elite, who would take pains to find out how educated a slave woman was before purchasing her.[116]

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[109] *al-Qiyān.*

[110] *Aghānī*, XVII, 50.

[111] *al-Qiyān*, 179.

[112] *Aghānī*, XX, 44.

[113] Ibid., XIII, 128-129; X, 135-136.

[114] *Aghānī*, I, 133.

[115] Ibn al-Sā'ī, 92; al-Iṣṭakhrī, 45. The term *sadhaj* is a borrowed Persian word, *sāda*, which means "uncolored cloth". al-Jawālīqī, 394-395.

[116] *Al-Maḥāsin*, 226-227.

The basic subjects of erudition can be divided into three main areas: the Arabic language, the Qur'ān, and the study of poetry by rote.[117] It should be pointed out that the study of poetry was crucial to those who wished to specialize in singing, and almost all *qiyān* demonstrated admirable expertise in this field.[118] But there were apparently also *jawārī* who specialized in specific fields such as the Qur'ān and *qirā'āt* (ways of reading the Qur'ān),[119] or *ḥadith* and theology (*figh*).[120] There were also those who were proficient at literary writing and written expression.[121] Worthy of mention in this context was the legendary female slave of al-Rashīd, the caliph, whose name was Tawaddud and who was the heroine of one of the Thousand and One Nights stories. This slave woman was purported to have outshone all of the outstanding scholars of the palace in all areas of study and in fields connected to such academic areas as literature and the exact sciences.[122] Ignoring the legendary element of the story, which is the same as in any such tale, the story of this slave woman reflects the thinking of the age and the common perception of the slave woman in Muslim society.

VI

The education of *jawārī*, which was intended primarily as a means of increasing the slave traders' profits, contributed to the prevalence of education among women, a characteristic which in the Muslim world had formerly been monopolized by men.

Toward the beginning of the fourth/tenth century, there were

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[117] *'Iqd*, VI, 53.

[118] *Ash'ar awlād al-khulafā'*, 82; *Akhbār al-nisā'*, 62-63; *al-Masḥāsin*, 227.

[119] *Wafayāt*, II, 314; *Nihāyat al-arab*, V, 55-56.

[120] *Nihāyat al-arab*, V, 45; *Laṭā'if al-ẓurafā'*, 75-76.

[121] Ibn al-Sā'ī, 89.

[122] *Alf layla wa-layla*, II, 342-368 (night N°.436-459).

women who demanded the right to occupy positions which had here to fore been reserved for men.[123] And indeed, there were women who specialized in the study of religious law, one of whom became famous for her religious rulings (*fatāwa*) in accordance with the Shāfiʿī school.[124] The appointment of a woman to the role of *qāḍī*, religious judge, was the subject of controversy among the leaders of schools of religious thought: Abū Ḥanīfa, of the Four, established that it was permissible for a woman to serve as a *qāḍī*, but not in all areas, al-Ṭabarī, on the other hand, ruled that a woman was compentent to serve in that role without reservation.[125]

After *jawārī* had become an established phenomenon in Muslim society, a sort of internal hierarchy was instituted within the very institution of *jawārī* themselves. We have already seen that the *jawārī* who were singers, *qiyān*, had *jawārī* of their own, who were considered a select group known as *jawārī*.[126] Prominent in this context were the *jawārī* of ʿArīb, who were singers themselves.[127]

The proliferation of *jawārī* in the palaces of the caliphs and senior government officials (e.g., *wazīrs*) created new positions which had not existed previously in the administrative apparatus. The role of ongoing general responsibility for the *jawārī* in the palace, regardless of their areas of day-to-day activity, was placed in the hands of a senior *jāriya*, who bore the title "*qayyimat al-jawārī*".[128] Her responsibilities sometimes also included preparing a *jāriya* before a performance or when the master wanted her to

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[123] Qalqashandī, I, 64.

[124] This woman was called Sutayta. She died in 377/987. See: *al-Muntaẓam*, XIV, 325-326.

[125] *Al-Māwardī*, 61.

[126] *Aghāni*, XVII, 8; XIX, 116.

[127] Ibn al-Sāʿī, 59. On the *jawārī* of Qabīḥa, the slave woman of al-Muʿtazz, see: *Akhbār al-nisāʾ*, 183-184.

[128] *ʿIqd*, VI, 56.

attend him.[129]

Another key position was that of the *qahramāna*, "stewardess", who was responsible for the caliph's office.[130] The *qahramāna* an office manager, who also functioned as secretary.[131] The role of the *qahramāna* was not clearly defined, and her areas of responsibility were many and varied. Zaydān, who fulfilled this role during the reign of Caliph al-Muqtadir (245/907-318/930) was, among other things, in charge of the keys to the safe which held the palace's jewels.[132] Rebel leaders and ministers who had been dismissed for undermining the caliph's regime, were imprisoned in her home, under her supervision.[133]

A *qahramāna* by the name of Thamal was charged with interrogating another *qahramāna* who had been dismissed from her job for conspiring to overthrow the caliph.[134] With the intercession of the queen mother, mother of Caliph al-Muqtadir, Thamal was appointed to a prestigious and sensitive position known as *dīwān al-maẓālim*, a sort of complaints office. This position required training and expertise in jurisprudence and religious law. Thamal, the *qahramāna*, fulfilled this role to the satisfaction of the defrauded complainants.[135]

Another *qahramāna*, by the name of Fāṭima, was given financial authority by the caliph, including the authority to issue oredrs of payment to officials of the state treasury.[136]

The role of *qahramāna* was considered an official palace post, and was of equivalent standing in the palace hierarchy to the rank

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[129] *Akhbār al-nisā'*, 207.

[130] *Takmila*, 348-349.

[131] *Ṣila*, 74.

[132] Ibid., 113.

[133] *Takmila*, 211, 229, 256.

[134] Ibid., 227.

[135] *Ṣila*, 67; *al-Muntaẓam*, XIII, 180-181.

[136] Al-Ṣābī, 158.

given to the caliph's mother and the princes. Officials of the regime, including the *wazīr*, when writing to the *qahramāna*, were bound to address her according to the rules of protocol.[137]

A *jāriya* who had born a son to the caliph, bore the title of *al-sayyida*, a term somewhat akin to the modern "First Lady" and apparently designed to bestow honor upon its owner, in keeping with the Arab custom of not addressing and honorable person by his first name.[138] This title was bestowed upon al-Khayzurān, wife of al-Mahdī and mother of two caliphs: al-Hādī and al-Rashīd.[139]

The mother of Caliph al-Muqtadir, who was of Greek origin (or, according to a different version, of Turkish origin), also bore the title *al-sayyida*.[140] Senior *jawārī* in the palace also bore this title, and a designated body came into being known as *al-sāda*, "the masters".[141]

The *jawārī* had free access to the institutions of government and would handle matters and arrange favors for persons who approached them. al-Jāḥiẓ cites the intercession of *jawārī* in arranging palace matters and even mentions some of them.[142] Mention is made, in this context, of the deciding influence of al-khayzurān upon the *wazīr* Yaḥyā al-Barmakī.[143] Also mentioned is the absolute control gained by al-Rā'iqa over the governor of Iraq on behalf of the Umayyads, Khālid al-Qasrī.[144]

A poet *jārya* by the name of Fadl, whose home became a club for poets and authors, used to intercede with the institutions of

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[137] Ibid., 172.

[138] Goldziher, I, 267.

[139] Ya'qūbī, *Tarīkh*, II, 406.

[140] *Al-Muntaẓam*, XIII, 59. See also: al-Ṣābī (index); *al-Bidāya*, XI, 169.

[141] Al-Ṣābī, 119, 381.

[142] *Al-Qiyān*, 156-157.

[143] Al-Jahshiyārī, 177.

[144] Al-Mubarrad, IV, 124.

government and with senior officials in order to arrange favors for these writers.[145] The *jawārī* took advantage of their standing, the love of their masters, and their own seductiveness to influence politically the decisions of the palace. Habbāba, the *jāriya* of Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, was the person behind the appointment of Ibn Hubayra to the senior position as governor of Iraq in 102/720, thanks to her intercession with her master, the caliph.[146] A similar incident took place during the reign of al-Rashīd, when the latter granted the request of one of his *jawārī by the name of* Dhāt al-Khāl and appointed one of her friends as governor of the province of Fāris.[147] It was the mother of al-Muqtadir who took upon herself the authority to appoint candidates to senior positions, and appointed a courtier by the name of Ibn Khāqān to the position of *wazīr*.[148]

Relatives of the *jawārī* were the prime beneficiaries and utilized their relations with th *jawārī* to their best advantage. So it was with the uncle of al-Muqtadir (his mother's brother),[149] as well as with the brother of the *qahramāna* Umm Mūsā.[150] The appointment of relatives of *jawāri* had also taken place during the reigns of earlier caliphs.[151] The standing and influence of the *jawārī* at the palace were so great that courtiers–both those who held court positions and those who aspired to them–would always see to it that they were in favor with them[152]. Those courtiers who did not manage to stay in favor with them or annoyed them

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[145] Ibn al-Muʿtazz, 426.

[146] *Al-Kāmil*, IV, 181.

[147] *Aghānī*, XV, 80; *Nihāyat al-ʿarab*, V, 92.

[148] *Ṣila*, 40.

[149] Ibid., 44.

[150] Ibid., 42, 71, 77.

[151] Al-Mahdī had appointed the brothe of al-Khayzurān as governor of Ymen. Al-Yaʿqūbī, II, 399.

[152] *Ṣila*, 109,110, 111.

somehow, were liable to lose their position, or even their freedom.[153]

But the influence of the *jawārī* went further their political intercession sometimes extended to abrogating the word of the caliph himself and undermining his administrative system–particularly when he demonstrated his weakness against them, as was the case with al-Muqtadir.[154] This caliph was so weak that the *jawārī* took complete control of him and it was actually they who ran the country.[155] Caliph al-Hadī (169/785-170/786) encountered considerable difficulty before he finally succeeded in staying the interference of his mother al-Khayzurān in the policies of the palace. Her reaction to being curbed was a strong one; she refused to speak to him until the day he died; it has even been reported that she was responsible for having him murdered.[156]

Regarding the calamity unleashed by al-Rashīd upon the Barāmika family, which had grave consequences later on, it is reported that it was his mother's incitement which led him to his fateful decision.[157]

Some of the *jawārī* demonstrated remarkable courage and determination; one such example is Umm Mūsā, the *qahramāna*, who conspired to overthrow Caliph al-Muqtadir.[158]

Another *qahramāna*, by the name of ʿAlam, was responsible for paving the way to Caliph al-Mustakfī's rise to power.[159] Because of the influence of *al-sayyida*, mother of al-Muqtadir, at the palace, and because of her flagrant intervention in her son's

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[153] Al-Ṣābī, 310.

[154] *Ṣila*, 29, 42; al-Ṣābī, 111, 343.

[155] *Al-Tanbīh*, 377.

[156] Masʿūdī, VI, 268-270; *al-Kāmil*, V, 79; *al-Fakhrī*, 191; *al-Bidāya*, X, 158-159.

[157] Masʿūdi, VI, 328.

[158] *Ṣila*, 95.

[159] *Takmila*, 348-349.

decisions, the palace aides preferred to nominate a motherless prince from the Abbasid dynasty than another candidate whose mother was still alive.[160]

The power of the *jawārī* did not rest solely on their beauty and sexual/physical attractiveness. Rather, they amassed additional resources of strength and influence. For example, Umm al-Muqtadir had her own militia.[161] Another source of power was the inordinate wealth enjoyed by some of the *jawārī,* who received parcels of land or agricultural plots, either as an *iqṭāʿ* (feudal estate) or as a gift.[162] In addition to these resources, *jawārī* who held key positions in the palace would receive valuable gifts as well as considerable sums of money as a bribe.[163]

Those who benefited from this power were not only the relatives of the *jawārī* or those whom they held in favor, but rather the entire ethnic or religious group to which the *jāriya* belonged. Khālid al-Qasrī, the governor of Iran, established a church in Kūfa for the Christian community under the influence of his mother, and was generous in his nomination of Christian functionaries to official positions.[164]

The phenomenon of tolerance toward the non-Muslum communities was probably affected by the religious tolerance within the palace of the caliphate itself. In the courtyard of the palace of al-Ma'mūn, Christmas would be celebrated by the Christian *jawārī* of the plalce, with all the hallmarks of the religious ceremony, as the caliph himself looked on and joined in the merriment of the rejoicing *jawārī.*[165]

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[160] *Ṣila*, 153.

[161] *Akhbār al-Rāḍī*, 77.

[162] See, for example, *al-Muntaẓam*, XIII, 321; al-Ṣābī, 37; 201-202, 202-203; *Akbār al-nisā'*, 183-184; Masʿūdī, VI, 289.

[163] Al-Ṣābī, 347, 287-288; *Ṣila*, 42.

[164] *Aghānī*, XIX, 59; *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, VI (8), 161; *Wafayāt*, II, 228; *Futūḥ*. 350; yāqūt, I, 352; *al-Kāmil*, V, 279; al-Mubarrad, III, 87.

[165] *Aghānī*, XIX, 138-139.

List of Abbreviations

ʿAbd al-Razzāq =	*al-Muṣannaf*, ed. H. Al-Aʿẓamī, Beirut, 1972.
Aghānī =	*al-Aghānī* (ed. Bulāq), Cairo, 1285 (h).
Aḥsan al-taqāsīm =	al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, ed. M.J. De Goeje, Brill, 1906.
Akhbār al-nisā' =	Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Akhbār al-nisā'*, Beirut, 1973.
Akhbār al-Rāḍī =	al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa 'l-Muttaqī*, ed. J. Heyworth Dunne (2nd edition), Beirut, 1979.
Alflayla wa-layla =	*Alflayla wa-layla* (ed. Cairo), 1348 (h).
Al-Amwāl =	al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *al-Amwāl*, ed. Kh. Harrās, Cairo, 1968.
Ansāb al-ashrāf VIB =	al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VI* (B), ed. Kh. ʿAthāmina, Jerusalem, Hebrew University, 1993.
Al-Asad =	Nāṣir al-Dīn, *al-Qiyān wa 'l-ghinā'* (2nd edition), Cairo, 1968.

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Ash ʿār awlād = al-Ṣūlī, *Ash ʿār awlād al-khulafā'*, ed. Heyworth Dunne (2nd edition), Beirut, 1979.

Ayalon D. = D. Ayalon, "On the Eunuchs in Islām", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* ,(1) 1979, pp. 67-125.

al-Balāwī = Abū Muḥammad al-Balāwī, *Sīrat Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn*, ed. M. Kurd ʿAlī (ed. Cairo), n. d.

al-Bidāya = Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa'l-nihāya* (4th edition), Beirut, 1981.

Biḥār = al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār* (2nd edition), Beirut, 1983.

Buldān = al-Yaʿqūbī, *Kitab al-buldān* (ed. Beirut), 1988.

Enc. I. = Encyclopedia of Islam (new edition), Lieden.

al-Fakhrī = Ibn Ṭabāṭabā *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Beirut), 1966.

Futūḥ = al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ ak-buldān*, ed. S. Al-Munajjid, Cairo, 1956-7.

Goldziher = Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, (tr. From German) by C.R. Barber

and S.M. Stern, ed. By S.M. Stern, London, 1967.

Hamdānī = al-Hamdānī, *Kitab al-buldān*, Beirut, 1988.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam = *Futūḥ miṣr wa-akhbārihā*, ed. Charles C. Torrey, 1920.

Ibn ʿAsākir = *Tārīkh madīnat dimashq*, ed. Badrān (2nd edition), Beirut, 1977.

Ibn Buṭlān = "Risāla fi shira al-raqīq wa-taqlīb al-ʿabīd", *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, ed. A. Hārūn (2nd edition), Cairo, 1972, vol. I, pp. 351-389.

Ibn Hishām = *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo, 1963.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh = *al-Masālik wa-al-mamālik*, ed. M. Makhzūm, Beirut, 1988.

Ibn al-Muʿtazz = *Ṭabaqāt al-shuʿarā'*, ed. A.A. Farrāj, Cairo, 1956.

Ibn saʿd = *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. E. Mittwoch and E. Sachau, Leiden, 1917.

Ibn al-Sāʿī = *Nisā' al-khulafā'*, ed. M. Jawād, Cairo (n.d.).

Al-Imtāʿ = Abū Ḥiyyān al-tawḥīdī, *al-Imtāʿ wa-al-mu'ānasa*, ed. A.Amīn, Cairo, 1953.

ʿIqd =	Ibn ʿAbdi Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, ed. A. Amīn (3rd ed.), Cairo, 1965.
Iṣāba =	ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, ed. Cairo, 1328 (h).
Iṣṭakhri =	*Masālik al-mamālik*, ed. M.J. De Goeje (2nd ed.), Leiden, 1927.
al-jahshiyārī =	*al-Wuzarā' wa-al-kuttāb*, ed. M. al-Saqqā, Cairo, 1938.
al-jawālīqī =	Abū Manṣūr al-Jawālīqī, *al-Muʿarrab*, ed. F. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, Damascus, 1990.
Al-Kāmil =	Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh* (4th ed.), Beirut, 1983.
Laṭā'if =	al-Thʿālibī, *Laṭā'if al-ẓurafā'*, ed. Q. al-Sāmarraī, Leiden, 1978.
Maʿārif =	Ibn Qutayba, *al-Maʿārif* (ed. Th. ʿUkāsha), 2nd edition, Cairo, 1969.
al-Maʿarrī =	Abū al-ʿAlā' al-Maʿarri, *Risālat al-ṣāhil wa-al-shāḥij*, ed. ʿĀ'isha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (2nd ed.). Cairo, 1984.
Maḥāsin =	*pseudo al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Mahāsin wa-al-aḍdād*; ed. F. ʿAtawī, Beirut, 1969.
Maqrīzī =	al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-maqrīziyya*, Cairo, 1270 (h).

Mas'ūdī = al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab* (ed. C. Barbier de Meynard), Paris, 1861.

Māwardī = al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya* (Cairo, n.d.).

Mez = A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islam* (tr. by Abū Rayda), Cairo, 1947.

Mubarrad = al-Mubarrad, Abū al-'Abbās, *al-Kāmil fi al-lugha*, ed. S. Shiḥāta (Cairo, n.d.).

Muḥabbar = M. Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, ed. Elsa Lechten-Steiter, Haydar Abad, 1361 (h).

Mu'jam = Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, ed. Margoliouth, D.S., Cairo, 1938.

Muqaddima = Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*, ed. Y.A. Dāghir, Beirut, 1960.

al-Muntaẓam = Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, ed. M.A. 'Alā, Beirut, 1992.

Mustaṭraf = al-Abshīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf*, ed. Cairo, 1379 (h).

al-Muwaṭṭa' = Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, ed. M. F. 'Abd al-Bāqī, ed. Cairo, 1951.

al-Nihāya = Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-*

ḥadīth wa-al-athar, ed. T. al-Zāwī and M. Ṭināḥī, Cairo, 1963.

Nihāyat al-arab = al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, (Cairo, n.d.).

Naqā'iḍ = Abū ʿUbayda, *Naqā'iḍ Jarīr wa-al-Farazdaq*, ed. A.A. Beavan, Leiden, 1905.

Qalqashandī = al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, (Cairo, 1963).

al-Qiyān = Al-Jāḥiẓ, "Kitāb al-qiyān", *Rasā'il al-Jāḥiẓ*, ed. A.S. Hārūn (Cairo, 1965), vol. II. 143-182.

Rabīʿal-abrār = al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabīʿal-abrār*, ed. S. Naʿīmī, Baghdad (n.d.).

al-Ṣābī = Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *al-Wuzarā'*, ed. A. Farrāj, Cairo, 1958.

Safar nāmeh = Naṣīrī Khasrū, *Safar nāmeh* (*riḥla*), tr. and ed. By Y. al-Khaššhāb, Cairo, 1942.

Schacht = J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1969.

Ṣila = ʿArīb b. Saʿīd al-Qurṭubī, *Ṣilat tārīkh al-ṭabarī*, ed. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo (n.d.).

Smith =	R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, ed. Stanley A. Cook (new ed.), London, 1990.
Ṭabā'i' =	Ibn ʿAbdi Rabbih, *Ṭabā'i' al-nisā'*, ed. M. Salīm, Cairo, 1985.
Ṭabarī =	Ibn Jarīr al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, ed. M.j. De Goeje, Leiden, 1879-1901.
Takmila =	al-Hamdanī, *Takmilat al-Ṭabarī*, ed. Y. Kanʿān, Beirut (2nd ed.), 1961.
Thanbih =	al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa-al-ishrāf*, ed. M.D. De Goeje (2nd ed.), Beirut, 1965.
Tārīkh Baghdād =	al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh baghdād*, Cairo, 1931.
Ṭayfur =	Ibn Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, *Baghdād fī tārīkh al-khilāfa*, Baghdad, 1968.
Thamarāt =	Ibn Ḥajja al-Ḥamawī, *Thamarāt al-awrāq*, ed. by Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. Cairo, 1971.
Thimār al-qulūb =	Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, ed. M. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1965.
ʿUyūn =	Obn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhābr*, ed. Cairo, 1963.

al-ʿUyūn wa'l-ḥadā'iq = Anonymous, *al-ʿUyūn wa'l-ḥadā'iq*, ed. M.J. De Goeje, Leiden, 1870.

Wafayāt = Ibn Khillikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut, 1968-1978.

Yaʿqūbi = al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, Beirut, 1960.

Yāqūt = Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, Beirut (n.d.).

Zaydān = G. Zaydān, *Tārīkh al-tamaddun al-islāmī* (vol. II), Beirut, 1967.

Mut'a--Temporary Marriage in Early Muslim Society

Several weeks have passed since the World Population Conference, convened under the auspices of the United Nations, closed in Cairo. Typical of this conference even before its inauguration was the controversy that arose concerning its very existence and the issues on its agenda--a controversy that involved tens, if not hundreds, of scholars, intellectuals, researchers and theologians representing a broad spectrum of opinions, conviction, political factions, and schools of religious thought. Among the issues which inflamed the debate throughout a broad cross section of the Islamic world was that of the reciprocal relationship between man and woman outside the legal framework of marriage. In light of developments in the Islamic world on the verge of the year 2000, this issue is likely to find itself at the focus of public awareness and may well remain on the public agenda, until suitable, adequate solutions are found.

At this juncture I would like to hazard a guess that the institutions of state and of the orthodox religious establishment in the Islamic countries will have to reconsider the question of *mut'a*--temporary marriage-as one of the possible alternatives in the context of the search for a solution to this question. My intention at this distinguished forum is to discuss the aspects of *mut'a* in ancient Islamic society, as reflected in Islamic literature.

I shall, however, avoid to as great an extent as possible any discussion of the canonic aspects of the issue and at the same time distance myself from theological questions which were a product of the barren controversy among the Muslim theologians comprising the various factions, contingents, and schools of religious thought, the very questions which have been at the forefront of interest to researchers of ancient Islam who have dealt

with the topic of *mutʿa*[*]. Instead, I shall attempt to relate to other aspects, with which researchers have not dealt sufficiently or have not dealt at all.

I

Regarding the historical aspect of *mutʿa*, researchers are divided: Wellhausen, as quoted by Heffening, repudiates the existence of *mutʿa* as an institution in pre-Islamic Arab life; rather, he defines the phenomenon as strictly one of prostitution.[1]

Robertson Smith sees *mutʿa* as "the last remains of that type of marriage which corresponds to a law of mother-kinship"[2]. But the example of the marriage of Hāshim b. ʿAbd-Manāf, grandfather of the Prophet Muhammad, to Salmā bint ʿAmr of the al-Najjār clan of Medina, cited by Smith as a basis for his conclusion,[3] is not relevant, and is not sufficient proof of the existence of the institution of *mutʿa*.

Following Robertson Smith and his predecessor G.A. Wilken

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[*] In addition to the bibliography attached to the article *mutʿa* in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* (new ed.) by Heffening, several studies have recently been published; see, for example: .Willem Floor, "Some Notes on Mutʿa", Z.D.H.G., 138 (Heft 2), 1988, pp. 326-331; Skahla-Haeri, "The Institution of Mutʿa Marriage in Iran: A Formal and Historical Perspective", in: G. Nashat (ed.): *Women and Revolution in Iran*, Boulder, 1983, pp, 231-252; D, Von Denffer,"Mutʿa-Ehe oder Prostitution? Beitrag zur Untersuchung einer Institution des šīʿitischen Islam", *Z.DM.G.*128 (1978), pp. 299-325; I.K.A. Howard, "Mutʿa Marriage Reconsidered in the Context of the Formal Procedures for Islamic Marriage", *J.S.S.*, vol, 20, (no, 1), 1975, pp, 82-92.

[1] Heffening, *op. cit.*

[2] W. Robertson Smith, Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia, ed. by Stanley A. Cook (new ed.), London, 1990, p,85.

[3] Ibid., p. 86-85.

(Matriarchat, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 9-25), Goldziher[4], Schacht[5], and Denffer[6] consider the *mut'a* to have been an ancient Arab institution which predated Islam and had its roots, inter alia, in ancient Judaism-an institution which was legitimized by Islam.

Caetani, too, stresses that *mut'a* was an ancient pagan custom, but claims that it was a form of religious prostitution during the festival season marking the pilgrimage to Mecca; however, this assertion is devoid of any documented basis.[7]

In any case, it may be concluded with certainty -on the basis of the few examples from the Jahiliyya period which have been preserved in Islamic literature, as well as in accordance with Islamic traditions themselves that *mut'a* was an ancient pre-Islamic institution which was sanctioned by early Islam.

Among the examples which have been preserved are the case of Nubayh b. al-Ḥajjāj and the daughter of a merchant from the tribe of Khath'am: The latter had arrived in Mecca with his merchandise and was accompanied on his journey by his daughter, who was the most beautiful of women. Nubayh was attracted to her and managed to get her to go out with him to a place near Mecca without obtaining her father's consent. Insulted, the father complained to the elders of the city, who were united in the framework of the *ḥilf al-fuḍūl*. The city elders forced Nubayh to release the woman, despite his pleas and entreaties to them that they permit him to spend a single night with her: "*matti 'ūnī bihā al-laylata*".[8]

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[4] Goldziher Ignaz, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law* (tr. by Andras and Ruth Hamorī), Princeton, 1981, p, 208.

[5] J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1967, p, 266.

[6] Denffer, *op. cit.*

[7] Caetani is quoted by Heffening in E.I.$^{(n)}$.

[8] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥammad, al-Munammaq*, (ed. Khūrshīd A. Fāriq) Heiderabad, 1964, pp. 48-49; al-Aṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, (ed, Bulak, Cairo), 1285 H., vol. xvi, p. 63; Daḥlān A. Zaynī, *al-Sīra al nabawiyya*, (ed. Cairo), 1310 H.,

The very use of the expression *matti ʿīnī* attests beyond a doubt the existence of this custom and indicates that the father's complaint stemmed from the act having taken place without his consent, which would have been mandatory in the case of a virgin daughter who had not yet reached adulthood-the same condition which was later adopted by shīʿite theologians.[9]

Mutʿa as an -institution was an urban phenomenon utilized mainly by the merchant community who would abandon their families and travel great distances to urban markets and centers of trade. Islamic traditions regarding *mutʿa* marriage make this point clear.

Ibn ʿAbbās, who was an ardent supporter of *mutʿa* marriage, places particular emphasis on the connection between this type of marriage and the merchant community.[10] But *mutʿa* did not remain limited solely to this group. The framework of *rukhṣa*--"the indulgence of God", which was used by the Prophet and according to which the institution of mutʿa continued to prevail-extended the scope of *mutʿa* to include ordinary people who accompanied the Prophet on his various journeys.[11] The verse in Sūra IV:24 extends the scope of *mutʿa* marriage even further to encompass the entire community of the faithful, without exception.

The extension of the scope of *mutʿa* marriage brought with it an extension and enrichment of the geographic bounds within which *mutʿa* took place. Cities like Mecca and Ṭā'if were a natural environment for such marriages, not only because they were trade centers, but also because they were centers which enjoyed a

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vol. I, p. 53.

[9] Al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, (ed. Beirut, 2nd edition), 1983, vol. 100, p. 313; al-Ṭūsī, Abū Jaʿfar, *al-Nihāya*, (ed. Āgha-Bazrak Teherani), Beirut, 1970, p. 490. For more details about the necessity of the *waliyy* consent in the case of a virgin daughter see: Howard, *op. cit.*; Denffer, *op. cit.*

[10] Al-Ḥāzimī, Muhammad b. Mūsā, *al-ʿItibār*, (ed. A. Amīn Qalʿajī) Aleppo (Halab) 1982, p. 268.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 265-66.

sanction from both the religious and the ritual standpoint. The season of pilgrimage to Mecca marked a peak in *mut'a* marriages, as indicated by a tradition cited by Abū 'Ubayd, according to which women in Mecca decorated and beautified themselves in preparation for the arrival of the pilgrims.[12]

Almost all Meccan theologians supported *mut'a* and considered it a legal act.[13] The prevalence of *mut'a* marriages in Mecca was so great that the number of marriages performed by the Meccan theologian Ibn Jurayj (150/767) is reported by one version to have reached seventy and by another to have reached ninety.[14]

The city of Ṭā'if, which was a trade center though secondary to Mecca, was also an arena for such marriages. The first caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, Mu'āwiya, underwent *mut'a* marriage with a woman who was living in Ṭā'if, and took pains throughout his reign to send her gifts.[15]

Medina became the capital of Islam after the Prophet and his companions had migrated there. In addition, *mut'a* was permitted there since the first days of Islam. Because of these two facts, Medina became yet another center of *mut'a* marriages, according to the testimony of Sa'd b. Ābī Waqqāṣ,[16] the warrior who defeated the Persian army at the famous battle of al-Qādisiyya.

It was not only the towns that served as *mut'a* centers; marketplaces, too, which were set up throughout all seasons of the year, served as a meeting place for a potpourri of people, and mut'a

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[12] Abū 'Ubayd al-Harawī, *al-Nāsikh wa-al-mansūkh*, ms. fol. 93.

[13] Al-Amīnī, 'Abd al-Muḥsin, *al-Ghadīr*; (3rd ed.), Beirut, 1967, vol. IV, 222; al-Qurṭubī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *al-Jāmi'*, Beirut, 1989, vol V, 88.

[14] Al-Amīnī, *op. cit.*; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-i'tidāl*, (ed.'Alī H. al-Bijāwī) Cairo, 1963, vol. II, p. 659. According to another version, Ibn Jurayj had performed 60 *mu'ta* marriages. al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* (3rd edition) Haydarabad, 1956, p. 170.

[15] 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥabīb al-A'ẓamī, Beirut, 1972; vol. VII, p. 499.

[16] Al-Ābī, *Nathr al-durr*,(ed. Cairo), vol. II, p. 111.

marriages took place there. A verse of poetry written by the same Nubayh mentioned earlier, testifies to this.[17]

On the frequent marches and raids initiated by the Prophet against tribes outside the city of Medina, *mut'a* marriages were often held between the companions of the Propet and the women who chanced to frequent the troops' camping places. One of the interesting explanations of the name of the *thaniyyat al-wadā'*, the section of road from Medina up to Mecca,[18] states that this part of the route was so called because it was there that men parted from the women with whom they had *mut'a* marriages, on their way back from the campaign against Khaybar or, according to a different version, the march to Tabūk.[19] It is very reasonable to assume that the origin of these women was from Khaybar or thereabouts.

From this tradition, and from the case of Nubayh b. al-Ḥajjāj and the woman whom he took outside Mecca, one may learn that a man who performs *mut'a* with a woman may take her with him and not stay in her house until the end of the prescribed period as claimed by Robertson Smith.[20] The marriage described by Robertson Smith could be any other kind of marriage, but not *mut'a* marriage.

II

In this connection, it is worth considering the question of the legality of *mut'a*, a question which occupied Muslim theologians from the outset of the first century of the *hijra* until the schools of

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[17] *Aghānī*, vol. XVI, p. 64; *al-Munammaq*, p. 50.

[18] Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, (Beirut) n.d., vol. II, p. 86.

[19] Al-Samhūdī, 'Alī b. Aḥmad, *Khulāṣat al-wafā bi-akhbār dār al-muṣṭafā*, (Bulāq, Cairo; 1285 H.), p. 266; al-Ḥalabī, Burhān al-dīn, *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, (Cairo, 1964), vol. II, p. 751. According to another report, the place was given this name because the men and women made a mutual oath there never to practice *mut'a* See: al-Ḥāzimi, op. cit., p. 269.

[20] R. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

religious thought were eventually formed toward the middle of the third century of the *hijra*, the ninth century A.D. The controversy on this issue stemmed from the uncertainty concerning the legality of *mutʿa* marriages. But it should be pointed out that the controversy between theologians and proponents of the various schools of thought, among both the *sunna* and *shīʿa* camps, remained on the theoretical-academic level and had no impact on the practical level of Islamic society.

In this question, as opposed to other issues of religious law, the boundaries separating the positions of the shīʿites and sunnites became indistinct. Within the shīʿite camp, opinions are not unanimous: While the *ithnāʿashariyya* ("those of the Twelvers") side with the legality of *mutʿa*, the Zaydis and the Ismāʿilis side against it.

The same controversy on this issue exists among theologians and heads of orthodox schools of religious thought.[21] The uncertainy and ambiguity which characterized their positions on mutʿa, not only confused later scholars but also left the door open for the average Muslim to take advantage of the situation as he saw fit. Ibn al-Jawzī (579/1200), the learned, versatile theologian, summarizes the opposing views existing within the circles of the *sunna*, centering upon the controversy between those scholars who believe mutʿa to be the proper, classic form of marriage and that the terms simply became confused, and those who believe it to be a different, separate type of marriage. He also discusses the Qur'ānic verse (IV:24) in its original and amended form, attesting to the controvery existing with regard to both versions.[22]

It is worth mentioning in this context that those theologians who belong to the sunnite school and side with the legality of *mutʿa*, were not simply a collection of individuals, nor were they marginal among their fellow scholars. They were led by the forefather of

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[21] I. K. A. Howard, *op. cit.*; see also Shahla Ḥaeri, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 237-8.

[22] Ibn al-Jawzī, *Nawāsikh al-Qur'ān*, (Beirut, 1985), pp. 124-5.

theologians and men of *ḥadīth* and the founder of the practice of commentary on the Qur'ān, ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAbbās, whose name is associated with the question of the legality of *mutʿa* under the label "the *rukhṣa* of Ibn ʿAbbās", or, alternatively, "the *fatwā* [decision of sacred law] of Ibn ʿAbbās".[23] Ibn ʿAbbās' pupils and the proponents of his school in Yemen and Mecca followed in his footsteps, which made *mutʿa* marriage in those two provinces the accepted social norm for several generations.[24] And because of the special bond between the first generations of shī'ite scholars and the theologians of Mecca, Shīʿite theologians of the *imāmiyya* adopted the Meccan concept which denied the prohibition of *mutʿa* marriage as legal marriage this, despite the controversial prohibition attributed to ʿUmar.[25] Among these theologians of Mecca were ʿAbd Allah b. Masʿūd, Muʿāwiy. b. Abī Sufyān, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī, Salama b. Umayya, Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwān, Khālid b. al-Muhājir, Rabīʿa b. Umayya, Saʿīd b. Jubayr, ʿAṭā' al-Madanī, Ṭāwūs, al-Suddī, Mujāhid b. Jabr, Zufar al-Madanī, and others.[26] For some of these as well as for other scholars, the issue of *mutʿa* marriages did not remain a theoretical question of jurisprudence; they themselves actually experienced this form of marriage.[27]

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[23] Abū ʿUbayd al-Harawī, *op. cit*, fol. 104-105; al-Ḥāzmī *op. cit.*, p. 270; Ibnn Qutayba, *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, (ed. Cairo, 1963), vol, IV, 95; al-Rāghib al-Aṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'*, (ed. Beirut, 1961, vol. III, p. 214; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, (ed. Beirut, 1983) vol. II, p. 487; Abū al-ʿAlā' al-Maʿarrī, *Risālat al-ghufrān*, ed. by ʿĀ'isha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (Cairo, 3rd edition), 1963, p. 544.

[24] *Al-Ghādīr*, vol. VI, 222; al-Qurṭubī, *op. cit.*, vol, V, p. 87.

[25] I. K. A. Howard, *op. cit.*

[26] *Al-Ghadīr*, vol. VI, pp, 220-222; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, ed. M. Abū al Faḍl Ibrahīm, Cairo, 1959, vol. XII, 253-254; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Muḥallā*, ed. by: 'Abd al-Ghaffar al-Bandarī (Beirut, 1988), vol. IX, p. 129; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, (Cairo, n.d.), vol. IX, p. 179-180.

[27] With regard to some of these temporary marriages practiced by sunnite scholars or by the companions of the Prophet, see: al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard, (Paris 1861-65), vol. V, pp. 1137-188;

In any case, the question of the legality of *mut'a* marriage was not decided unequivocally, neither in the first, nor in the second, nor in the third century, and continued to appear as a burning issue on the agenda of both scholars and Muslim rulers, beginning from its initial outbreak at the end of the reign of ʿUmar I.

III

The most drastic step taken in the direction of prohibiting *mut'a* was during the reign of the third caliph, ʿUthmān, when the phrase *ilā ajalin musammā* ("for an allotted period of time") was abrogated from verse IV:24, which permitted mutʿa marriages. This act did not enjoy the consensus of the *ʿulamāʾ* and controversy over the issue continued to be prevalent.[28] The abrogation of this phrase was meant to legitimize the prohibition declared by ʿUmar I.[29] However, the amended version of the verse, included in the official ʿUthmān version--*muṣḥaf ʿuthmān*- did not have much impact upon the situation on the ground.

The Uthmān's version was preceded by codices which were associated with the name s of four of the Prophet's prominent companions. These codices were the actual versions which prevailed in the Muslim provinces, Particularly prominent were the version of Ibn Mas'ūd (653), which was dominant in al-Kūfa, and the version of Ubayy b. Kaʿb, which was dominant in

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ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *op. cit*, vol. VII, p. 496, p. 501; *al-Ghadīr*, vol. VI, 206-207; al-Muttaqī al-Hindiī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, ed. Bakrī Ḥiyānī and ṣafwat al-Saqqā (Beirut, 1919), vol. XVI, 518-520.

[28] *Al-Ghadīr*; vol. VI, 220; Abu 'Ubayd al-Harawī, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-103; Ibn al-Jawzī, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-5; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, (Beirut, 1969), vol, I., p. 474; al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān* (3rd edition, Cairo, 1968), vol. V, p. 13; *al-Durr al-manthūr*, vol. II, pp. 484-5; al-ʿĀmilī, Bahā' al-Dīn, *al-Kashkūl*, ed. A.T. al-Zāwī, (Beirut 1961), vol. I, p. 250; Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, (Cairo, 1932), vol. VI, p. 180.

[29] *Al-Ghadīr*, vol. V1, 223.

extensive parts of Syria.[30]

In both of these versions--which in modern-day geographic terms covered Iraq and Syria-the original version of the verse was preserved, according to which *mut'a* marriages are legal.[31] The opponents of *mut'a* hoped to utilize the amended verse in order to overcome the predominant view in Iraq, and to utilize *ḥadīths* to defeat the proponents of *mut'a* in Medina.[32]

It was the rulers, on the political level, who headed the campaign to suppress the view which was in favor of *mut'a* marriages. Particularly prominent was the role of ʿAbd Allah b. al-Zubayr, who claimed for himself the title of caliph during the period of his revolt against the Umayyad dynasty, in which he fought the views of Ibn ʿAbbās in Mecca.[33] In Iraq, the ruthless ruler al-Ḥajjāj, governor on behalf of the Umayyads, took an extreme stand against the versions of ʿAbd Allah b. Masʿūd, to the point of threatening to decapitate anyone who supported the latter's versions.[34]

The issue of *mut'a* remained at the center of public attention for nearly eighty years. At the onset of the second century of the *hijra* it was still a prime topic of interest and debate on the part of the Umayyad caliphs and their courtiers, whose practice it was to raise the issue at the palace in the presence of the caliph himself. Al-Zuhrī, the theologian and traditionist who was responsible for

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[30] W. Montgomery Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'ān*, Edinburgh, 1970, pp, 44-45.

[31] Regarding the verison of Ubayy b. Ka'b, see: Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, ed. by: Arthur Jeffrey, Leidzen, 1937, p. 53. The verison of ʿAbd Allah b. Masʿūd is preserved in: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. M. ʿAbd al-Khāliq al-Afghānī, Hyderabad (n.d.), vol. IV. 294; *al-Durr al-manthūr*, vol. II, 484.

[32] J. Schacht, *op. cit*, p. 266.

[33] Al-Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, 187-88; *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'*, vol. III, 214; al-Ghadīr, vol. VT, pp. 208-209.

[34] Ibn Kathīr al-Dimashqī, *al-Bidāya wa-al-nihāya*, (Beirut, 3rd edition, 1980), vol. IX, 128.

disseminating word of the prohibition of *mutʿa* marriages, used to take part in such debates, in the presence of Caliph ʿUmar b.ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in Damascus.[35]

The traditions do not explain why the prohibition of *mutʿa* marriages was adopted by the dominant political class, which represented the sunnite concept. But it is not difficult to discern two factors which, in the opinion of this writer, were behind this declared position:

The ruling class was certainly not troubled by the very existence of *mutʿa*; on the contrary, at least two of the-caliphs were personally and directly involved in this type of marriage. We have already seen that Muʿāwiya, the first Umayyad caliph, was involved in a *mutʿa* marriage with a maidservant who lived in Ṭā'if. ʿAbd Allah b. al-Zubayr himself, according to one of the traditions, was the product of a *mutʿa* marriage.[36] What most probably did disturb them was the very framework and the very means by which *mutʿa* had become permissible. The most dangerous of these means were the element of *rukhaṣ* and the element of *ta'wīl*, the primordial interpretation of Qurʾānic verses-two elements which the opponents of the regime used in order to express their resistance to the regime and incite the masses against it.[37]

These two elements were part of an entire apparatus which was utilized as a tool in the hands of those who opposed the legitimacy of the regime. The suppression of such views, moderate as they might have been, was perceived by the rulers as crucial, since the apparatus which created or cultivated such views was seen as an alien one which undermined the regime they represented.

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[35] Al-Ḥazimī, *op. cit.*

[36] Al-Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, vol. V, 187-88.

[37] *Akhbār al-dawla al-ʿabbāsiyya*, ed. by 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dūrī and 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Muṭṭalibī (Beirut, 1971) p. 46; Ibn ʿAbdi Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-farīd*, ed. A. Amīn, A. al-Zayn and I. , al-Ibyāri (Cairo, 3rd edition, 1965), vol. IV, p. 354.

Along with this consideration, another point should be taken into account, namely the socio-economic factor which, in the opinion of this writer, played a significant role and had an impact upon the position of the political echelon, It was clear that the political class--beginning with the ruling dynasty and extending to the hierarchy of senior officials and to the military--was partially (if not entirely) comprised of the ancestral Arab nobility, to which a new religious nobility had been added.

In other words, the political echelon consisted of the prosperous upper crust, for whose sake the immense mass of slaves and handmaidens had been created. It was easy for the members of this class to find a multitude of women with whom, as handmaidens, they could have sexual relations whenever they desired, as established in the Qur'ān–IV:3,24.

It was the masses of the lower socio-economic classes who had difficulties fulfilling their sexual needs. For them, the prohibition of *mut'a* was no simple matter: were it not for *mut'a*, most of them would have no opportunity at all in their lives for sexual relations, since they could not afford to pay *mahr* (dowry) or comply- with the minimum conditions for properly sustaining a family. From the outset, when *mut'a* marriages were authorized by the prophet, they were permitted in the context of *al-ḍarūra* (necessity). In other words, *mut'a* was intended as a solution for people in distress, who had no other means of solving their problem.

This excuse appears among the justifications given by 'Umar for the prohibition he imposed upon these marriages, viz., that the Prophet had allowed these marriages during a period of distress.[38]

Ibn 'Abbās, too, who did not comply with 'Umar's prohibition, would stress the element of *ḍarūra* whenever he explained his

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[38] "*inna rasūla 'llāhi aḥallahā fī zamāni ḍarūra*". *Al-Ghadīr*, vol. VI, 212; Abū 'Ubayd al-Harawī *op. cit.*, pp, 103-104.

grounds for the *rukhṣa* which is associated with his name.[39]

In light of the connection between *mut'a* marriages and the impoverished strata of the masses, the *ithnā 'ashariyya* adopted the authorization of these marriages in response to the distress characterizing the lives of the vast majority of the supporters and champions of the shī'ite movement. For these supporters, poverty and misery were the hallmark of their existence, as shī'ite tradition has it.[40] Thus, it is difficult to accept the explanation offered by J. Schacht, viz., that the adoption of *mut'a* marriages by the *ithnā 'ashariyya* stemmed from political motives associated with resistance to 'Umar's prohibition decree.[41]

The difficulty is not rooted solely in the fact that the *ithnā 'ashariyya* do not completely disavow the points of sacred law established during the period of the three caliphs in Medina,, including 'Umar himself, but also in the fact that many theological circles in the sunnite camp rejected 'Umar's prohibition, in the same manner as did the *ithnā 'ashariyya*.

Awareness of the element of *ḍarūra* on the one hand, and the controversy existing among the scholars of the various schools of religious thought on the other, led to a lack of agreement with regard to the issue of punishment for those who performed *mut 'a* marriages. Those who held with the position of 'Umar felt that one who entered into a *mut'a* marriage was to be considered guilty of fornication.[42]

Al-Nawawī determines unequivocally that, those who perform

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[39] *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (ed. Cairo, 1349 H.), vol. IX, 179-80; *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, vol. IV, 95; al-Ḥazimī, *op. cit.*, P. 270.

[40] Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

[41] Schacht, *op. cit.*, p. 267. It is worth mentioning, in this context, the conclusion of N.J. Coulson, who rejects Schacht's opinion on this issue, considering it as not wholly convincing. Coulson, N.J., *A History of Islamic Law*, Yorkshire, 1964, p. 116.

[42] Ibn 'Abī shayba, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 294; *Kanz al- 'ummāl*, vol. XVI, 520.

mut'a marriages are not to be punished.[43] Al-Māwardī, on the other hand, does not express an opinion, leaving the issue of punishment or non-punishment to the discretion of the judiciary system.[44] The theologian Mālik, as quoted by ak-Qurtubī, establishes that performers of *mut'a* are not to be stoned.[45] In other words, Mālik does not consider *mut'a* to be tantamount to fornication.

The involvement of the political echelon in the question of *mut'a* marriage did not vanish from the arena. It reappeared in the highest levels of government, when the Abassid caliph al-Ma'mūn (218/833) declared, on one of his marches from Baghdad to Syria, that *mut'a* marriages were legal.[46] But the declaration remained in force for but a short time--24 hours, after which interval the caliph withdrew his decision in the wake of pressure exerted upon him by the jurist Yahyā b. Aktham, who served as *kaḍī al-kuḍāt* during the reign of al-Ma'mūn.[47]

It may be inferred from the tradition, and from words attributed to al-Ma'mūn, that the latter's action came as a protest over the prohibition imposed by 'Umar, whom al-Ma'mūn did not consider to be an authority. There is even a pro-shī'ite tradition Which presents the declaration as a provocation-*nikāya*.[48] But the dramatic style in which the declaration was delivered, as well as

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[43] *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, IX, p. 281-82; Ibn al-ukhuwwa, *Ma'ālim al-Qurba*, (ed. Reuben Levy) London, 1938, p. 190.

[44] Al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, (Cairo edition) n.d., p. 244.

[45] Al-Qurṭubī, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 87.

[46] Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Musāmarāt*, (Cairo edition, 1305 H.), vol. I, p. 195; *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, vol. II, p. 752; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, (Cairo edition) 1963, vol. II, p. 213; al-Subkī, *Tabaqāt al-shāfi'iyya al-kubrā*, ed. M.M. Ṭināhī and 'Abd al-Fattāḥ M. al-Ḥilw, Cairo, 1964, vol. II, p. 57; al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, (Beirut edition, n.d.), vol. XIV, pp. 199-200; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar tārikh Dimashq* (ed. R. al-Naḥḥās M.M. al-Ḥāfiẓ Damascus, 1990), vol. XXXVII, pp. 205-206.

[47] Ibn Khillikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, ed. Iḥsan 'Abbās (Beirut, 1978) vol. VI. pp. 149-50.

[48] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. VI, 211.

the emphasis laid on the element of provocation, diminish the credibility of that explanation, making it highly untenable.

The more reasonable explanation is al-Ma'mūn's closeness to shī'a circles and the special attitude he exhibited toward the 'Alīd dynasty after the struggle for inheritance between himself and his brother al-Amin was settled in his favor. This favorable attitude reached its peak with the appointment of the representative of the 'Alīd dynasty, *al-Riḍā*, as heir, despite the existence of relatives from the Abbāsid dynasty.[49] In addition, it is not unreasonable to assume that, in making his proclamation, al-Ma'mūn intended to give public endorsement to a phenomenon already prevalent in the daily reality of the masses. In effect, al-Ma'mūn took the step which 'Alī was reluctant to take; the latter had indeed wished to declare *mut'a* legal, but hesitated to do so.[50]

IV

An examination of the traditions which deal with the few cases in which *mut'a* marriages were carried out, whether during the *Jāhiliyya* or in the Islamic period, reveals a number of questions which require special consideration. Among these questions is the issue of recompense--fiscal or otherwise-which the woman received from the man, known as *al-ajr* ("remuneration"). Characeristic of this question is the meager, minimal nature of this remuneration. It might have been personal effects, clothing, jewelry, or articles of food.[51]

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[49] Regarding the appointment of the 'Alīd leader 'Alī b. Mūsā, known as *al-Riḍā*, as al-Ma'mūn's heir, see: Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, ed, Tharwat 'Ukāsha (Cairo, 1969), p. 349; *al-Bidāya wa-al-nihāya*, vol. X, p. 247; al-Ṭabrī, *Tārīkh*, ed. M. ,Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1966), vol, VIII, pp, 554-555.

[50] 'Abd al-Razzāq, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, 499, 500; *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. Xiii, p. 294; vol. XVI, 522-523; al-Ghadīr, vol. VI, p. 207.

[51] Regarding *ajr* paid in the form of clothing, see: *Kanz al-'ummāl*, XVI, 526; *al-Ghadīr*, VI, 220; *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, III, 57. On ornamental items, see: al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 100, p. 304. As for various kinds of food,

The minimal compensation received by the woman is indicative, first and foremost, of the low economic status of women involved in *mut'a* marriages. It is quite apparent from the social constitution of the urban and commercial centers of the period, that these women belonged to the weaker social strata in those centers. Women belonging to the nobility or those associated with the families of wealthy merchants and property owners, were not the object of *mut'a* marriages, at least in theory.

Some of the traditions even provide proof that women involved in *mut'a* marriages belonged to the weak, impoverished sectors of society. Nubayh b. al-Ḥajjāj a member of the merchant nobility in Mecca, documented this fact in his poems, in which he describes the feelings of the woman who seeks a rich man to extricate her from her poverty and suffering.[52] The element of poverty and want is also emphasized among the explanations proposed by Ibn 'Aabbās for the *rukhṣa* which he preached.[53]

The women designated for *mut'a* were generally *jawāri*, female slaves, of non-Arab origin,[54] who pervaded the Arab population centers in the wake of the Islamic conquests; most of them had converted to Islam.

But non-Muslim women, too, were the object of *mut'a* marriages, with Christian and Jewish women preferred over Zoroastrian women.[55] This, of course, was due to the proximity of Christianity and Judaism to Islam, since these religions were perceived by Islam as monotheistic, unlike Zoroastrianism.

In this connection, it should be pointed out that religious law-in this case, the *ithnā'ashariyya*-forbade *mut'a* marriage between a

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see: al-Ṭūsi, *op. cit.*, 491; 'Abd al-Razzāq, vol. VII, 498; *Kanz al-'ummāl*, XVI, 526; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, 100, p. 308.

[52] *Aghānī*, vol. XVI, p. 63.

[53] Al-Ḥazmī, *op. cit*, p. 269-270.

[54] Al-Majlisī, *op. cit.*, vol. 100, p. 306.

[55] Al-Ṭūsī, op. cit., p. 490.

man and a married woman,[56] a prohibition which was echoed by the sunnite tradition, as reflected in the words of al-Jāḥiẓ, who refrains from using the customary religious terminology. In his definition of the marital status for personal status) of the woman partner in the *mut'a* marriage, he uses the expression *'āriyat al-furūj*, "unmarried women".[57] But in reality, the situation was different: it is intimated that married women, too, were involved in *mut'a* marriages despite the prohibition rooted in shī'ite religious law.[58]

In a poem by Ibn Abī al-Janūb (of the third/ninth century), describing the return of the caliph al-Mu'tazz to power. (in 252/866) following the overthrow of al-Musta'īn, who had supplanted him in a military coup, the poet says:

"*...For whom the caliphate was unfit,*
Like a wife married in a mut'a marriage..."[59]

It would seem that shī'ite religious law took into consideration the possibility that married women would be involved in *mut'a* marriages, and the lawgiver consequently determined that it was not compulsory for the man to ask the woman if she was married or not, since he did not have the means to investigate and ascertain the truth regarding her marital status.[60]

It is worth mentioning in this context that women involved in *mut'a* marriages were sometimes free women, even belonging to the class of Arab nobility--a phenomenon which existed during the *Jāhiliyya*. In one example, a rich woman of Mecca entered into

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[56]Al-Majlisī. op. cit., vol. 10, p. 212.

[57] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasā'il*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn (Cairo, 1979) vol. IV, p. 277.

[58] It is worth while at this juncture to draw attention to the shī'ite rules, which consider as divorced women only those who were divorced acording to the shi'ite rules (not the sunnite rules). Al-Majlisī, *op. cit*, vol. 100, p, 316.

[59] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, vol. IX, p. 351.

[60] Al-Ṭūsī *op. cit*, p. 490; al-Majlisī, *op. cit.*, vol. 100, p. 310.

a *mut'a* marriage with a blood relative.[61] But the classic, case in this context is the marriage of the shī'ite poet al-Sayyid al-Himyarī (175/791) with a woman of the Tamīm tribe, from the descendants of Qatarī b. al-Fujā'a, the famous khārijite leader.[62]

The question of the *ajal* ("fixed term") which was an essential condition for the legality of *mut'a*, could have been subject to the agreement of both parties, and could have been from as little as several hours to an indeterminate period that could last a lifetime,[63] as was actually the case of the *mut'a* marriage performed by al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī.[64] Extension of the *ajal* to months and years was not based on the custom of the *Jāhiliyya* and early Islamic period; rather, it apparently stemmed from the *ijtihād* ("individual reasoning") of the fatter-day theologians. One Meccan nobleman who underwent *mut'a*, mentions in a poem a term of only three days as the *ajal* of his *mut'a* marriage.[65]

The Prophet, who permitted his disciples to practice *mut'a*, allotted them a period of three days, a limitation stemming from an appreciation of the physiological potential of the man's virility.[66]

But the period of three days was not rigidly observed as the maximum term of *ajal*; the tradition of the *rukhṣa* of Ibn 'Abbās tells us that the *ajal* was extended to the end of the man's sojourn

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[61] Al-Majlisī, *op. cit.*, p. 490; al-Majlisī, *op. cit.*, vol. 100, p. 310.

[62] *Aghānī*, vol. VII, p, 18; Abū Manṣūr al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, ed. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1965), pp. 312-313; al-Zamakhshāri, *Rabī' al-abrār*, ed. Salīm al-Nu'aymī (Baghdad n.d.), vol IV, p. 289.

[63] Denffer, *op. cit.*; Coulson, *op. cit.*, p. 111; B.F. Musallam, *Sex and Society in Islam*, Cambridge, 1983. p. 36.

[64] *Thimār al-qulūb*, p. 313.

[65] *Aghānī*, vol. XVI, p. 63.*Aghānī*, vol. XVI, p. 63. poem refers to a period of only three days spent with his partner:

"wa-mabītan bi-dhī- 'l-majāzi thalāthin,
wa-matā kāna ḥajjunā taḥlīlā"

See: *Aghānī*, vol. XVI, p. 63.

[66] Abū 'Ubayd al-Harawī, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.

at that place, i,e,, for as long as it took him to make his arrangements.[67] It should be pointed out that from the semantic standpoint, the triliteral root *m-t-ʿ* implies the antithesis of perseverance and constancy, suggesting temporary enjoyment or benefit, rather than permanent.[68] It is for this reason, in the opinion of the writer, that temporary marriages were known as *mutʿa*.

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[67] *al-Durr al-manthūr*, vol. II, pp. 383-384.

[68] *Lisān al-'Arab*, article: *m-t-ʿ*.

Al-SHĀKIRIYYA (A.), a term denoting private militias fighting under the patronage of princes from the ruling dynasty, or commanders belonging to the class of military nobility, during the reign of the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid dynasties. Classical Arabic lexicography does not provide a satisfactory explanation for this term, correctly associating it with the Persian term *Čākir;* for a discussion of possible etymologies, see C.E. Bosworth , *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxiii, 179 and n. 506. The institution of *shākiriyya*, from the historical standpoint, probably existed in the Iranian lands of Central Asia during the Sāsānid period and into the period after the Islamic conquest. According to Narshakhī, the Shākiriyya in Bukhārā were not a field military unit, but rather, a bodyguard at the court of Khātūn, the queen of Bukhārā in the late 7th century A.D. (*Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed. M. Ridawī, Tehran n.d. (1939), 46, tr. R.N. Frye, *The history of Bukhāra*, 39).

After the Arab invasions of Transoxania, the Arab commanders and governors in the eastern province followed in the footsteps of the local princes and established their own units of *shākiriyya*, who served as bodyguards, and then combattants.

This was the result of growing pressure on the part of the Turgesh toward the end of the 7th century and the first and second decades of the eighth, when the Arabs in Central Asia were compelled to enlist the aid of the *shākiriyya* which were under the command of the local nobility. Prominent among the latter were two brothers, Thābit and Ḥurayth, sons of Ḳuṭba. The phenomenon did not remain limited to the eastern provinces; it also spread westward to 'Irāk and Syria, where *shākiriyya* units operated as private militias under the command of Arab commanders and princes for the purpose of putting down the insurrections of the Khāridjites (q.v.) alongside the semi-regular army of the Arab *muḳātila*. The struggle for power and disputes within the dynasty toward the end of the Umayyad period, encouraged and expedited

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the existence of such private units.

Under the ʿAbbāsids, the institution of the *shākiriyya* flourished, thanks to the growing tendency of the caliphs to eliminate their dependency upon Arab tribesmen and to rely more heavily upon the *mawālī* element. Decisive steps in this direction were taken by al-Maʾmūn, and also al-Muʿtaṣim, during whose reign the *shākiriyya* became a national military institution which, along with other ethnic groups, replaced the classical structure of the Arab tribal fighters. This was expressed in the establishment of a separate office, the *dīwān al-shākiriyya*, and the *shākiriyya* troops received monthly salaries which were quite high in comparison with those received by their colleagues, the Turkish troops and the *Maghāriba*.

Because they were subordinate to the caliphs, the *shākiriyya* forces were stationed in the capital Baghdād, and later in Sāmarrā. But the establishment of the *dīwān al-shākiriyya* did not change the nature of the *shākiriyya* as a private militia; military commanders, *ḳuwwād*, of both Arab and non-Arab origin, continued to keep *shākiriyya* as their own private militias, as witness the existence of *shākiriyya* militias in such cities as Kūfa, Medina, Raḳḳa and Malaṭya, as well as in such provinces as Ahwāz, Fārs, Ḥidjāz and Egypt.

In contrast to other militias, Arab sources do not indicate the ethnic identity of the *shākiriyya*, a fact which may point to their having belonged to a variety of ethnic groups, seen in traditions which speak of *shākiriyya* of Arab origin as well as *shākiriyya* from various nations and ethnic groups which lived within the borders of the former Sāsānid Persia. Whatever their origin, their loyalty to their patron the caliph was the common denominator which united them; manifestations of this loyalty could be seen after the murder of al-Mutawakkil (247/861) by Turkish commanders, and also in the loyalty toward the deposed caliph al-Mustaʿīn in 252/866 and the *shākiriyya's* support of al-Muhtadī in his struggle against the Turkish commanders in 256/869.

Bibliography: W. Barthold, *Turkistan*, 180; J. Wellhausen, *The*

Arab kingdom and its fall; Djāḥiẓ, *Manāḳib al-turk*, in *Rasā'il al-Djāḥiẓ*, ed.ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1964, i, 30; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, indices; idem, *Tanbīh*, 361-2; Ṭabarī, index Fayrūzābādhī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, Cairo 1344, ii 63; T.ʿA, s.v. *sh-k-r*.

"Non-Arab Regiments And Private Militias During The Umayyad Period"*

From the very beginnings of the formation of the Arab Muslim military insitution during the reign of 'Umar I, a number of ideological and Organisational obstacles were prominent in the development of that institution. Non Arab ethnic communities and non-Muslim religious communities found themselves incapable of coping with the entrance requirements of this military institution. Even *A'rāb*, members of the Arab tribes who where both Arabs and Muslims, found that the road to joining the *dīwān* was closed to them as early as a single decade -- or two at the most – after the formation of this institution.

The growing need to enlist new soldiers in order to materialize the ambitious expansion plans of the Madina government -- and later, of the Umayyad Dynasty -encountered an obstacle presented by the tribal organizational structure of the *dīwān* forces, the very same tribal structure that made the issue of loyalty to one's ruler the constant dream and aspiration of the Umayyad rulers.

Civil wars, of which there were three during the reign of this dynasty (a reign which lasted less than a century) on the one hand, and the competition for power on the part of rival entities inside and outside the dynasty on the other hand, brought about a gradual attenuation of the extent to which the rulers and their rivals depended upon the *diwan* forces. Each such entity began to seek ways of gaining military strength that could be relied upon when the time came. The rebellions which frequently broke out on the

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part of adventurers yearning for the throne as well as on the part of political-religious opposition groups, reduced considerably the recruitment potential of certain Arab tribes which had been involved in those rebellions and of certain geographical regions whose population had shown support for or collaborated with one rebel or another.

All of these and other reasons brought about the collapse of the obstacles which had precluded the induction of the *mawālī* (non-Arab converts) and *dhimmīs* (non-Muslims), paving the way for the mobilization of private militias from every possible source. In this paper I shall attempt to draw for you a general picture of the formation, specialization, *modus operandi* and enlistment methods of these regiments and militias during the period in question.

I

From the chronological point of view, the *Asāwira* comprise the first non-Arab group to have joined the Arabs' fighting force.[1] Despite the fact that the *Asāwira* were not the militia of a purely private party, they can be included, somehow, in the list of private militias, for two reasons: first, because they were the clients -- the allies -- of the Tamīm tribe in Basra, and at the same time, because they were subject to the authority of the local governor, who had been sent on behalf of the central regime. But the *Asāwira's* bond to the Tamīm tribe was sometimes greater than their bond to the regime itself, and they behaved as a private militia on behalf of that tribe.[2] The history of the *Asāwira* teaches us that they were outstanding horsemen in the Sassānian legions, as is indicated by their name.[3] The *Asāwira* occupied the highest rank on the social ladder in the rank of the Sassanian Empire, alongside the nobility of the royal Persian court.[4] Among all the drinking companions

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[1] The Asāwira joined in 638/17; see Ṭab., I, 2563.

[2] Ṭab., II, 465.

[3] al-khawārizmī, 71.

[4] *al-Tāj*, 23-4.

(*nudamā'*) of the Sassanian Emperor, the *Asāwira* were responsible for guarding the curtain which separated the royal throne from those members of the nobility who were present at court. This hereditary position was reserved solely for the members of this group.[5]

The first contacts between the Arabs and the *Asāwira* was an ancient one, going back many years before the invasion of Persian territory by the Muslim army. Even before the advent of Islam, select units of this cavalry used to escort Persian commercial caravans, sent by the king of Persia to Yemen through the deserts of the Arabian Peninsula.[6]

The *Asāwira* always served as a task force sent by the Persian king to aid his allies, the leaders of Arab tribes, in their frequent intra-tribal struggles.[7] With the onset of the Arab offensive against the territory of 'Iraq that had been under Persian control, the occupying armies were confronted by an *Asāwira* garrison at Bāniqyā on the shores of the Euphrates.[8] Another *Asāwira* unit numbering 500 men was stationed at the port of Ubulla on the Persian Gulf.[9] At the battle of al-Qadissiya (635/16) which determined the fate of the Sassanian front, an *Asāwira* unit fought within the Persian army.[10]

For reasons apparently due to past experience, the *Asāwira* came to evoke fearsome associations within the Arab memory. When the Arabs were summoned by 'Umar I to face the *Asāwira* and the Persian army on the Persian front, they showed signs of anxiety and fear.[11] Their easy victories over the *Asāwira* garrisons

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[5] Ibid., 28.

[6] *Agh.*, XXVI, 79.

[7] Ibn Khillikān, VI, 355-6; *Agh.*, XVI, 78-9.

[8] Abū Yūsuf, 157.

[9] Ṭab., I, 2384.

[10] al-Qālī, I, 29.

[11] *al-'Uthmāniyya*, 214.

at Bāniqyā and Ubulla apparently did not blind them: in the negotiations held by the commander Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī with Shīrawayh, their representative, the Arabs accepted all the conditions imposed by the *Asāwira* in exchange for the latter's joining the Arab's war effort.[12]

The *Asāwira* who converted to Islam and joined the Arabs in the year 638/17, were no more than a small segment of the *Asāwira* in the imperial Persian army. There were still other groups of *Asāwira* who had become normal subjects like the other citizens of the occupied territory. Some of them were needed by the Arabs for the renewed attack following the capture of al-Madā'in, the capital city of the Persian kings, as well as for the initial stages of construction of the camp city Kūfa.

In light of the situation at hand, 'Umar I ordered his commanders on this front to mobilize the necessary forces from the ranks of the *Asāwira* and in return, to grant them an exemption from payment of poll tax.[13] Two elements were missing from 'Umar's instructions, which are worthy of mention: first, the lack of any stipulation that the *Asāwira's* induction depend upon their converting to Islam, and second, the lack of any provision for their fee -- in other words, a lack of clarity regarding their admission to or exclusion from the *dīwān*, as had been the case with the enlistment of the first group.

Apparently, this group of *Asāwira* were not compelled to convert, and representative members of then appear two generations later by their Persian names, indicating that they had still not converted to Islam.[14]

The *Asāwira* in the first wave served as the model for other ethnic groups within the Persian army. After the battles had subsided on this front, a group of Persian fighters attached itself to

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[12] Ṭab., I, 2563; *Futūḥ*, 459. On their military role in the first stages of the Arab's attacks on the Eastern territories see : Fred M. Donner. P. 239.

[13] Ṭab., I, 2497.

[14] Crone, p. 237 (n. 263).

the *Asāwira*; these had apparently been mercenaries in the imperial army and had converted to Islam and become a part of that army.[15]

The sources do not specify the number of the *Asāwira*.[16] But according to a diagram relating to the scope of responsibility of the *'urafā'* (military overseers who were responsible for a certain number of fighters from their tribes) during that time, the *Asāwira's* number can be estimated at about 4,000 men.[17]

In any case, the *Asāwira* were given a separate residential quarter in Basra, in which runs a river canal designed to supply them with drinking water. The canal bore their name: *nahr al-Asāwira*.[18] Their significant number necessitated the construction of a mosque, and the governor of 'Iraq on behalf of Mu'āwiya, Ziyād b. Abīh, ordered that a mosque be built in the quarter.[19]

This was a separate residential quarter, reserved for this ethnic group, in which the language of discourse was Persian, the native language of the inhabitants. And for half a century after they had converted to Islam and settled in Baṣra, they continued to speak Persian.[20] One member of the Arab nobility, who had grown up in that quarter under the care of his mother --the emancipated

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[15] *Futūḥ*, 460.

[16] Aḥmad Ṣāliḥ al-'Alī estimates their number at 2,500, in *khiṭaṭ al-Baṣra*, p. 48, while in *al-Tanẓīmāt*, p. 83, he claims that they were about 2,000 men, but their number increased as a result of fresh fugitives from other Sassanian regiments who joined them in Baṣra. Ch. Pellat gives no figures but he states that their number in Baṣra was not so large. See: *Le milieu Basrien*, p. 35. Other works cited in this paper give no figures at all.

[17] Ṭab, I, 2496. It was reported that 100 men from the *Asāwira* were allotted 2,000 dirhams each, while six of them got 2,500 dirhams each, Ṭab., I, 2563. This writer believes that these men were given the status of *'arīf* who took charge of about 40 persons on the average.

[18] *Futūḥ*, 459-460, 440; Yāqūt, vol. V, 317.

[19] *Ansāb*, vol 4(a), 201.

[20] *Naqā'iḍ*, 113-4; Tab., II, 454.

handmaiden Marjāna, whom the governor of 'Iraq had divorced and given in marriage to one of the notables among the *Asāwira* in the quarter -- could not express himself properly in Arabic but rather spoke with a Persian accent, influenced by the speech of his neighbors in the quarter.[21]

It was the *Asāwira* themselves who chose to be housed in Basra, a decision settled with the Arab commander when they joined the Arabs. In Basra they formed a covenant, *ḥālāfū*, with one of two factions of the Tamīm tribe, Banū Sa'd. This faction had competed with the other faction of the tribe, Banū Ḥanẓala, over the new allies. As a compromise Banu Sa'd contented themselves with the *Asāwira* and let their brothers, Banū Ḥanẓala, form alliances with the Zuṭṭ and the Sayābija.[22]

It is worth pointing out in this connection that the *ḥilf* or *taḥāluf* made between the two parties may be considered to reflect the typical *taḥāluf* of the *Jahiliyya* period,[23] not just because of the specific circumstances under which it was made, but also because of the ban placed by Islam on the formation of covenants, as expressed in the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet.[24]

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[21] This gentleman was none other than 'Ubayd Allah b. Ziyād, who was the successor of his father. in the office of the governorship in 'Iraq. After his father was divorced, 'Ubayd Allah was in the custody of his mother, Marjāna, who was remarried to a certain *Iswār* (pl. *Asāwira*) called Shīrawayh. In order to defame 'Ubayd Allah his opponents used to call him "Ibn Marjāna". See: *al-Bayān wa-al-taybyīn*, vol, I, 73; vol. II, 210; *Futūḥ*, 440-41; *al-Ma'ārif*, 347; al-Mubarrad, II, 225.

[22] *Futūḥ*, 459-60; *Ansāb*, 4(a) (ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās) p. 414. According to another version, a non-Arab ethnic group (called *Andigān or Andighār*) joined the *Asāwira* and became allied with Banū Sa'd. Ibid., loc. cit. In another report on the authority of al-Madā'ini, the two leaders of the *Asāwira* had different views on this issue: Shīrawayh went into alliance with the Azd tribe (or, in another version, with Banū Bakr), while his colleague Siyāh insisted on allying with Tamīm. See: Ibid., loc. cit.

[23] On the typical *ḥilf, taḥāluf*, consult Goldziher, vol. I, pp. 65-70.

[24] Ibid., p. 70 (n. 4).

Apparently, the first generation of the *Asāwira* maintained their policy of non-involvement in intra-tribal conflicts and did not take part in the civil wars in which their allies, the Tamīmis, were involved. It is known that when the *Asāwira* made their agreement with the Arabs, they imposed a precondition stipulating their right not to take part in the Arab's internal conflicts.[25] Consequently they did not join the Tamīmis in their battle at al-Jamal(656/35) nor at the battle of Siffīn (657/37), nor in any other internal conflict according to Madā'inī.[26] Apparently, this was the case at the battle of Ṣiffīn: despite the participation of Banū Sa'd, the allies, in this battle, there is no mention of participation by the *Asāwira*[27]. As for the battle of al-Jamal, not all the Tamīmīs took part in it; Banū Sa'd in particular obeyed the call of the Tamīmī leader al-Aḥnaf b. Qays, who saw to it that the members of his tribe did not take part in this civil war and maintained their neutrality.[28] Thus, there was no reason for the *Asāwira* to participate in this battle.

But later generations of *Asāiwira* were involved in all the struggles in which the Tamīmīs took part. They participated in the battle waged by the Tamīmī tribe against the tribe of Azd, the allies of 'Ubayd Allah b. Ziyād, who was known by the name of *yawm Mas'ūd*. [29] They also took part in the battle of al-Rabadha, in the ranks of one of the commanders of Ibn al-Zubayr who had departed from Baṣra in order to halt the army that had been sent by Marwān I against Madīna which was under the control of Ibn al-Zubayr.[30] They also took part in the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath

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[25] *Futūḥ*, 459.

[26] Ibid., loc. cit.

[27] Ibn Muzāḥim, p. 205

[28] Ṭab., I, 3169; vol. I, 3179, *fa-'ttaba'at Banū Sa'din al-Aḥnaf, fa-'tazala bihim ilā wādi's-sibā'*, "And Banū Sa'd followed al-Aḥnaf and kept aloof together with him and retired to Wādī al-Sibā'."

[29] *Ansāb*, 4(a) (ed. I. 'Abbās) p. 408; Tab. ii, 452, 465, 454; al-Mubarrad, I, 142.

[30] *Futūḥ*, 460; Tab., II, 578-9.

which broke out in 'Iraq against al-Ḥajjāj in the year 700-701/8182.[31]

It should be noted in this contest that the latter three conflicts were directed at the central Umayyad regime in Damascus. It seems that the *Asāwira*, who during the reign of the Sufyānid branch were classified as belonging to the pro-Umayyad factions,[32] changed direction during the reign of the Marwānid branch and moved over to the side of the opposing forces. This transition was harmonious with the change that took place in the stance of the Tamīmis toward this dynasty during the period in question.[33]

The *Asāwira's* arena of activity was not restricted to the limits of that of their masters, the Tamīmis, nor was it always subject to the latter's will or political position. From their beginnings as a military entity fighting in the ranks of the Arabs, the *Asāwira* took part in conquests within Persian territory along with the army of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī. They laid siege upon the fortified Persian town of Tustar, but to the Arabs' great disappointment, they did not display a high enough level of fighting skill. ,When asked to explain why, they attributed this to their lack of religious motivation, *baṣā'ir*, and of idealistic values, two elements which had encouraged the Arabs to fight.[34]

The *Asāwira* joined ʿAbdullah b. ʿĀmir on his campaign against Khurāsān (651/31),[35] and it is quite reasonable to assume that they definitely participated, since the initiative of setting out on this Campaign came from the Tamīmī leader in Baṣra, al-Aḥnaf b.

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[31] *Futūḥ*, 460.

[32] *Ansāb*, IVa, 201

[33] Kh. ʿAthāmina, *The Caliph Hisham*, part II, 180 seq.

[34] In response to the question of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, Siyāh al-Iswārī says: "*ukhbiruka annahū laysat baṣā'iruna ka-baṣā'irukum wa-la lanā fīkum ḥuramun nakhāfu ʿalayhā wa- nuqātil.*" *Futūḥ*, 459; Tab., I, 2563.

[35] *Futūḥ*, 460. With his army were 1,000 soldiers of *ʿAjam*, a non-Arab ethnic communitiy. Ibid., 502. There is ample reason to believe that they were *Asāwira*.

Qays, or from another Tamīmī personality whose name is mentioned in the sources.[36]

As was the custom in the days of the reign of ʿUthmān (644-56/24-36), the Arabs used to leave a task force behind as a garrison in the areas conquered within the eastern province. This custom was followed, in particular, in Baṣra, where 4,000 soldiers were left in the region and replaced annually.[37] From this it may be assumed that the *Asāwira* who participated in Ibn ʿAmir's campaign contributed their share to the garrison, both in that year and in subsequent years, since the population in the region was Persian from the standpoints of ethnic origin, culture, language, and so forth. It was inevitable that some of the *Asāwira* who arrived there would have considered the area an ideal environment in which to resettle and leave Baṣra, their improvised habitat.

In addition, the *Asāwira* took part in the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath some fifty years after Ibn ʿAmir's campaign, as we have already seen. Al-Ḥajjāj, the governor of 'Iraq against whom the revolt was directed, took stringent punitive measures against those elements who had taken part in the revolt. Among these was the punishment inflicted upon the *Asāwira*, namely destruction of the rebels' houses, reduction of their annual pension, and exile for some of them.[38]

While the tradition does not reveal the destination to which they were exiled, it may be surmised that they joined their brethren in the region of Khurāsān, since they do appear on the scene in that region later on.[39] And in the same way that they reached Kurāsān, they also reached Sijistān, the adjacent region, where they were placed in charge of guarding the local prison, as attested by one of the prisoners there, the poet Yazīd b. al-Mufarragh al-Ḥimyarī, in

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[36] Ṭab., I, 2884-5.

[37] Kh. ʿAthāmina, *Dīwān al-ʿaṭā'*, p. 16.

[38] *Futūḥ*, 460.

[39] Ṭab., II, 1550; *II*, 1606.

three of his poems.[40]

Other *Asāwira* from both Basra and Kūfa were relocated earlier in Antākia on the Syrian shore of the eastern Mediterranean seaboard by Mu'awiya b. Abī Sufyān.[41] This relocation took place within the framework of the settlement and fortification of coastal towns and fortresses of al-Sham, greater Syria, which served at the time as frontier towns facing the constant invasions of the Byzantine fleet.[42]

The importance of the *Asāwira* among all the other Arab forces, is that they were distinguished archers. In this area Arab literature extols their expertise and the marvelous accuracy of their marksmanship. Ibn Qutayba (889/276) quotes from the Books of the Persians, *Kutub al-'Ajam*, concerning the *Asāwira's* custom of writing an archer's name on the arrows he shoots,indicating their complete self-confidence.[43] Al-Ṭabarī tells of four hundred *Asāwira* warriors who fought alongside their Tamīmī allies in the battle against the Azd in 683/64 and shot a single salve of 2,000 arrows at once, each warrior simultaneously shooting five arrows from his bow.[44] It was these arrows which tipped the scales in favor of Banū Tamīm. In the battle of al-Rabadha against the Umayyad army, it was Yazīd b. Siyāh al-Iswārī -- apparently the son of the aforementioned Siyāh -- who shot the arrow that struck and killed the commander of that army, Ḥubaysh b. Dulja, thus winning the battle against the Umayyad army.[45] In another account of the course of this battle, al-Balādhurī reports that the number of *Asāwira* fighting the battle was equal to the number of enemy

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[40] *Ibn Qutayba*, 212; *Agh.*, XVII, 51.

[41] *Futūḥ*, 139; Ch. *Pellat*, 35.

[42] Kh . *'Athāmina*, Arab Settlement, pp. 199-200.

[43] *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, I, 149.

[44] Ṭab., II, 452; *Ansāb*, VIa (ed. I 'Abbās) 409.

[45] Ṭab., II, 579.

casualties, because an arrow shot by an Iswārī never missed.[46] Because of their military prowess they acquired the prestigious title *fityān*,[47], somewhat parallel to a knighthood in medieval Europe.

The *Asāwira* were experts not only in the field of warfare but in other fields as well, as reflected by their activity on the eastern front in Transoxania. They appeared in the battle arena as a task and patrol force, separate from the army and under separate command.[48] On a separate occasion and during another time, they served as a sort of military police on the battlefield.[49] Apparently because of the *Asāwira's* importance -- which added strength and contributed to the superiority of Banū Tamīm in Baṣra -- the leaders of the opposing tribe, Azd, where forced to seek an ally from among the local inhabitants, despite the religious ban on such covenants, in order to equalize their position to that of Tamīm.[50]

II

A considerable portion of the Islamic traditions which refer to the *Asāwira* link them to two non-Arab ethnic groups: Zutt and Sayābija. Al-Balādhurī, for example, makes this connection, devoting a single title to the first two groups.[51] As for Zuṭṭ, G. Ferrand considers the origin of their name to be that of the Indian ethnic group Jhāt,[52] and there is practically a consensus among Arab philologists and historians regarding the Indian origins of that name.[53]

According to the historian Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (970/360), the

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[46] *Futūḥ*, 461.

[47] Ṭab., II, 452, 454.

[48] Ṭab., II, 1550.

[49] Ṭab., II, 1606.

[50] *Ansāb*, IVb, 106.

[51] *Futūḥ*, 459.

[52] "Zuṭṭ" *E.I.*

[53] This can be deduced from the survey done by Isḥāq al-Ḥusaynī, pp. 29-30.

king of Persia, Bahrām-Djūr (A.D. 420-438) wrote to the king of India asking him to send him singers; the latter sent him 12,000 people whom he scattered throughout his kingdom and they began to multiply.[54] Al-Ṭabarī, relying on the authority of Sayf b. ʿUmar, reports that Shurayḥ b. Ḍubayʿa, who was known as *al-Ḥuṭam*, revolted in Baḥrayn following the death of the Prophet, within the framework of the *ridda*, the apostasy movement, and that he succeeded in attracting not only members of his tribe, but also groups of non-believers who lived in Hajar and in al-Qaṭīf, including inhabitants of al-Khaṭṭ from Zuṭṭ and Sayabija.[55] It is worth mentioning in this context that the area of al-Khatt on the coast of Baḥrayn and ʿUmān was the place from which the Arabs would bring their renowned spears. It was there that the spears were fashioned and sold to the Arabs.[56]

The tradition of Sayf is strengthened by another tradition, that of al-Madā'inī, according to which these two groups lived in the coastal areas (referring to the Persian Sea) in pre-Islamic times.[57] It may be assumed that the two groups in the area made their livelihood in the arms industry.

A separate part of these ethnic groups were located in the areas adjacent to the borders separating the Arabian peninsula from the Persian territory in 'Iraq -- a broad, semi-desert region known as Tufūf.[58] This area included a number of guard posts, at which the Persians stationed permanent garrisons. The land and wells were given to these soldiers by the Persian king Sābūr as an *iqṭāʿ*, and in exchange for their military service they were exempted from paying taxes.[59] This area, as is well known, fell into Arab hands as

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[54] Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, 49.

[55] Ṭab . , T:, 1961, *Agh.*, XIV, 46.

[56] Yāqūt, II, 378.

[57] *Futūḥ*, 460.

[58] Ibid., loc. cit.

[59] Yāqūt, IV, 36.

early as the beginning of the conquest, since the invading Muslim armies passed through it on their way to the heartland of Persian territory.

A tradition of ʿAwāna b. al-Ḥakam, quoted by al-Balādhurī, describes Zuṭṭ and Sayābija as having belonged to the Persian forces which fell prisoner to the Arabs during the first raids[60]. It follows that the contacts between the Arabs and these two ethnic groups took place during the pre-Islamic period, whether through trade in spears or through their membership in the military garrisons of the Sassanian empire.

Zuṭṭ and Sayābija, which were inducted into the Muslim army, were prisoners of war when they learned of the arrangement that had been made with *Asāwira*. They converted to Islam, Abū Mūsa resettled them in Basra, and they were treated exactly like the *Asāwira*.[61]

In the first civil war, they joined the men of Kūfa who had gone out to fight the rebels who had risen up against ʿAlī, but apparently under separate command.[62] This practice seems to have become a tradition with them, since one hundred years later we find them in the army of the ʿAbbasid Caliph al-Manṣūr, fighting under a separate command of their own.[63]

During the term of al-Ḥajjāj in 'Iraq (694-713/75-95), a military force formed from these groups was sent by ship from 'Iraq to the region of Sind as a reinforcement after the army of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim had become entangled --from which we learn that Zuṭṭ and Sayābija were excellent warriors on both land and sea.[64] In addition to their routine military activity, Zuṭṭ and Sayābija were placed in charge of such institutions of state as the treasury,

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[60] *Futūḥ*, 463.

[61] Ibid., loc. cit.

[62] Ibid., 462-3.

[63] *Ansāb*, III (ed. Dūrī) p. 250.

[64] Ch. Pellat, 36.

mosques, and prisons. Al-Khawārizmī defines them as *ḥuffāẓ at-ṭuruq*, the watchmen of the roads.[65] As early as the outset of their settlement in Baṣra, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī placed them in charge of the buildings of state institutions in the town.[66] A separate ,group, which included both Zuṭṭ and Sayābija, were in charge of guarding the prison in the area of Sijistān.[67]

Contrary to the *Asāwira*, Zuṭṭ and Sayābija did not all arrive together. The sources speak of *al-Zuṭṭ wa- ʾl-Sayābija al-qudamāʾ*, the first ones,[68] as well as referring to a separate quarter in Baṣra built for Zuṭṭ and another ethnic group known as Indighār.[69]

For reasons apparently connected with the defense policy of Caliph Muʿāwiya in the face of the Byzantine threat from both land and sea, the Caliph transferred a group of Zuṭṭ and Sayābija to the Syrian coastal town of Anṭākiyā in the year 669/49, where they settled and established a residential quarter that bore their name. Their number increased naturally, and after a generation they expanded beyond the city walls, settling in the neighboring village of Būqā.[70]

This trend continued, and another wave of Zuṭṭ was transferred to Anṭakjā during the reign of al-Walīd b. ʿAbdul-Malik. These were some of the same prisoners of war from Sind who had been taken by commander Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim in the wake of his campaign to that region.[71] Since these Sindi prisoners of war were significantly numerous, he settled them outside Baṣra on the plain

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[65] Khawārizmī, 74.

[66] *Khiṭaṭ al-Baṣra*, 65; idem: *Tanẓīmāt*, pp. 84-5.

[67] *Agh.*, XVII, 51. It is worth noting in this context that the prison, the mosque, and the treasury house were an integral part of the main building in which the governor of the province dwelt, the so-called *dār al-imāra*, *Yaʿqūbī Buldān*, 240.

[68] *Futūḥ*, 463.

[69] *Ansāb*, III (ed. Dūrī) p. 92

[70] *Futūḥ*, 192, 263.

[71] Ibid., 192

extending between Baṣra and Kūfa along the Tigris, the *Dijla*, where they multiplied and became a nuisance which seriously threatened the routes of passage between Bagdad (the capital) and Baṣra. When the threat became too/great to ignore, Caliph al-Ma'mūn dispatched soldiers and ordered them to transfer some of the Zuṭṭ to Bagdad and Khānqīn and the rest to ʿAyn Zarba and to the border towns on the Byzantine frontier.[72] But the problem was not solved by al-Maʾmūn's having relocated them: they continued to endanger the access routes between the South and the North, which prompted Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim to move a significant number of them to that same town of ʿAyn Zarba in 835/225.[73]

These intensive acts of exile and transfer apparently had an effect on the number of Zuṭṭ in the marshlands; by al-Jāḥiẓ's (869/255) rough estimate, thier number in this region was less than the number of people in an average Arab tribe.[74]

III.

In addition to the three ethnic groups mentioned thus far, Basra came to know another ethnic group, known as al-Bukhāriyya. Their arrival in Baṣra was linked to the campaignof ʿUbayd Allah b. Ziyād across the Exus in 673/54, which was the first year of his office as governor of the eastern province.[75]

The sources do not present an unequivocal opinion regarding the status or number of this group. Al-Balādhurī, for example, does not specify a number, but the expression he uses, *Khalq*,

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[72]Ibid., 462,536,538. In Ṭabarī the removal of the Zuṭṭ from the marshland of Kaskar took place in 835/220 during the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim. Their number was estimated at 27,000, among them 12,000 warriors. Ṭab., III, 1169.

[73] *Futūḥ*, 203; Yāqūt, IV, 178. Twenty years later, ʿAyn Zarba suffered a Byzantine attack which ended with all the Zuṭṭ being taken as prisoners of war, along with their families and cattles.

[74] *Burṣān*, 49.

[75] Ṭab., II, 167-169.

seems to indicate a significant number.[76] Al-Ṭabarī, on the other hand, establishes that their number was 2,000.[77] The author of the *Tārīkh Bukhārā* reports that there were 4,000 of them,[78] while the poet Abu Tammām (850/236) raises their number to 12,000.[79] The numbers given by Narshakhī and al-Ṭabarī seem more reasonable, given the short sojourn of ʿUbayd Allah in Khurāsān -- barely over a year.[80] At the same time, Abu Tammām's account cannot be rejected out of hand just because it quotes a higher number than the others. As we know, 'Ubayd Allah served as governor of 'Iraq for nearly a decade, and it is not impossible that during this period reinforcements were added to the contingent he had brought with him to Baṣra, whether of the same or different origin, and continued to bear the same name as the original contingent.

In this context, attention should be drawn to the fact that during the years in which Ibn ʿĀmir served, a few years earlier, male and female slaves were brought to Iraq originated in the area from which the Bukhāriyya came, in the framework of the stipulation signed by Ibn ʿĀmir with some of the towns across the Exus. They were paid to him as tax in lieu of the poll tax which the residents did not have the money to pay.[81]

Furthermore, fighting units which bore the name Bukhāriyya existed even before those sent by 'Ubayd Allah, predating them by at least four years. They had been sent by 'Ubayd Allah's father together with a police force to apprehend the leader of the Shī'ite opposition in Kūfa, Ḥujr b. ʿAddiyy, in 671/51.[82]

What is more, traditionists sometimes confuse names: a

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[76] *Futūḥ*, 463, 507.

[77] Ṭab., II, 170. The same number is mentioned by Ch. Pellat, p. 36, and by al-ʿAlī in *Khiṭaṭ al-Baṣra*, 48.

[78] al-Narshakhī, p. 62.

[79] Abū Tammām, p. 7.

[80] Ṭab., II, 170.

[81] *Futūḥ*, 502, 504.

[82] Ibn Saʿd, VI, 152.

prominent example of this is the well-known mistaken reference to a unit of archers from the Qīqān in India, actually Zuṭṭ by origin[83], as being Bukhāriyya.[84]

Traditionists also differ as to the status of the Bukhāriyya; Al-Balādhurī presents three versions, According to the first of these, the Bukhāriyya were prisoners of war; the second asserts that 'Ubayd Allah had acquired them in accordance with the terms of surrender he had imposed upon them, i.e., he had captured their country, or their town, with no battle; and the third version states that he offered them *amān*, a promise that no harm would be done to them, as well as admission to the *dīwān*, and they accepted his offer, joined him, and were settled by him in Baṣra.[85] As is typical of al-Balādhurī in such cases, he does not rule in favor of any of these versions when he does not have the means to do so.[86]

Al-Ṭabarī, reporting 'Ubayd Allah's campaign, quotes al-Mada'inī, the most trustworthy source with regard to the history of the eastern province[87], and mentions the names of two villages which 'Ubayd Allah conquered[88], adding: *fa-min thamma aṣāba 'l-Bukhāriyya*, "and from there he took the Bukhāriyya captive.[89] It was apparently this group in particular which became the private unit of 'Ubayd Allah, as opposed to other units of Bukhāriyya which had existed before.

Abu 'Ubayda reports, in his account of the events at Baṣra

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[83] *Futūḥ*, 544.

[84] *Maqātil*, 141, read *Bukhāriyya* and not (*najjāriyya*) as it appears in the text.

[85] *Futūḥ*, 463.

[86] Kh. ʿAthāmina, *Baladhuri's Sources*, pp. 244-245.

[87] Rotter G., pp. 103-133.

[88] Ṭab., II, 169.

[89] The verbal form *asāba* is sometimes used in Classical Arabic to connote "to take prisoner of war". See, for example: Ṭab., I, 2031; Yāqūt, IV, 423; *Usd al-Ghāba*, II, 224; they are described as slaves in Narshakhī, 62.

following the death of Yazīd I, that when 'Ubayd Allah, the governor of 'Iraq, wanted to contend with the rebels in that town, he ordered these units to set upon the rebels, but they refused him.[90] The tradition refers to two distinct groups of Bukhāriyya: *Bukhāriyyat al-sulṭān and Bukhāriyya.* The first must certainly have been his private Bukhāriyya, while the second refers to those who belonged to the general military framework, who had made their entry into battle conditional upon the approval of their commander: *fa-qālū: in amaranā quwwādunā qātalnā.*[91]

This group must have been the unit which had been enlisted beforehand by the governors of 'Iraq on behalf of the central regime, and it was subject to the authority of the governors, who represented Damascus. Evidence of this lies in the fact that they were transferred from Basra to Kūfa when that town became the seat of the governor of 'Iraq during the term of Ziyād; there they were under his authority and acted in concert with the police to maintain order in the provincial capital.[92]

Another version, also by Abū 'Ubayda, says that the governor called the *Bukhāriyya* and those who were *min aṣḥāb as-sulṭān*, "of the Sulṭan's fighting company".[93] In other words, this phrase was considered by al-Balādhurī (who took the material from his predecessor, Abū 'Ubayda) as a substitute for the original phrase *Bukhāriyyat as-sulṭan.* With al-Ṭabari, who relies on the same source, the substitute terminology seems more concrete: he refers to "the heads of the private units of the Sultān," *ru'asā' khāṣṣat*

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[90] Naqā'iḍ, 724.

[91] Ibid., loc. cit.;

[92] Ibn Sa'd, VI, 152.

[93] *Ansāb*, IVa, p. 102. *Aṣḥāb*,in this context are the most trustworthy warrions belonging to the ruler or prince. The explanation of this term given by P. Crone s inaccurate, p. 55, because they are not the man's companions but his soldiers or adherents.

as-sulṭān.[94]

Despite the textual contrasts regarding this tradition, all versions have a single common element, viz., the refusal of both groups of *Bukhāriyya* to obey the call or instruction of 'Ubayd Allah, the provincial governor. This may seem surprising at first, but under the circumstances and conditions which existed on the imperial plane in general and in Basra in particular, this refusal can easily be understood.

Mass rebellion had already broken out in Basra against the governor when rumors were confirmed that Caliph Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyya had died in Damascus and that no successor had been appointed. This was a great embarrassment to the entire dynasty, which in turn brought about a rift in the family which almost developed into a sort of civil war.[95] What is more, the very same *Bukhāriyya* were the first to know of their master's intention to abandon 'Iraq and flee for his life to Damascus, and they were unwilling to risk a hopeless campaign for his sake.

There was at least one other unit in Baṣra, distinct from the Bukhāriyya of 'Ubayd Allah b. Ziyād, which was of the same ethnic origin -- the group which bore the name of ʿAbdul Malik b. ʿAbdullah b. ʿĀmir.[96] This militia was active on the scene in Basra during the period of turmoil , which took place between the collapse of the Umayyad regime and the subjugation of 'Iraq to the authority of Ibn al-Zubayr. ʿAbdul Malik would move through the streets of Baṣra surrounded by bodyguards from the Bukhāriyya.[97]

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[94] Ṭab., II, 440.

[95] Wellhausen, 137-150.

[96] His father was appointed to the governorship in Baṣra during the reign of ʿUthmān, the third caliph. He lost this job during the cliphate of ʿAlī, but was reappointed by Muʿāwiya. See: Tab.; *Agh.*; Ibn khayyāṭ (index). ʿAbdul Malik held no official position during his lifetime. Although it was reported that he was appointed to the governorship in Baṣra by Ibn al-Zubayr, it seems that this tradition is unreliable. Ibn al-Kalbī, p. 56.

[97] *Ansāb, IVa* (ed. I. 'Abbās) p. 405; *Ansāb, IVb*, 105; Ṭab., II, 464.

During this period, he send soldiers from this unit to drive away the chief of police in Basra, who wanted to invade one of the private palaces which was owned by a person close to the dismissed governor; the soldiers accomplished their task without difficulty.[98]

Since this ʿAbdul Malik was not a man of power and held no official post, it is very reasonable to assume that he had inherited his private militia from his father, who during his term as governor in Basra would set out on military campaigns across the Exus to bring back slaves in exchange for the *ad hoc* taxes and levies he would impose on the areas he attacked.[99]

Even before that, and before this man had been appointed governor of the eastern province, he had shown an interest in purchasing slaves. In one transaction, together with a partner, he bought some slaves from Caliph ʿUmar I (the same prisoners of war whose ownership reverted to the state and who were known as *raqīq al-khums*, because 20% of all prisoners of war had been handed over to the state treasury).[100] The two partners paid a portion of the sum due and remained owing the huge sum of 80,000 dirhams. Since they did not make good on their debt, 'Umar commanded that they be imprisoned until someone else volunteered to pay for them.[101] For such an enormous price, the new buyer, Ibn ʿĀmir, was able to purchase an immense number of slaves, and since the prisoners of war had to have been enemy soldiers, it was easy and even preferable for them to serve their new master as a fighting militia.

Bukhāriyya who belonged to the military framework of the state were by definition subject to the authority of the officials or representatives of the central regime and served its interests

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[98] *Ansāb*, IV, b, 105; Ṭab., II, 464.

[99] *Futūḥ*, 502, 504.

[100] al-Māwardī, 126-8; *al-Amwāl*, 424-431, Abū Yūsuf, p. 19.

[101] *Agh.*, VI, 126-7.

accordingly. Al-Ḥajjāj transferred most of the *Bukhāriyya* in Baṣra to the garrison town of Wāsiṭ,[102] which he had built in 702/83 especially for the Syrian garrisons in 'Iraq.[103] They appear once again in 739/122 at Kūfa under the command of the governor of 'Iraq on behalf of Caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, who sent them to put down the Shī'ite rebellion of Zayd b. ʿAlī.[104] They continued to exist as an elite fighting unit until the final days of the Umayyad dynasty in power. The last event in which the *Bukhāriyya* appear took place in 749/132 in the town of Wāsiṭ, together with the last governor of 'Iraq on behalf of the Umayyads, who was known by the name of Ibn Hubayra. Following the signing of the agreement between the latter and the Abbasid prince and heir Abu Ja'far al-Manṣūr, Ibn Hubayra left the besieged town to meet the prince, surrounded by 1,300 soldiers of his *Bukhāriyya*.[105]

The *Bukhāriyya* became renowned as professional soldiers. Their activity was not limited to the city; there were also fighting units in the field, whose name was known far and wide and whose destructive power and skillful bowmanship rained terror upon the local inhabitants.

All of this may be deduced from a description quoted from one of the inhabitants of Yamāma who wanted to warn his fellow tribesmen of the dangers that might befall them when he learned that the *Sulṭān* had sent a fighting unit to attack them from the *Bukhāriyya* of Ibn Ziyād.[106] They were both horsemen and infantrymen,[107] but the true secret of their strength lay in their outstanding skill as *nashshāba*, archers[108]. Thanks to their arrows,

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[102] *Futūḥ*, 463.

[103] Wellhausen, 203.

[104] Ṭab., II, 1708; Maqātil, 141.

[105] Ibn Khillikān, VI, 316; Ṭab., III, 67.

[106] *al-Ḥayawān*, VII, 175-6.

[107] Ibn Khillikān, VI, 316; Ṭab., III, 67.

[108] Yāqūt, I, 355; Tab., II, 170.

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they always defeated their enemies and saved the honor of the imperial army.[109]

IV.

One example of private militias par excellence, with no connection at all to the ruling dynasty, its institutions or representatives, was the *Shākiriyya*. Arab lexicographers have not given sufficient explanation to this term, claiming it is derived from the Persian word *dzākir*, meaning a salaried caretaker.[110] W. Barthold suggests that they were the personal guard of the local princes and chiefs of the land-holding nobility -- *dihqāns* -- in central Asia, and that they served as a sort of honor guard.[111] A very impressive description of the Shakiriyya, their noble origins, and the pomp which characterized its activity does appear in the *Tārīkh Bukhārā*.[112]

Emulating Persian nobility, the Arab noblemen and princes would take *Shākiriyya* with them to the battlefield as escorts who would sometimes take part in battle and even tip the scales in favor of their masters.[113] In fact, the *Shākiriyya* of the Islamic period were private fighting units, as reported in the sources.

In 696/77 the *Shākiriyya* of ʿAttāb b. Warqāʾ proudly brought about the defeat of Shabīb, commander of the well-known khāṛjī, rebellion forcing him to flee the region of Kūfa which he had so

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[109] *Ansāb, IVa* (ed. I. ʿAbbās), 139; Ṭab., II, 1708; *Maqātil*, 141.

[110] *al-Qāmūs* V. (sh.k.r.). *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, Further explanations are suggested by modern scholars, but they are far from introducing a satisfactory solution to the ambiguity of the term. C.E. Bosworth reviewed the different views concerning the issue. See: *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 35, p. 179 (n. 506), Further details on *shākiriyya* are produced by the auther in the article: "shakiriyya". *EI*^{2}.

[111] Barthold w., 180.

[112] Narshakhī, 23-4.

[113] Wellhausen, 392.

recently seized.[114] According to the description of the action of 'Attāb and the *Shākiriyya*, we may conclude that these were a sort of commando unit which infiltrated the camp of the *Khawārij* in mid battle and burned it to the ground.

But the *Shākiriyya's* arena of activity during this period was not 'Iraq, but rather their birthplace in Transoxania. Particularly prominent in this region were two brothers, Thābit and Hurayth. These were two commanders of Persian origin who had converted to Islam and become *mawālī* of the Khuzā'a tribe. While these brothers did collaborate with the imperial army, they always maintained their independence.[115] They acted proudly and with self-confidence, never willing to overlook any attempts to humiliate them.[116] The *Shākiriyya* unit they owned numbered a few hundred fighters, among them fighters of Arab origin.[117] The Arabs in the ranks of the *Shākiriyya* of Thābit and his brother joined them as individuals, having found their way into the area for one reason or another.[118] Their number was not inconsiderable, and when their master Thābit b. Qutba was murdered, they continued to operate within the *Shākiriyya*, but under a separate command from that of the Persians.[119]

In another instance in which Arab nobility had their own *Shākiriyya*, also in Transoxania, the *Shakiriyya* displayed particular skill in surrounding the enemy and surprising him from the rear.[120] The activity of *Shākiriyya* units in this region continued

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[114] Ṭab., II, 965.

[115] Ṭab., II, 1023, 1027.

[116] Ibid., II, 1080-81.

[117] Ibid., II, 1802, 1155.

[118] Ibid., II., II, 1557.

[119] Ibid., II, 1159.

[120] The patron of the *Shākiriyya* in this area was called 'Āṣim b. 'Amr al-Qaysi. Ṭab., II, 1528.

throughout the entire Umayyad period. The last report of such activity was about ten years before the decline of the dynasty.[121]

But that was not the end of the *Shākiriyya* units, which continued to operate a vigorously during the ʿAbbasid period[122] until the classical institutions of the army framework were dismantled and replaced by a new entity, of which the *Shākiriyya* was the central pillar.[123]

V.

When al-Mukhtār inaugurated his pro-Shīʿite propaganda campaign, which centered around the call to avenge the blood of al-Husayn b. ʿAlī who had been murdered by the Umayyads, most of those who answered his call and joined his ranks came from among the Persians of Kūfa, who were known as *al-Ḥamrā'*. Their community in Kūfa numbered about 20,000.[124]

Another tradition reports that these Persians -- like those in Yemen -- were given the epithet *Abnā'*. And in the same way that those in Basra were known as *Asāwira*, the Persisns in Kūfa became known as *Aḥāmira* (*Sing. Ḥamrā'*).[125]

Yet another tradition reports that they first came to Basra and afterward settled permanently in Kūfa.[126] Al-Balādhurī establishes that they were *Asāwira* who before the advent of Islam had been stationed in Qawzīn on the border of the Sassanian empire together with the Turkish tribes in the southwest of central

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[121] Ibid., II, 1609.

[122] al-Jāḥiẓ, the contemporary scholar, says that even Christian subjects had acquired their own *Shākiriyya*. *Rasā'il al-Jāḥiẓ*, III, 317.

[123] Masʿūdi, VII, 291. About the new military system and the identity of its soldiers, see: *al-Tanbīh*, 361-2.

[124] *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 288.

[125] Agh., XVI, 75-6; Khawārizmī, 73, al-Tāj, p. 24 (n. 1).

[126] Tāj al-ʿArūs, III, 154 (infra) , " *wa - 'l-aḥāmiratu qawmun mina 'l-ʿajami nazalū bi-'l-baṣrati, wa-tabannakū bi-'l-kūfah*".

Asia in order to halt the attacks of the Turks.

In 644/24 the Muslim occupation army reached the area. The inhabitants preferred to convert to Islam rather than pay poll tax, and they were accordingly given the same status that was given to the *Asāwira* in Baṣra. Most of them preferred to stay where they were, while others went to live in Kūfa, where they became allied with Zuhra b. Ḥuwayya of Tamīm and were given the epithet *Ḥamrā' ad-Daylam*.[127]

According to the arrangement that was made, they must have been admitted to the dīwan just as the Asāwira had been in Baṣra; consequently, the figure specified by al-Dinawarī seems astronomical unless one takes into account the thousands of prisoners of war who over the course of time became enslaved to private individuals and to institutions of state, and whose number thus steadily increased.

The epithet *Ḥamra' ad-Davlam* was intended, in the opinion of this author, to distinguish between this group and the other Persian elements who had settled in Kūfa. In any case, the group in question carried out policing activities in the town during the early stages of the term of Ziyād as Muʿāwiya's agent[128] and comprised the only source of man power in governor Ziyād's police force. [129]

As for the fighting units who bore the same epithet *Ḥamrā'*, these were units in the Persian army who had surrendered to the Muslims or deserted the imperial army and joined the occupation army during the early stages of the Muslim offensive. The first battle in which they took part was at al-Qādisiyya in 635/14.[130]

Two years later, another group of *Ḥamrā'* appeared, to whom a Persian - originated commander by the name of Qubādh was appointed. This latter group participated in the chase carried out

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[127] Yāqūt, IV, 342-3; *Futūḥ*, 394-5.

[128] Ansāb, IVa, 216; Ṭab., II, 118.

[129] Ṭab., II, 148.

[130] Ṭab., I, 2261.

by the Muslims against the remnants of the defeated Persian army; later, they were sent as a garrison to the town of Ḥulwān.[131]

Another group of non-Arab fighters who bore the epithet *Ḥamrā'* appeared on the scene in Egypt, though their ethnic origin has not been unequivocally established. One version establishes that they entered Egypt with the occupation army under 'Amr b. al-'Ās and that some were of Greek-Byzantine origin and others of Persian origin. According to another version, they were originally descendants of the Persians that were in Yemen. The Persian and Greek communities among the *Ḥamrā'* each obtained a separate quarter within the garrison town of Fusṭāṭ and were treated like the fighters who originated in the Arab tribes.[132]

VI.

In a letter sent by ʿAbdullāh b. al-Zubayr to the Umayyad caliph Muʿāwiya, he complained that Muʿāwiya's slaves who had been working a parcel of land next to a plot owned by Ibn al-Zubayr, had scuffled with his own slaves. Among other things, he writes derisively: *fa - qad ghalabtanā bi ḥumrānika wa sūdānik* ("you have already overcome us thanks to your *Ḥumrān* and *Sūdān*").[133] Al-Jāḥiẓ refers to these two terms in a treatise, establishing that the expression *Sūdān* is a generic term including all Negroes, both Ethiopian and Sudanese.[134]

Slaves and prisoners of war from these ethnic groups were constantly streaming into the Islamic state, whether by way of the slave trade[135] or as a result of military raids into the regions bordering upon the Muslim territory, in which prisoners of war

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[131] Ibid., II, 2473.

[132] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 129.

[133] *Ansāb*, IVa, p. 42.

[134] *Rasā'il*, I, 210.

[135] Ibn Buṭlān, *Nawādir*, I, pp. 352-89.

were taken, or by way of pacts made with the inhabitants of these regions.[136]

The overwhelming majority of these slaves were absorbed in services or agricultural work, as we have already seen. But certain other groups were used for military purposes. As such, they were given a separate quarter in Basra.[137] But there is little available information as to their military performance, or whether or not they were under separate command, or the nature of their missions.

In contrast with these, there was a fighting unit made up of Ethiopians which served in the ranks of Ibn al-Zubayr during the siege which the Syrian army laid upon Mecca, where he entrenched himself during the uprising.[138] Later this unit was transferred to the army of Muṣʿab, brother of the insurgent, who was active in another part of 'Iraq.[139]

There was a unit of *Sūdān* which belonged to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, the governor of Madina during the reign of Muʿāwiya.[140] The army sent by Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyya to put down the riots that broke out in Madīna in the year 682/63, included a large number of *Sūdān* who apparently belonged to the *dīwān*; after the defeat of the people of Madina, the army was given a free hand to do as they wished with the inhabitants and their property.[141] As a result, 800 babies were born nine months later, who became known as *awlād al-Ḥarra*.[142]

The *Sūdān*, and particularly the Ethiopians among them, were experts at javelin-throwing, or *mizrāq*. When the Ethiopian unit

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[136] *al-Amwāl*, 215, 266-7.

[137] *Tanẓīmāt*, P. 87.

[138] *Ansāb*, V, 360-361.

[139] *Ansāb*, IVb, 51.

[140] *al-ʿUthmāniyya*, 237.

[141] *Rasā'il*, I, 201.

[142] Yāqūt, II, 249; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, I, 160-161.

under the command of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr failed to resist the Syrian army and were forced to retreat from their positions, they blamed their failure on the pretest that they had not been able to fight an open battle using the conventional weapons of the day, since their expertise was throwing javelins and thus overcoming the enemy while he was in retreat.[143]

The infamous Ethiopian slave who according to Arab literature was the murderer of *Ḥamza*, the uncle of the Prophet, at the battle of Uhud, supposedly used the same type of weapon, known as the *ḥarba*.[144]

VII.

In the words of praise attributed by al-Jāḥiẓ to the orator at *khurāsāniyya*, who was actually of the second generation of those known as *al-abnā'*,[145] the orator glorifies the loyalty of the soldiers of this army to the 'Abbasid dynasty and enumerates their prominent military achievements, Among these he refers to their crushing victory over the private militias that were in the service of the last of the Umayyad rulers, Marwān II. In this contest, he mentions the names of four such militias: *al-Ṣaḥṣaḥiyya*, *al-Dāliqiyya*, *al-Dhakwāniyya*, and *al-Rāshidiyya*.[146]

As for the third group, al-Dhakwāniyya, this militia was linked to the name of the prince and warrior Sulaymān b. Hishām, son of Hishām, the Marwānid caliph (723-712/105-125) and numbered some 5000 soldiers,[147] most of whom were *mawālī*, not of Arab origin.[148] There is also indirect evidence that they belonged to the *mawālī*. One such piece of evidence proves that there were *Sūdān*

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[143] *Ansāb*, IVb, 51; Ibn khillikān, VI, 36.

[144] Ibn Sa'd, II, 49; Ibn Hishām, 590.

[145] Sharon M., pp. 105-143.

[146] al-Jāiḥiẓ, "*manāqib al-turk*", pp. 175-6.

[147] Shaban, 165; P. Crone, p. 53 (n. 393); Ṭab., II, 1834.

[148] Ṭab., II, 1890.

among them, of Ethiopian origin.[149]

The methods by which they were enlisted were not different from the methods that were common for the enlistment of other ethnic militia during the Umayyad period.[150] It is very reasonable to assume that their master, Sulaymān b. Hishām, had a principal position in the enlistment and consolidation of this unit, since he was appointed governor at Raqqa in 72/120[151] and approximately ten times was placed in charge of the two-year campaigns against Byzantine territory, known as the *ṣā'ifa* campaigns.[152]

But there is no evidence that it was he who founded this militia. On the contrary: There exists a tradition according to which the *Dhakwāniyya* was founded by the caliph and father, Hishām, as one understanding from the reports of Balādhurī.[153]

As a separate militia, the *Dhakwāniyya* had a separate command. Mentioned as the bearer of this post is the name of Muslim b. Dhakwān,[154] who evidently gave his name to the militia. Another commander whose name is mentioned in connection with the command over this militia, was the a *mawlā* of Sulaymān b. Hishām, named Badr al-Dhakwani, who was placed in charge of Sulaymān's militia on behalf of al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-khārijī, after

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[149] Ibid., II, 1912.

[150] There is no evidence in the sources that the retinues of the *Dhakwāniyya* were recruited from the *mawālī* of al-Jazira (Mesopotamia) as suggested by Shaban, Loc. Cit.

[151] al-Azdī, P 40.

[152] Ibn ʿAsakir, VI, 288-9; Ibn Khayyāṭ, II, 508, 517, 520, 526, 528; Tab., II, 1561, 1573, 1588, 1635, 1727.

[153] "*fa-khallafa fīhimā Sulayman qawman mina 'dh-dhakwāniyya, wa-aktharuhum mawālī Hishām*". *Ansāb*, MS, II, fo. 178a. ("Then Sulayman left in them [two certain places] a group of *al-Dhakwāniyya*, of which the majority were Hishām's *mawali*").

[154] Ṭab., II, 1833. He was a freedman (*mawlā ʿatāqa*) of the Umayyad caliph Yazīd b. al-Walīd, who was known as *al-nāqiṣ*. Ṭab., II, 1852-3.

Sulaymān and his *mawālī* joined the *khārjī* rebellion.[155]

Al-Dhakwāniyya was particularly active in the third civil war following the murder of al-Walīd b. Yazīd, fighting alongside their master Sulaymān, in the fighting against the imperial army of Caliph Marwān, and later in the ranks of the *khawārij* after their longtime master changed sides and became loyal to the insurgent khārjī leader.[156]

After the departure of Sulaymān b. Hishām from the scene in the wake of the victory of Marwān over the *khawārij* in 745/128,[157] the *al-Dhakwāniyya* militia appears among the ranks of Caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad, at the battle of al-Zab, in which its fate was sealed, as was that of the Umayyad dynasty, which withdraw in favor of the opposing house of ʿAbbās.[158]

The change that took place in the stance of this militia does not represent a change in loyalty from one master to another. Rather, as *mawālī* to the former caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (as most of them were), they owed their loyalty to the current ruler, and when he died, their loyalty went to the new ruler. What is more, being the *mawālī* of an Umayvad, they felt and acted, as prescribed by law, loyal to the entire house of Umayya.[159]

The very fact that the speaker at *Khurāsāniyya* mentioned the names of only four militias that fought alongside Marwān at the battle of al-Zāb, indicates the degree of prestige these militias enjoyed.

As already mentioned, one of the four was *al-Ṣaḥṣaḥiyya*, which

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[155] al-Azdī, 70.

[156] Ṭab., II, 1830, 1833, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1892, 1913; al-Azdī, pp. 68-76.

[157] al-Azdī, p. 76.

[158] Ṭab., III, 40.

[159] On the hereditary loyalty of the *mawlā* consult the passage *ʿArab and ʿAjam* in Goldziher, vol. 1, pp. 101-104.

indeed fought in this battle within the ranks of Marwān.[160] Shortly before that battle, this militia had appeared in the Persian town of Isbahān under the command of Mālik b. Adham al-Bāhilī,[161] having arrived there during the chase organized by Marwān against the remnants of the forces of ad-Ḍaḥḥāk, after the latter had been murdered. To this end he chose three of his most senior commanders, whom he placed in charge of three separate units of horsemen. He then sent these units as reinforcement to Ibn Ḍubāra, another commander, who was engaged in combat activity in 'Iraq against the aforementioned *khawārij*. One of the three senior commanders was an Arab by the name of Muṣʿab b. as-Ṣaḥṣaḥ. According to one version, Marwān placed a thousand horsemen at the disposal of each of the commanders,[162] while a different version quotes this figure at 10,000 horsemen each.[163] The pursuit of the *kharwārij* took a long time, since Marwān's order was to chase them wherever they went and not to let them get away. In the course of the chase, the *khawārij* were driven away from 'Iraqi territory and penetrated deep into the mountainous region of Persia, but Marwān's forces did not cease the chase, and the insurgents departed from Persia.[164]

It is not impossible, therefore, that this group of Ṣaḥṣaḥiyya that appeared on the scene at Iṣbahān despite the fact that they were not under the command of Ibn aṣ-Ṣaḥṣaḥ, reached that town in the course of pursuing the *khawārij*, and that their commander, Ibn aṣ-Ṣaḥṣaḥ, had been forced to leave them in Persia and return to Marwān as part of his redeployment plan in light of the Shiʿite-ʿAbbasid rebellion at khurāsān under the Leadership of Abū Muslim.

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[160] Ṭab., III, 30.

[161] Ibid, III, 2.

[162] al-Azdī, pp. 'i5-6; Ansāb, MS II, fol. 178b.

[163] Ṭab., II, 1945.

[164] Ibid., II, 1945.

As for the identity and ethnic affiliation of the *Ṣaḥṣaḥiyya*, it is clear that some of them were *mawalī* and there is reason to assume that they, too, included Arab recruits from among the inhabitants of al-Jazira. This assumption is based on Hishām's policy of increasing his number of fighters in light of the military pressure being imposed from outside, a policy which Marwān was obliged to enforce.[165] Given this framework, it is not impossible that Arab fighters were enlisted from among the Tamīmī sub-tribe Banū Sa'd, fighters who became known as *Ṣaḥṣaḥiyyūn*.[166] Whether the *Ṣaḥṣaḥiyya* militia took its name from this epithet or From the name of one of its commanders, Mus'ab b. aṣ-Ṣaḥṣaḥ, will remain a mystery until new material is discovered.

In one of the historical poems of the poet Jarīr which denounces his colleague and adversary al-Farazdaq, Jarīr lauds the role played by one of the Berber commanders, named al-Waḍḍāḥ, in furthering the esteem of Islam and praises the *jihād* wars he led.[167] This al-Waḍḍāḥ was a mawlā of Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik and commander of the *al-Waḍḍāḥiyya* militia which bore his name[168]. This unit took part inputting down the 'Iraqi rebellion which broke out in 720/102 under the leadership of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. In the decisive battle that developed between the Syrian army and the rebels, it was al-Waḍḍāḥ and his unit who undertook the complex and dangerous mission of crossing the river in full sight of the enemy in order to burn the bridge. When al-Waḍḍāḥ had completed this mission, panic and disconcertment struck the rebels, whose escape route had been blocked. This greatly aided the victory of the Syrian army.[169]

Al Waḍḍāḥ was sometimes placed in charge of the *ṣā'ifa*

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[165] Shaban, 162.

[166] Ibn Durayd, 258.

[167] *Diwān Jarīr*, I, 473; *Naqā'iḍ*, 995.

[168] *Ansāb*, MS., II, fol. 108b.

[169] Ṭab., II, 1401-3.

campaigns, and fulfilled his mission successfully.[170] It was perhaps for this reason that Caliph Hishām gave him the task in 724/106 of setting out on reprisal missions in the heart of Byzantine territory, which he penetrated deeply, burning crops, farms, and villages of the Byzantines.[171]

From the moment it was founded by ʿAbd al-Malik, the Waḍḍāḥiyya continued to existed throughout almost the entire Umayyad period: it appears together with the army of the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān b. Muhammad, in 744/127, when the latter besieged the town of Ḥimṣ (Emessa), whose inhabitants joined the Great Revolt in which all inhabitants of Greater Syria (*ahl ash-shām*) took part. Al-Waḍḍāḥiyya were the first to break through into the besieged city. They numbered about 3,000 horsemen. But their commander was not aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk, but his son, ʿAmr,[172] who had evidently taken command in his father's stead, since aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk had either grown old or died. From there, Marwān sent ʿAmr b. al-Waḍḍāḥ and another commander, together with a large force, to put down the rebellion in Damascus and the surrounding region. This mission, too, was completed with great success.[173]

The induction of Berbers became a tradition in the Umayyad dynasty. From the earliest conquests in the region, the Muslims would impose upon residents who had not converted to Islam (which was true, as we know, of the overwhelming majority of the Berbers) an annual tribute collected in the form of young men and women in lieu of the normal poll tax.[174] This was also the practice in other areas and with regard to other ethnic communities.[175] But

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[170] Ibid., II, 1306.

[171] al-Yaʿqūbī, II, 328.

[172] Ṭab., II, 1893.

[173] Ibid., II, 1894.

[174] *Futūḥ*, 265; Yaʿqūbī, II, 156; *al-Amwāl*, 267; *al-Dhakhā'ir*, 15.

[175] *Futūḥ*, 245, 280, 281.

this levy was not intensive and did not include all sectors of the population in question. More serious for the Berbers was the so-called *raqīq al-khums*, or "one-fifth levy," *kāna 'l-wulātu qabla Hishāmin yukhammisūna 'l-barbara; man lam yuslim minhum*, which the rulers preceding Hishām would carry out on the non-Muslim Berber population.[176]

Mawālī were sometimes purchased ad hoc when a need for manpower arose. One example of this was the order sent by Caliph al-Walīd I to his representative in Egypt, that 2,000 men and women be sent to him from among the Egyptian Copts.[177] The almost incessant supply of slaves, obtained using these methods or others, made it easy for the caliphs and princes of the dynasty to enlist fighters and establish private and imperial militia at their discretion. The sources reveal various types of such militias which were sometimes identifiable by the specific names they bore, as explained above. Generally, however, they were known as "the *mawali* of so-and-so".[178]

During the reign of Hishām, the Shī'ite revolt broke out, associated with the name of Zayd b. 'Alī, Kūfa was the arena of

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[176] al-Qayrawānī, 109.

[177] Ibid., 66.

[178] One can find numerous groups of such mawālī linked to the names of the various rulers, regents or princes of the ruling dynasty. The outstanding examples are the following: "*mawālī Mu'āwiya*", *Ansāb*, V, 301-302, there were about 10,000 men at the battle of Marj-Rāhiṭ, *Naqā'iḍ Jarīr*, p, 15. Sometimes we see the "*khiṣyān Mu 'āwiya*" numbered 4000 men, Ṭab., I, 3091. Or "*Mawālī 'Abd al-Malik*", *Futūḥ*, 190. Or "*Mawālī Hishām*", Ibn al-Abbār, I, 34. Or "*Mawālī al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd*", Ibn 'asākir, MS. fol. 468a. Or "*mawālī al-Miswar*", *Ansāb*, IVb, 48. In some cases, the recruited militias got their names from the name of their homeland or from their previous legal status, as one can learn from the names of the following: "*raqīq 'Uthmān*," who were recruited from the ranks of the prisoners of war brought from the front to Madīna, Ṭab., I, 2988. Or "*ghilmān 'Uthmān*", al-'Iṣāmī, II, 403. Or "*fityān 'Abd al-Malik*", i.e., the freedman of 'Abd al-Malik, *Ansāb*, V, 300. Or "*farghāniyya t 'Abd al-Mlalik*", those who came from Farghāna in Central Asia, *al-Bidāya*, IV, 28.

this rebellion. In the course of the encounter with the rebels, the horsemen of the Syrian garrison were repelled by the rebels. The commander of the Syrian units requested the intervention of the archers, *al-nāshiba*, who quickly arrived. These were the bowmen of the unit known as Qīqāniyya, under the command of , a man named Sulaymān b. Kaysān, a freed man of the Kalb tribe. They were 300 in number, all archers, and their intervention in the campaign put an end to the rebels' resistance, since the leader of the rebellion was struck by an arrow in the head and died shortly thereafter.[179] The name Qīqāniyya attests simultaneously to the country of origin and ethnic identity of this group, who had come from Qīqān in the Sind region of India,[180] the inhabitants of which belonged to the Zuṭṭ.[181]

Another ethnic unit in Marwān b. Muḥammad's army was that of the *Ṣaqāliba*, freed slaves of Slavic origin who had been enlisted from among the non-Arab elements in Anṭākyā and the surrounding region. The commander of this unit, named Sulsāq, took part in putting down the uprisings that had broken out against Marwān in Syria.[182] Other Slavic units were stationed by him as garrisons in the outlying towns bordering on Byzantium.[183] Marwān apparently had great and unconditional faith in these Slavs: he trusted them as his personal guards; furthermore, he appointed one of them, a man by the name of Suqlāb, to be his chamberlain.[184]

From the earliest days of the Umayyad dynasty in power, a cavalry unit called *rābiṭa* was established in 'Iraq to deal with the sudden uprisings by the *khawārij*. The first to establish this unit

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[179] Ṭab., II, 1708; Maqātil, 141, 137; Ibn al-Athīr, IV, 246.

[180] Yāqūt, IV, 423.

[181] *Futūḥ*, 544.

[182] Ṭab., II, 1910.

[183] *Futūḥ*, 177, 197

[184] *Ansāb*, III, 121.

was Muʿāwiya's representative in 'Iraq, Governor Ziyād. The unit consisted of some 500 men, based in the area of the mosque, under a separate command.[185] Evidently, as the danger posed by the *khawārij* increased on the one hand, and their uprisings became more frequent on the other, it became necessary to streamline and improve the operation of these units. To this end, a special framework was established, headed by a military commander known as *ṣāḥib ar-rawābiṭ*. Several such units were established in sensitive places, none of which numbered more than 500 horsemen and each of them under a separate commander. These units became a separate entity during the reign of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, although they did exist during the reign of earlier caliphs.[186] Toward the end of the dynasty's dominion, these units increased in number, and the number of horsemen assigned to each unit doubled to 1,000 men. In Mesopotamia alone there were seven or eight such units, all commanded by ʿAbdallah b. Marwān, son of the last caliph.[187]

In un utterance attributed to Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr, the ʿAbbasid caliph (736-58/753-74), Abū Jaʿfar refers to the rulers of the Umayyad dynasty, singling out only three of them whom he considered worthy of being called kings in every sense of the word. Among these three he mentions Hishām, adding: "whose *mawālī* would do anything for him", *wa-kafāhu mawālīh*.[188] Summarizing his remarks on this caliph, he says, inter alia, that he enlisted many fighters for himself, *wa -ʾṣṭanaʿa ʾr-rijāl*.[189] In other words, he established fighting units from among the *mawālī*. This reminds us of the combat units of the princes in the protectorates (*Hīra*),

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[185] *Ansāb*, IVa, 192.

[186] Ibn Saʿd, VII (2), 67; *al-Jamhara*, MS, fol. I40a; *Ansāb*, MS, II. fol. 680b.

[187] al-Azdī, 69, 75-6; Ṭab,, II 1945.

[188] Ibn al-Abbār, I, 34.

[189] al-Masʿūdī, V, 466.

which were known as al-Ṣanā'i'[190].

Mawālī were acquired extensively during the Umayyad period. They were thought of as an additional force, more reliable and safer than the Arab tribesmen, whose loyalty to the rulers was doubtful at best because their true loyalty lay solely with their tribes. The rulers from the house of Umayya were aware of the waywardness that characterized the tribesmen, and therefore did not think twice about purchasing *mawālī*, whom they considered an alternative that was more loyal, more gracious, and more indebted.[191] Furthermore, Arab literature emphasizes and even lauds the unconditional obedience and loyalty of the *mawālī* toward their masters.[192] A quotation has been preserved, attributed to one of the members of the ruling nobility, in which the *mawālī*, particularly the private military units, are described as a fortress in which shelter may be found in times of danger.[193]

The Umayyads thought of the private militias that had been enlisted from among the *mawālī* as an additional measure of power and strength, which in turn boosted their own self-confidence and their ability to cope with the hiqh-spirited temperament of the tribesmen. This is the interpretation given by Abu Tammām to the step taken by 'Ubayd Allah b. Ziyād in enlisting the Bukhāriyya.[194] a speech given by Qutayba b. Muslim, the military commander and governor of the eastern province during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, Qutayba refers specifically to the valor and strength provided by

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[190] M.J. Kister, "*al-Ḥīra*", *ARABICA*, 15 (2) 1968, pp. 143-169.

[191] Once Mu'āwiya sent a letter to his deputy in 'Iraq, Ziyād, in which he complained of the ill treatment of his relatives. In his response, Ziyād says: "*'alayka bi-'lmawālī, fa-innahum anṣaru wa-aghfaru wa-ashkar*". Ansāb, IVa, p. 23.

[192] See for example the commentary of al-Jāḥiẓ concerning their obedience and loyalty. Rasā'il, vol. I, p. 28, 30.

[193] al-Qayrawānī, 138, "*hum ḥiṣnun lanā*".

[194] "*ittakhadha minhum 12 alfan ya'izzu bihim*", Naqā'iḍ Jarīr, 7; *al-Imāma wa-al-siyāsa*, II, 21-22.

the units of the Sughd that were subordinate to him. He considered them a counterforce offsetting all the tribesmen in the province, who were estimated to number tens of thousands of fighting men.[195]

[195] Yaʿqūbī, II, 295; Futūh, 520.

ABBREVIATIONS:

Abū Tammām = *Naqā'iḍ Jarīr wa-al-Akhṭal* (ed. A. Ṣaliḥānī al Yasūʿī, Beirut 1922).

Abū Yūsuf = *al-kharāj* (4th ed. Cairo 1392 H.).

Agh = Abu al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *kitāb al-aghānī* (ed. Bulaq, Cairo 1285 H.).

al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl = al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl* (ed. ʿĀmir and al-Shayyāl, Teheran 1960).

Amwāl = al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *al-Amwāl* (ed. M. Harrās, Cairo 1968).

Ansāb MS = al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, MS. ʿAshir Efendi, nos. 597, 598, Sulaymāniyya, Istanbul.

Ansāb (III) = (ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī, Beirut 1978).

Ansāb (IVa) = (ed. M.J. Kister, Jerusalem 1971).

Ansāb (IV pt. 1) = (ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1979).

Ansāb (IVb) = (ed. M. Schloessinger, Jerusalem 1978).

Ansāb (V) = (ed. S.D. Goitein, Jerusalem 1936).

ʿAthāmina, Hisham= *The Umayyad Caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik* (Unpublished dissertation in the Hebrew University 1981).

ʿAthāmina, Settlement = *Arab Settlement During the*

Ummayad Caliphate, Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam, 8(1986), pp. 185-207.

'Athāmina, Sources = *The Sources of Baladhuri's Ansāb al-ashrāf, Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 5(1984), pp. 257-262.

'Athāmina, *Diwān* = *The Socio-Political Aspectss of Dīwān al-ʿaṭa'*, Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam, 14(1981), pp. 1-39.

Azdī = *Tārīkh al Mawṣil* (ed. A. Habīiba, Cairo 1967).

Barthold = *Turkistan Down to the Mongol Invasion* (2nd ed. London 1928).

Bayān = *al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Bayān wa-al-tabyīn* (ed. A. Hārūn, 4th ed., Cairo 1975).

Bidāya = Ibn Kathir, al-Bidāya wa-al-Nihāya (ed. Cairo 1351 H.).

Burṣān = al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Burṣan wa-al-ʿurjān* (ed. M. Mursī al-Khūli, Beirut 1972).

Crone P. = *Slaves On Horses, The Evolution of the Islamic Polity*, Cambridge 1981.

Dhakā'ir = al-Rashīd b. al-Zubayr, *al-Dhakhā'ir wa al-tuḥaf* (ed. M. Ḥamīd Allah, Kuwait 1959).

Dīwān Jarīr = (ed. Nu'mān Ṭāhā, Cairo 1971).

Donner = Fred M. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests*, Princeton, 1981.

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Narshakhī = *Tārikh Bukhārā* (tr. from Persian and ed. by A. Badawi and M. Ḥijāzī, Cairo 1965).

Ibn al-Kalbī	= *Jamharat al-nasab* (ed. Nājī Hasan, Beirut 1986).
Ibn Khayyāṭ	= *Tārīkh Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ* (ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Cairo 1967).
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The Tribal Kings in Pre-Islamic Arabia
A Study of the Epithet *malik* or *dhū al-tāj* in early Arabic Traditions

Researchers of Arabic and early Islam often encounter the term *malik* or *dhū al-tāj* as an epithet referring to some of the tribal leaders who lived in northern or southern part of the Arabian peninsula during the pre-Islamic period just before the appearance of Muḥammad. A thorough investigation of these titles, or of the persons who bore them, reveals that these were no more than local leaders whose authority did not exceed the bounds of their tribe, or of adjacent tribes. Furthermore, there is no justification for comparing them to the kings and emperors of the neighboring kingdoms, such as Persia, Ethiopia, and the Byzantine Empire. The scope of authority and command enjoyed by these local leaders cannot even be described in the same terms as that of the rulers of the southern kingdoms in Yemen, who belonged to the dynasties of Saba' and Ḥimyar. At the very most, they may not be compared with the rulers of the buffer emirates, the Lakhamids or the Ghassanids.

Why, then, were these rulers given the epithet *malik*, "king`', and why were their heads adorned with *tījān*, "crowns.'? This article will attempt to address these questions and to deal with the phenomenon of the *mulūk*, "kings", their authority, and the scope of their command, as well as with the sources from which they drew their autheritv and how it was imposed.

I

Islamic historical tradition refers to the existence of certain tribal leaders known as *mulūk al-ʿarab*,"the kings of the Arabs".The earliest reference to these kings is contained in the

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issue of the letters which were sent by the Prophet to the kings of the neighboring countries, in which he proposed that they embrace Islam. Included in the list of kings are the names of five Arab kings: two in the ʿUmān region (the brothers Jayfar and ʿUbād, the two sons of al-Julandā al-Azdī), two in Yamāma (Hawdha b. ʿAlī and Thumāma b. Uthāl of the Ḥanīfa tribe), and a fifth king, in Baḥrayn, by the name of al-Mundhir'b. Sāwā al-ʿAbdī.[1]

Regardless of the controversy regarding the date at which these letters were sent--viz., whether they were sent before the campaign of Ḥudaybiya (628/6), or immediately after the campaign, or later

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[1] Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabiyy*, ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo, 1963, p. 1026; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. E. Sachau, Leiden, 1917, vol. I(2), pp. 18-19; al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, (ed. Cairo, 1964), vol. III, pp. 300-303; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-athar*, (Cairo, n.d.), vol. II, pp. 266-270; al-Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿal-asmāʿ*, ed. M.M. Shākir (2nd ed., Qatar, n.d. photocopy of the Cairo edition, 1941), vol. I, p. 308; Ibn Ḥazm, *jawāmiʿ al-sīra*, (ed. I. ʿAbbās and Naṣir al-Dīn al-Asad), Cairo (n.d.), p. 29; Ibn al Jawzī, *al-Wafā bi-aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā*, (ed. M. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, Cairo, 1966), vol. II, p. 738, 741-742; Daḥlān, Aḥmad Zaynī, *Sīrat Daḥlān* (ed. Cairo, 1310 a.h.), vol. II, pp. 175-177; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-yaʿqūbī*, (ed. Beirut, 1960), vol. II, p. 78; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, *fī al-tārīkh*, (4th ed., Beirut, 1983), vol. II, p. 143. 146, 157; al-Suhaylī, *al-Rawḍ al-unuf*, (ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Wakīl, Cairo, 1967), vol. VII, p. 465; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-al-nihāya* (4th ed., Beirut, 1979), vol. IV, p. 273, vol. V, p. 48; al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa-al-ishrāf*, ed. M.J. De Goeje, Leiden, 1894, pp. 260-261; al-Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, (ed. Cairo, 1283 a.h.), vol. II, p.92-94, 116. Some of these Kings were sporadically mentioned in the following sources: Abū Yūsuf, *al-Kharāj* (4th ed., Cairo, 1392 a.h.), p. 141; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba* (ed. Cairo, 1280 a.h.), vol. IV, p. 417; al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-aʿshā* (ed. Cairo, 19630), vol. VI, p. 376, 380; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa* (ed. Suhayl Zakkār), Cairo, 1967, p., 46; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣāba* (ed. Cairo, 1328 a.h.), no. (8216); al Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, (ed. Salaḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid), Cairo, 1956-1957, p. 92, 95, 98, 105; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab* (ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn), Cairo, 1962, p. 384; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat al-nasab*, (ed. Nāj Ḥasan, Beirut, 1986), p. 201; Yaqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, (ed. Beirut, n.d.) s.v. (A.s.b.dh); al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil al-Jāḥiẓ*, (ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo, 1964), vol. I, p. 183.

on during the last days of the Prophet[2]--two solid facts emerge in the context of this issue: first, the fact that these letters were indeed sent, and second, that there were indeed leaders in Arabia who bore the title *malik*, among whom Hawdha b. ʿAlī bore the title of *dhū al-tāj*, "the owner of the crown".[3] The Arab poets who referred to this leader, called him by this title. An anonymous poet from Muslim Persia who wrote a poem praising 'Abd Allah b. Tāhir (the governor of Kurāsān on behalf of the 'Abbasids), mentions the royal crown which Hawdha b.'Alī had placed on his head, in one of the verses of that poem:

fa-anta awlā bi-tāji 'l-mulki talbasuhū
min Hawdhata b. ʿAliyyin wa-bni dhī Yazani[4]

--"you are more worthy of placing the royal crown on your head / than were Hawdhata b. 'Alī and (Sayf) b. Dhī Yazan" (the king from the Himyar dynasty in Yemen who converted to Judaism and died as a martyr in the Ethiopian invasion of his country).Hawdha's crown is also mentioned on other occasions. by another poet.[5] In both cases, Hawdha's crown is etched in the collective memory of the early generations of Islam as an element symbolizing the concept of royalty and sovereign power.

Hawdha b. 'Alī was not the only one to acquire this title; other

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[2] Watt W. Montgomery, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford, 1968, pp. 345-347; M.J. Kister, "al-Mundhir b. Sāwā", E.I.[2]

[3] al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil fī al-lugha wa-al-adab*, (ed M Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm and Sayyid Shiḥāta, Cairo, n.d.), vol. III, p. 23; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, (ed. Th. ʿUkāsha, 2nd ed., Cairo, 1969), p. 97, l 15, *al-Kāmil*, vol. I, p. 276; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, (ed. M. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1961), vol. II, 169.

[4] al-Mubarrad, vol. II, 24; Ibn ʿAbdi Rabbihī, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd* (ed. A. Amīn, A. al-Zayn and I. al-Abayrī, 3rd ed., Cairo, 1965), vol. I. 0. 322; Yaqūt, op. cit., s.v. (shadhiyākh); al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, (ed. M. Abū al-faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1965), p. 52 1, Ibn Taghrī Bardī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, (ed. Cairo, 1963), vol. II, p. 199.

[5] al-Aʿshā, *Dīwān al-Aʿshā*, (ed. Beirut, 1960), p. 108, al-Mubarrad, *op. cit.*. vol. II, p. 24; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, (ed. Cairo, 1306 a.h.), s.v. (h.w.dh.).

tribal leaders also bore it, such as the leader of the Tamīm tribe, Ḥājib b. Zurāra, who wore the *tāj al-mulk*, the royal crown, as described by al-Farazdaq.[6]

Epithets associated with royalty were sometimes combined in poetic terminology with the parallel term *mu'aṣṣab bi-tāj*, as reflected in the following verse, which praises a leader from the Kinda tribe by the name of al-Ash'ath b. Qays:

wa-mu 'aṣṣabun bit-tāji mafriqu rāsihi
mulkun la-'amruka rāsikhu 'l-awtādi

"the man whose head is adorned with a crown / is, by your life, the age-old royalty".

The connection between the act of wearing a crown and the notion of royalty is a strong one. The poet al-A'shā, in addressing the Persian king, calls him *dhū al-tāj*.[8] This epithet became rooted in the consciousness of generations of poets, so that the term *dhū al-tāj* became synonymous with the term *malīk*. as attested by examples in Classical Arabic poetry.[9]

But there were rulers who used to adorn their heads with crowns, and even bore the title *dhū al-tāj*, but were not elevated to the ranks of royalty, as in the case of the Meccan ruler Sa'īd b. al-'Ās, Abū Uḥayḥa,[10] about whom it was said that no man in

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[6] The link between the *tāj* and the royal title is clearly shown in the verse of al-Farazdaq, where he refers to *tāj al-mulk*. *Dīwān al-Farazdaq*, (ed. Beirut, 1966), vol. I, p. 100; Abū al-Baqā', *al-Manāqib al-Mazyadiyya*, (ed. S. Dararka and M. Khresāt,'Ammān, 1984), p. 62; Abū 'Ubayda, *al-Naqā'id*, ed. A. Bevan, Leiden, 1905, p. 76, 464.

[7] Abū al-Baqā', p. 75; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at ṣiffīn*, (ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo, 1328 a.h.), p.22.

[8] *Dīwān al-A'shā*, P. 57; Abū al-Baqā', p 407.

[9] See, for example, the verse of al-Akhṭal, in which he refers to the Sassanian king using the title *dhū al-tāj*, Abū al-Baqā', p. 400. The same title is given to the vassal king of Ḥīra in a verse attributed to Hāni' b. Qabīṣa al-Shaybānī. See: *ibid*, p. 401.

[10] On him, see: Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, (ed. Khurshīd, A. Fāriq), Haydarabad, 1964, pp. 130-138(index); *idem.*, *al-Muḥabbar*, (ed. E. Lechten

Mecca dared to wear a turban the same color as his, because of the reverence with which they regarded him.[11] But the fact that Abu Uhayha was not given the title *malik* did not nullify the official-political significance of the term *dhū al-tāj*, which apparently always reflected the status of royalty.

In a verse attributed to Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, the poet refers to a woman named Umāma, who was the granddaughter of Abū Uhayha on her father's side and the granddaughter of the Caliph 'Uthmān on her mother's side. He mentions two elements of(secular) royalty and of the (religious) caliphate which were embodied by this woman, which she inherited from her ancestors Abū Uhayha and 'Uthman. The poet writes:

fa-in ḥuztahā thamma al-khilāfatu ba'dahā
taḥuz khayra 'ilqay minbarin wa-sarīri.[12]

"if you win her (the woman) and afterwards win the caliphate / then you shall be worthy of the two most prestigious things: the caliphate and the kingdom". In this verse, the *minbar* (the preacher's pulpit) represents the element of the caliphate in its Islamic sense, while the *sarīr* (the throne of royalty) symbolizes the element of royalty in its secular, pre-Islamic sense.

It is apparently the verse of Khālid b. Yazīd which created the impression that there is no difference between the expressions *dhū al-'amāma* ("owner of the turban") and *dhū al-tāj* ("owner of the crown"), so that Abū Uhayha bore both epithets simultaneously. This syonymous interpretation of the two terms was attacked by the author of *al-Manāqib al-Mazyadiyya*, who opposed the inclusion of Abū Uhayha among the crowned kings despite the fact that he was indeed called *dhū al-tāj*--an epithet which

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Steiter, Haydarabad, 1361 a.h.), (index).

[11] The turban of Abū Uhayha is mentioned in an anonymous verse. See: *al-Muhabbar*, p. 165, al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī' al-abrār*, (ed. S. Al-Nu'aymī, Baghdad., n.d.), vo. Iv, p. 2, p. 218.

[12] Abū al-Baqā', yp. 70-71; al-Mubarrad, vol. I, p.347; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, (ed. M. Schloessinger, Jerusalem, 1938), vol. 14(B), p. 70.

stemmed from the fact that he wore a turban.[13]

But there is no basis for the opinion of Abū al-Baqā' who was apparently unaware of the meaning of the word *ʿamāma* in Arabic tradition, which was parellel to the term "crown" in the Persian tradition. When a man was given the position of tribal leader, *sayyid*, he would be crowned with a red turban;[14] This accounts for the Arab proverb: *al ʿamā'imu tījān al-ʿarab*[15] ("the turbans are the Arab's crowns").

There is another case in which Abu al-Baqā' attempts to dissociate a tribal leader from the group of crowned rulers, *aṣḥāb al-tījān*. The person in question was Mālik b.'Awf al-Nasrī, who,

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[13] Abū al-Baqā', p. 71.

[14] *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. ('.m.m.)

[15] *Thimār al-qulūb*, p. 159. It is noteworthy that the phrase *ta'aṣṣaba bi'l-ʿiṣābati*, "to don the turban or bandage on one's head" has no other meaning than to be crowned as king, since the term *'iṣābā* in its wider sense means "crown". The significance is clearly understood from the words of the tradition concerning the coronation of 'Abdullāh b. Ubayy by his fellow tribesmen. 'The tradition begins as follows: "*wa-laqad iṣtalaḥa ahlu hādhihī al-baḥrati' ʿalā an yutawwijūhu, fa-ya ʿṣibūhu, bi-ʿiṣābati*": Ibn Shabba, *Akhbār al-madīna*, (ed. Fahīm M. Shaltūt, Beirut, 1990), vol. I, p. 357; *Lisān al-ʿarab*, s.v. ('.ṣ.b.); al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥiḥ*, (ed. Cairo, 1378 a.h.), vol. VI, p. 50. The coronation act itself is referred to by the term *ʿaṣaba* in a verse attributed to ʿAmr b. Kalthūm, al-Anbārī, *Sharḥ al-qaṣā'id al-sabʿ al-ṭiwāl*, (ed. Abd al-Salām Hārūn, 2nd edition, Cairo, 1969), p. 389. It seems that Balādhurī had misunderstood the meaning of the phrase reported in al-Yaʿqūbī "*wa-ʿaṣbathu bi-ʿiṣāba*", since he comes to the conclusion that Saʿd b. ʿUbāda was suffering From a fever when the Anṣār convened the meeting of the Saqīfa of Banū Sāʿida to choose their candidate for the position of caliph after the death of Muḥammad. *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, (ed. M. Ḥatnidullāh, Cairo, 1959), vol. I, p. 581. al-Ḥalabī also makes the same mistake when he states that Saʿd was ill in that meeting. See: *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, vol. III, p. 479. The phrase used in al-Yaʿqūbī denotes, in fact, the method of coronation according to the tribal tradition. in this context, the word *ʿiṣāba* has nothing to do with fever or any kind of illness. See: *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. II, p. 123. It is surprising to note that D. Ayalon does not refer to the pre-Islamic concept of monarchy in his treatment of the term *malik* in Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed.

according to the tribal conception, belonged to this group.[16] He was head of the tribal federation of Hawāzin in the battle against the Muslims at Ḥunayn, but he converted to Islam after his tribe was defeated.[17] As a sign of esteem, and in the interest of gaining his favor for his new religion, the Prophet awarded him with one hundred camels.[18] Abū al-Baqā' asserts that the acting of giving Mālik command in this battle did not stem from the fact that he was leader of the tribe, but rather was intended to gain his favor, as an act of good tidings.[19]

But Abū al-Baqā''s statements are not accurate. In fact, Mālik was given command because he was the *sayyid* as well as the *fāris* the fighter-horseman--of the Hawāzin federation.[20] The man chosen by Hawāzin to receive this act of good faith was none other than Durayd b. al-Simma, who was already about sixty years of age and had lost his eyesight.[21]

While the grounds for including Mālik b. 'Awf within the category of those who bore the title of *dhū al-tāj* are not acceptable to Abū al-Baqā', the situation is different with regard to a another tribal leader, by the name of Ḥāritha b. 'Amr al-Shaybānī, who bore the title *dhū al-tāj*.[22] Ḥāritha's coronation was associated with the complex inter-tribal relationships that characterized that period.

When the people of the Bakr b. Wā'il tribe rebelled against the king of al-Hīra, they came under the dominion of the opposing

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[16] Abū al-Baqā', p. 72.

[17] Ibn Ḥazm, *op. cit*,., p. 269; al-Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzi*, ed. M. Jones, Oxford, 1966, p. 886.

[18] Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiqāq*. (ed. Abd al-Salām Harūn, 2nd ed., Baghdad, 1979), p. 292.

[19] Abū al-Baqā', p. 72.

[20] al-Wāqidī, p. 805, p. 885.

[21] al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī* (ed. Cairo, 1285 a.h.), vol. IX, p. 2, p. 18, al-Wāqidī. p. 886, Ibn Hishām, p. 889.

[22] Ibn Ḥazm, *op. cit.*, 324; *Abū al-Baqā'*, p. 62.

king from the Kinda dynasty in order to receive his assistance and support against the ruler of al-Hīra. But matters did not work out the way the Bakr b. Wā'il tribesmen had hoped. The two kings made peace, celebrated by the marriage of al-Mundhir, king of al-Hīra and the daughter of the king of the Kinda dynasty.[23] In light of the situation which arose, the Bakr b. Wā'il tribesmen crowned Hāritha b. 'Amr al-Shaybānī as their ruler and treated him as their king.[24]

Two things can be learned from the coronation of Haritha al-Shaybānī: first, that his coronation ws the initiative of the local inhabitants and not of a third party (as would generally have been the case at that time, when it was the kings of Persia or their local representatives who had the final say regarding local events), and second, that the coronation was an act designed to strengthen a political position whose purpose was to break the yoke imposed by the hegemony of the ruler of Hira. For these tribesmen--as for others--ridding themselves of this yoke meant ridding themselves of the annual tributes levied from them by the king of al-Hīra and of the need to place several youths in his custody as hostages to ensure their loyalty and subservience.[25]

The case of Ḥāritha al-Shaybānī's coronation was not unusual for the pre-Islamic period or for the transitional period between the Jahiliyya and Islam following the death of the Prophet, when tribal insurrections broke out at the beginning of the reign of Abū Bakr, of which Islamic historiography refers to as *al-ridda*, the apostasy wars.

One reported insurrection involved a southern tribe by the name of Banū Wali'a in the area of Ḥaḍramawt. The representative of the al-Madīna government who was in charge of this region came out to suppress the insurrection and defeated the tribesmen. They

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[23] *al-Naqā'iḍ*, p. 267, pp. 1072-1073.

[24] Abū al-Baqā', p. 62.

[25] Kister, M.J., "Al-Hīra, Some Notes on its Relations with Arabia", ARABICA, 15 (1968), pp.143-169.

sought refuge in the fortress of a ruler form the Kinda tribe called al-Ashʿath, and requested his aid in the fight against the Muslim warriors. But al-Ashʿath made his assistance contingent upon their crowning him as their king, which they did not hesitate to do. They appointed him king and crowned him in accordance with the same formula by which kings from Qahtan were crowned.[26]

In this case, too, one notes the same two elements: that of personal initiative and that of an underlying political need which motivated the coronation.

The political element is clearly reflected in cases of coronation which served as an act of insurrection against the imposition of an external political power. Various tribal leaders and false prophets who led the rebellions against the regime of the first Caliph, Abū Bakr, wore crowns which symbolized the act of breaking the yoke of government imposed by the regime in al-Madīna.[27]

But sometimes the political element is conspicuously absent from the circumstances which brought about the coronation of the tribal leader, as was the case in the decision by the Sulaym tribe to crown ʿAbbās b. Anas al-Riʾlī. This decision was not carried to fruition, since the candidate for coronation abandoned the tribe and saught refuge withe another tribe which had awarded him their patronage. This occured after 'Abbās al-Riʾlī had been insulted by the behavior of one of his relatives.[28]

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[26] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, (ed. M. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrahīm, Cairo, 196 1), vol. I, p. 295; Abū Hilāl al-ʿAsakrī, *al-Awāʾil*, (ed. M. Sayyid al-Wakīl, Ṭanṭā, Egypt, 1987), p. 310. According to another version, the initiative of Al-Ashʿath's coronation came from Banū ʿAmr b. Muʿāwiya, al-Qalqashandī, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 16.
A fresh data about the *ridda* of Banū Walīʿa was given by M. Lecker in his study: "Kinda on the eve of Islam...", *JRAS*, vol. 4 (part3), 1994, pp. 333-356

[27] al-Yaʿqūbī, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p.128.

[28] *al-Aghānī*, vol. XVI, p. 57. It was reported that Banū Sulaym had crowned another person, named Mālik b. al Sharīd, the brother of the famous poet al-Khansā'. See: Ibn Ḥazm, *op. cit.*, P. 261. About other leaders of Sulaym who bore the royal title See: M. Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, the Hebrew

As is well known, the candidate for coronation was one of the outstanding noble figures within his tribe and among other tribes.[29] In the case of ʿAbbās al-Riʿlī, the only factors which came into play were internal ones, expressed by a series of hindrances and acts of opposition on the part of various clans from within the Sulaym tribe who were opposed to the coronation.[30]

The external political element is missing from the story of the proposal to crown ʿAbdu'llāh b. Ubayy, the leader from al-Madīna. This coronation plan, according to reports, came at the initiative of the Arab residents of al-Madīna (Yathrib), whether from the al-Khazraj tribe (the dominant tribe in that town) or as a coordinated effort from both the al-Khazraj tribe and the Aws tribe.[31]

Of all the reports regarding the coronation of Ibn Ubayy, only the tradition cited by al-Mas'ūdī contradicts this. According to al-Masʿūdī, the Khazraj tribe forced the coronation upon the Aws

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University, Jerusalam, 1989, pp. 219-220.

[29] About al-Riʿlī see: Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, MS. 'Asher Efendi, Sulaymaniyya, Istanbul, nos. 597, 598, pt. II, for. 210a, Wāqidī, p. 353; *Naqāʾiḍ*, p. 302, 410, *Aghānī*, vol. XVI, p. 140.

[30] According to another report, Sulaym had crowned another tribal leader called Mālik b. al-Sharīd, who was soon murdered by a Kinanite murderer. Ibn Ḥzam, *op. cit.*, p. 261. Another leader from the tribe, called al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās, was anxious to get the crown which the Banū Sulaym had prepared for al-Riʿlī, but failed to win it. See: *Aghānī*, vol. XVI, p. 140.

[31] On the controversial nature of the traditions dealing with this issue, see: Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī, *al-Istibṣār*, (ed. ʿAlī Nuwayhiḍ, Beirut, 1972), p. 185; Wāqidī, p. 419; Ibn Shabba, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 357; Bukhārī, vol. VI, p. 50; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. (b.ḥ.r.); Ibn Hishām, p. 759; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 606; al-Kulāʿī, *al-Iktifā*, (ed. M.ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, Beirut, 1970), vol. II, p. 218; Abū al-Baqā', pp. 63-64; *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, vol. I, p. 202; al-Suhaylī, *op. cit.*, vol.VI, p. 402; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya*, (ed. M. Ṭināḥī and Ṭāhir al-Zāwī, Beirut, 1963), vol. I, p. 100; *al-Tanbīh wa-al-ishrāf*, p. 272; *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, vol. II, p. 598; al-Diyārbakrī, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 472; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar Ibn ʿAsākir*, (ed. Ma'mūn Saghurjī, Damascus, 1989), vol. XXV, p. 291.

tribe.[32] But it is difficult to accept this version, since the circumstances and the general climate in Yathrib on the eve of the coronation would not have enabled a unilateral initiative by the Khazraj, even though they were the stronger side.

As for the candidate for coronation, Ibn Ubayy had to his credit the neutral stance he maintained with regard to the mutual acts of violence between the two factions of the city's inhabitants, in which considerable blood was spilt--particularly in the bloody battle of Buʿāth.[33] In addition, Ibn Ubayy was no normal tribal leader; rather, he was a dominant figure of unique military importance, since one third of the fighting force of Madīna was under his command.[34] If needed, he could mobilize two thousand warriors from his tribe, from his "clients", *mawālīhi*, and from his allies outside Madīna.[35] His social stand, military power, and degree of influence are reflected in some historical reports[36].

In the opinon of this author, it was all of these facts, along with the atmosphere of reconciliation which characterized Medīna on the eve of the *hijra*,[37] which underlay the idea of crowning 'Abdu'llāh b. Ubayy.

II

Abū al-Baqā', referring to the crown of Hawdha b. ʿAlī al-Ḥanafī, says that Hawdha was indeed a noble figure within his

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[32] Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *Nashwat al-ṭarab*, (ed. Naṣrat ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, ʿAmman, 1982), vol. I, p. 264.

[33] *al-Kamil*, vol. I, p. 418.

[34] *al-Maʿārif*, p. 159; Wensinck A.T., *Muḥammad and the Jews of Medina*, (tr. and ed. by W. Behn, Freiburg 1975), pp. 33-36.

[35] al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, vol. II, 553.

[36] Ibn Hishām, p. 307, 759, 761; *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, vol. II, 598; *Muḥammad at Medina*, p. 184; Wensinck, pp. 33-36

[37] Ibn Hishām, p. 292; *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, vol. II, p. 159; Ibn Saʿd, vol. I(1), p. 147; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 354.

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tribe, but that he did not attain a rank which entitled him to place a crown upon his head:[38] Abū al-Baqā''s words contain not the slightest hint of denial that Hawdha had a *tāj*, but in the same breath, Abū al-Baqā' attempts to belittle the value of this *tāj* and to show that it is not in the same league as those of kings belonging to the well-known kingdoms of that historic period. This *tāj* was, in Abū al-Baqā"s opinion, a simple crown suited to the proportions of a *sayyid*, a tribal leader, which consisted of a small number of beads with which he adorned his turban. But apparently, it was the poets who created the impression that this *tāj* was a real royal crown.[39]

Abū al-Baqā' apparently failed to notice the tradition regarding Ḥawdha's crown, according to which Hawdha was summoned to the palace of Kisrā, the Persian king, and crowned there by the king himself, who placed a string of pearls upon his head, from which point onward Hawdha bore the title of *dhū al-tāj*.[40]

In this context, Abū al-Baqā' relied upon the version of Abū ʿUbayda, which does not mention the King of Persia, and which describes Hawdha's crown in an abstract fashion as nothing more than a few primitive beads. In that tradition, Abū ʿUbayda establishes categorically that crowns were associated with the southern kings of the Himyar dynasty, and that the northern rulers who were descendants of Ma'add had no part in this royal heritage.[41]

In all actuality, Abū ʿUbayda's version is not immune to criticism. First of all, it was the poets of the period who spoke of

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[38] Abū al-Baqā', p. 55.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

[40] *al-Kāmil*, vol. I, pp. 275-276; al-Ṭabarī, vol. II, 169. It was reported that the crown of Hawdha included some pearls on his turban, Ibn durayd, *op. cit.*, 348. According to the version of Ibn al-Kalbī, the turban's worth was estimated at about thirty thousand dirhams. *Jamharat al-nasab*, p. 539.

[41] 41 al-Mubarrad, *op. cit.*, vol. II. p. 24; vol. III, p. 23; *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, II, 243-244: al-Suhaylī, op. cit., vol. V, p. 41.

the *tāj* of Hawdha, and they did not refer to this *tāj* as simply a string of beads devoid of any allusion to royalty, as the poet al-A'shā puts it. Furthermore, another poet, Labīd, emphasizes with regard to another leader that these beads indeed comprised the *tāj*.[42] These beads were not simple, ordinary beads; rather, they were the pearls with which the royal crown was adorned.[43] Such pearls were not easily accessible because of their price and special worth. The difficulty involved in obtaining them and the effort involved in purchasing them may well have been what forestalled the initiative to crown 'Abdu'llāh b. Ubayy, as one may understand from the tradition of al-Wāqidī.[44]

In this context, it is worth mentioning that Abū 'Ubayda was a disciple of the *shuʿūbiyya*, which attempted to undermine Arab cultural superiority and that he even dedicated some writings to citing the shortcomings, *mathālib*, of the Arab tribes.[45] This is yet another factor which weakens the credibility of his verison with regard to Hawdha's *tāj*.

The value of the crown --indeed, of any crown--was assessed in accordance with the value of the pearls that comprised the *tāj*. Hawdha's crown was worth three times the value of those which

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[42] Labīd mentions in his verse the term *kharazāt al-mulk*, al-Suhaylī, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 41, al-Qālī, Ismā'īl b. al-Qāsim, *Amālī al-Qālī*, (ed., M.A. al-Aṣma'ī, Cairo, 1926), vol. I, p. 75; *Thimār al-qulūb*, p. 184, *Lisān al-ʿarab*, s.v. (kh.r.z.); *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, s.v. (kh.r.z.).

[43] *Lisān al-ʿarab*, s.v. (kh.r.z).

[44] al-Waqidī, p. 419; *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, vol. I, p. 202; al-Ṭabarī, vol. II, p. 606; al-Diyārbakrī, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 472; *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, vol. II, p. 598.

[45] On the tendency of Abū ʿUbayda to adopt the shuʿūbiyya's point of view, see: Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Irshād al-arīb*, (ed. S.D. Margoliouth, 3rd ed., Cairo, 1938), vol. XIX, p. 156; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, (ed. Cairo, n.d.), p. 395. It is worth mentioning, in this context, the contradictory conclusions reached by Goldziher and H.A.R. Gibb concerning the issue of Abū 'Ubayda's *shuʿūbiyya*. While the former accepts the Muslim tradition, the latter sets out to prove the inaccurate nature of this tradition. See: H.A.R. Gibb, "Abūʿ Ubayda", E.I.[2].

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the Persians gave their agents from the Banū Nasr dynasty of Ḥīra: it is reported that the value of the crown given to Banū Nasr was no more than ten thousand dirhams,[46] while Hawdha's crown was valued at thirty thousand dirhams.[47]

In any case, however, the difference between these crowns and the royal crown of the Persian kings was a vast one: because of the extreme size and weight of the royal crown. it could not actually be worn on the king's head; instead, it was suspended from the ceiling above the royal throne, and when the king sat upon the throne, his head was positioned within the aperture of the crown, making it appear as if he was wearing it.[48]

In addition to crowns, descriptions of other symbols and trappings of majesty and royal tradition have come down to us. Mentioned among these articles are the *namāriq*, which were a type of small cushion which also served as pillows and which were placed upon the king's throne or on the floor of his chamber.[49] The poet Jarīr. in one of his odes, praises Warqā'b. ʿAttāb, one of the senior figures in his clan, who used to drink in the company of the king and sit upon the *namāriq*.[50]

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[46] Abū al-Baqā', p. 62.

[47] *Jamharat al-nasab*, p. 539; *al-Aghānī*, vol. XVII, p. 79.

[48] Shaked Sh., "From Iran to Islam: On Some Symbols of Royalty", J.S.A.I. (VII) 1986, pp. 75-91. But the crown of Yazdajard which the Arabs plundered from the royal palace in Madā'in (Ctseiphon) was much simpler. See: al-Suhaylī, op. cit., vol. I, p. 301.

[49] *namāriq*, as a kind of small carpets laid down on the floor of the King's chamber, were described by Rabʿīb. ʿĀmir, the Arab delegate who was sent to meet the Persian general Rustam before the battle of Qādisiyya. al-Ṭabarī, vol. III, p. 5 19. *namāriq* as carpets on which one treads, are mentioned in the *rajaz* of Hind (the mother of Muʿāwiya) before the battle of Uḥud, in which the Muslims were defeated by Quraysh. See: al-Wāqidī, p. 225; Ibn Hishām, 588; *Lisān al-ʿarab*, s.v. (n.m.r.q.); al-Qurtubī *al-Jāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, (ed. Beirut, 1988), vol. XX, p. 24; al-*Nihāya*, vol. IV, p. 118.

[50] *al-Naqā'iḍ*, p. 781, *Dīwān Jarīr*, (ed., Nuʿmān Ṭāhā, Cairo, 1971), vol. II, p. 934; Qurṭubī, *op. cit.*, vol. XX, p. 24.

Another type of colored carpet, called *namaṭ* (plural: *anmāṭ*), which was placed on the side of the pillows and became part of the accessories of the royal Persian throne,[51] found its way onto the seat of the tribal king. al-Aʿshā, in one of his verses, describes as "radiant as a shiny sword" the face of the tribal king who sat down on his throne in the morning, which was covered with royal pillows and colorful carpets.[52]

The *wisāda* (pillow) became a symbol of royalty and government in the Islamic tradition. When the *anṣār* (the men of Madīna who were companions of the Prophet) proposed their leader, Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, as a candidate for the position of Caliph after the Prophet's death, they sat him down and gave him pillows to lean on.[53]

The *wisāda* became an Islamic symbol of legitimate rule. In the context of the struggle of the Abbasid dynasty against the *ʿAlid* dynasty, the *wisāda* appears as a tool in this struggle: In the Abbasids' attempt to strengthen the legitimacy of their claim to power, they cite a tradition attributed to ʿAlī, according to which he sat in the company of the Prophet, who was leaning upon a pillow of hairy leather. According to the tradition, al-ʿAbbās (forefather of the Abbasid dynasty) walked in, and the Prophet handed him the *wisāda* and told him to sit on it.[54] In this context,

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[51] Shaked. *op. cit.*

[52] The verse of al-Aʿshā describes the king as sitting upon *anmāṭ* and *wasāʾid*. *Dīwān al-Aʿshā*, p. 44. It is reported that the *namat* was a colorful cover placed upon the seat of the king. A plain, uncolored cover is not included in this category. *Lisān al-ʿarab*, s.v. (n.m.t.)

[53] *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol. I., p. 581.

[54] The significance of the *wisāda* as a symbol of power and rule is attested by a pro-Abbasid tradition which came to support their claim for rule and their legitimate right to the caliphate. According to this tradition,'Alī b. Ibī Tālib and his uncle al-ʿAbbās visited the Prophet in his home and found him leaning on a *wisāda*. The Prophet lifted it and. gave it to al-ʿAbbās and said to him: Sit down on it. Anonymous author, *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās wa-waladuhu*, (ed. al-Durī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and A. al Muṭṭalibī, Beirut, 1971), pp. 186-187.

it is mentioned that Caliph 'Umar I had a pillow which he would take with him wherever he went.[55]

The king's throne must have been a central item, but there was always room for comparison between one throne and another, the clear preference being for the higher seat. This becomes apparent from the comparison between the throne of the king of Hīra and that of the king of Ghassān in Syria.[56]

All of these items continued to exist in the palaces of the caliphs of the Umayyad and the Abbasid dynasties, but they ceased to comprise symbols of dominion or rule, because of their Jahilite nature and because the caliphs did not wish to be like the infidel kings.[57] Rather, they were careful to give themselves titles and symbols of an Islamic-religious nature, which raised them to the dogmatic position of the ideal Islamic leader.[58]

An apparent result of the establishment of the phenomenon of tribal kings was the formation of a characteristic image of these kings within the consciousness of pre-Islamic Arab society. There were even mutual behavioral norms which formed and which governed relationships between the king and the community and between the king and the masses. Arab tradition particularly emphasized the reverential fear with which the average man viewed the king. In this context, Ibn Sa'd tells of a particular man who came to meet the Prophet. When he met him, the man was stricken by fright and began to tremble. The Prophet tried to calm him, saying: I am not a king, but the son of an ordinary woman

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[55] Shaked. *op. cit.*

[56] *Amālī al-Qālī*, vol. I, pp. 257-258; note(12) above.

[57] Abū al-Baqā', pp. 83-84: *al-Aghānī*, vol. IV, p. 158. The pre-Islamic symbols of royalty were changed into Islamic symbols during the Islamic rule. On the new symbols see: Zaydan G., *tārīkh al-tamaddun al-Islamī*, (ed. Beirut, 1967), vol. I, p. 133.

[58] Crone P. and Martin Hinds, *God's Caliph, Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam*, Cambridge, 1986, p. 33.

from the Quraysh tribe.[59]

The prestige of kings found concrete expression in the feeling of security enjoyed by those who had the kings' protection. Some of the merchants of Quraysh who arrived in Yemen presented themselves as descendants of the dynasty of the kings of Kinda, so that they would not be harmed and could move freely.[60] Hawdha b. ʿAlī referred to this *hayba* in a letter of response which he sent to the Prophet.[61]

The greeting with which kings were saluted was accompanied by the *sujūd*, the act of bowing down and lowering one's head, as attested by the verses of al-A'shā.[62] The *hadīth* of the Prophet refers to the *sujūd* which was customary and speaks of a short scepter which the king would carry; waving the scepter signified the beginning of the *sujūd* ceremony.[63]

Kings got special treatment when they were taken as prisoners of war: while ordinary prisoners had their sideburns shaven as a sign of shame and humiliation, kings were spared this.[64] In addition, the ransom paid in order to free a king from captivity was one thousand camels, ten times the ransom for an ordinary prisoner.[65]

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[59] Ibn Saʿd, vol. 1(1), p. 4; Ibn Isḥāq, *al-Siyar wa-al-mghāzī*, (ed. Suhayl Zakkar, Damascus, 1976), p. 169.

[60] al-Suhaylī, *op. cit.*, vol. VII, p. 410, Ibn Saʿd, vol. 1(1), pp. 3-4.

[61] Ibn Saʿd, vol. 1(2), p 18; *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, vol. III, p. 303.

[62] The element of *sujūd* is included in a verse by Aʿshā, Abū al-Baqāʾ, p. 54; al-Mubarrad, *op. cit.*, vol. 11, p. 24; *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, s.v. (h.w.dh.). On *sujūd* see: R. Tottoli, "Muslim attitudes towards prostration (sujūd)", *Studia Islamica*, vol. 87 (1988).

[63] *al-Nihāya*, vol. II, vol. II, p. 36. About the *makhāṣir* (scepters) of the kings, see: *Lisān al-ʿarab*, s.v. (kh.ṣ.r.).

[64] *al-Naqāʾiḍ*, 68.

[65] al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Durra al-fākhira*, (ed. A. Qaṭāmish, Cairo, 1971), vol. 11, p. 424; al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Mustaqṣā*; (2nd ed. Beirut, 1977), vol. I, p. 432; al-Maydānī, *Majmaʿ al-amthāl*, (ed. Beirut, 1961), vol. 11, 441.

III

The Sassanians, through their Lakhmid vassal kings, attempted to establish a network of alliances with the tribes in much of northern and northeastern Arabia as a means of keeping these tribes under control and, in particular, to keep them from plundering or taxing settled population in the Iraq alluvium, or from plundering or disrupting the caravan trade.[66]

Abū al-Baqā' draws a general picture of the Sassanians' influence in the region and of the mutual relationship between them and the various tribal groups.[67] As for the region of Baḥrayn, this area was controlled by rulers from the tribe of Tamīm like al-Mundhir b. Sāwā, who were appointed as kings of the region on behalf of the Sassanians.[68] Baḥrayn was actually a Persian territory, most of whose inhabitants were from the tribes of 'Abd al-Qays and Bakr b. Wā'il; these coexisted with Banū Tamīm who were concentrated in the desert areas, *bādiyatuhā*.[69]

To the south, in 'Umān, lived the Azd tribe, which comprised the dominant majority and which was controlled by two brothers,'Ubād and Jayfar. These two had inherited the monarchy from their father, al-Julandā b. al-Mustakbir, and hadbeen crowned as kings of this region on behalf of the Sassanid kings.[70]

Yamāma was controlled by king Hawdha b. 'Alī, who had been crowned by the Sassanians. Its Banū Ḥanīfa inhabitants, who were under the authority of Persia, did not participate in the battle of dhū Qār (611) alongside the Persians and the other tribes which

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[66] Donner Fred McGraw, *The Early Islamic Conquests*, Princeton, 1981, p. 47.

[67] Abū al-Baqā', p. 369; Donner, op. cit., pp. 45-46.

[68] Kister, "Al-Mundhir b. Sāwā", op. cit.; *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v. (hajar); *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 265; *Futūḥ al-buldān*. p. 95.

[69] *Futūḥ al-buldān*, p. 95.

[70] Sa'īd al-Afghānī, *Aswāq al-'arab*, (3rd ed., Beirut, 1974), p. 254; *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 265.

were allied with Persia.[71]

The rule and power of the tribal kings stemmed from the support and protection they received from the Sassanid kings. This may be gathered from the writings of Hamza al-Isfāhānī.[72] Most of this support was in the form of a garrison of horsemen from the army of the king of Persia. which served as reinforcement to the local warriors of the vassal king.[73] Every year, these units were relieved by fresh units called *wadā'i*.[74]

These kings were respected by the tribesmen not only because of their noble origin, but also because of the totality of services they received from them, as is evident from Hawdha's case. The king was viewed as being able to satisfy all the aspirations and desires of his tribe.[75] The most important of the services which the king could provide was that of providing the tribesmen's lives with the sense that their lives were secure and that they would not be taken into captivity.[76]

Hawdha b. ʿAli's domain of influence was vast, extending from the territory controlled directly by the Kings of *Ḥ*īra at the north and east and down to the border with Yemen, which was controlled by the Persian governor, the *marzubān* of Yemen.[77] From the moment the tribe of Banū Ḥanīfa arrived in Yamāma and settled in Ḥajr, they began to extend their control over the adjacent

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[71] Watt M., "Ḥanīfa b. ludjaym", E.I.^{2}; Donner, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[72] Ḥamza al-Iṣfāhānī, *Tārīkh siniyy mulūk al-arḍ*, ed. Beirut, n.d.), p. 82.

[73] *al-Aghānī*, vol. XVI, p 78; Ḥamza al-Iṣfāhānī, op. cit., p. 83; al-Kāmil, vol. I, p. 379; Donner, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[74] al-Mubarrad, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 83.

[75] Abū al-Baqā', pp. 53-54.

[76] The security which the king guaranteed for his kinsmen is referred to in a verse by the poet ʿAmr b. Kalthūm. al-Tabrīzī, *Sharḥ al-muʿallaqāt*, (ed. Cairo, n.d.), p. 217, al-Anbāri, *op. cit.*, p. 389; Abū Zayd al-Qurashī, *Jamaharat ashʿār al-ʿarab*, (ed. Cairo, 1308 a.h.), p. 77.

[77] *al-Aghānī*, vol. XVI, p. 79.

territory.[78]

In fact, Hawdha b. ʿAlī inherited control over this extensive territory from his predecessors, and it was this fact which caused the Sassanid king to invite Hawdha to the capital of the Sassanians to be crowned there.[79] Banū Ḥanīfa's control over a long segment of the trade caravan route from Persia to Yemen, is what forced the Persian king to take the course of action that he did. In addition to the leadership, Hawdha b. 'Alī acquired estates, agricultural farms, grazing land, and fortresses which came into his possession either by inheritance, or by force, or as a feudal estate (*iqṭāʿ*) provided by the Sassanid king--as, for example, the estates at Hajar.[80]

Hajar, which was the central city in Baḥrayn, had formerly been under the control of al-Mundhir b. Sāwā, as mentioned above.[81] When Hawdha acquired control, of Hajar, he abandoned his dwelling at Yamāma and went to live in Hajar.[82]

The granting of estates to tribal leaders on behalf of the Sassanid kings was one of the means by which these kings bought the leaders' loyalty.[83] Actually, these leaders enjoyed the fruits of tributes collected from these estates, as well as reaping the resources of the estates themselves.[84]

Leaders who received these expanses of land as estates were called *dhawū al-ākāl*.[85] When the Prophet called upon Hawdha b. 'Alī to convert to Islam, he promised to leave Hawdha's estates in

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[78] Watt M."Ḥanīfa". *op. cit*,.

[79] *al-Kāmil*, vol. I, pp. 378-379.

[80] *Ibid*., vol. 1, pp. 378-379.

[81] *al-Aghānī*, vol. XVI, p. 79

[82] *Dīwān al-Aʿshā*, p. 130, al-Mubarrad, *op. cit*., vol. III, p. 19.

[83] Donner, op. ci,.. p. 47; Abū al-Baqāʾ, p. 500, 502, 397, 403.

[84] Abū al-Baqā', p. 500

[85] *al-Muḥabbar* p. 253.

his hands if Hawdha agreed to his request.[86] Another tribal leader. Wā'il b. Ḥujr from the area of Ḥadramawt. had estates and fortresses which the Prophet listed in an epistle to him containing a similar promise.[87]

From all of the above, one may gather that the acquisition of land and the actual realization of control over territory were the basic criteria for the dominion of a tribal king. The tradition cited by Ibn Sa'd leaves little room for doubt as to the strong, direct connection between the role of *malik* and the dominion over the land within a particular territory. The tradition says, in this context: "And they were called kings, since each of them had a *wādī* in his possession and was in dominion of all which lay therein."[88]. These *wadis* (valleys, plains) were actually the green areas on which an agricultural or semi-agricultural society could be founded, or, at the very least, a shepherding society. Since desert regions like Arabia do not enable agriculture or grazing except in such areas,[89] the control over such areas was always a focal point for controversy and strife among the various kings, as one may gather from another tradition cited by Ibn Sa'd.[90]

A territory governed by a tribal king was called *maḥjar*; according to the Southern Arabic terminology. Each king in the southern Kinda dynasty had a *maḥjar* which he would enter when necessary.[91] The *maḥjar* served as *ḥimā*; a private retreat to which

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[86] al-Qalqashandī, ap cit.vol I. p. 379: al-Diyābakrī. *op cit*,. vol II, p 39: al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, (ed. Cairo, 1309 a.h.), vol. II, PP. 339-340.

[87] Ibn Sa'd, vol. I(2), p. 35.

[88] Ibn Sa'd, vol. V, p. 7; *Futūḥ al-buldān*, p. 120.

[89] Kamāl 'Abdul-Fattāḥ, *Mountain Farmer and Fellah in 'Asīr, Southwest Arabia*, Erlangen, 1981, pp. 55-62.

[90] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1(2). p. 35.

[91] About *maḥjar al-zurqān* see: al-Ṭabarī, vol. III, p. 335; *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v. (zurqān).

entrance by strangers was forbidden.[92]

The tribal kings had complete dominion over their territory and over all the people who lived there. This dominion took the form of an annual tribute which was imposed upon all inhabitants of the region. This was the practice among the Arab tribes which lived in the areas that were controlled by the kings of Ḥīra.[93] The memoirs of one of the dynasty's princesses. Ḥurqa bint al-Nu'mān, mention the tax which was imposed upon inhabitants living in the region of Kūfa prior to the Muslim invasion.[94] Even tribes which were dominated by the king of Ḥīra and which were further inside Arabia like that of Tamīm tribe were obliged to pay this annual tribute.[95]

King Ḥujr b. al-Ḥārith of the Kinda dynasty, who dominated the Asad and Ghatafān tribes, imposed an, annual tribute upon them; it was this tax which led the Asad tribe to rebel against the king's authority and to assassinate him.[96]

King Zuhayr b.Judhayma al-'Absī who was known by the nickname "*malik al-ʿarab*", imposed an annual tax upon the tribes of the Hawāzin federation. Every year, he would come to the marketplace of 'Ukāẓ with his men to collect the tax, and it was there that he was assassinated by Khālid b. Ja'far after he chastised a woman who had failed to pay the tax.[97]

Sometimes the responsibility for collecting the tax from tribes

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[92] *al-Kāmil*, vol. II, p. 258. On the institution of *ḥimā* in Jahiliyya and early Islam see: Lokkegaard F., *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period*, Copenhagen, 1950, p. 21.

[93] Abū al-Baqā', pp. 502-503.

[94] al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūj al-dhahab*, (ed. and translated into French by B. de Mynard, Paris, 1861-1877), vol. III, p. 210.

[95] Abū al-Baqā., p. 436.

[96] *al-Aghānī*, vol. VII, p 65; *Nashwat al-ṭarab*, vol. I, pp. 246-247.

[97] *al-Aghānī*, vol. X, p. 12, Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar*, (ed. Beirut, n.d.), vol. 1, p. 78; Ibn al-Wardī, *Tatimmat al-Mukhtaṣar*, (ed. A. al-Badrāwī, Beirut, 1970), vol. I, p. 107.

which were under the king's authority was placed in the hands of a local representative from the tribe, who was known as a *ridf* (plural: *ardāf*). This position was a prestigious and respected one.[98]

The authority of the king did not exclude tribes which were permanent residents, such as the tribes of Aws and Khazraj in Madīna, which was ruled by *marzubān al-bādiya*, a sort of military governor who empowered the ruler of Banū Qurayẓa and, later, the leader of Banū al-Naḍīr, the two Jewish tribes in the area, to collect the tribute that had been imposed upon the two Arab tribes.[99] In this context it is reasonable to assume that the initiative to crown ʿAbdu'llāh b. Ubayy as king of al-Madīna on the eve of the Prophet's *hījra*, was designed to eliminate the burden of Jewish control over the Arab residents of this town.

The connection between the role of ruler and the collection of taxes from the tribesmen under that ruler's authority, is also emphasized in traditions dealing with the attempted crowning of 'Uthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith as ruler of Mecca on behalf of the Byzantine ruler. In this context, Ibn Isḥāq reports that this man offered the Byzantines to collect a tax on their behalf from the inhabitants of Mecca in exchange for giving them permission to sell their wares in the markets of Syria.[100]

More detailed versions report that Ibn al-Ḥuwayrith visited the palace of the Byzantine emperor and proposed that the latter annex Mecca under his control as the Sassanians had annexed Yemen. He also proposed himself as a canditate for the position of king of Quraysh, his tribe. The emperor accepted the proposal and issued an order whereby he appointed Ibn al-Ḥuwayrith king of Quraysh. Ibn al-Ḥuwayrith returned to Mecca with the appointment and attempted to convince his fellow tribesmen that the change would

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[98] *al-Naqāʾiḍ*, p. 66, 299:.*Thimār al-qulūb*. p 184: *Lisān al-ʿarab* s. v. (r.d.f.); Donner, *op. cit.*, 47.

[99] Ibn Rusta, *at-Aʿlāq al-nafīsa*, (ed. Beirut, n.d.), p. 177.

[100] al-Suhaylī, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 358-359.

not cost them dearly and that they would have to part with only a minuscule sum of money to be transferred to the treasury of the Byzantine emperor.[101]

The payment of a tribute to the tribal king was a *sine qua non* for all such kings throughout all historical periods, attested in every case that has come down to us. This was the practice amongst the ancient kings of Yemen, the *tabābiʿa*, who maintained dominion over the northern Arab tribes and collected a tribute from the tribes they controlled.[102] This was also the case when the Sasanians appointed the vassal king, Maʿdī-Karib b. Sayf b. dhī Yazan, as king of Yemen after they had vanquished the Ethiopian invaders.[103]

The tribal tradition emphasized the feeling of pride and glory felt by tribes which succeeded in evading the payment of tribute out of an unwillingness to be subjugated by kings. The term *laqāḥ*, which expresses political independence and a refusal to yield to the humiliating rule of kings, was frequently used by the few tribes who enjoyed this position of independence.[104] The element of not paying the tribute was the chief factor which characterized the tribes that enjoyed the status of *laqāḥ*.[105]

The sphere of authority of the tribal king also included the

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[101] Abū al-Baqāʾ, pp. 64-65; *al-Munammaq*, pp. 178-180; al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ al-gharām*, (ed. ʿAbd al-Salam al-Tadmurī), Beirut, 1985, p. 171, idem, *al-ʿIqd al-thamīn*, (ed. Fu'ād Sayyid, Cairo, 1965), vol. I, p. 153.

[102] *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. III, p. 226. In spite of the legendary nature of the reports on Yemen and the ruling dynasties in this part of Arabia before Islam, one may consider the verses quoted by Mas'ūdi as an indicator which reflects, to some extent, the situation on the ground.

[103] *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 166.

[104] *Rasāʾil al-Jāḥiẓ*, vol. I, p. 187; *Lisān al-ʿarab*, s.v. (I.q.ḥ.), *al-Naqāʾiḍ*, p. 69. Meccans who enjoyed the status of *laqāḥ* used to boast of this, and included the term *laqāḥ* within the *talbiya*, the religious rites performed during the pilgrimage ceremony. *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 315.

[105] *Rasāʾil al-Jāḥiẓ*, vol. I, pp. 182-187; Ṭabarī, vol. III, pp. 283-284; al-Hamdānī, *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-buldān*, (ed. Beirut, 1988), p. 2 1.

marketplaces which were held consecutively throughout all seasons of the year. The king in whose dominion the marketplace was held would collect customs on merchandise entering the marketplace. In addition, he enjoyed another privilege: the king's own merchandise was given priority over that of ordinary merchants in the marketplace, and the sale of ordinary merchandise was suspended until all of the king's own merchandise had been sold.[106] The king's control of the marketplace was a constant source of rage for the tribesmen, who complained in particular of the customs which the king imposed upon the sale of their wares.[107]

Against this background of the ruler and the ruled, and in light of the conflict of interests between the king and the tribes under his authority, a hostile inclination toward the monarchy developed within Jahiliyya Arab society. So it was that disobedience toward the king and the desire to break the yoke of imperial rule became the *makruma*, an ideal norm, which the tribesmen passed down from generation to generation.

The act of taking kings prisoner became an act of heroism which was glorified, as evidenced by tribal poetry.[108] Regecide, the assassination of kings, was considered the height of glory by tribal values, an ideal which fathers diligently passed on to their sons, as reflected by the odes written by the foremost poets of the Jahiliyya and of early Islam.[109]

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[106] *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 264.

[107] *Lisān al-ʿarab*, s.v. (m.k.s).

[108] Some of these cases have been preserved in classical Arabic poetry. See, for example: *Sharḥ al-Muʿallaqāt*, p. 23 I; *al-Kāmil*, vol. I, p. 256; Abū al-Baqā', p. 129, 448; *al-Aghānī* vol. VIII, p. 64; vol. XVI, p. 79.

[109] Some examples may be found in: *Dīwān al-Farazdaq*, vol. I, p 321,323; Abū al-Baqā', p. 442, 443, 513, pp. 527-531; *al-Naqāʾiḍ*, p. 884, 899; al-Qalqashandī, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 378-379; Bashshār b. Burd, *Dīwān Bashshār*, (ed. M. ʿĀshūr, M. Fatḥ Allah and M. Amīn, Cairo, 1950), vol. I, 317; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb tarīkh dimashq* (ed. A Badran. 3rd ed., Beirut. !979), vol. X.. p. 246.

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القرآن ، والقراءات، وكتب اللغة والتراجم. وهو بهذا التصور الموسع لطبيعة النص انما يضع حجر الاساس لمنهجية جديدة لدى دارسي الاسلام قلّما كانت تحظى باهتمام الباحثين من قبل. وعلى الرغم مما ينطوي عليه حشد هذه الاصناف الادبية – القزحية من صعوبات، فهو ينطوي كذلك على اشكاليات فنية وموضوعية لا يتغلب على تذليلها الا نفر قليل ممن يقفون على اسرار العربيّة، سواء في مبناها وفي مصطلحاتها الحضارية أو في مدلولاتها اللغوية.

فوق ذلك كله، فان راية التجديد هي احد ابرز العناصر التي تميّز هذه المقالات؛ فقد نأى الكاتب بمقالاته عن ان تكون ذات طبيعة تراكمية وان تكون مجرد مقال اخر في هذا الموضوع او ذاك.

وفي هذا الصدد تنقسم مقالات هذا المجلد الى قسمين: أمّاالأوّل فيتناول بعض القضايا المطروحة التي اشبعت بحثا من قبل الدارسين الذين سبقوه، فقادتهم إجتهاداتهم الى تبنّي استنتاجات خاطئة تحولت بحكم نزعة التقليد والمحاكاة الى مسلّمات، بل اصبحت لدى البعض الاخر اموراً تُحرّم مناقشتها، فجاء الكاتب واقتحم ساحتها لكي يثبت، بالحجة والدليل، بطلانها وليضع امام الدارس المعاصر لتاريخ الاسلام استنتاجاته الانقلابية باسلوب علمي جريء. واماالثاني فيكشف الكاتب فيه لاول مرة ظواهر وقضايا ذات صلة بالمجتمع الاسلامي قصّر الباحثون عن ملاحظتها، او انهم مروا بها مر الكرام دون ان تُعطى حقها من الاهتمام والعناية.

وبالتالي، فان حشر هذه المقالات في مجلد واحد سوف يسهل على الدارسين فهماً أوضح لهذه الحقبة من تاريخ الاسلام، ويضع تحت تصرفهم، في الوقت نفسه، الحقائق من خلال رؤية موضوعية ناضجة.

الدكتور كمال عبد الفتاح
منسق وحدةدراسات حوض البحر المتوسط.

مقدمـة:

يشتمل هذا المجلد على مجموعة من المقالات التي نشرت في العديد من الدوريات الاكاديمية المتخصصة في مجال الدراسات الاسلامية، او تلك الاوراق التي قدمت في مؤتمرات علمية دولية بعد ان اعيدت طباعتها.

ومع ان عناوين هذه الدراسات وموضوعاتها لا تبدو متجانسة للوهلة الاولى، الا ان القارىء المتخصّص، او حتى القارىء العادي، سرعان ما يكتشف لدى قراءتها عناصر التجانس فيها. بل ويستطيع ان يفهم بوضوح عوامل الترابط بين موضوعاتها المتباينة. فقد جعل المؤلف من المجتمع الاسلامي في العهود المبكرة للتاريخ الاسلامي محورا تدور من حوله هذه المقالات، ومن ثم تناول مختلف العوامل التي أسهمت في بلورة هذا المجتمع؛ سواء كانت ذات علاقة بالدين أو بالفقه، بالاقتصاد أو بالسياسة أو بالموروث الحضاري والتي أثرت بالتالي في خلق الحدث التاريخي، وأسهمت في نهاية المطاف في صياغة وتشكيل المجتمع الاسلامي.

ولعل عنصر التجانس الاهم لا يكمن في وحدة الموضوع بقدر ما يكمن في المنهجية التي اتبعها الكاتب في تناوله لهذه الموضوعات. واول ما يلفت النظر في هذا الصدد اصرار الكاتب على عدم الركون الى كثير من المسلّمات والافكار المسبقة التي ارتقت احيانا الى مستوى التقديس لدى الباحثين سواء كانوا عربا ام مستشرقين. ومن ثَمَّ نجاحه في كثير من الحالات في اثبات خطئها واظهار ضعف صلتها بالمصادر. وهو الى ذلك حريص على مناقشة كافة ما طرح من افكار وما نشر من آراء من قبل سابقيه ومعاصريه، ما وسعته الحيلة الى بلوغ ذلك.

اتبع المؤلف في تناوله لهذه المواضيع منهجا صارما من حيث التزام الرجوع الى النصوص الاصلية التي جعلها اساسا لاستنتاجاته وآرائه من دون ان يسبغ عليها صفة القداسة، إذ نراه يناقش كثيرا من النّصوص ويخضعها لعملية النقد العلمي التحليليّة مستعينا بخبرته الطويلة في معالجة النّصوص واطلاعه الواسع على المدارس المختلفة التي كان ينتمي اليها الرّواة المسلمون واختلاف المناهج التي اعتمدها المؤرخون الرّواد.

والنصّ عند المؤلف لا ينحصر في الروايات التاريخية والاخبار والحديث والآثار بل يتعدى هذا الاطار ليشمل الروايات الادبية، والنوادر، والامثال، والشعر ، وتفسير

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خليل [redacted] منسة



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وحدة دراسات حوض البحر الابيض المتوسط