

# SOME REPORTS CONCERNING MECCA

FROM JĀHILIYYA TO ISLAM <sup>1</sup>

BY

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Information about the conditions in Mecca in the period preceding Islam is scarce, and there are few accounts about the relations of Mecca with tribes and vassal kingdoms. Some data from hitherto unpublished Mss., or those published only recently may elucidate certain aspects of the inner situation in Mecca, and shed some light on the relations of Mecca with the tribes and the vassal kingdoms.

## I

A passage in the anonymous *Nihāyat al-irab fī akbbār al-furs wa-l-‘arab* <sup>2)</sup> gives some details about the activity of Hāshim b. ‘Abd Manāf and about the Expedition of the Elephant. It is noticeable that this report stresses especially the relations of Mecca with Abyssinia, not emphasized in other sources.

Hāshim, says the tradition, took from the kings of Abyssinia, al-Yaman, Persia and Syria charters permitting the merchants of Mecca to frequent these territories with their merchandise <sup>3)</sup>. It is emphasized that the first king who granted him the charter was al-Najāshī and that “Abyssinia was the best land in which the Meccan merchants traded <sup>4)</sup>.” After receiving of the charter from the Najāshī Hāshim went to Yemen. The report furnishes us with some information about the kings who ruled in that period: in Yemen ruled Abraha b. al-Ashram who bore the *kunya* Abū Yaksūm <sup>5)</sup>; he granted Hāshim the requested charter.

1) The reader’s attention is called to the Addenda at the end of this article. Places in the text and the notes referred to in the Addenda are marked by asterisks.

2) See about this Ms.: E. G. Browne, *Some Account of the Arabic Work entitled Nihāyat al-irab fī akbbāri l Fursi wa-l-‘Arab*, J R A S, 1900, pp. 195-204.

3) *Nihāyat al-irab*, Ms. Br. Mus., Add. 23298, fol. 174a: . . . *wa-inna hāshiman sāra ilā l-mulūki fa-akbadha minhum al-‘ubūda wa-l-‘uqūda: lā yumna ‘u qaumubu min al-tijārāti fī buldānihim wa-ardibim.*

4) *Ibid.*: . . . *wa-kānat arḍu l-ḥabashati min afdali l-amākini llatī yatjaru fīhā qurayshun.*

5) It may be noticed that the social conditions in the army of the Abyssinians and

From the Yemen Hāshim journeyed to Jabala b. Ayham, the king of Syria; from Syria he proceeded to 'Irāq, to Qubādh; from both of them he got the required charters. The final sentences of the report tell us about the results of the efforts of Hāshim and give a description of the changes which occurred in the relations of Mecca with the tribes and the neighbouring kingdoms as a result of the granted charters. "... Thus Quraysh traded in these territories and got profits and became rich; their wealth increased, their trade expanded; thus the Arabs overcame the 'Ajam by the abundance of wealth, generosity and excellence; they (i.e. Quraysh) were men of mind, reason, dignity, generosity, excellence, staid behaviour and nobility; they are the chosen people of God's servants, the best of His creature and the noblest of His peoples<sup>1</sup>)."

the causes which brought about the fight between Aryāt and Abraha are given in the *Nihāyat al-irab* in more detail than in other sources. Aryāt, a nephew of the Najāshī, divided gifts and products after the conquest of the Yemen among the chiefs and nobles of the Abyssinians, treating scornfully the weak (i.e. the poor) and depriving them of his gifts (fol. 151a: ... *wa-farraqa l-ṣilāti wa-l-ḥawā'ija 'alā 'uḏamā'i l-ḥabashati wa-asrāfihim wa-ḥarama du'afā'ahum wa-ḏdarāhum fa-ghadibū min dhālika ghadaban shadīdan*...). They appealed to Abraha, one of the officers of the army sent with Aryāt, and swore their allegiance to him. The weak part of the army stood behind Abraha, the strong and the noble behind Aryāt. In the well-known fight between them Abraha killed Aryāt. The declaration issued by Abraha after the duel stresses again the social aspect of the rebellion: "O Abyssinian people, God is our Lord, Jesus is our Prophet, the Gospel is our Book, the Najāshī is our king. I rebelled against Aryāt only because he abandoned equality amongst you. Therefore stand fast for equality amongst you, as God will not be pleased by preference in division (i.e. of spoils and grants—K) and by depriving the weak of their share of booty." (fol. 151b: *yā ma'shara l-ḥabashati llāhu rabbunā wa-ṣānabiyyunā wa-l-injīlu kitābunā wa-l-najāshīyū malikunā, wa-innī innamā kharajtu 'alā aryāta li-tarkīhi l-sawīyyata baynakum, fa-thbutū li-l-stiwā'i baynakum, fa-inna llāha lā yardā bi-l-attharati fī l-qasmi wa-lā an yubrama l-du'afā'u l-maghnama*...). Abraha, stressing in his letter to the Najāshī his allegiance and loyalty, repeats his argument that Aryāt treated the weak unjustly (fol. 152a: ... *wa-innamā qaltu aryāta illā li-ithāribi l-aqwīyā'a 'alā l-du'afā'i min jundika, fa-lam yakum dhālika min sīratika wa-lā ra'yika*...). The lowly origin of Abraha is indicated in the remark of the Najāshī: ... *wa-innamā huwa qirdun min al-qurūdi, laysa labu sbarafun fī l-ḥabashati wa-lā aṣlun*. Cf. the account of Procopius in Sidney Smith's *Events in Arabia in the 6th Century AD*, BSOAS XVI (1954), pp. 431-432; and see Mughulṭāy, *al-Zabr al-bāsim*, Ms. Leiden, Or. 370, fol. 32a (quoted from Wāqidi): ... *fa-a'tā* (i.e. Aryāt) *l-mulūka wa-stadhalla l-fuqarā'a*.

1) *Nihāyat al-irab*, fol. 174a, inf.: *fa-atjarat quraysihun fī hādhibi l-amākini kullihā fa-rabiḥū wa-atbrau wa-kathurat amwālūhum wa-aḏumat tijārātūhum wa-sāda l-'arabu*

After the death of Hāshim his son ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib took over his duties and mission; he died during the reign of Anūshirwān b. Qubādh<sup>1</sup>) In his time the well-known expedition of Abraha against Mecca took place.

According to Arab tradition Abraha built a temple (*baykal*, *qullays*) and tried to divert the pilgrimage to Mecca to his temple. The immediate cause for the expedition of Abraha was the desecration of this temple. We have conflicting traditions about the location of the temple (Ṣan‘ā’, Najrān, a place on the sea shore) and the persons who burnt it, robbed it or relieved their bowels in it. According to the traditions the desecration was committed by Nufayl b. Ḥabīb al-Khath‘amī,<sup>2</sup>) by a man (or men) from Kināna<sup>3</sup>), or more accurately by a man from the *Nasa’a*<sup>4</sup>) or by a group of Arabs.

The reports about the desecration (or the unintentional burning) of the temple point to Quraysh as the initiators of this action. The tradition that the deed was carried out by men from Kināna, or a group of *nasa’a* or *ḥums*<sup>5</sup>) deserves special attention; these groups were closely related to Quraysh. A tribal leader of al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd

*‘alā l-‘ajami bi-katbrati l-amwālī wa-l-sakhbā’i wa-l-fadlī; wa-kānū dhawī ahlāmin wa-‘uqūlin wa-babā’in wa-sakhbā’in wa-fadlin wa-waqārin wa-nublin; fa-ḥum ṣafwatu llāhi min ‘ibādīhi wa-khīratubu min jamī‘i khalqīhi wa-afḍalu bariyyatīhi.*

1) *Ibid.*, fol. 174b, sup.

2) Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, Cairo 1939, I, 556; Mughultāy, *op. cit.*, fol. 32a; al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, Cairo 1325, I, 83; *Nibāyat al-irab*, fol. 174a.

3) Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥammadī*, ed. Khurshīd Aḥmad Fāriq, Hyderabad 1384/1964, p. 68; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, I, 551; al-Zurqānī, *op. cit.*, I, 83; al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, Cairo 1383-1963, II, 230; and see al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā’il al-nubuwwa*, Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 3013, fol. 13a: . . . *anna rajulan min banī milkān b. kināna, wa-ḥuwa min al-ḥums . . .*

4) Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, I, 550 inf.; al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmi‘ li-ahkāmī l-qur’ān*, Cairo 1387/1967, XX, 188, 1.1; al-Kalā‘ī, *al-Iktifā’*, ed. H. Massé, Paris 1931, I, 188 ult.; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawīyya*, ed. al-Saqā, al-Abyārī, Shalabī, Cairo 1355/1936, I, 44 ult.; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Sīra al-nabawīyya*, ed. Muṣṭafā ‘Abd al-Wāḥid, Cairo 1384/1964, I, 30.

5) See about *al-ḥums* al-Shāṭibī, *al-Jumān fī akhbārī l-ḥamān*, Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 3008, fols. 43b, 55a; al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, Hyderabad 1342, I, 483; al-Suyūṭī, *Lubāb al-nuqūl*, Cairo 1373/1954, pp. 25-26; al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam mā sta‘jam*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqā, Cairo 1364/1945, I, 245, s.v. *Birk*; Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, Ms. Ḥāmidīyya 58, fols. 87a, 103a; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥammadī*, pp. 143-146; al-‘Iṣāmī, *Simṭ al-nujūm al-‘awālī*, Cairo 1380, I, 218-219.

Manāt b. Kināna came to Mecca in order to conclude an alliance with a clan of Quraysh<sup>1)</sup>. Kināna were the allies of Quraysh in the wars of *al-Fijār*<sup>2)</sup>. The close co-operation of Kināna with Quraysh is reflected in a short passage recorded by al-Fākihī on the authority of al-Zuhri where the crucial event of the boycott of the Banū Hāshim is recounted. When Quraysh decided to impose a boycott on the Banū Hāshim in connection with missionary activities of the Prophet, they allied with the Banū Kināna. The terms of the agreement between the two parties entailed that they should cease trading with the Banū Hāshim and desist from giving them shelter<sup>3)</sup>. This passage may help us to evaluate the story of the boycott<sup>4)</sup> and the reports about the co-operation of Quraysh with the neighbouring tribes and clans. It is not surprising to find traditions according to which a leader of Kināna participated in the delegation to Abraha, when he came with his army to destroy the Ka'ba. Consequently the version that men from Kināna committed the desecration seems to be preferable.

The reports usually describe the wrath of Abraha when he received the information about the desecration of his temple. The *Nihāyat al-irab* has a short but important passage about his reaction. Two men of Khath'am, says the report, desecrated the temple of Abraha. Upon hearing about it he said: "This was committed by agents of Quraysh as they are angry for the sake of their House to which the Arabs resort for their pilgrimage." He swore to destroy the Ka'ba so that pilgrimage should be to the temple of Ṣan'ā' exclusively. "In Ṣan'ā' there were (at that time—K) Qurashī merchants", states the report. "Among them was Hishām b. al-Mughīra<sup>5)</sup>." Abraha summoned

1) Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, p. 178.

2) See e.g. *al-Munammaq*, p. 201 seq., al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, s.v. 'Ukāz.

3) Al-Fākihī, *Ta'rīkh Makka*, Ms. Leiden, Or. 463, fol. 444b: . . . *qāla l-zuhriyyu: wa-l-khayfu l-wādī haythu taqāsamāt qurayshun 'alā l-kufri, wa-dhālika anna banī kinānata ḥālafat qurayshan 'alā banī hāshimin an lā yubāyi'ūhum wa-lā yu'wūhum*; and see this report: al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, s.v. Khayf.; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ed. Shākir, XII 230, no. 7239.

4) Cf. W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, pp. 119-122.

5) See on him Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, ed. E. Lévi Provençal, Cairo 1953, p. 301; al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab quraysh*, Ms. Bodley, Marsh. 384, fols. 129a-130a.

the Qurashī merchants and asked them: "Have I not allowed you to trade freely in my country and ordered to protect you and to treat you honourably"? They said: "Yes, o king, so it was." Abraha asked: "So why did you secretly send men to the church built for the king, al-Najāshī, to defecate and to smear the walls with excrements?" They answered: "We do not know about it." Abraha said: "I thought that you did it indeed out of anger for the sake of your House to which the Arabs go on pilgrimage, when I ordered to direct the pilgrims to this church." Hishām b. al-Mughīra then said: "Our House is (a place of) shelter and security; there gather there prey-beasts with wild animals, prey birds with innocuous ones and they do not attack each other. Pilgrimage to your temple should be performed by those who follow your faith, but adherents of the faith of the Arabs <sup>1)</sup> will not choose or adopt anything (else) in preference to the House (i.e. the Ka'ba—K) <sup>2)</sup>." Abraha swore to demolish the Ka'ba. Hishām b. al-Mughīra said that more than one king had intended to pull down the Ka'ba, but had failed to get there, as the House has a Lord who protects it. "Do what you like" (*sha'naku wa-mā aradta*) he finally said.

This seems to be an early tradition, reflecting as it does the conditions at the period preceding the expedition of Abraha and

1) For *dīnu l-ʿarab* see G. E. von Grunbaum, *The Nature of Arab Unity before Islam*, Arabica X (1963) p. 15.

2) *Nihāyat al-irab*, fols. 174b-175a: ...*fa-ukhbira bi-dhālika abrahātu fa-qāla: hādihā dasīsu qurayshin, li-ghadābihim li-baytibim lladhī* (text: *llatī*) *taḥujju ilayhi l-ʿarabu, wa-l-masībi la-abdimanna dhālika l-bayta ḥajaran ḥajaran ḥattā yakhlūsa l-ḥajju ilā mā hā-hunā; wa-kāna bi-ṣanʿāʾa tujjārūn min qurayshin, fīhim hishāmu bnu l-mughīrati, fa-arsala ilayhim* (text: *ilayhi*) *abrahātu, fa-aqbalū ḥattā dakhalū ʿalayhi, fa-qāla labum: a-lam uṭliq lakum al-matjara fī arḍi wa-amartu bi-ḥifẓikum wa-ikrāmikum? qālū: balā, qad kāna dhālika; qāla: fa-mā ḥamalakum ʿalā an dasastum ilā hādhibi l-biʿati llatī banaytuhā li-l-maliki l-najāshiyi man* (text: *ḥattā*) *abdatha fihā l-ʿadhirata wa-laṭakha bihā ḥiṭānahā? qālū: mā lanā bi-dhālika ʿilmun; qāla: qad zanantu annakum innamā faʿaltum dhālika ghadāban li-baytikum lladhī* (text: *llatī*) *taḥujju ilayhi l-ʿarabu ʿindamā amartu min taṣyīri l-hujjāji ilayhā; qāla hishāmu bnu l-mughīrati: inna baytanā ḥirzūn wa-amnun yajtamīʿu fihī l-sibāʿu maʿa l-wahshi wa-jawāriḥu l-tayri maʿa l-bughāthi, wa-lā yaʿridu shayʿun minhā li-ṣāhibihī; wa-innamā yanbaghī an yaḥujja ilā biʿatika man kāna ʿalā dīnika; ammā man kāna ʿalā dīni l-ʿarabi fa-laysa bi-mukhtārīn wa-lā muʿthirīn ʿalā dhālika l-bayti shayʿan.*

corroborating the reports about commercial relations between Mecca and the Yemen in that period. There is little ground for suspicion that the story was fabricated: it contains no favourable features, heroic or Islamic, which would explain why it should have been invented; Makhzūm could have hardly any interest in forging it as one of the many "praises" of Hishām<sup>1</sup>). It remained in fact peripheral, not included in any of the reports of the expedition of Abraha.

The answer of Hishām in his talk with Abraha contains an interesting definition of the position of Mecca and its role as conceived by a Meccan leader. Mecca, in this concept, was a neutral city, not involved in intertribal wars, a place of security and a sanctuary to which every Arab had the right to make pilgrimage. Only adherents of a state religion should be ordered to perform their pilgrimage to a temple established by the ruler. It is hardly necessary to observe that this neutral position enabled Mecca to expand its commercial relations with the tribes.

A similar opinion about Mecca was expressed by Qurra b. Hubayra, a tribal leader, in a decisive moment of the history of Mecca: in the first phase of the *ridda*. His view mirrors the attitude of the tribal groups, according to their established relations with Mecca. When 'Amr b. al-Āṣ was on his way from 'Umān to Medina, when the revolt of the *ridda* started, he came to Qurra b. Hubayra al-Qushayrī<sup>2</sup>). Qurra received him hospitably and gave him escort to Medina. When 'Amr b. al-Āṣ was about to leave, Qurra gave him his advice: "You people of Quraysh lived in your *ḥaram* with security both for yourselves and for (other) people (i.e. the tribes—K) with regard to you. Then there appeared a man from amongst you and announced what you heard. When this (information) reached us we did not dislike it; we said: "A man from Muḍar is (going) to lead the people" (i.e. the tribes—K). This man has (now) died. People (i.e. the tribes—K) are hurrying to you not offering you anything. Therefore go back to your *ḥaram* and live there in security. If you do not act (according to

1) See Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd: *Sharḥ naḥj al-balāgha*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1963, XVIII, 285-300.

2) See on him "Arabica" XV (1968) p. 155, note 2; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, Cairo n.d., III, 1281, no. 2114.

my advice—K) I am ready to meet you (in fight—K) wherever you will fix the place<sup>1</sup>)." The intent of Qurra was that Mecca should return to its former position as a place of security. Quraysh had to refrain from getting involved in a new political plan "to lead the people"; this plan had come to its end, in his opinion, with the death of the Prophet. Quraysh should revert to its previous relations with the tribes upon conditions of equality, with co-operation and confidence. Because of this saying Khālīd b. al-Walīd demanded to execute Qurra when he was taken prisoner<sup>2</sup>).

There are conflicting traditions about the troops which took part in the expedition of Abraha. Ibn Ishāq mentions only the Abyssinians as the force of Abraha, reporting that the Arabs went out against him. The two leaders who fought Abraha, aided by their tribes and the Arabs who considered it their duty to fight him, were Dhū Nafar al-Ḥimyarī and Nufayl b. Ḥabīb al-Khath'amī: they were defeated and captured. Abraha marched towards Mecca and passed by al-Ṭā'if where he was received with hospitality by Mu'attib b. Mālīk al-Thaqafī and directed towards Mecca. This story is followed by the report of the seizing of the herd of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the talk of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib with Abraha and the miracle of the birds who destroyed the army of Abraha. Ibn Ishāq mentions also another tradition according to which 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib went to Abraha in the company of the leaders of Kināna and Hudhayl (Ya'mar b. Nufātha al-Kinānī and Khuwaylid al-Hudhalī) and offered him a third part of the goods of the Tihāma<sup>3</sup>).

Muqātil (d. 150 H) reports (as quoted from his *Tafsīr*) about the following two expeditions of Abraha al-Ashram al-Yamanī against

1) Ibn Ḥubaysh, *al-Maghāzī*, Ms. Leiden, Or. 343, p. 24: ... *wa-innakum, yā ma'sbara qurayshin, kuntum fī ḥaramikum ta'manūna fībi wa-ya'manukum l-nāsu; thumma kharaja minikum rajulun yaqūlu mā sami'ta; fa-lammā balagbanā dhālika lam nakrabhu, wa-qulnā: rajulun min mudara yasūqu l-nāsa; wa-qad tuwuffiya wa-l-nāsu ilaykum sirā'un, wa-innahum ghayru mu'fikum shay'an, fa-lḥaqū bi-ḥaramikum fa-'manū fībi; wa-in kunta ghayra fā'ilin fa-'idnī ḥaythu shi'ta ātika . . . \**

2) *Ibid.*, p. 24, ll. 4-5; p. 26, ll. 1-2.

3) Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, I, 47, 63; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 551-556 (from Ibn Ishāq); Ibn Kathīr, *al-Sīra*, I, 30-41 (from Ibn Ishāq); al-Azraqī, *Akbbār Makka*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig 1858, pp. 87-92.

Mecca: the first one was headed by Abū Yaksūm b. (!) Abraha in order to destroy the Ka'ba and establish the elephant as object of worship; this expedition failed. The second one occurred after some Qurashites came to a Christian church called *al-Haykal* (called by the Najāshī *Māsirḥasān*), sat down to roast meat, forgot to extinguish the fire and as a result the church went up in flames. This happened a year or two after the first expedition and was the cause for the second expedition. When the Najāshī was informed about the burning of the church he became enraged and decided to go out against Mecca. Ḥujr b. Shurāḥīl al-Kindī, Abū Yaksūm al-Kindī (!) and Abraha b. al-Ṣabbāḥ promised him their help. It was the Najāshī who headed the expedition and who talked with 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and returned him the seized herd. When 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib came back to Mecca, he was advised by Abū Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī to leave the city and to stay in the surrounding mountains. "This House has a Lord Who protects it"—said Abū Mas'ūd<sup>1</sup>). Then the miracle of the birds appeared, Abraha's army was destroyed and 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and Abū Mas'ūd both collected the discarded jewels and gold<sup>2</sup>).

Ibn Ishāq gives a different version in his *Mubtada'*: the grandson of Abraha, the king of the Ḥabash (the son of his daughter), Aksūm b. al-Ṣabbāḥ came as pilgrim to Mecca. On his way back he stopped in a church in Najrān. There he was attacked by men from Mecca who robbed his luggage and looted the church. When the grandfather heard about it from his grandson, he sent against Mecca an army of twenty thousand men headed by Shamir b. Maqṣūd.

The short report contains the story of the seizing of the herd of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and the miracle of the birds<sup>3</sup>). Two poems of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (14 verses ending in *mū* and 10 verses ending in *mā*) are also quoted from the *Mubtada'*<sup>4</sup>).

1) Comp. above, p. 65; the answer of Hishām b. al-Mughīra to Abraha.

2) Mughultāy, *op. cit.*, fol. 25a-26b sup. (See a short passage of the version of Muqātil in Majlisī's *Biḥār*, XV, 137; other fragments :al-'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, I, 232-233; al-Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, Cairo n.d., pp. 602-603).\*

3) Mughultāy, *op. cit.*, fol. 26b.

4) *Ibid.*, fol. 27a-b.

But Mughulṭāy seems to have recorded only a part of the report of the *Mubtada'*. The whole report is recorded by Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī in his *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*<sup>1)</sup>. The isnād of Abū Nu'aym does not include the name of Ibn Iṣḥāq; but the fragment of the *Mubtada'* recorded by Mughulṭāy is identical with the first part of Abū Nu'aym's report<sup>2)</sup>. According to this report the army of Shamir consisted of Khaulān and a group of Ash'ariyyīn. The army was joined by al-Taḳāl al-Khath'amī. The talk of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib with Abraha and the story of the miracle of the birds are given at length.

The combined report of al-Ṭabarī<sup>3)</sup> is based on the account of al-Wāqidī. It is recorded by Ibn Sa'd<sup>4)</sup>, Abū Nu'aym<sup>5)</sup>, Mughulṭāy<sup>6)</sup>, and al-Tha'labī<sup>7)</sup>. According to this tradition 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib stayed at the mountain of Ḥirā' with 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh al-Makhzūmī, Muṭ'im b. 'Adiyy and Abū Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī.

An anonymous report claims that the father of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, was close to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib on the mountain; the first who descended in order to collect the spoils of the army of Abraha were 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 'Affān and Abū Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī. The father of 'Uthmān then became a rich man<sup>8)</sup>. According to the report of the *Nihāyat al-irab* 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib descended with Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām<sup>9)</sup>.

A significant report is recorded by al-Ṭabarsī<sup>10)</sup> and Majlisī<sup>11)</sup>. The majority of the followers of Abraha in his army were people from 'Akk, Ash'ar and Khath'am. When the troops of Abraha reached

1) Hyderabad 1369/1950, pp. 101-105; see al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, Cairo 1314, VI, 394 (quoted from the *Dalā'il*).

2) Mughulṭāy perused the text of Abū Nu'aym and remarks (fol. 25b, l.7) that Abū Nu'aym recorded the name of the commander Shamir b. Maṣfūd (see Abū Nu'aym, *Dalā'il*, p. 101, note 1).

3) *Ta'riḫ*, I, 556-557.

4) *Ṭabaqāt*, Beirut 1956, I, 90-92.

5) *Dalā'il*, pp. 106-107.

6) *Al-Zabr*, fol. 32a.

7) *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, pp. 603-604.

8) Al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-'uyūn* (= *al-Sīra al-ḥalabīyya*), Cairo 1351/1932, I, 73.

9) Fol. 176b.

10) Al-Ṭabarsī, *Majma' al-bayān*, Beirut 1380/1961, XXX, 234-237.

11) *Bihār al-anwār*, Teheran 1379, XV, 134-137.

Mecca, the people left the city and sought shelter in the mountains. There were left in Mecca only 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib carrying out the duty of the *siqāya* and Shayba b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Dār carrying out the duty of the *ḥijāba*. The story of the seizure of the herd of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib is followed by the story of the meeting of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib with Abū Yaksūm. The details about the events following the meeting are of special interest. The Ash'ariyyūn and the Khath'am broke their swords and spears and declared themselves innocent before God of any intention to destroy the House. When the miracle of the birds occurred, the troops who marched against Mecca being killed by the stones thrown by the birds, the Kath'am and Ash'ar were saved from being harmed by the stones.

This report, recorded by the Shī'ī Ṭabarsi and Majlisī, is recorded by the Sunnī al-Bayhaqī in his *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*<sup>1</sup>). It is evident that the tradition has a South-Arabian tendency. The South-Arabian tradition also adopts the version that Dhū Nafar and Naufal b. Ḥabīb were taken prisoners by Abraha and forced to follow him. Naufal (or Nufayl) was the man who desecrated the temple of Abraha in order to keep the pilgrimage to Mecca and Dhū Nafar was a friend of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who advised him when he came to meet Abraha<sup>2</sup>). These are apparent attempts to clear the South-Arabian tribes from any accusation of aiding Abraha in his activities against the *ḥaram* of Mecca.

The version recorded by Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb<sup>3</sup>) differs from those mentioned above. Abraha built the church in Ṣan'ā' according to the plan of the Ka'ba. It was desecrated by a group of Kināna. Abraha decided to march against Mecca, to destroy the Ka'ba and afterwards to raid Najd. He gathered people of low extraction and brigands and listed them in his army. He was followed by the leader of Khath'am, Nufayl, on the head of huge groups of his tribe and by the Munabbih b. Ka'b of the Balḥārith, who did not recognize the sanctity of the

1) Fols. 13a-14a.

2) Cf. al-Hamdānī, *al-Iklīl*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, X, 25. (Cairo 1368).

3) *Al-Munammaq*, pp. 68-80.

Ka'ba and the *ḥaram*. Ṭarafa, who stayed at that time in Najrān, warned Qatāda b. Maslama al-Ḥanafī<sup>1)</sup> of the planned attack of Abraha against Najd. Verses of Kulthūm b. 'Umays al-Kinānī, who was captured by the army of Abraha and put in chains, give a vivid description of the army of Abraha.

O, may God let hear a call:

and send between the mountains of Mecca (*al-Akhsabāni*) a herald.

There came upon you the troops of al-Ashram, among them an elephant:  
and black men riding (beasts like) ogers.

And infantry troops, stout ones, whose number cannot be counted:  
by al-Lāt, they swing their javelins thirsty (of blood).

They came upon you, they came upon you! The earth is too narrow to bear them:  
like a gush of water flowing overpowers the valley.

On their way the troops of Abraha were attacked by the Azd who defeated them. Abraha and his army were however received hospitably in al-Ṭā'if by Mas'ūd b. Mu'attib, who explained to Abraha that the sanctuary of al-Ṭā'if is small and that his goal is the Ka'ba of Mecca, which should be destroyed in revenge for the desecration of his temple. When the army of Abraha approached Mecca, the people of city left, seeking refuge in the mountains; only 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh al-Makhzūmī remained in the city<sup>2)</sup>: they fed the people (scil. remaining in Mecca). Further the report gives the story of the meeting of Abraha with 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and the miracle of the birds. The appended verses give the description of the disastrous end of Abraha's army.

The quoted traditions are, in fact, contradictory and the picture they give is blurred. Miraculous and legendary elements<sup>3)</sup> are evident and form a part of every report. There are however some details which deserve to be considered. Muqātil's version, as recorded by Mughulṭāy, is the only one in which two expeditions are mentioned: a first one which failed to reach the precincts of Mecca, and a second one, which

1) See *Dīwān de Ṭarafa*, ed. M. Seligsohn, Paris 1901, p. 146 (VII, appendix). And see *ibid.*, p. 90; and see *al-Munammaq*, p. 69, note 3.

2) Cf. al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamidullah, Cairo 1959, I, 68; al-Maqdisi, *al-Bad' wa-l-ta'rikh*, ed. Cl. Huart, Paris 1899, III, 186.

3) See the legendary report of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Bakri in Majlisi's *Bihār* XV, 65-74.

occurred a year or two later. In this expedition the army was led by the Najāshī, some troops entered Mecca, but the expedition ended with the disastrous fate of the army. This tradition suits the assumption of W. Caskel, who considered the inscription Ry 506 referring to an expedition preceding the Expedition of the Elephant <sup>1</sup>).

The troops in the army of Abraha seem to have been from both South and North Arabia. Khath'am, Balḥārith, 'Akk, Ash'ar, Khaulān are the names of South-Arabian troops, mentioned in the reports. The presence of Muḍarī troops is implied in the story of the meal of testicles prepared for Khath'am, which the Muḍarī (Northern) troops refused to eat <sup>2</sup>). When the Muḍarīs refused to eat the testicles and to prostrate before the cross, Abraha ordered to summon them; they explained that they do not eat testicles, nor do they prostrate to the cross; they follow the tenets of their people (*wa-naḥnu, abayta l-la'na, fī dīni qauminā*). Abraha freed them, stating: *kullu qaumin wa-dīnabum* <sup>3</sup>). There was also a troop of Abyssinians. The verses of Qays b. Khuzā'ī (al-Sulamī) in praise of Abraha describe a selected unit of Abyssinians surrounding Abraha:

- v. 3 The sons of Abyssinia around him:  
wrapped in Abyssinian silk clothes
- 4. 4 With white faces and black faces:  
their hair (curly) like long peppers <sup>4</sup>).

The information that Abraha intended to raid Najd after he would destroy the Ka'ba is noteworthy. The attack on Najd, as attested by the verses of Ṭarafa, seems to have been planned on the background of the struggle between Persia and Byzantium and the raids of the tribes being under the sway of al-Ḥīra on the territories of tribes in the region of Najrān being under the sway of Abraha <sup>5</sup>). It is notice-

1) W. Caskel, *Entdeckungen in Arabien*, Köln und Opladen 1954, p. 30 inf.

2) *Al-Munammaq*, p. 70: *ayyubā l-malīku, inna man ma'aka min muḍara abau an ya'kulū min ḥādbihī l-kbuṣā shay'an . . . wa-arsala, ja-ukhidha lahu nāsūn min muḍara . . .*

3) *Ibid.*, p. 71. The saying of Abraha reminds the idea advocated by Hishām b. al-Mughīra in his talk with Abraha.

4) *Al-Munammaq*, p. 70.

5) See Caskel, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

able that Abraha chose Najrān as halting place in his march, where, as Ṭarafa says, “the kings took their decisions.” (*bi-najrāna mā qaḍḍā l-mulūku qaḍā' abum*)<sup>1)</sup>. The people of Najrān were devoted Christians and certainly sympathised with Abraha; <sup>2)</sup> groups of Balḥārith in this region aided him.

The information about the leaders of Mecca who remained with ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib deserves to be examined. ‘Amr b. ‘Ā'idh al-Makhzūmī was apparently in close contact with ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib; ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib married his daughter Fāṭima and she gave birth to his son ‘Abdallah, the father of the Prophet <sup>3)</sup>. The Makhzūm, as mentioned in the *Nihāyat al-irab* had trade relations with the Yemen. It is not surprising to find that Abyssinians dwelt in the *Dār al-'Ulāj*, in the quarter of the Banū Makhzūm <sup>4)</sup>. The Makhzūm seem to have had financial relations with Najrān as well: when al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra died he mentioned to his sons that he owed the bishop of Najrān a hundred dīnārs <sup>5)</sup>. It is thus plausible that Makhzūm had to be consulted

1) Cf. al-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, II, 157 (ed. Muḥammad al-Akwa' al-Ḥiwālī, Cairo 1386/1966): . . . *'alā Ḥububāna idh tuqaḍḍā maḥāṣiluh*; and see *ibid.*, p. 157: . . . *ḍarabū li-abrabata l-umūra*.

2) See Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, ed. Ilse Lichtenstaedter, Hyderabad 1361/1942, p. 51; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat al-nasab*, Ms. Br. Mus., Add. 23297, fols. 8a, 1.3; 8b, 1.3 bot.; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Ummahāt al-nabī*, ed. Ḥusayn 'Alī Maḥfūz, Baghdād 1372/1952, p. 10 (fol. 1b).\*

3) See Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, ed. Ilse Lichtenstaedter, Hyderabad 1361/1942, p. 51; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat al-nasab*, Ms. Br. Mus., Add. 23297, fols. 8a, 1.3; 8b, 1.3 bot.; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Ummahāt al-nabī*, ed. Ḥusayn 'Alī Maḥfūz, Baghdād 1372/1952, p. 10 (fol. 1b).

4) Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fol. 458a; the Prophet was informed that these Abyssinians wanted to come to him in order to embrace Islam; they feared however that the Prophet might repel them. The Prophet said: “There is nothing good in Abyssinians: when they are hungry they steal, when they are sated they drink; they have two good qualities: they feed people and are courageous.” ‘Aṭā b. Abī Rabāḥ is said to have been born in this house. When ‘Umar came to Mecca he distributed money amongst Quraysh, Arabs, Mawālī, Persians and Abyssinians (al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fol. 397a, inf.). When ‘Abdallah b. al-Zubayr pulled down the Ka'ba he used Abyssinian slaves for this task. He hoped that amongst them there would be the Abyssinian about whom the Prophet foretold that he would destroy the Ka'ba (al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 141 inf.; al-'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, I, 169 inf.) About the Abyssinian who will destroy the Ka'ba see al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 193; al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-gharām*, Cairo 1956, I, 127-128.\*

5) Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *op. cit.*, Ms. fol. 145b, 1.8.\*

at the arrival of the army of Abraha and shared in the decisions. The Kināna as mentioned above, had close relations with Mecca. It is thus probable that Muḥammad b. Khuzā'ī (al-Sulamī) was sent by Abraha to the Banū Kināna, that a Kinānī was captured and compiled the verses to warn Quraysh of the danger of the approaching army of Abraha and that a Kinānī, from the clan of Di'l was said to have been a member of the delegation who negotiated with Abraha. The verse recited by a Di'li woman to Mu'āwiya seems to refer to the role played by the Kināna in the Expedition of the Elephant:

*hum mana'ū jaysba l-aḥābīshi 'anwatan:  
wa-hum nabnabū 'annā ghuwāta banī bakri*

They (i.e. the Di'l) resisted the army of the Abyssinians forcibly:  
and they repelled from us those who allure, the Banū Bakr<sup>1)</sup>

It is plausible to find also a chief of the Hudhayl in the delegation. Hudhayl had good relations with Mecca and played a considerable role in stopping the expedition of Abraha against Mecca<sup>2)</sup>.

It is also quite likely that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib consulted the leader of the Thaḳīf in his decisions. Thaḳīf had very close financial relations with Makhzūm and common financial enterprises<sup>3)</sup>. It is noteworthy too that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib himself had property in al-Ṭā'if<sup>4)</sup>. He had

1) Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-asbrāf*, ed. M. Schloessinger, Jerusalem 1971, IV A, p. 18; Bakr apparently refers to Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt (see Watt, Muḥammad at Medina, p. 83); and see the story of the alliance concluded between Quraysh and the Aḥābīsh by 'Abd Muṭṭalib to face the Banū Bakr—al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, fol. 902a; but see the second hemistich in the poem of Ḥudhāfa b. Ghānim al-Jumāhī, al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 69:

*humū malakū l-baḥḥā'a majdan wa-su'dadan:  
wa-hum faradū 'anbā ghuwāta banī bakri*

(*malakū*, perhaps preferable *mala'ū*).

2) See EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Hudhayl* (G. Rentz) and W. Caskel, *op. cit.*, p. 31, ll. 10-16.

3) See al-Wāḥidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, Cairo 1388/1968, pp. 58-59; al-Suyūṭī, *Lubāb al-nuqūl*, p. 42; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Maḥmūd and Aḥmad Shākīr, Cairo n.d., VI, 22-23; (nos. 6258-6259); and see Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, Ms. Hāmidīyya 58, fol. 46 a: . . . *fa-lammā aẓhara llāhu 'aẓza wa-jalla l-nabiyya (ṣ) 'alā l-tā'ifi shtarafat thaḳīfun anna kulla riban labum 'alā l-nāsi fa-huwa labum wa-kulla ribā l-nāsi 'alayhim fa-huwa maudū'un 'anhum . . .*; and see Mughultāy, *op. cit.*, fols., 171b-172a; and see al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, I, 366-367.

4) Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, *op. cit.*, p. 98 ult.

also relations with the Yemen; this can be deduced from a tradition about a document of a debt owed to him by a man from Ṣan‘ā’<sup>1</sup>).

‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib acted of course as a representative of the ḥaram, as the dignitary of the Ka‘ba, in charge of the *siqāya*. This is especially emphasized in the tradition that he remained in Mecca with another dignitary Shayba b. ‘Uthmān, who held the office of the *ḥijāba*. They both fed the people; this reflects the concept of responsibility of the dignitaries of the Ka‘ba.\*

It would be vain to try to establish who in fact led Mecca in the decisive moment of the raid of Abraha. What can be deduced from the traditions is only what were the tribal elements which influenced the policy of Mecca and who were the representatives of the clans of Mecca deciding at that time.

Details about the expedition are indeed meagre<sup>2</sup>). But information about the results of the expedition is instructive. According to the report of the *Nihāyat al-irab* “Quraysh gained prestige in the eyes of the Arabs (i.e. the tribes) and they called them *Ālu llābi*; they said: “God repelled from them the evil (of the enemy) who plotted against them<sup>3</sup>).” ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib became wealthy, bought every year many camels and slaughtered them for the people of Mecca<sup>4</sup>). He bought the wells called *al-Ajbāb* from the Banū Naṣr b. Mu‘āwiya<sup>5</sup>), obviously in order to secure the water supply of Mecca in addition to the well of Zamzam which he dug.

Arabic tradition stresses that the institution of the *ḥums* was established after the Expedition of the Elephant<sup>6</sup>). Some sources are doubtful about the date of the establishment of the *ḥums*<sup>7</sup>). But it is

1) Al-Majlisī, *op. cit.*, XV, 160, no. 90; cf. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, s.v. *Zaul*.

2) See Caskel, *op. cit.*, p. 31 sup.: “*Es geht daraus hervor, wie dürftig die einheimischen Quellen*” . . .

3) *Nihāyat al-irab*, fol. 177a; and see al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 98.\*

4) *Nihāyat al-irab*, fol. 177a.

5) *Ibid.*, fol. 191b, inf.

6) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-ta’rīkh*, ed. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Najjār, Cairo 1348, I, 266.

7) Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, I, 211: *qāla ibnu ishāqa: wa-qad kānat quraysḥun—lā adri a-qabla l-fīli am ba‘dabu—btada‘at ra‘ya l-ḥumsi . . .*

evident that the failure of the expedition helped to expand the trade of Mecca, to set up close relations with the tribes, to establish its influence and to strengthen the institutions already built up by Quraysh. The market of 'Ukāz was established fifteen years after the Expedition of the Elephant<sup>1</sup>). 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was one of the members of the delegation who came to Sayf b. dhī Yazan to congratulate him on his victory<sup>2</sup>). According to a tradition recorded by al-Majlisī on the authority of al-Wāqidī, Sayf b. dhī Yazan sent his son to Mecca as a *governor* on his behalf<sup>3</sup>). The report of Wāqidī is probably exaggerated; he may have been sent merely as a *representative*, not as governor. But both the reports indicate that the relations of Mecca with the Yemen were re-established and the commercial ties renewed.

## II

Mecca owed its existence to trade. Pilgrimage rite and trade were indivisible in this city. It is thus plausible that in the young Muslim community one of the most vital questions which could be asked was the question whether trade could be conducted during the *ḥajj*. This question was positively answered in Sūra II, 198: "It is no fault in you, that you should seek bounty from your Lord . . ." <sup>4</sup>) Trade in Mecca

1) Mughultāy, *op. cit.*, fol. 170a, ult.; al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, III, 959; al-Tauḥidī considers these markets of the Arabs as marks of nobility in both societies of the Arabs, amongst the bedouins and the sedentary: . . . *wa-mimmā yadullu 'alā ṭaḥadduribim fī bādiyatibim wa-tabaddihim fī ṭaḥadduribim wa-ṭaḥallihim bi-ashrafi aḥwāli l-amrayni aswāqubum llatī labum fī l-jāhiliyyati . . . (al-Imtā' wa-l-mu'ānasa, ed. Aḥmad Amin, Aḥmad al-Zayn, Beirut (reprint—n.d.), I, 83).*

2) See e.g. Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, Beirut—al-Riyād 1966, II, 178; Ibn al-Jauzī, *al-Wafā bi-ahwāl al-muṣṭafā*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wāḥid, Cairo 1386/1966, I, 122-128.

3) *Bihār al-anwār*, XV, 146, no. 80: *qāla l-wāqidīyyū: kāna fī zamāni 'abdi l-muṭṭalibi rajulun yuqālu labu sayfu bnu dhī yazāna wa-kāna min mulūki l-yamani wa-qad anfadha bnaḥu ilā makkata wāliyan min qibalibi, wa-taqaddama ilayhi bi-sti'māli l-'adli wa-l-iṣṣāfi . . .*

4) See al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, IV, 163-169 (nos. 3761-3791); al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, III, 960; al-Ḥākim, *op. cit.*, I, 482; Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 31b; al-Suyūṭī, *Lubāb*, p. 30; al-Shaybānī, *al-Iktisāb fī l-riḡq al-muṣṭafāb*, ed. Muḥammad 'Arnūs, Cairo 1357/1938, p. 21; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, Beirut 1385/1966, I, 424-426; and see Ch. C. Torrey, *The Commercial-Theological Terms in the Koran*, Leyden 1892, p. 5; but see al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, Ms. Esad Ef. 2391, fol. 67b, l. 14 (on Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī): . . . *wa-kāna lā yashtarī wa-lā yabī'u fī l-ḥajji.\**

remained thus inseparably connected with religious rites, as it was in the times of the Jāhiliyya. Caravans with wares used to pour into Mecca, 1) protected by the established institutions of the Sacred Months, *Ḥums* and *Dhāda* and enjoying free access to the markets.\* Caravans departed from Mecca loaded with wares for Syria, Persia or Yemen.

The following information about the import of wares from Egypt is of particular interest. In the lower part of Mecca there was the "Court of Egypt" (*Dār Miṣr*) 2) which belonged to Ṣafwān b. Umayya al-Jumāḥī 3). He used to deposit the wares which arrived from Egypt in this court. People would come to the lower part of Mecca and buy these wares. "His trade", says the report, "was confined to Egypt;" therefore the court was named "*Dār Miṣr*", referring to the wares which were sold in it 4).

In the quarter of the Banū Makhzūm was the court of al-Sā'ib b. Abī l-Sā'ib; in one of its departments the wares of the Prophet and of al-Sā'ib were stored 5). Al-Sā'ib was the Prophet's partner before he received the revelation 6). According to al-Shaybānī they traded with skins 7). According to a tradition recorded by al-Balādhurī, the Prophet

1) See E. R. Wolf: *The Social Organization of Mecca and the Origins of Islam*, South-western Journal of Anthropology 1951, pp. 330-337; and comp. about the trade of Qurayza and Naḍir the report about the seven caravans which arrived on the same day from Buṣrā and Adhru'āt, carrying clothes, perfumes, jewels and "sea-goods" (*amti'at al-baḥr*)—al-Wāḥidī, *op. cit.*, p. 187; al-Qurtubī, *op. cit.*, X, 56.\*

2) See al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 474 penult.

3) See on him Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *op. cit.*, II, 718, no. 1214; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325/1907, III, 246, no. 4068; Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, V, 449.

4) Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fol. 461b: . . . *wa-labum dārun bi-asfali makkata yuqālu labā dāru miṣra, fibā l-dabbāghūna, kānat li-ṣafwāna bni umayyata; wa-innamā summiyat dāra miṣra anna ṣafwāna bna umayyata kāna ya'tibi min miṣra tijāratum wa-amti'atum, fa-kāna idhā atathu unīkbat fī dārihi tilka, fa-ya'tibi l-nāsu ilā asfali makkata fa-yashtarūna minhu l-matā'a; wa-lā tajūzu tijāratuhu ilā ghayri miṣra, fa-nusibat al-dāru ilā mā kāna yubā'u fibā min matā'i miṣra.*

5) Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fol. 458b; al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, pp. 470-471.

6) Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fol. 458b; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 572, no. 892 (and see *ib.*, p. 1288); Ibn al-Kalbī, *op. cit.*, fol. 102a; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, III, 60, no. 3060; al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *op. cit.*, fol. 186b (al-Sā'ib b. Wadā'a); *ibid.*, fol. 149b, 1.23; Ibn al-Jauzī, *al-Wafā*, I, 142 inf.; al-Ṭabarī, *Dhayl al-mudhayyal*, Cairo 1939, p. 60.

7) *Al-Iktisāb*, p. 17 ult.—p. 18 sup.

invested in some wares carried by Abū Sufyān from Syria and got profit <sup>1</sup>).

The intricate trade-transactions gave rise to various partnerships. Al-‘Abbās was a partner of Khālid b. al-Walīd; they both used to lend money for interest; when Islam appeared they had big sums lent for interest <sup>2</sup>). According to another tradition al-‘Abbās was a partner of Abū Sufyān <sup>3</sup>). Al-Dhahabī records a tradition stating that Naufal b. al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib was a partner of ‘Abbās <sup>4</sup>). Al-Balādhurī reports about a partnership between two Sulamī leaders and Ḥarb b. Umayya; Ḥarb invested the money necessary for the cultivation of the land owned by them <sup>5</sup>).

It is evident that the trade of Mecca necessitated free traffic, free access to the markets of Mecca and free markets, without taxes. In fact, when the Prophet came to Medina he decided to turn Medina into a *ḥaram* and to establish in Medina a free market, without taxes <sup>6</sup>). The fundamental change occurred when Sūra IX, 28 was revealed: “O believers, the idolaters are indeed unclean; so let them not come near the Holy Mosque after this year of theirs. If you fear poverty, God shall surely enrich you of His bounty, if He will . . .” The verse

1) Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, IVa, 9; and see another version (Muḥammad refuses to accept a reduction in the commission of Abū Sufyān) ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Taḥbīt dalā’il al-nubuwwa*, ed. ‘Abd al-Karīm ‘Uthmān, Beirut 1386/1966, II, 591.

2) Al-Wāḥidī, *op. cit.*, p. 59; Mughultāy, *op. cit.*, fol. 170b, penult.

3) Mughultāy, *op. cit.*, fol. 313a; cf. Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, p. 27 (al-Abbās was the *naḍīm* of Abū Sufyān; according to a report of al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *op. cit.*, fol. 94b, penult. ‘Auf b. ‘Abd ‘Auf (see on him al-Kalbī, *op. cit.*, 28a) was a *naḍīm* of al-Fākih b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī. About the companionship of Ḥarb b. Umayya, ‘Abdallah b. Jud‘ān and Hishām b. al-Mughīra see al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *op. cit.*, fol. 126b inf.); Ḥarb b. Umayya was a *naḍīm* of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib (al-Balādhurī, IVa, p. 3).

4) *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, I, 144.

5) Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVa, p. 3.

6) Al-Balādhurī, *Futuh al-buldān*, ed. ‘Abdallah and ‘Umar al-Ṭaḍbā‘, Beirut 1377/1957, p. 24: . . . *wa-lammā arāda rasūlu llāhi an yattakhidha l-sūqa bi-l-madīnati, qāla: hādha sūqukum, lā kharāja ‘alaykum fīhi*. Consequently there were no taxes imposed on markets. The first who levied taxes from markets was Ziyād b. Abīhi (see al-Shibli: *Maḥāsin al-wasā’il*, Ms. Br. Mus., or. 1530, fol. 121b: *anwalu man akhadha min al-sūqi ajran ziyādun*).

was revealed in year 9 of the *hijra*<sup>1</sup>). The Muslims were afraid that the prohibition to approach the Ka'ba by the unbelievers may endanger their trade, as the unbelievers used to bring their merchandise to Mecca during their *hajj*. Allah promised the faithful to enrich them<sup>2</sup>).

It is evident that this crucial verse was revealed after Mecca had been conquered, when the roads of trade were secured and controlled by chiefs and leaders who had sworn loyalty to the Prophet. They changed in fact their former loyalty to Quraysh into a new loyalty: to the Prophet and the Muslim community. Unbelievers who returned from this *hajj* could sadly remark: "What can you do, as Quraysh had already embraced Islām<sup>3</sup>)." Muqātil reports that the people of Judda, Ḥunayn and Ṣan'ā' embraced Islām and brought food to Mecca: they had thus no need to trade with the unbelievers<sup>4</sup>).

The *ḥaram* became a Muslim sanctuary; its functionaries were appointed by the Prophet. It is the Muslim community and its representatives who decide who will bring merchandise to Mecca and its markets. The former institutions of *ilāf*, *ḥums*, *dhāda* were fundamentally transformed<sup>5</sup>). Their functions and authority were transferred to the loyal tribes, who had to ensure the safety of the roads and of the trade traffic. They had to pay taxes and yield to the authority of the chiefs appointed by the Prophet. Profits could be kept, as before, for the tribes (or their chiefs respectively) and the established authorities of the two *ḥarams*, Mecca and Medina.

It is significant that when the crisis of the establishment of Medina occurred after the death of the Prophet, when the chiefs of tribes

1) See F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads* (transl. H. H. Schaeder), Heidelberg 1955, pp. 338-339, notes 58-60.

2) Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XIV, 192-195 (nos. 16597-16608); al-Qurtubī, *op. cit.*, VIII, 106; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, III, 382; Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, IV, 192; al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo, 1357/1938, XVI, 24-26.

3) Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 383: *fa-raja'a l-mushrikūna fa-lāma ba'ḍuhum ba'ḍan wa-qālū: "mā taṣna'ūna, wa-qad aslamat qurayshum"*, *fa-aslamū*.

4) Al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, XVI, 26 inf.\*

5) Comp. al-Tauḥīdī, *al-Imtā'*, I, 85 about 'Ukāz: *... wa-man labu ḥukūmatun irtafa'a ilā lladhī yaqūmu bi-amri l-ḥukūmati min banī tamīmin, wa-kāna ākhirahum al-aqra'u bnu ḥābisin*. Al-Aqra' was in the new system appointed by the Prophet as *muṣaddiq*.

attempted to free themselves from their dependence on Medina, they tried to return to relations of a different kind than the *ilāf-ḥums* with Mecca. According to a tradition recorded by Ibn Ḥubaysh al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis and 'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn came at the outbreak of the *ridda* to Medina accompanied by chiefs of tribes, met some *Muhājirūn* and informed them about the *ridda* in their tribes; the tribes, they said, refuse to pay to the authority of Medina the payments which they paid to the Prophet. They suggested that they would assure that their tribes would not attack Medina if they were given a certain payment. The *Muhājirūn* came to Abū Bakr and advised him to accept the offer; Abū Bakr however refused <sup>1</sup>).

Another tradition recorded by Ibn Ḥubaysh corroborates this report. When 'Amr b. al-'Aṣ was on his way to Medina he met people renouncing Islam (*murtaddīn*). When he arrived at Dhū l-Qaṣṣa <sup>2</sup>) he met 'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn, who returned from his visit to Medina. 'Uyayna met Abū Bakr and told him: "If you pay us a (defined) sum, we shall keep you from (every attack occurring from) our territory." 'Amr. b. al-'Aṣ asked him about the events (which happened in his absence), and 'Uyayna informed him that Abū Bakr headed the Muslim community. "Now we are equal, you and we," added 'Uyayna. 'Amr said: "You are lying, O son of the mischievous of Muḍar <sup>3</sup>)."

'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn, the chief of Fazāra, was aware of the weakness

1) *Al-Maghāzī*, p. 9: . . . *wa-qadima 'alā abī bakrin 'uyaynatu bnu ḥiṣnin wa-l-aqra'u bnu ḥābisin fī rijālin min asbrāfi l-'arabi, fa-dakbalū 'alā rijālin min al-muhājirina fa-qālū innahu qad irtadda 'āmmatu man warā'anā 'an al-islāmi wa-laysa fī anfusihim an yu'addū ilaykum min amwālihim mā kānū yu'addūna ilā rasūli llābi (ṣ); fa-in taj'alū lanā ju'lan narji' fa-nakfikum man warā'anā; fa-dakbala l-muhājirūna wa-l-anṣāru 'alā abī bakrin fa-'aradū 'alayhi lladhī 'aradū 'alayhim wa-qālū: narā an tut'ima l-aqra'a wa-'uyaynata tu'matan yarḍayāni bihā wa-yakfiyānika man warā'ahumā ḥattā yarji'a ilayka usāmatu wa-jaysuhū wa-yashtadda amruka, fa-innā l-yauma qalilun fī kathīrin, wa-lā taqata lanā bi-qitāli l-'arabi . . .*

2) See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v. Qaṣṣa.

3) *Al-Maghāzī*, p. 25, l. 10: . . . *aqbala 'amru bnu l-'āsi yalqā l-nāsa murtaddīna ḥattā atā 'alā dhī l-qaṣṣati, fa-laqiya 'uyaynata bna ḥiṣnin kbārījan min al-madīnati, wa-dbālika hīna qadima 'alā abī bakrin al-ṣiddīqi yaqūlu: "in ja'alta lanā shay'an kafaynāka ma warā'anā"; fa-qāla lahu 'amru bnu l-'āsi: "mā warā'aka"; fa-qāla 'uyaynatu: "ibnu abī quḥāfata wālī l-nāsi, yā 'amru, wa-stawaynā naḥnu wa-antum"; fa-qāla 'amrun: "kadhābta yā bna l-akḥābiṭhi min muḍar" . . .*

of Medina. He suggested to Abū Bakr that Fazāra should protect Medina from attacks from their territory against an agreed payment. Abū Bakr could not accept the offer: acceptance of this offer might have meant giving up the idea of continuity of the work of the Prophet and yielding to the force of bedouin tribes, thus conceding to the disintegration of the Madinian commonwealth, which took up, in fact, the legacy of Mecca. Abū Bakr had to refuse the offer, which meant *ridda*. For the sake of Medina, he had to decide to crush the *ridda*.

### III

The development of Mecca was accompanied by a continuous struggle between the factions of Quraysh, which brought about the formation of alliances of clans and sometimes led to clashes and bloodshed. The best known alliance is the one of the *Muṭayyabūn* and their adversaries, the *Ablāf*<sup>1)</sup>. The reports about the role of the Banū l-Ḥārith b. Fihr in this alliance may be of some interest.

The Ḥārith b. Fihr belonged to *Quraysh al-ḡawābir*. The *Quraysh al-ḡawābir*, although closely co-operating with the *Quraysh al-biṭāb*, attended fights and raids in their own tribal units<sup>2)</sup>. Sometimes their actions seem to have collided with the policy of Mecca<sup>3)</sup>. They concluded alliances with tribes and carried out joint raids against tribes<sup>4)</sup>. Members of defeated groups of *Quraysh al-ḡawābir* sought refuge in Mecca and dispersed amongst families of the *Abṭahiyīn*. It is of interest that persons of these Ḥārith b. Fihr who already merged into clans of the *Abṭahīs* were "repatriated" by 'Umar into their former tribal units<sup>5)</sup>. Ibn Ḥabīb mentions a group of the Ḥārith b. Fihr (the clan

1) See Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, I, 138-140; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, pp. 5-8.

2) Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, Ms. fol. 882a: . . . *wa-kāna ḡirāru bnu l-khaṭṭābi ra'īsa muḡāribi bni fibrin wa-qā'idabā fī l-fjāri*.

3) Cf. al-'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, I, 163: . . . *kānat qurayshu l-ḡawābir yuḡhīrūna 'alā banī kinānata, yuḡhīrubum 'amru bnu waddīn al-'āmīriyyu*.

4) Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, Ms. fol. 882a: . . . *wa-ghaḡat banū fibrin wa-banū 'absin, wa-kāna baynabum yauma'idhin ba'ḡu l-hilfi, 'alā l-yamani; fa-qāla ḡirāru bnu l-khaṭṭābi . . .*

5) Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *op. cit.*, fol. 128b, inf.: . . . *'an ibni shihābin, sababu maḡtali faḡmin banī l-ḡārithi bni fibrin bi-farthab (?), fa-lam yabqa min banī l-ḡārithi illā l-shurādāt fa-taḡassamthum qurayshun; fa-kāna fī banī 'imrāna bni makbḡūmin iyāsun wa-buwa*

of Abū 'Ubayda) who came down to Mecca and joined the *Muṭayyabūn*<sup>1)</sup>; he counts them, in fact, in the list of the *Muṭayyabūn*<sup>2)</sup> and records that they were put as adversaries of the 'Adiyy b. Ka'b during the mobilization of the rival forces<sup>3)</sup>. The 'Adiyy b. Ka'b were a weak tribal unit; they were the only group of Quraysh, who "had no *sayyid* who could cope with their problems and avenge their shed blood<sup>4)</sup>." According to another tradition the Ḥārith b. Fihr were attached to 'Abd Manāf and had jointly to face Sahn and Jumaḥ<sup>5)</sup>. It is evident that these Banū l-Ḥārith b. Fihr were not a strong group; they were accepted by the *Muṭayyabūn* into their alliance in order to strengthen the alliance. The attachment of the Ḥārith b. Fihr to the *Abṭabīs* was reinforced by mutual marriages: 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Āmir married Qilāba bint 'Abd Manāf; the mother of Ḥarb b. Umayya was Umayma bint Abī Hamhama of al-Ḥārith b. Fihr<sup>6)</sup>. Abū Hamhama went out with Umayya when the latter contested Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf<sup>7)</sup>. Due to these marriages the Banū l-Ḥārith b. Fihr became a part of the *Abṭabīs* and consequently of the *Muṭayyabūn*<sup>8)</sup>. The case of the Banū l-Ḥārith is instructive and points to the policy followed by Quraysh of adopting clans and attaching families and individuals into their community<sup>9)</sup>.

*lladhī qāla labu abū tālibin:*

*khālī l-walīdu qad ra'aytum makānahu:*

*wa-khālu abī l'āṣi iyāsu bnu ma'badi*

*wa-kāna ma'badu bnu wabbīn tabannāhu, fa-kāna yuqālu iyāsu bnu ma'badin; fa-lammā kānat khilāfatu 'umara bni l-khaṭṭābi (r) wajadāhum fī buṭūmi qurayshin, fa-jama'ahum fa-ḥamalāhum ilā gaumihim wa-'alā 'arāfatihim.*

1) *Al-Munammaq*, pp. 18, 84, 237.

2) *Ibid.*, pp. 20 ult., 223; and see al-'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, I, 163.

3) *Al-Munammaq*, pp. 20, 44.

4) *Ibid.*, p. 146.

5) *Ibid.*, p. 334 ult.

6) Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, fol. 833a, inf.; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, pp. 324-326; Muṣ'ab b. 'Abdallah, *op. cit.*, pp. 443 ult.-444, 1.7; al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *op. cit.*, fol. 200b.

7) Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Niẓā' wa-l-takhāsum*, ed. Maḥmūd 'Arnūs, Cairo 1917, p. 20.

8) Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *op. cit.*, fol. 200b: *wa-qadima* (i.e. 'abd al-'uẓẓā b. 'āmir) *makkata fa-ẓawwajahu 'abdu manāfin wa-aqāma ma'ahu wa-'āqadahu fa-sāra banū l-ḥārithi bni fibrin ma'a banī 'abdi manāfi bni quṣayyin ilā l-yanmī, wa-bi-dhālika l-sababi ṣārū min abli l-biṭāhi, dūna banī muḥārībi bni fibrin wa-bi-dhālika l-sababi ayḍan dakhālū fī l-muṭayyabīn.*

9) See e.g. Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, pp. 275-332.

The high position which a *ḥalīf* could achieve in Mecca can be deduced for instance from the fact that a man from Sulaym was appointed by Quraysh as "muḥtasib" in Mecca <sup>1</sup>).

The two groups of the *Muṭayyabūn* and the *Aḥlāf* could be mobilized with no difficulty. This can be gauged from the report about the murder of Abū Uzayhir; both groups stood ready to fight and the Prophet ordered Ḥassān to spur them to fight each other. Only due to the wise intervention of Abū Sufyān was bloodshed prevented. The date of the event is given with precision: after the battle of Badr <sup>2</sup>).

The cohesive force of this alliance can be gauged from the report of al-Fākihī, that there were two separate cemeteries in Mecca: one of the *Muṭayyabūn*, and another of the *Aḥlāf* <sup>3</sup>). At the "Day of Uḥud" Quraysh fought under the banners of the *Muṭayyabūn* and *Aḥlāf* <sup>4</sup>).

A story told on the authority of Ibn Abī Mulayka <sup>5</sup>) records a talk between 'Abdallah b. Safwān b. Umayya and Ibn 'Abbās. The story exposes problems discussed in connection with the role of Mecca and its development and attests the persistence of the idea of division between the *Muṭayyabūn* and *Aḥlāf*. Ibn 'Abbās attended the *siqāya* <sup>6</sup>); 'Abdallah b. Ṣafwān passed by and said: "How pleasant is the rule (*imāra*) of the *Aḥlāf* with regard to you" ("What he in fact said was: How did you assess the *imāra* of the *Aḥlāf* with regard to you"). Ibn 'Abbās answered: "The *imāra* of the *Muṭayyabūn* before that was better than that"; he referred to the caliphate of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. Ibn Ṣafwān said: "'Umar ordered to close the well of Zamzam in the interval between the periods of the *ḥajj*" (i.e. to open the well only in the period of the *ḥajj*—K). Ibn 'Abbās said: "Do you strive for the

1) Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fol. 449b; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, p. 286; al-Azraqī, *op. cit.* p. 454; al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *op. cit.*, fol. 129a; L. 'A, s.v. *sh r d*; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *op. cit.*, XVIII, 299.\*

2) Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *op. cit.*, fol. 145b; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, pp. 237-241.

3) *Op. cit.*, fol. 480a: . . . *wa-kānat maqbaratu l-muṭayyabīna bi-a'ḷā makkata wa-maqbaratu l-aḥlāfi bi-asfali makkata*; see details about the *Muṭayyabūn* and *Aḥlāf*, al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *op. cit.*, fols. 174b, 184a.

4) Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *op. cit.*, fol. 86b.

5) See on him Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabdhīb al-tabdhīb*, V, 306, no. 523.

6) About the privilege of the *siqāya* granted by the Prophet to 'Abbās see Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 74a; al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-338; al-ʿIṣāmī, *op. cit.*, I, 207.

*sunna* of ‘Umar? ‘Umar ordered to turn the upper and lower parts of the valley (i.e. the valley of Mecca) into a resting place for the pilgrims and to turn Ayyadāyn and Qu‘ayqī‘ān into a place for walking and resting for them. Then you and your “patron” (*ṣāhibuka*) started to build up the place with houses (“he perhaps said: ‘you built it up with houses and palaces’”); within this is your house and property; after that (i.e. after all your actions contrary to the prescriptions and interdictions of ‘Umar—K) you come and ask (for the application of—K) the *sunna* of ‘Umar? How far is it! You left the *sunna* of ‘Umar far behind <sup>1</sup>.”

The quoted passage shows clearly how firm the consciousness of the division between the *Muṭayyabūn* and *Aḥlāf* was in the minds of the Qurashites in the times of ‘Uthmān. The rule of Abū Bakr (*muṭayyabūn*) and ‘Umar (*aḥlāf*) was assessed according to which faction they belonged to.

The questions discussed in this talk were connected with the conflicting views about the role of Mecca and whether it was legitimate to develop it. It was a fundamental question whether Mecca had to be kept as a center of pilgrimage, in which building new residential quarters was to be forbidden and the original character of the city preserved as it was in the times of the Prophet. As we can see from the quoted passage changes did take place early.

A considerable wave of building activity is attested in the times of Mu‘āwiya. The number of houses and courts bought by Mu‘āwiya at Mecca is surprising. He bought from the Banū Mulaḥ of Khuzā‘a the court called *Dār Ibrāhīm* or *Dār Aus*, located in the lane of the shoemakers, in the quarter of the allies of the Banū Hāshim <sup>2</sup>). In the quarter of the Banū ‘Abd Shams he acquired by exchange the *Dār al-Ḥammām* <sup>3</sup>). In the same quarter he got hold of an unoccupied piece of land in the neighbourhood of the court of al-Ḥakam b.

1) Al-Fākihi, *op. cit.*, fol. 443b; al-Azraqi, *op. cit.*, p. 392.

2) Al-Fākihi, *op. cit.*, fol. 448b, ll. 11-12; in this court the shoe-makers and butchers had their shops (*ib.*, fol. 451a, l. 16).

3) *Ibid.*, fol. 449a, l. 4.

Abī l-‘Āṣ and built there the court of Ziyād b. Abihi <sup>1)</sup>. To Mu‘āwiya belonged the *Dār al-Raqṭā* (built with read bricks and gypsum-mortar), the White Court (*al-Dār al-Bayḍā*—the plastered court), the *Dār al-Marājil* (bought by Mu‘āwiya from the family of al-Mu‘ammal of the ‘Adiyy b. Ka‘b), <sup>2)</sup> the *Dār Babba* (=‘Abdallah b. al-Ḥārith b. Naufal b. al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib), the *Dār Salm* (a court located opposite the *Dār al-Ḥammām*), *Dār al-Shi‘b*, a court in the lane of the blacksmiths called *Dār Mālī Llābi* (in which the diseased were housed), the *Dār Sa‘d* (built of carved stones, with figures carved in the stones).<sup>3)</sup> In the quarter of the ‘Abd al-Dār Mu‘āwiya bought the *Dār al-Nadwa* from Ibn al-Rahīn <sup>4)</sup> and paid for it 100,000 dirham <sup>5)</sup>. In this quarter he bought also the court of Sa‘īd b. Abī Ṭalḥa <sup>6)</sup>. In the quarter of the Banū Zuhra he bought some courts from the ‘Abd ‘Auf <sup>7)</sup>. Mu‘āwiya bought also the house of Khadija, in which the Prophet lived until the *hijra*, and turned it into a mosque <sup>8)</sup>. According to tradition, Mu‘āwiya was the first who built in Mecca houses with baked bricks and gypsum mortar <sup>9)</sup>. The sums spent on buildings can be gauged from the report about the building of the court of al-Ḥajjāj. He bought the court of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and deposited thirty thousand dīnārs, as expenses of the building, with the pious ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ <sup>10)</sup>. For the court of Ḥuwayṭib b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā Mu‘āwiya paid forty five thousand dīnār <sup>11)</sup>. In some of the courts

1) *Ibid.*, fol. 449a, ll. 18-19; the spot between the court of Abū Sufyān and Ḥanzala b. Abī Sufyān, facing the court of Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ and the court of al-Ḥakam was called *Bayna l-Dārayni*; it was a place where the caravans with wheat and corn used to make halt.

2) In this court there were pots of brass in which meals for the pilgrims and meals of Ramaḍān were prepared in the time of Mu‘āwiya.

3) Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fols. 450b, inf.-451b, 460b, l. 5.

4) See on him *ibid.*, fol. 424a.

5) *Ibid.*, fol. 455b; and see other versions about this transactions: al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *op. cit.*, fol. 88b; Mughultāy, *op. cit.*, fol. 28b, ult.; Ibn al-Kalbī, *op. cit.*, fol. 24a; *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, I, 17 inf.; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 70.

6) Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fols. 456a, l. 6; 496a.

7) *Ibid.*, fol. 456b, l. 5.

8) *Ibid.*, fol. 470b; cf. al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 457 inf.

9) Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fol. 441a.

10) *Ibid.*, fol. 447a.

11) Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 47, l. 17 (and see the references of the editor).

acquired by Mu'āwiya there seem to have been workshops of craftsmen, stores and magazines<sup>1)</sup>, which secured income and profit.

The vigorous building activities of Mu'āwiya were met with opposition by the orthodox circles, who looked with disapproval at the changes in the city. They wanted it to be a city for pilgrims, with wide, unbuilt spaces, preserved for pilgrims and their riding beasts. A comprehensive chapter in al-Fākihi's *Ta'rīkh*, dealing with these problems, is entitled: "*dhikru karābiyati kirā'i buyūti makkata wa-ijāratihā wa-bay'i ribā'ihā wa-mā jā'a fī dhālika wa-tafsīrubu*"<sup>2)</sup>. The arguments of the scholars are based on the utterances of the Prophet. He is said to have stated, that Mecca had to be put freely at the disposal of the pilgrims: houses should not be rented nor sold (*makkatu mubāhun uu munākhu*<sup>3)</sup>, *lā tubā'u ribā'uhā wa-lā tu'ajaru buyūtuhā*).<sup>4)</sup> 'Ā'isha is said to have asked the Prophet to set up for him a building in Mecca in order to find shade from the sun; but the Prophet answered: "Mecca is an alighting place for these who come first" (*innamā hiya munākhu man sabaqa*).<sup>5)</sup> "He who eats (the income) of the rent of houses in Mecca, eats fire" (i.e. he will enter Hell-K).<sup>6)</sup>

According to tradition, the houses of Mecca were during the time of the Prophet Abū Bakr and 'Umar called "*al-sawā'ib*", free possessions, accessible to everyone: they were not sold nor bought; he who needed dwelt in them; he who did not, lodged others in them<sup>7)</sup>. People coming

1) For the dimensions of a court (*dār*) see e.g. the report of al-Ya'qūbi, *Mushākalat al-nās bi-ḡamānīhim*, ed. W. Millward, Beirut 1962, p. 13: *fa-banā l-ḡubayru bnu l-'awwāmi dārahū l-mashbūrata bi-l-baḡrati wa-fīhā l-aswāqu wa-l-tijārātu . . .*

2) Fols. 443b-444b.

3) The difference of version *مباح*, *مباح* may be regarded as variants in the written text, the two words looking alike in the Arabic script.

4) Al-Fākihi, *op. cit.*, fol. 443b, l. 2; al-Qurtubī, *op. cit.*, XI, 33 ult.; and al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, p. 58: *makkatu ḥaramun lā yaḥillu bay'u ribā'ihā wa-lā uḡuru buyūtihā*; al-Fākihi, *op. cit.*, 444a, l. 1; and see al-Taḥāwī, *Sharḥ ma'ānī l-āthār*, ed. Muḥammad Zuhri l-Najjār, Cairo 1388/1968; al-'Azīzi, *al-Sirāj al-mumīr*, Cairo 1377/1957, III, 305; cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-wara'*, Cairo 1340, pp. 80-81.

5) Al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, p. 58; al-Qurtubī, *op. cit.*, XI, 34; Abū 'Ubayd, *al-Amwāl*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqqī, Cairo 1353, p. 65, no. 160.

6) Al-Qurtubī, *op. cit.*, XI, 33; Abū 'Ubayd, *op. cit.*, p. 66, no. 163.

7) Al-Qurtubī, *op. cit.*, XI, 33; al-Taḥāwī, *op. cit.*, IV, 29; Ibn al-'Arabī, *Aḥkām al-qur'ān*, III, 1264 sup.

to Mecca used to pitch their tents everywhere, even in the open spaces of the courts <sup>1</sup>).

The discussion of this problem centered around the interpretation of Sūra XXII, 25: “. . . and the Holy Mosque that We have appointed equal unto men, alike him who cleaves to it and the tent dweller” . . . “*Sawāʾun al-ʿākifu fīhi wa-l-bādi*” was interpreted by some of the scholars as equal rights of the residents of Mecca and the visitors in relation to the courts and houses. The residents have no more rights in relation to these places than the new-comers. “The visitor may alight at any place he finds; the householder has to shelter him, whether he wants to or not <sup>2</sup>.” One of the interpretations has a cautious remark: . . . “they are equal and they are entitled to alight wherever they want, *without driving out anyone from the house* <sup>3</sup>.”

Another problem, a legal one, closely connected with the discussed question, was whether Mecca was conquered by force (*ʿamwatan*) or by a peace-agreement. According to the former opinion (represented by Mālik, Abū Ḥanīfa, Auzāʿī) the houses should be considered as spoil; the Prophet did not distribute the houses and let the owners stay in their lodgings gratuitously, leaving these rights for their progeny too. Therefore, the courts of Mecca are at the disposal of residents and visitors alike. The contradictory opinion, represented by al-Shāfiʿī, stated that Mecca was conquered by a treaty; the courts are thus in the ownership of householders <sup>4</sup>).

The practical application of these views is mirrored in early traditions about ʿUmar. He is said to have forbidden to build doors for the courts of Mecca <sup>5</sup>). The courts of Mecca had no doors; the first who installed a door in his court was Ayman b. Ḥāṭib b. Abī Baltaʿa (according to another tradition: Muʿāwiya).<sup>6</sup>) ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in a letter

1) Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, 444a, inf.; Ibn al-ʿArabī, *op. cit.*, III, 1264.

2) See al-Qurṭubī, *op. cit.*, XI, 32; Ibn al-ʿArabī, *op. cit.*, III, 1263; and see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 59.

3) Al-Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, p. 59, ll. 4-5.

4) Al-Qurṭubī, *op. cit.*, XI, 33; Ibn al-ʿArabī, *op. cit.*, III, 1263 inf.-1264 (see esp. ll. 4-7).

5) Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 59; al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fol. 444b, sup.

6) Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fol. 444a.

to the *amīr* of Mecca prohibited the renting of houses in the city <sup>1</sup>).

There are compromise utterances, in which the interdiction is restricted. Al-Ṭaḥāwī records the tradition about the proposal of ʿĀ'isha to set up a building for the Prophet in *Minā*; the refusal of the Prophet and the interdiction of building is thus limited to *Minā* <sup>2</sup>). Further, according to al-Ṭaḥāwī, the idea of equal rights to residents and pilgrims is confined to public places; but places owned by people are not included in this category;<sup>3</sup>) this is the concept of al—Layth b. Sa'd: rents of houses are permitted, pilgrims may freely alight in open spaces of houses, ways, waste spaces and plains <sup>4</sup>).

According to another compromise opinion, the renting of houses is unlawful during the *ḥajj*; but it is permissible if the rent is taken from a man who is resident of Mecca (*mujāwir*) and not in the period of the *ḥajj* <sup>5</sup>). A special chapter in al-Fākihi's *Ta'rikh* deals with the permissibility of buying and renting houses (*dhikru man rakbkeḥaṣa fī kirā'i buyūti makkata wa-bay'i ribā'ihā*).<sup>6</sup>) Houses were in fact bought and sold and the transactions were accurately registered <sup>7</sup>).

The changes in Mecca and the reaction of the orthodox circles are mirrored in a talk between ʿĀ'isha and Mu'āwiya. ʿĀ'isha reproved Mu'āwiya that he built the city into townships and palaces, while the Prophet had made it free for all the Muslims. No one has more right in it (i.e. in the land and buildings—K) than the other. Mu'āwiya answered: "O Mother of the Faithful, so indeed is Mecca and they do not find anything which would shelter them from sun and rain. I ask you to bear witness that it is a *ṣadaqa* for them" (i.e. that my possession in Mecca be considered as a charitable endowment for the Muslim

1) Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 58 ult.-59sup.; al-Fākihi, *op. cit.*, fol. 444b, l. 2.

2) Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *op. cit.*, IV, 50-51; and see the discussion on this subject al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-gharām*, I, 320-321.

3) *Ibid.*, IV, 50.

4) Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 60.

5) *Ibid.*, p. 60.

6) Fols. 444b-445b.

7) *Ibid.*, fol. 447a: . . . *fa-khāṣamahu al-ḥajjāju bnu ʿabdi l-maliki bni l-ḥajjāji bni yūsufa, fa-naẓarū fī l-dawāwīn fa-wajadū l-nafaqata wa-l-thamana min ʿindi l-ḥajjāji*.

community—K).<sup>1)</sup> This solemn promise was never fulfilled, of course.

The growth of Mecca in the early period of Islam was impressive. Houses climbed up the mountains. They were built above the highly placed well of Jubayr b. Muṭ‘im, an area where houses were never built before<sup>2)</sup>, and on the hill of Abū Qubays<sup>3)</sup>. The attitude of the pious men of Mecca is reflected in the saying of Ibn ‘Umar when he saw the houses built on Abū Qubays: “O Mujāhid, when you see houses appearing on its mountains and water flowing in its thoroughfares, then beware”!<sup>4)</sup> The intent of the warning is made clear in another saying of ‘Abdallah b. ‘Amr: “When you see rivers bursting in Mecca and buildings on the tops of the mountains, then know that you are already in the shade of the Day of Judgment”.<sup>5)</sup>

In fact Mu‘āwiya’s activity of buying and building houses was accompanied by his energetic activity of digging wells, canals and planting gardens and orchards and cultivating the land in Mecca. Al-Azraqī mentions the wells dug by Mu‘āwiya and the orchards in

1) Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fol. 451b: . . . ‘an dbakwāna maulā ‘ā’ishata qāla: inna mu‘āwi-yata (r) dakhala ‘alā ‘ā’ishata (r) manzilabā, fa-qālat: anta lladhī ‘amadta ilā makkata fa-banaytabā madā’ina wa-quṣūran, wa-qad abāhabā llāhu ‘azza wa-jalla li-l-muslimīna, wa-laysa aḥadun aḥaqqu bihā min aḥadin; qāla: yā umma l-mu’minīna, inna makkata kadhā wa-lā yajidūna mā yukinnubum min al-shamsi wa-l-maṭari; wa-anā ushbiduki annabā ṣadaqatun ‘alayhim.

2) Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fol. 472b, penult.: . . . wa-sami’tu ba’da ahli makkata min al-fuqabā’i yaqūlu: kāna l-nāsu lā yujāwizūna fī l-sakani fī qadīmi l-dabri hādhībi l-bi’ra; innamā kāna l-nāsu fīmā dūnabā ilā l-masjidi, wa-mā fauqa dhālika kbālin min al-nāsi . . .

3) *Ibid.*, fol. 472a, l. 2: wa-lam yakum yauma’idhin ‘alā abī qubaysin buyūtum, innamā ḥadathat ba’du.

4) Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād, *Kitāb al-fitan*, Ms. Atif Ef. 602, fol. 4a: “yā mujāhidu, idhā ra’ayta buyūta makkata qad ṣabarāt ‘alā akhshābihā wa-jarā l-mā’u fī ṭuruqihā fa-kbudh ḥidbraka. Cf. al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fol. 414a: qāla ‘abdu llāhi bnū ‘amrin (r): yā mujāhidu idhā ra’ayta l-mā’a bi-ṭarīqi makkata wa-ra’ayta l-binā’a ya’lū akhshābihā, fa-kbudh ḥidbraka.

5) Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fol. 414a, inf.: idhā ra’ayta makkata qad bu’ijat kiṣāman, wa-ra’ayta l-binā’a qad ‘alā ‘alā ru’ūsi l-jibālī fa-‘lam anna l-amra qad aḥallaka; Abū ‘Ubayd, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, Hyderabad 1384/1964, I, 269; cf. similar traditions about Medina in Samhūdī’s *Wafā’u l-Wafā*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyi l-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamid, Cairo 1374/1955, I, 119: . . . yūshiku l-bunyānu an ya’ṭiya hādhā l-makāna (Ihāb); and see *ibid.*, the recommendation of the Prophet to Abū Dharr: idhā balagha l-binā’u sal’an fa-rtabil ilā l-shāmi; cf. Ibn Kathīr, *Nihāyat al-bidāya wa-l-nihāya fī l-fitan wa-l-malāhim*, ed. Muḥammad Fahīm Abū ‘Ubayd, Riyād 1968, I, 80: *tabluḡu l-masākīnu ihāba*.

which palm-trees and plants were grown<sup>1</sup>). Activities of this kind were never before carried out in the city. Sources stress that he was the first who dug wells in Mecca and planted orchards<sup>2</sup>).

The aim and purpose of these investments can be deduced from a talk between ‘Abdallah b. ‘Abbās and Mu‘āwiya. Ibn ‘Abbās said in his talk when he visited Mu‘āwiya: “I know a valley flowing with gold.” Mu‘āwiya remained silent and did not ask him (scil. about the valley). Afterwards he granted him the place which is called al-‘Abbāsiyya; Ibn ‘Abbās turned it into an orchard and dug a well in it. Afterwards Mu‘āwiya set up the orchards (in Mecca).<sup>3</sup>) The expression “a valley flowing with gold” points clearly to the aims of setting up the orchards; they were obviously profitable.

Mu‘āwiya’s activity of digging up wells and canals met with opposition like the building of houses and palaces. ‘Abdallah b. Ṣafwān rebuked Mu‘āwiya for his growing orchards in the “valley where there is no sown land” (i.e. Mecca),<sup>4</sup>) contrary to the words of Allah<sup>5</sup>). Scholars of law discussed the problem whether the fruit of trees and vegetables grown in Mecca are permissible to be picked and eaten and whether it is permissible to cut in Mecca trees planted by men<sup>6</sup>). It is evident that cutting trees not planted by men is forbidden in the *ḥaram* area<sup>7</sup>).

The governors and the officials of the Umayyads cared also for the supply of water for the city and for the pilgrims on their way. ‘Abdallah b. ‘Āmir b. Kurayz built cisterns for the pilgrims in ‘Arafā<sup>8</sup>). He dug

1) Al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p.p. 442-444; al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fols. 490a-491b.

2) Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fol. 441a-b.

3) Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fol. 441b: *wa-yuqālu: bal awwalu ḥā’iṭin ujriya bi-a’rādi makkata al-‘abbāsiyyatu; yuqālu inna bna ‘abbāsin (r) qāla yauman, wa-huwa ‘inda mu‘āwiyyata (r): inni la-a’lamu wādīyan yajrī bi-l-dhababi jaryan; qāla, fa-sakata mu‘āwiyyatu (r) wa-lam yas’alhu; fa-lammā kāna ba’du aqṭa’abu maūdi’a al-‘abbāsiyyati, fa-ajrāhā ‘aynan; fa-lammā ‘amilabā akhadha mu‘āwiyyatu (r) fī ‘amali l-ḥawā’iṭi.*

4) *Qur‘ān*, Sūra XIV, (Ibrāhīm) 37.

5) Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fol. 490b; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV A, 16.

6) Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 60-61.

7) See al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, pp. 372-374.

8) Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, Ms. fol. 799b: ... *wa-ttakhadha bi-‘arafata ḥiyādan wa-siqāyātīn*; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, p. 932 inf., no. 1587.

wells for pilgrims on their way from al-‘Irāq to Mecca and said some day: “Had I been left (i.e. to do as I think fit—K) a woman would journey alighting every day at a well (literally a water—K) and a market until reaching Mecca”.<sup>1)</sup> Later Khālid b. ‘Abdallah al-Qasrī dug a well (between the passes of Dhū Ṭuwā and Ḥajūn) on the order of al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik and drew the water from the well to the *ḥaram*. The water was sweet and Khālid urged the people to drink it. He spoke scornfully about Zamzam calling it “Mother of the black-beetles” (*umm al-ji‘lān*)<sup>2)</sup> and stressed its preference over Zamzam<sup>3)</sup>. He was so proud of the deed of al-Walīd that he tried to deduce from it the superiority of the Caliph of God (i.e. al-Walīd) over the Messenger of God. “Abraham asked God rain water and He gave salty water (i.e. Zamzam); the Commander of the Faithful asked Him rain water and He gave him sweet water” (i.e. the well dug on the order of the Caliph).<sup>4)</sup> It was in fact a shameless saying. This covered pool located in the *ḥaram*, having its waters supplied from the well dug by Khālid al-Qasrī, was destroyed by Dāwūd b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallah b. ‘Abbās to the joy of the people; they preferred the water of Zamzam<sup>5)</sup>.

After the period of the first Umayyads the building activities came to what amounts to a standstill. Such activities were only resumed with the advent of the Abbasids<sup>6)</sup>.

1) *Ibid.*, fol. 799b.

2) There was however a well called “*umm ji‘lān*” belonging to the ‘Abd Shams (see al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 438; al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fol. 487b, l.4).

3) Al-‘Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, I, 228.

4) Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fol. 415a.

5) Al-Mauṣilī, *Ghāyat al-wasā’il*, Ms. Cambridge Qq 33, fol. 14a: *awwalu mā aḥdatha dāwūd b. ‘alī b. ‘abdillāh . . . an badama l-birkata llatī ‘amilabā khālid b. ‘abdillāh al-qushayrī* (read: *al-qasrī*) . . . *wa-kāna amarahu bi-‘amali hādbihī l-birkati sulaymānu b. ‘abdi l-maliki wa-an yujriya minhā mā’an ‘adhbān fa-kharaja bayna zamzam wa-l-rukn al-aswad yuḍāhī bihā ni‘ama zamzam . . . wa-kānū fī shurbi mā’i zamzam arghaba minhum fībā ilā an qadīma dāwūd b. ‘alī fa-badamahā wa-surra l-nāsu bi-dhālika surūran ‘azīman.*

6) Cf. al-Fāsi, *op. cit.*, I, 346: . . . *wa-qad kānat ‘ayūnu mu‘awiyata tilka nqaṭa‘at wa-dhababat fa-amara amīru l-mu‘minīna l-rashīdu bi-tajdīdihā.*

## ADDENDA

P. 67 note 1

Comp. Ibn A‘tham, *al-Futūḥ*, Hyderabad 1388/1968, I, 17-18.

P. 68 note 2

See al-Khāzin, *Lubāb al-ta’wīl*, Cairo 1381, VII, 244-245; al-Baghawī, *Ma‘ālim al-tanzīl* (on margin of *Lubāb al-ta’wīl*), *ib.*

P. 73 note 2

The forces which could be levied in the region of Najrān seem to have been considerable. This can be gauged from the report of Sālim b. abī l-Ja‘d (d. 98H at the age of 115; on him see *Tabdhīb al-tabdhīb*, III, 432, no. 799) as transmitted by al-A‘mash (on him see al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-huffāẓ*, I, 154, no. 149). When the (Christian) population of Najrān, says the report, increased in number so that the number of the men able to fight became forty thousand—the Muslims were afraid that they would turn against them. ‘Umar then decided to exile them. He deported a group of them to Syria, another one to ‘Irāq and another one to another region. (See Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, Ms. Ḥamidiyya 58, fol. 66b: . . . *kaṭhurū ḥattā šārū arba‘ina alfa muqātilin, fa-khāfa l-muslimūna an yamīlū ‘alayhim . . . fa-akbraja* (i.e. ‘Umar) *firqatan ilā l-shāmi, wa-firqatan ilā l-‘irāqi wa-firqatan ilā arḍin ukbrā*). The number of the fighting men given in this account may be exaggerated; it points nevertheless to the strength of the forces which could be levied in Najrān. (Al-Balādhuri’s account of the event [*Futūḥ*, p. 89, ll.1-2] is very laconic: “. . . they [i.e. the people of Najrān] lent money at interest and increased in number; therefore ‘Umar feared them and expelled them”).

P. 73 note 4

About Persian craftsmen engaged in the building of the Ka‘ba during its restoration by ‘Abdallah b. al-Zubayr (or in the building of the houses for Mu‘āwiya) see al-Mausūli, *Ghāyat al-wasā’il*, Ms. Cambridge Qq 33, fol. 231b, inf. (*wa-kāna marra bi-l-fursi wa-hum yabnūna l-masjida l-ḥarāma fi finati bni l-zubayri, wa-qīla yabnūna dūra mu‘āwiyata . . .*).

P. 73 note 5

The extent of the trade of the family of Hishām b. al-Mughira can be gauged from the following verses of al-Ḥuṭay‘a (*Dīwān*, ed. Nu‘mān Amin Ṭāhā, Cairo 1378/1958, p. 320):

*fa-hallā amarti bnay bishāmin fa-yamkuḥbā:  
‘alā mā aṣābā min mi’ina wa-min alfi  
min al-rūmi wa-l-uhbūshi ḥattā tanāwalā:  
bi-bay‘ihimā māla l-marāzibati l-ghulfi  
wa-mā kāna mim mā aṣbahā yajma‘ānibi:  
min al-māli illā bi-l-taḥarrufi wa-l-ṣarfi*

(See the commentary *ib.*, p. 322).

## P. 75 l. 8

The principle that the dignitaries of the *ḥaram* have to stay in Mecca, carrying out their duties in the Ka'ba, was followed by the Prophet. Al-ʿAbbās and Shayba were freed from the obligation of the *hijra* and remained in Mecca. (See Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾriḫ*, VI, 349: *kāna l-ʿabbāsu wa-shaybatu umanāʾa* [perhaps *min al-umanāʾi*] *wa-lam yuhājirā; fa-aqāma l-ʿabbāsu ʿalā siqāyatibi wa-shaybatu ʿalā l-ḥijābati* . . .). And see Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, III, 218, ll. 18-19, no. 3490.

## P. 75 note 3

See al-Mauṣilī, *op. cit.*, fol. 156a: *awwalu mā ʿazuma amru quraysbin fa-summiyat āla llāhi wa-qarābatahu ḥīna haḡama llāhu jaysba l-fīli*.

## P. 76 note 4

See al-Khāzin, *op. cit.*, I, 154: *wa-qāla baʿdu l-ʿulamāʾi inna l-tijarata in waqqʿat naqṣan fī aʿmāli l-ḥajji lam takun mubāḡatan wa-in lam tuwaqqiʿ naqṣan fībi kānat min al-mubāḡāti llatī al-aulā tarkubā li-tajrīdi l-ʿibādati min gbayriḡ li-anna l-ḥajja bi-dūni l-tijārati afdalu wa-akmalu*.

## P. 77 l. 4

About the encampment of the *Dhāda* at the well called Biʾr Ṣulṣul (in the neighbourhood of Minā) see al-ʿIṣāmī, *op. cit.*, I, 333. (About this well see al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 442).

## P. 77 note 1

The Companions of the Prophet used to trade with Syria by sea; among them were Ṭalḡa and Saʿīd b. Zayd. (See Aḡmad b. Ḥanbal, *al-ʿIlal*, ed. T. Koçyiğit—İ. Cerrahoğlu, Ankara 1963, I, 224, no. 1410: *kāna aṣḡābu rasūli llāhi [ṣ] yatjarūna fī l-baḡri ilā l-rūmi, minhum ṭalḡatu bnu ʿubaydi llāhi wa-saʿīdu bnu ḡaydin* . . .); and see al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-ṣaḡḡir*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḡmān Muḡ. ʿUthmān, al-Madīna 1388/1968, I, 113,

## P. 79 note 4

See al-Jāwī, *Marāḡ labīd*, Cairo n.d., I, 336: . . . *wa-aslama ablu juddata wa-ḡunaynin wa-ṣanʿāʾa wa-tabālata wa-jurasha fa-ḡamalū l-ṭaʿāma ilā makkata* . . .; and see al-Khāzin, *op. cit.*, III, 64.

## P. 83, note 1

See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamḡarat ansāb al-ʿArab*, ed. Levi Provençal, Cairo 1948, p. 251, l. 20: *kāna bi-makkata fī l-jāḡiliyyati muḡtasiban yaʾmuru bi-l-maʿrūfi wa-yanḡā ʿan al-munkari* . . .