

## MECCA AND THE TRIBES OF ARABIA: SOME NOTES ON THEIR RELATIONS

Reports about the relations between Mecca, Medina and the various tribal units of the Arabian peninsula are scarce. A scrutiny of some of these reports may contribute to a better understanding of certain events in the Arabian peninsula in the second half of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh century. Certain data supplied by early transmitters may be helpful in elucidating the peculiar methods used by the Meccan clans in their attempts to gain the sympathy of other tribal units and acquire their cooperation in order to secure the continuity of the Meccan mercantile activities and the performance of the ritual practices at the Ka'ba. Some accounts indicate that clashes broke out from time to time between certain Meccan clans and the tribal groups; others point to the involvement of the Meccan and Medinan leaders in the efforts to solve intertribal conflicts. A few reports give information concerning the activities of the tribal groups at Mecca itself, their share in the politics of Mecca, and their involvement in the erection of the building of the Sanctuary at Mecca. Some aspects of these relations will be discussed in the following pages.

### I

A clash which took place between a tribal faction and a Qurashī clan comes to light in a story recorded by al-Zubayr b. Bakkār<sup>1</sup> on the authority of Muḥammad b. al-Ḍahhāk al-Ḥizāmī,<sup>2</sup> a Fazārī transmitter Ḥurayth b. Riyāḥ "and others": Everybody who performed the pilgrimage from among the Bedouins used to stop by one of the clans of Quraysh and that clan supplied them garments in which they used to perform the circumambulation of the Ka'ba; at their arrival at Mecca they (i.e. the Bedouin pilgrims — K) threw away the clothes which they wore. The Qurashī clan in whose abode they

<sup>1</sup> Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab quraysh*, MS. Bodley, Marsh 384, fol. 128b.

<sup>2</sup> See on him: al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *op. cit.*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir (Cairo, 1381), I, 402, 494; al-Fāsi, *al-'Iqd al-thamīn fī ta'rīkhī l-baladī l-amīn*, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid (Cairo, 1385/1966), V, 47–48, no. 1421; al-Bukhārī, *al-Ta'rīkh al-kabīr* (rpt. Hyderabad, n.d.), IV, 334, no. 3030; al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mu'allimī (Hyderabad, 1384/1964), IV, 148; Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 266, no. 2.

sojourned, used to take from them (a part of — K) what they slaughtered. The Fazāra, the report continues, used to alight with al-Mughīra b. ‘Abdallah b. ‘Umar al-Makhzūmī. The first who denied al-Mughīra the (lots of the — K) slaughtered beasts was Khushayn b. La’y al-Fazārī al-Shamkhī. Al-Mughīra threatened him and Khushayn refrained from performing the pilgrimage. He said:

*Yā rabbī hal ‘indaka min ghaḥīrah: uṣliḥu māli wa-ada<sup>c</sup> nahīrah  
inna minan māni<sup>c</sup> uhu l-mughīrah: wa-māni<sup>c</sup> un ba<sup>c</sup> da minan thabīrah  
wa-māni<sup>c</sup> un baytaka an azūrah*

“O Lord, is there forgiveness with you: I shall set my herds right and leave their slaughter

Indeed I am prevented from coming to Minā by al-Mughīra:

and prevented by him to come to Thabīr after Minā.

And he prevents me from visiting thy House.”

The report recorded by Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd is a shorter version of al-Zubayr’s account; it contains however some peculiar divergencies; it is told within the frame of a series of utterances and anecdotes which emphasize the virtues and laudable deeds of the members of the clan of Makhzūm; among the eminent men of Makhzūm there is mentioned “the leader of Quraysh” (*sayyid quraysh fī l-jāhiliyya*), who was the man who debarred (the tribe of — K) Fazāra from performing the ḥajj (*wa-huwa lladhī mana<sup>c</sup> a fazārata mina l-ḥajjī*). This happened, the report says, when Khushayn b. La’y blamed “a people of Quraysh” (*‘ayyara qawman min quraysh*) of having taken (a share of — K) the camels slaughtered by the Bedouins (*al-‘arab*) during the period of the pilgrimage (*al-mawsim*). Then Khushayn recited the verses about al-Mughīra’s action.<sup>3</sup>

A more detailed report is recorded by al-Balādhurī<sup>4</sup> on the authority of Abū l-Yaḥzān.<sup>5</sup> The Fazārī who refused to give al-Mughīra the required share of the slaughtered beasts was Zuwaylim b. ‘Arīn b. Khushayn, the grandson of Khushayn. Zuwaylim, according to the tradition, set out in the period of the Jāhiliyya in order to perform the pilgrimage and alighted at the court of al-Mughīra b. ‘Abdallah al-Makhzūmī. Al-Mughīra bade him pay the *ḥarīm*, i.e. the pay rendered to Quraysh by the men of the tribes who alighted in their dwellings in the period of the Jāhiliyya; this *ḥarīm* consisted of a part of the

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1382/1963), XVIII, 297 (read in the first hemistich *ghaḥīra*, not *‘aqīra*; in the third hemistich read *minan māni<sup>c</sup> uhu* instead of *minnā māni<sup>c</sup> un*; in the fourth read *thabīrah* instead of *bathīrah*).

<sup>4</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, MS. Ashir Efendi 597/8, fol. 1161a.

<sup>5</sup> See on him, *GAS*, I, 266, no. 3.

clothes (of the Bedouins whom the Qurashites accommodated — K) and a share of the meat of the slaughtered beasts. Then Ẓuwaylim recited the verses in which he complained of al-Mughīra's iniquitous demands and of his actions which prevented him (i.e. Ẓuwaylim — K) from performing the rites of pilgrimage.<sup>6</sup> A shortened version of this report is given by Ibn Durayd.<sup>7</sup>

Ẓuwaylim's deed was praised by one of his relatives, the Fazārī poet Jabbār b. Mālik b. Ḥimār b. Ḥazn b. 'Amr b. Jābir b. Khushayn.<sup>8</sup> Jabbār said:

*wa-naḥnu mana'nā min qurayshin ḥarīmahā : bi-makkata ayyāma l-taḥāluḡi wa-l-naḥri.*

"We denied Quraysh their *ḥarīm* : at Mecca on the days of the shaving [of heads — K] and of the slaughter [of victims — K]."<sup>9</sup>

But Ẓuwaylim revolted not only against the iniquitous rules and payments imposed on his tribe by some of the Meccan leaders; he also rebelled against the unjust deeds of his relatives, the leaders of his tribe. According to some reports Khushayn b. La'y, the grandfather of Ẓuwaylim, was one of the famous warriors of Fazāra; he was nicknamed *dhū l-ra'sayn*, "The Man with the Two Heads," and nobody in Fazāra equalled him in the number of raids carried out by him.<sup>10</sup> His grandson 'Amr b. Jābir b. Khushayn regarded it as his privilege to get two young camels from every captive captured by Ghatafān (to whom Fazāra belonged — K) and freed on ransom.<sup>11</sup> Ẓuwaylim decided to prevent him from unjustly levying this share of the ransom. The motives of his action are clearly expounded in two of his verses:

*arā 'amran yasūmu l-nāsa khaṣfan : lahu min kulli 'ānin bakratāni  
fa-innī dāfi'un mā kunta tu'tā : fa-hal laka bi-ntizā'ihimā yadāni*

"I see 'Amr wronging the people : to him [belongs the right — K] to take from every captive two young camels.

<sup>6</sup> The verses recorded by al-Balādhurī differ slightly from those recorded by al-Zubayr b. Bakkār; they read as follows: *yā rabbī hal 'indaka min ghaṣīrah : inna minan māni'uhā l-mughīrah. wa-māni'un ba'da minan thabīrah : wa-māni'ī rabbī an azūrah : aḥbisu māli wada tanḥīrah.*

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishṭiqāḡ*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn (Cairo, 1378/1958), p. 282 (the final hemistich, as recorded by al-Balādhurī, is missing).

<sup>8</sup> On Mālik b. Ḥimār see Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab (Das Genealogische Werk des Ibn al-Kalbī)* (Leiden, 1966), II, 389.

<sup>9</sup> Al-Balādhurī, MS., fol. 1161b, sup.; on Jabbār b. Mālik see al-Āmidī, *al-Mu'taliḡ wa-l-mukhtaliḡ*, ed. 'Abd al-Sattār Farrāj (Cairo, 1381/1961), pp. 128, 138.

<sup>10</sup> Al-Balādhurī, MS., fol. 1161, quoting it on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī. This assessment is indeed recorded in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat al-nasab*, MS. Br. Mus., Add. 23, 297, fol. 175b.

<sup>11</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, MS. Br. Mus., fol. 175b; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-'arab*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn (Cairo, 1382/1963), p. 259; al-Balādhurī, MS., fol. 1161a.

But I am repudiating what you have been given : do you have the power to snatch them [from my hands – K]?<sup>12</sup>

The leadership of one of the sons of Khushayn (Jābir? – K) was apparently anything but benign; he killed a man who dared to compose verses against him. This deed was praised by a Fazārī poet, Ibn al-‘Anqā, who extolled the strength and glory of the “Son of the Man with Two Heads.”<sup>13</sup>

The few details about Zūwaylim give us some insight into the struggle for justice waged by certain courageous tribal rebels against the iniquitous actions of tribal leaders and the oppressive deeds of members of the Meccan nobility.

According to a peculiar tradition even the fundamental event of the transfer of custody over the Ka‘ba to Quṣayy came about as an outcome of struggle against the iniquity of Quṣayy’s predecessor, Abū Ghubshān. According to an account traced back to Ibn Jurayj and recorded by al-Fākihī from a compilation of al-Wāqidī, the slaughter of the *baḥīra* camels (i.e. lope-eared she camels set free – K) was carried out (scil. in the period of the Jāhiliyya – K) at the Ka‘ba, close to Isāf and Nā’ila (who were at that time located close to the Ka‘ba – K).<sup>14</sup> Abū-Ghubshān used to take for himself the head and the neck of every *baḥīra* slaughtered; later he considered this to be insufficient and ordered to add to it the shoulders, and people obeyed. But afterwards Abū Ghubshān required in addition the hind part of the victim; however, people were reluctant to obey this. When a man of the Banū ‘Uqayl, Murra b. Kathir (or Kabīr), slaughtered the victim at the Ka‘ba, Abū Ghubshān demanded to hand over to him the parts of the animal which he regarded as his due. The ‘Uqaylī disobeyed and “people from Quraysh and others” supported the argument of the ‘Uqaylī and pronounced the bid of Abū Ghubshān as ‘*abath*, “a wicked deed”. Consequently Abū Ghubshān declared that he would not stay in Mecca if people did not accede to his demands, and decided to give up his prerogative at the Ka‘ba for a wine skin. In this way Quṣayy acquired control of the Ka‘ba.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Al-Balādhurī, MS., fol. 1161a.

<sup>13</sup> Al-Balādhurī, MS., fol. 1161b:

*abā li-bni dhī l-raʿsayni majdun muqaddamun:  
wa-sayfun idhā massa l-ḡarībata yaqṭaʿu  
fa-qultu li-shawwālīn tawaqqa dhubābahā:  
wa-lā-tahmi anfan an yusabba muraqqaʿu*

The name of the executed man was Shawwāl b. Muraqqaʿ.

<sup>14</sup> About the location of Isāf and Nā’ila see U. Rubin, “The Ka‘ba. Aspects of its ritual functions and position in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times,” *JSAI* (forthcoming) ad notes 49–50, 121, 172–173, 175.

<sup>15</sup> Al-Fāsi, *Shifā al-gharām bi-akhbārī l-baladi l-ḡarām* (Cairo, 1956), II, 54.

The stories concerning Abū Ghubshān and Quṣayy, or Zuwaylim and Muḡhira, are but two instances in a chain of reports relating to the incessant struggle of some tribal groups associated with Quraysh to establish fair and honest relations with Meccan clans and the strenuous efforts of some Meccan leaders to secure justice at Mecca itself. Terms like *baghy*, *khasf*, *zulm* and *jawr* appearing in reports of this kind enable us to reach an understanding of the character of the struggle against iniquity and oppression.

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The period of the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century was characterized by intertribal conflicts and by the pressure of the Byzantine and Persian Empires (through their vassal states) on the tribal divisions aimed at widening their influence and tightening their control over the Arabian peninsula. Mecca extended in that period its commercial relations, becoming a centre of economic activity for the tribes of the Arabian peninsula, and strengthened its ties with other centres like Medina and Ṭāʿif; transactions of considerable extent involving the purchase of landed property and financial enterprises were carried out by Meccan businessmen.<sup>16</sup>

The commercial co-operation of the merchants of the cities (like Mecca and Medina) with the tribes called for acumen, flexibility and close knowledge of intertribal relations. This can be seen in the story of Qays b. Zuhayr al-ʿAbsī:<sup>17</sup> when he decided to prepare a raid against the Banū ʿĀmir in order to avenge the murder of his father, he set out to Medina and approached Uḡayḡa b. al-Julāḡ al-Awsī, asking that he should sell him weapons. He inquired especially about a strongly built coat of mail owned by Uḡayḡa; he wished to buy it or to receive it as a gift. Uḡayḡa's answer was a shrewd one: "A man like me does not sell weapons; would I know that the Banū ʿĀmir will not claim that I extended help against them to their enemies I would present it to you as a gift." Uḡayḡa was grateful to the Banū ʿĀmir for the praises by which he was lauded in the poem of Khālīd b. Jaʿfar of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa; he extolled him as the man of Yathrib who was capable of granting shelter and protection. Uḡayḡa was not ready to forfeit his friendly relations with the ʿĀmir.<sup>18</sup> He nevertheless

<sup>16</sup> See e.g. *JSAI*, 1 (1979), 8–10, 17.

<sup>17</sup> See on him e.g. Caskel, *Ġamhara*, II, 464.

<sup>18</sup> *Al-Balādhurī*, MS., fol. 1154a:

*wa-kāna uḡayḡatu yaḡfaẓu li-banī ʿāmirin anna khālīda bna jaʿfarin madaḡahu bi-abyātīn awwaluhā:*

*idhā mā araḡta l-ʿizza fī ahli yathribin : fa-nādi bi-ṣawtin  
yā-uḡayḡatu tumnaʿu*

*fa-tuṣbiḡu bi-l-awsī bni ʿamri bni ʿāmirin:  
ka-annaka jārun li-l-yamāniyyī tubbaʿi*

handed over to Qays the coat of mail and Qays succeeded in acquiring at Medina the needed weapons: spears and coats of mail.<sup>19</sup>

It was indeed Uḥayḥa's coat of mail which brought about a serious clash between Qays b. Zuhayr and one of his relatives, al-Rabī<sup>c</sup> b. Zuyād al-<sup>c</sup>Absī.<sup>20</sup> Qays drove away 400 pregnant camels belonging to al-Rabī<sup>c</sup> b. Ziyād; he brought them to Mecca and sold them to Ḥarb b. Umayya, <sup>c</sup>Abdallah b. Jud<sup>c</sup>ān and Hishām b. al-Mughīra in exchange for horses and weapons. Qays remained for some time in Mecca (seeking asylum there – K); then he went to the Banū Badr of Fazāra and was granted their protection.<sup>21</sup> It is interesting to note that Qays b. Zuhayr bought in Mecca the ominous horse, Dāḥis, out of the money which he received for the plundered camels of Rabī<sup>c</sup> b. Ziyād.<sup>22</sup> The keen interest of the Medinan notables in the feud between the quarrelling and clashing tribes of <sup>c</sup>Abs and Fazāra and their attempt to bring about a peace agreement between them can be gauged from the report stating that a delegation of the people of Yathrib including the leading personalities of the city – <sup>c</sup>Amr b. al-It̄nāba, Uḥayḥa b. al-Julāh, Qays b. al-Khaṭīm, Abū Qays b. al-Aslat and the Jew Ka<sup>c</sup>b (perhaps Ka<sup>c</sup>b b. al-Ashraf – K) – came in order to reconcile the fighting tribes.<sup>23</sup>

The fact that Qays b. Zuhayr asked for protection of the Banū Badr of Fazāra is instructive. This family became at that time the leading and influential family-group of Fazāra, played a decisive role in the tribal clashes and established close relations with Mecca. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān put the clan of the Banū Badr on a par with that of the Makhzūmī clan of the Banū Mughīra as to pride and glory.<sup>24</sup> Ḥudhayfa b. Badr was nicknamed *rabbu*

<sup>19</sup> Al-Balādhurī, MS., fol. 1154a: ... *thumma bitā<sup>c</sup>a qaysun min yathriba rimāhan wa-adrā<sup>c</sup>an*; this report bears evidence that Yathrib was not merely a rural centre of agricultural activity; there seem to have been a considerable amount of commercial transactions.

<sup>20</sup> See on him g.e., Caskel, *Ġamhara*, II, 475.

<sup>21</sup> Al-Balādhurī, MS., fol. 1154a: ... *fa-lammā balagha dhālika qaysan aghāra<sup>c</sup> alā l-na<sup>c</sup>am fa-ṭarada li-l-rabī<sup>c</sup>i* (text: *al-rabī<sup>c</sup>*) *arba<sup>c</sup>a mi<sup>c</sup> ati nāqatin laqūhin fa-marra bihā ilā makkata fa-bā<sup>c</sup>ah min ḥarbi bni umayyata wa-<sup>c</sup>abdī llāhi bni jud<sup>c</sup>āna wa-hishāmī bni l-mughīrati bi-l-khayli wa-l-silāhi, wa-aqāma bi-makkata, thumma innahu laḥiqa bi-banī badri bni <sup>c</sup>amrin ...*

<sup>22</sup> Al-Balādhurī, MS., fol. 1154b, l. 20: ... *wa-kāna qaysu bnu zuhayrin bitā<sup>c</sup>a dāḥisan bi-makkata min thamani ibli l-rabī<sup>c</sup>i, fa-anzāhu <sup>c</sup>alā farasin lahu fa-jā<sup>c</sup>at bi-muhratin sammāhā l-ghabrā<sup>c</sup>a.*

<sup>23</sup> Al-Balādhurī, MS., fol. 1156a: ... *wa-qadimat jamā<sup>c</sup>atun min ahli yathriba li-l-iṣlāhi bayna l-ḥayyayni : <sup>c</sup>amru bnu l-it̄nābati, wa-uḥayḥatu bnu l-julāhi, wa-qaysu bnu l-khaṭīmi wa-abū qaysin bnu l-aslati wa-ka<sup>c</sup>bun l-yahūdī ...*

<sup>24</sup> Ibn Abi l-Ḥadīd, XVIII, 287:

*inni ṭamī<sup>c</sup>tu bi-fakhri man law rāmahu :  
ālu l-mughīrati-aw banū dhakwāni*

*ma'addin*, the "Lord of Ma'add."<sup>25</sup> Abū l-Yaqzān reports that Ḥiṣn b. Ḥudhayfa was one of the greatest leaders of the federation of Ghaṭafān; he commanded all the allied forces of Ghaṭafān and Asad. A man attending the council (*majlis*) of Mu'āwiya said: "We have never seen a Bedouin who, while leaning on his bow between the two allies, Asad and Ghaṭafān, and dividing the spoils among them, was more dignified (*a'zamu qadran*) than Ḥiṣn b. Ḥudhayfa."<sup>26</sup>

Two Fazārī chiefs are highly praised by the poet of 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a, 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl: they granted him protection when he was captured during a clash with the Fazāra and the Fazārī leader 'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn demanded to decapitate him; he extols them in one of his poems saying:

1. When thou desirest to meet with a sure defence, seek the protection of Khidhām son of Zayd, if Khidhām will grant it thee.
2. I called upon Abū l-Jabbār, specially naming Mālik; and from aforetime he whom thou tookest under thy shield was never scathed (Lyll's translation).<sup>27</sup>

The competition between tribal leaders to gain rank, position and recognition of governors and rulers is fairly clear in the report about the meeting of Ḥudhayfa b. Badr al-Fazārī and al-Ḥakam b. Marwān b. Zinbā' al-'Abṣī at the court of Ḥīra. Ḥudhayfa used to frequent the court of al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir; the king (al-Nu'mān) treated him with honour and kindness. Ḥudhayfa used to bring gifts to al-Mutajarrida.<sup>28</sup> Al-Ḥakam also used to visit the court of al-Nu'mān and bring him gifts. When Ḥudhayfa and al-Ḥakam met some day in al-Ḥīra, al-Ḥakam said to Ḥudhayfa: "May God curse a dignity gained through [the intercession of] women". Al-Mutajarrida became enraged when she heard the words of al-Ḥakam and decided to send to Ḥudhayfa a songstress and wine. When al-Ḥakam attended the council (*majlis*) of Ḥudhayfa the latter asked the girl to sing some poems of Imru' l-Qays in

*la-mala'tuhā khaylan taḍibbu lithātuhā :*  
*mithla l-dabā wa-kawāsiri l-'iqbāni*

Banū Dhakwān are explained to denote Banū Badr b. 'Amr b. Juwayya b. Dhakwān of the Banū 'Adiyy of Fazāra; to this clan belong Ḥudhayfa, Ḥamal and their families. See on the descendants of Dhakwān: Ibn al-Kalbi, *Jamhara*, MS. Br. Mus., fol. 172a, ult.

<sup>25</sup> Al-Balādhurī, MS., fol. 1153b: ... *wa-kāna yuqālu lahu rabbu ma'addin* ...; and see: Labid, *Dīwān*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Kuwayt, 1962), p. 55; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, XVIII, 295; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, ed. Ilse Lichtenstaedter (Hyderabad, 1361/1942), p. 461; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Tharwat 'Ukāsha (Cairo, 1969), pp. 83, 402, 592.

<sup>26</sup> Al-Balādhurī, MS., fol. 1158b.

<sup>27</sup> 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl, *Dīwān*, ed. Ch. Lyall (Leiden, 1913), p. 141, no. XXVI (Arabic text); see *ibid.*, "Introduction," pp. 81, 114; and see al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbi, *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Ch. Lyall (Oxford, 1921), p. 33.

<sup>28</sup> See on her e.g. *Aghānī*, index.

which he mentioned love-affairs with ʿAbsī women. Al-Ḥakam became furious and hit the songstress. Ḥudhayfa rebuked him, saying that he had lost his mind and hurt the honour of al-Nuʿmān. When the two leaders returned to their tribes they related the event; this accident widened the rift between the two leaders and increased the animosity between their tribal divisions.<sup>29</sup>

The position of the Fazārī leaders among the federation of Ghaṭafān caused some tribal divisions to attempt at concluding agreements or alliances with them. The ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa tried to persuade Ḥiṣn b. Ḥudhayfa and his son ʿUyayna to withdraw from their alliance with the Asad, to enable Asad to return to their relations with Kināna, and to conclude an alliance of the Ghaṭafān with ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa. ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn considered the offer and consulted about it the Banū Dhubyān (one of the main branches of Ghaṭafān – K); they however refused and ʿUyayna had to give up the idea of the alliance with ʿĀmir.<sup>30</sup>

ʿUyayna and his tribal division, the Fazāra, played a very important role in the struggle of the Prophet and the Muslim community with Quraysh at Mecca. An agreement of non-aggression was concluded between the Prophet and ʿUyayna for a limited period; when the Muslim forces left Medina for the raid of Muraysiʿ they feared that ʿUyayna may attack the city in which there were no warriors left, because the treaty was to expire at that time; the Prophet allayed their fears, assuring them that ʿUyayna would not attack the city.<sup>31</sup> ʿUyayna attended the Battle of the Ditch commanding a fighting body of a thousand warriors of Fazāra; it was the strongest force of the allies of Quraysh. Smaller units numbering about 400 warriors each were recruited from among the relatives of Fazāra, Ashjaʿ and Murra.<sup>32</sup> When the situation of the besieged Muslim community became serious, the Prophet sent to ʿUyayna offering him a third of the date harvest of Medina if he withdrew with his force, thus causing disarray among the other forces of the allies of Quraysh. ʿUyayna asked for half the harvest, but consented later to accept the proposal of the Prophet to accept a third of it. However, when the agreement had to be signed, the Companions of the Prophet opposed it and persuaded the Prophet to annul it.<sup>33</sup> The failure of ʿUyayna to gain profits and success on the “Day of the Ditch” (i.e. the siege of Medina) recurred in the siege of Khaybar. ʿUyayna promised to hurry to help the besieged Jews against the besieging Muslims in

<sup>29</sup> Al-Balādhurī, MS., fol. 1154b.

<sup>30</sup> Al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, *Dīwān*, ed. Muḥammad Jamal (Beirut, 1347/1929), p. 98.

<sup>31</sup> Al-Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones (London, 1966), p. 422.

<sup>32</sup> See e.g. al-Wāqidī, p. 443.

<sup>33</sup> Al-Wāqidī, pp. 477–480; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. Muṣṭafā I-Saqā, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, ʿAbd al-Ḥafīz Shalabī (Cairo, 1355/1936), III, 234.

return for half of the date harvest of Khaybar; he negotiated, however, at the same time with the Prophet the withdrawal of his force of 400 warriors in return for half of the date harvest. In one of the stages of the Muslim attack on Khaybar the Fazārī force withdrew forsaking the besieged Jews. ‘Uyayna did not get his half of the date harvest and had to satisfy himself with the grant bestowed on him by the Prophet: a mountain at Khaybar called Dhū l-Ruqayba.<sup>34</sup>

There were some clashes between troops of the Prophet and some Fazārī units, but ‘Uyayna was shrewd enough to appear at the conquest of Mecca (although without his tribe) and to accompany the Prophet at his entrance to the city;<sup>35</sup> he is counted among “those whose hearts had to be reconciled” (*al-mu’allaḡa qulūbuhum*) and was indeed granted by the Prophet a gift of a hundred camels.<sup>36</sup> In spite of his treacherous behaviour when he was sent as messenger of the Muslim forces to al-Ṭā’if,<sup>37</sup> he was dispatched by the Prophet against a group of Tamīm who prevented their neighbours, the Khuzā’a, from paying taxes.<sup>38</sup> Finally the Prophet appointed ‘Uyayna as tax-collector of Fazāra, an influential and responsible office.<sup>39</sup>

This short sketch of the role of ‘Uyayna and his tribal division, the Fazāra, in the Prophet’s period indicates clearly that they had close relations with Mecca.<sup>40</sup> They joined the Prophet only after his victory. The high position acquired by ‘Uyayna in the period of the Prophet can be seen from the fact that the Caliph ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān married his daughter, Umm al-Banīn bint ‘Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn.<sup>41</sup> Only two wives of ‘Uthmān attended his clandestine

<sup>34</sup> See e.g. al-Wāqidi, pp. 650–652, 676; and see Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān* (Beirut, 1376/1957), s.v. Ruqayba.

<sup>35</sup> See e.g. al-Wāqidi, pp. 803–804.

<sup>36</sup> See e.g. Ibn Hishām, IV, 136–137; al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā’u l-asmā’*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir (Cairo, 1941), I, 424.

<sup>37</sup> See al-Wāqidi, pp. 932–933.

<sup>38</sup> Al-Wāqidi, pp. 974–975.

<sup>39</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, I (ed. Muḥammad Ḥamidullah, Cairo 1959) 530.

<sup>40</sup> The Fazāra seem to have taken part in certain ritual practices at the Ka’ba since very early times: see e.g. Ibn Hishām, I, 128:

*naḥnu daḡa’ nā ‘an abī sayyārah : wa-‘an mawālīhi banī fazārah*

and see al-Fāsi, *Shifā*, II, 32–34 and 35 l. 15; al-‘Iṣāmī, *Simṡ al-nujūm al-‘awālī* (Cairo, 1380), I, 217; al-Kalā’ī, *al-Iktifā’ fī maghāzī rasūli llāhi wa-l-thalāthati l-khulafā*, ed. Muṣṡafā ‘Abd al-Wāḡid (Cairo, 1287/1968), I, 77; al-Balādhurī, MS., fol. 1180b.

<sup>41</sup> Al-Balādhurī, MS., fol. 1158a, sup.; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaḡāt*, (Beirut, 1377/1957), III, 54; Muḥammad b. Yaḡyā al-Māliqī, *al-Tamhīd wa-l-bayān fī maḡtali l-shahīd ‘uthmān*, ed. Maḥmūd Yūsuf Zā’id (Beirut, 1964), p. 4; Umm al-Banīn was before that offered by ‘Uyayna to the Prophet as wife (see Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istr’āb fīma’ rifati l-aṣḡāb*, ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī [Cairo, 1380/1960], p. 1249 ult.)

funeral: the Kalbite Nāʿila and the Fazārite Umm al-Banīn.<sup>42</sup>

The prophet rightly characterized ʿUyayna as “the fool obeyed by his people.”<sup>43</sup> He got indeed the allegiance and loyalty of his people when he decided to fight the body politic of Medina, leading the troops of the Fazāra against the Muslim forces after the death of the Prophet in the “War of the Ridda.”<sup>44</sup>

## II

Another division of Ghaṭafān, the Banū Murra b. ʿAwf, seem to have had close relations with Mecca. Some clans of Murra claimed that their ancestor was ʿAwf b. Luʿayy, the ancestor of Quraysh.<sup>45</sup> Al-Ḥārith b. Zālim al-Murri asked for the protection of ʿAbdallah b. Judʿān, denied his descent from Ghaṭafān and stated that he was from Quraysh.<sup>46</sup> ʿUmar is said to have justified their claim and was even ready to accept them into the fold of Quraysh.<sup>47</sup> It is of interest that the Meccan notable, ʿAbdallah b. Judʿān,<sup>48</sup> interceded with the king of al-Ḥira, al-Nuʿmān, on behalf of al-Ḥārith b. Zālim and asked that the protection of the king be renewed for him.<sup>49</sup>

A distinctive feature of the religio-economic system of the Banū Murra was the institution of the *basl*. They observed eight months as the trucial period during the year and travelled during these months through the territories of the Bedouins undisturbed; the Bedouin tribes accepted this order and granted them security during these months.<sup>50</sup> One may assume that this *basl* order was designed to bring about a competition between Mecca with its four trucial months and the *basl* system of the Banū Murra.

<sup>42</sup> Ibn Saʿd, III, 78 inf.–79 sup.

<sup>43</sup> See e.g. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, pp. 1249 inf.–1250; al-Jāḥiẓ *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn (rpt. Beirut of Cairo, 1367/1948), II, 253.

<sup>44</sup> See e.g. Ella Landau-Tasserion, *Aspects of the Ridda Wars*, Ph.D. Diss., Hebrew University, 1981 (in Hebrew), Chapter III (Ghaṭafān) ad notes 137–149.

<sup>45</sup> See e.g. al-Suhaylī, *al-Rawḍ al-unuḥ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Wakīl (Cairo, 1387/1967), I, 410–412; al-Balādhurī, I, 42–43; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* (Riyāḍ–Beirut, 1966), II, 204.

<sup>46</sup> Al-Balādhurī, MS., fol. 1143b; *idem*, I, 42 inf.; al-Suhaylī, I, 411; al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Burṣān wa-l-ʿurjān*, ed. Muḥammad Mursī l-Khūlī (Beirut, 1392/1972), p. 298; Abū l-Baqā Hibatullāh, *al-Manāqib al-mazyadiyya fī akhbāri l-mulūki l-asadiyya*, MS. Br. Mus. add. 23, 296, fol. 43a.

<sup>47</sup> Al-Suhaylī, I, 411, 412.

<sup>48</sup> See on him *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ʿAbd Allāh b. Djudʿān (Ch. Pellat); and see above ad notes 18, 43.

<sup>49</sup> Al-Balādhurī, MS., fol. 1143b: *thumma innahu ṭalaba lahu l-amāna mina l-nuʿmāni fa-āmanahu wa-qadima fa-aqāma ʿindahū*.

<sup>50</sup> See e.g. al-Suhaylī, I, 414, 421; Ibn Hishām, i, 106–107; and see additional sources in *JESHO*, 8 (1965), 141, n. 4.

The conflict between Mecca and the Banū Murra is reflected in the report about a building erected by the Manū Murra at Buss.<sup>51</sup> An explanatory note on a verse of al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Ḥumām says: “Buss is a building erected by the Ghaṭafān; they built it in a shape similar to that of the Ka‘ba, performed pilgrimage to it, revered it and called it *al-ḥaram*. Zuhayr b. Janāb al-Kalbī raided them and destroyed it.”<sup>52</sup> An anonymous report recorded by al-Fayrūzābādī gives more details: Buss is a *House* of Ghaṭafān, built by Zālīm b. As‘ad. He saw that Quraysh circumambulated the Ka‘ba and performed the *sa‘y* between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa; he therefore measured the Ka‘ba, took a stone from al-Ṣafā and a stone from al-Marwa, returned to his people and built a *House* like the Ka‘ba; he laid down the two stones and said: “These are the Ṣafā and the Marwa”. So they (i.e. his people) became satisfied with it instead of the pilgrimage to Mecca. Subsequently Zuhayr b. Janāb al-Kalbī (scil. the Ghaṭafān – K), killed Zālīm and destroyed his building.<sup>53</sup> Al-Balādhurī’s report is concise: al-Muthallam b. Riyāḥ b. Zālīm b. As‘ad (in text: Sa‘d) b. Rabī‘a b. ‘Āmir was a noble man (*kāna sharīfan*). His grandfather, Zālīm, was the man who built Buss; Buss is the *House*, which Ghaṭafān worshipped. Zuhayr b. Janāb said:

Thus Ghaṭafān left afterwards Buss : and what has Ghaṭafān (to do) with a spacious tract of land?<sup>54</sup>

This report corresponds to that of Ibn al-Kalbī.<sup>55</sup>

Another report in Ibn al-Kalbī’s *Jamhara* contains details similar to those given in the account of al-Fayrūzābādī (the two stones of al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, the *House* erected in the territory of Ghaṭafān, Zuhayr b. Janāb destroyed the *House* and [buildings? – K] around it), but has a significant passage, not recorded in other sources: when the Prophet heard about Zuhayr

<sup>51</sup> In text “*hubs*” which is an error. See L. ‘A. s.v. *bss* (correctly *Buss*); and see the correction in Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1887), p. 33, n. 2; and see Iḥsān ‘Abbās, “Two Hitherto Unpublished Texts on Pre-Islamic Religion,” *La Signification du Bas Moyen Age dans l’Histoire et la Culture du Monde Musulman, Actes du 8me Congrès de l’Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants* (Aix-en-Provence, 1976), pp. 7–16; and see Iḥsān ‘Abbās, “Naṣṣāni jadidāni ‘ani l-dīni fī l-jāhiliyyati,” *al-Abḥāth*, 1973–1977, pp. 27–34.

<sup>52</sup> *Aghānī*, XII, 126; see on Buss: Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, s.v. *b.s.s.*: . . . *wa-buss aydan baytun banat-hu ghaṭafānu muḏāhātan li-l-ka‘ba*.

<sup>53</sup> Al-Fayrūzābādī, *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, s.v. *bss*; and see Wellhausen, pp. 33–34; this report is recorded in al-Sinjārī’s, *Manā‘iṭh al-karam*, MS. Leiden, Or. 7018, fols. 13b, ult.–14a.

<sup>54</sup> Al-Balādhurī, MS., fol. 1146b–1147a sup.

<sup>55</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, MS. Br. Mus., fol. 168b, sup.: . . . *al-Muthallam b. Riyāḥ b. Zālīm b. As‘ad b. Rabī‘a b. ‘Āmir kāna sharīfan, wa-abūhu riyāḥun lladhī qāla lahu zuhayru bnu janābin: fa-khallā ba‘dahā ghaṭafānu . . . ; wa-kāna banāhu jadduhu zālīmun . . .*

b. Janāb's action he said: "Of the matters of the Jāhiliyya nothing is in agreement with Islam except that which Zuhayr b. Janāb did."<sup>56</sup> It was no doubt an act of great significance as it helped to preserve the Ka'ba as the only sanctuary of the Arabian peninsula and spoiled a bold attempt at erecting a tribal sanctuary in competition with the Ka'ba at Mecca. The intention to imitate the Ka'ba comes out even in the name of Ghatafānī sanctuary, *Buss*, which is derived from the root *bss* and is reminiscent of the name of the Meccan sanctuary, which is called al-Bāssa.<sup>57</sup> The destruction of Buss served indirectly the cause of Islam and the utterance attributed to the Prophet undoubtedly reflects a historical truth.

It is worthwhile mentioning that Buss was not the only sanctuary which was erected by a tribe or a governor: such was for instance the case of the sanctuary of Abraha which was erected in order to compete with the Ka'ba<sup>58</sup> and the sanctuary erected in Qawdam.<sup>59</sup>

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The reasons for the enmity between Zuhayr b. Janāb and the Banū Murra, his position in his tribe, the Kalb, his role in the intertribal contests on the background of the rivalry of the petty kingdoms and the struggle of the Byzantine and Sassanian powers for control of the tribes of the Arabian peninsula, all these data are recorded in reports which are often obscure, blurred, divergent or contradictory. A scrutiny of these reports may provide a clue for the elucidation of, at least, some aspects of these events.

According to a tradition traced back to Ibn al-A'rābī (d. ca. 230 AH) the Banū Baghīd were attacked by the Ṣudā' (a division of Madhḥij) when they were on their way from Tihāma. The Banū Baghīd succeeded however in repelling the attack, gained a sweeping victory and took rich booty. Then they decided to build a *ḥaram*, like that at Mecca, in which no hunted beast would be killed, no tree would be felled and no man seeking refuge would be troubled (*lā yuhāju 'ā'idhuhu*). The plan was carried out by the tribal division of Ghatafān, the Banū Murra; the man in charge of the *ḥaram* and the builder of

<sup>56</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, MS. Br. Mus., fol. 191a inf.–191b sup.: . . . *fa-hadama* (i.e. Zuhayr b. Janāb) *l-bayta wa-mā ḥawlahu, fa-balagha dhālika l-nabiyya (ṣ) fa-qāla: "lām yakun shay'un min amri l-jāhiliyyati wāfaqa l-islāma illā mā ṣana'a zuhayru bnu janābin"*.

<sup>57</sup> See L. 'A., s.v. *bss*; Ibn Zuhayra, *al-Jāmi' al-laṭīf fī faḍli makkata wa-ahlihā wa-binā'i l-bayti l-sharīf* (Cairo, 1357/1938), p. 160, penult.; al-Azraqī, *Kitāb akhbāri makkata*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (rpt. Beirut), p. 50, l. 8; Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Dimashqī, *Jāmi' al-āthār fī mawliḍi l-nabiyyi l-mukhtār*, MS. Cambridge Or. 913, fol. 269a.

<sup>58</sup> See e.g. *El*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Abraha (A.F.L. Beeston).

<sup>59</sup> See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v. Qawdam.

its walls was Riyāh b. Zālim (not his father, Zālim — K). They built it when staying at a well called Buss. When the news reached Zuhayr b. Janāb, who was then the *sayyid* of Kalb, he vowed to prevent the Ghaṭafān from carrying out their plan. He summoned his tribal relatives to aid him in the noble enterprise (*akram ma'thura*) of the destruction of the Fazārī *ḥaram*, but the Banū l-Qayn from Jusham refused to participate in the raid; he carried out the raid with his people only and defeated the Ghaṭafān. He captured a rider (*fāris*) of the Ghaṭafān in the *ḥaram* of Buss and ordered to kill him; his order was however disobeyed by one of his warriors, who argued that the man was a *basl*.<sup>60</sup> Zuhayr stated that for him there was no obligation to refrain from harming a *basl* (i.e. to take his life — K; *mā baslun 'alayya bi-ḥarāmin*) and he himself decapitated him. He desecrated the *ḥaram* (*'aṭṭala dhālika l-ḥaram*), generously released the captured women and returned them to their tribe.<sup>61</sup> The passage about the decapitation of the *basl* and the desecration of the *ḥaram* of Buss is of importance. It may be deduced that this event put an end to the free and undisturbed traffic of the Banū Murra during eight months in the Arabian peninsula and did away with the sanctity of the *ḥaram* of Buss; the only sacred months to remain were thus the four months of the Pax Meccana; the only sanctuary which continued to be venerated was the *ḥaram* of Mecca. Zuhayr's deed appears to be the reason why the group of Janāb b. Hubal were included in the organization of the Ḥums.<sup>62</sup>

Some of the accounts link the person of Janāb with that of Dāwūd b. Hubāla,<sup>63</sup> whose kingdom was conquered by the Byzantines and who fought at that time on their side. He later embraced Christianity and became reluctant to shed blood; he was however compelled to obey the order of the Byzantines to raid the Arab tribes. In his force was (according to this report) Zuhayr b. Janāb. Zuhayr went out, fought and killed Haddāj b. Mālik of the 'Abd Qays and Haddāj b. Mālik b. Taymallāh b. Tha'labā b. 'Ukāba.<sup>64</sup>

Some reports connect Zuhayr b. Janāb with the expedition of Abraha.<sup>65</sup> When the Abyssinians went out on their expedition to destroy the sanctuary at Mecca they were approached by Zuhayr; he met their king, was welcomed by

<sup>60</sup> See on *basl* n. 50 above.

<sup>61</sup> *Aghāni*, XXI, 63.

<sup>62</sup> See *JESHO*, 8 (1965), 133, n. 4, 134, n. 3; and see Caskel, *Ġamhara*, II, 77 inf.—78 sup.

<sup>63</sup> Caskel, *Ġamhara*, II, 232 (Dāwūd b. Habāla).

<sup>64</sup> See on him Ibn Ḥabīb, "*Asmā' al-mughhtālīn min al-ashrāf*" in 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn's *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt* (Cairo, 1374/1954), II, 127–128; on the two Haddāj see Caskel, *Ġamhara*, II, 276.

<sup>65</sup> See on Abraha: *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Abraha (A.F.L. Beeston); and see R. Paret, *Der Koran, Kommentar und Konkordanz* (Stuttgart, 1980), ad Sura 105; and see *JESHO*, 15 (1972), 61–76.

him and was sent as his messenger to (the tribes in – K) the vicinity (*nāḥiya*) of Iraq in order to summon them to submit to his authority (*ilā l-dukhūli fī ṭā'atihī*). When he was in the territory of Bakr b. Wā'il, he was attacked by a man of the tribe and seriously wounded, but managed to escape.<sup>66</sup> A similar report is given in the *Aghānī* on the authority of Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī; there are, however, several differences which may be noted: Abraha appointed Zuhayr b. Janāb over the tribes of Bakr and Taghlib; he ruled them for a time until they were afflicted by a drought. Zuhayr prevented them from pasturing their herds unless they paid the taxes imposed upon them; their situation worsened and they were on the brink of perishing. One of the Taymallah b. Tha'laba<sup>67</sup> decided to assassinate Zuhayr; he attacked him in his sleep and pierced his belly with a sword; he left the tent of Zuhayr with the conviction that he had killed him. Zuhayr remained however alive, and a group of his people wrapped him in a shroud and were given permission to leave with what was supposed to be his corpse in order to bury him in the territory of his tribe. The stratagem succeeded: Zuhayr returned to his tribe, recovered and ordered to prepare a raid against the Bakr and Taghlib. The raid was successful and Zuhayr returned with a rich booty. Kulayb and Muhalhil were captured and many warriors from Taghlib were killed.<sup>68</sup>

Zuhayr's appointment over the Bakr and Taghlib is explicitly mentioned in a poem of al-Musayyib b. al-Rifall, a descendant of Zuhayr:

1. *wa-abrahatu lladhī kāna ṣṣafānā : wa-sawwasanā wa-tāju l-mulki 'ālī*
  2. *wa-qāsama niṣfa imratihī zuhayran : wa-lam yaku dūnahu fī l-amri wālī*
  3. *wa-ammarahu 'alā ḥayyay ma'addīn : wa-ammarahu 'alā l-ḥayyi l-mu'ālī*
  4. *'alā bnay wā'ilin lahumā muḥīnan : yaruddhumā 'alā ragħmi l-sibāli*
  5. *bi-ḥabsihimā bi-dāri l-dhulli ḥattā : alammā yahlikāni mina l-huzāli*
1. And Abraha, he who had chosen us : and invested us with authority : and high is the crown of kingdom.
  2. And he gave half of the rule to Zuhayr : nobody except him was a ruler of the affairs.
  3. And he invested him with power over the two tribes of Ma'add: and he gave him authority over the tribe competing for superiority

<sup>66</sup> Ibn Qutayba, *al-Shi'r wa-l-shu'arā'*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1904), pp. 223–225.

<sup>67</sup> A group of Bakr b. Wā'il; see Caskel, *Ġamhara*, II, 543.

<sup>68</sup> *Aghānī*, XXI, 64.

4. Over the two sons of Wā'il (i.e. their descendants) treating them with contempt : turning them humbled and abased.
5. Detaining them in the abode of vileness : until they would perish out of emaciation.<sup>69</sup>

Some reports tell about his visits to the court of the Ghassānī ruler and his stratagems in spreading false accusations against his opponents and foes in order to keep the favours of the ruler al-Ḥārith b. Māriya exclusively to himself.<sup>70</sup> Some accounts relate anecdotes about the attendance of Zuhayr at the courts of governors and rulers in company of certain fools of his family; Zuhayr succeeds in saving the people from the fateful results of their stupid words.<sup>71</sup>

The sources are unanimous about the strength and power of Zuhayr; he is said to have been one of the *jarrārūn* (i.e. commanding more than thousand warriors – K) and one who succeeded in uniting the whole tribe of Kalb, or even the whole federation of Quḏā'a.<sup>72</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī reports a conflict between Zuhayr and Rizāḥ (a half brother of Quṣayy, the leader of 'Udhra – K) concerning their attitude towards the tribal divisions of Nahd, Ḥawtaka and Jarm; these tribal divisions were driven out by Rizāḥ from the federation of Quḏā'a, and were compelled to migrate and join other tribes. Rizāḥ's action was severely censured by Zuhayr.<sup>73</sup> Al-Bakrī records the story of the conflict. mentions the role of Nahd and their strength in the past and draws the line of succession of that power: Ḥanzala b. Nahd, the ancestor of Nahd, was the arbiter of Tihāma and the leader of the Bedouins (*al-'arab*) at 'Ukāz during the period of the markets. Then the leadership went over to the Kalb b.

<sup>69</sup> Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, *Kitāb al-mu'ammārīn*, ed. Goldziher, (Leiden, 1899), p. 29 (Ar. text); al-Marzubānī, *Mu'jam al-shu'arā'*, ed. F. Krenkow (Cairo, 1354), p. 386 (only 4 verses).

<sup>70</sup> *Aghānī*, IV, 175–176; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb ta'rīkh* (Beirut, 1399/1979), V, 321–322.

<sup>71</sup> *Aghānī*, XXI, 65 (the fool was his brother, Ḥāritha); Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, *Jamharat al-amthāl*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm and 'Abd al-Majīd Qatāmīsh (Cairo, 1384/1964), I, 151 (the fool was his brother, 'Adiyy. According to Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, Escorial 1968, p. 380 'Adiyy was considered a fool: *kāna yuḥammaqu*). Another fool in his family was his son Khidāsh (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, Esc. p. 405 ult.–406; see the utterance of al-Samaw'al about him: *laysa li-qalbi khidāshin udhunānī*).

<sup>72</sup> See Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 250 (Zuhayr and Rizāḥ b. Rabi'a al-'Udhri); *Aghānī*, XXI, 65 (Zuhayr and Ḥunn b. Zayd); al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā sta'jam*, ed. Muṣṭafā l-Saqā (Cairo, 1364/1945), p. 39 (Zuhayr and Rizāḥ b. Rabi'a); Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, p. 28 (Zuhayr and Rizāḥ); and see al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār* (Teheran, 1392), LI, 268; al-Murtaḏā, *Amālī*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1373/1954), I, 240; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, Esc. p. 514 (Zuhayr and Rizāḥ).

<sup>73</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, Esc., p. 514; al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā sta'jam*, p. 39.

Wabara, afterwards to ʿAwf b. Kināna b. ʿAwf.<sup>74</sup> After some generations it passed over to Zuhayr b. Janāb, then to ʿAdiyy b. Janāb and finally it remained in the family of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḍamḍam b. ʿAdiyy b. Janāb.<sup>75</sup> The conflict between Rizāḥ and the two tribes, Nahd and Ḥawtaka, is mentioned in Ibn Hishām's *Sīra*: but in this account it was Quṣayy who censured Rizāḥ for his expulsion of these two tribal divisions of Quḍāʿa. He said the following verses:

1. Who will tell Rizāḥ from me : that I blame you on two accounts:
2. I blame you for the Banū Nahd b. Zayd : because you drove a wedge between them and me.
3. And for Ḥawtaka b. Aslum : verily, he who treats them badly has badly treated me. (A. Guillaume's translation, slightly modified).

It is of great importance that Quṣayy wanted Quḍāʿa to increase and to be united because of "their goodwill to him when they responded to his appeal for help."<sup>76</sup> The account confirms that there were contacts between Quraysh and the Quḍāʿī divisions and shows the help extended by some Quḍāʿī groups to Quṣayy.

Al-Āmidī records a story in which Zuhayr is connected with the person of Muḥalhil, the legendary leader of Taghlib during the wars of Basūs.<sup>77</sup> Zuhayr is said to have attacked the Taghlib, succeeded in getting away with booty, was however pursued by Muḥalhil, who tracked down one of the attackers (Imru' l-Qays b. Ḥumām al-Kalbī) and wounded him.<sup>78</sup>

The reports about contacts between Zuhayr and Muḥalhil are however refuted by a statement saying that Zuhayr preceded Muḥalhil.<sup>79</sup>

The amusing story about the capture of Zuhayr by Hammām b. Murra<sup>80</sup> also belongs to the period of the war of Basūs. Zuhayr offered as ransom for his release a hundred camels, but Hammām refused; he consented however to free him on condition that Zuhayr would mention his name and make an invocation for his life before every drink.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 56: ʿAuf b. Kināna b. ʿAuf b. ʿUdhra . . . b. Kalb was the first to whom the idol of Wadd was handed over and a tent was pitched over him; and see Caskel, *Ġamhara*, II, 210.

<sup>75</sup> See e.g. al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, pp. 30, 39, 49, 51.

<sup>76</sup> Ibn Hishām, I, 136 (=A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad* [Karachi, 1967], p. 55); the verses are attributed to Zuhayr in Bakrī's *Muʿjam*, p. 39.

<sup>77</sup> See on him Caskel, *Ġamhara*, II, 421; and see above ad n. 68.

<sup>78</sup> Al-Āmidī, *al-Muʿtalif*, pp. 7–8; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, Esc., pp. 413 inf.–414.

<sup>79</sup> Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallah al-ʿAskarī, *Sharḥ mā yaqaʿu fīhi l-taḥṣif wa-l-taḥrif*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Aḥmad (Cairo, 1383/1963), p. 427.

<sup>80</sup> See on him e.g. Caskel, *Ġamhara*, II, 278.

<sup>81</sup> Al-Maghribī, *Nashwat al-ṭarab*, MS., Tübingen 1, fol. 52 r.

According to some reports Zuhayr's brother 'Ulaym introduced the *mirbā'* in the tribal division of Kalb (i.e. the fourth of the booty, paid to the leader of the tribe; in this case paid to 'Ulaym — K).<sup>82</sup> His son, 'Abdallah b. 'Ulaym, is said to have opposed Zuhayr and bade the people disobey his orders. Zuhayr became embittered and angry over the loss of his position in the tribe and decided to drink unmixed wine until his death.<sup>83</sup>

\*

There are divergent traditions about the life-span of Zuhayr; he was included in the list of the *mu'ammārūn*, men distinguished for their longevity, and unusual periods of life were attributed to him. Accounts vary from 450 years,<sup>84</sup> 420 years,<sup>85</sup> 350 years,<sup>86</sup> 250 years,<sup>87</sup> 220 years,<sup>88</sup> 200 years<sup>89</sup> to 150 years.<sup>90</sup> The list is confusing and does not give any clue for establishing the period in which the events happened. It may therefore be useful to cast a brief glance at the other persons mentioned in the preceding accounts.

Al-Mughīra b. 'Abdallah al-Makhzūmī who caused the rebellious action of the Fazārī chief is known as the father of the wealthy and influential family of the Banū l-Mughīra. His son Hishām b. al-Mughīra died, according to some accounts, in the last decade of the sixth century.<sup>91</sup> The grandsons of al-Mughīra, the sons of Hishām, took active part in the struggle between the Prophet and the Meccan unbelievers.<sup>92</sup> The period of the activity of al-Mughīra, the father of Hishām, may be put in the middle of the sixth century.

<sup>82</sup> Ibn al-Kalbi, *Jamhara*, Esc., p. 380; and see *ibid.*, the verse of Zuhayr:

*sannahā rābi'u l-juyūshi 'ulaymun:  
kulla yawmin ta'tī l-manāyā bi-qadri*

<sup>83</sup> Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 471; Ibn al-Kalbi, *Jamhara*, Esc., p. 394; Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, pp. 28–29; *Aghānī*, III, 17, XXI, 66; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Shi'r*, p. 224.

<sup>84</sup> *Aghānī*, XXI, 65 penult.

<sup>85</sup> Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, p. 25.

<sup>86</sup> Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, *ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> *Aghānī*, XXI, 65.

<sup>88</sup> Ibn al-Kalbi, *Jamhara*, Esc., p. 380; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, LI, 267.

<sup>89</sup> Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, p. 28.

<sup>90</sup> *Aghānī*, III, 17.

<sup>91</sup> See on him: al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, MS., fol. 129a–b; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, XVIII, 285 seq. (and see the utterance attributed to the Prophet about him p. 293: *law dakhala aḥadun min mushriki qurayshin al-jannata la-dakhalahā hishāmu bnu l-mughīrati; kāna abdhahum li-l-ma'rūfi wa-aḥmalahum li-l-kalli*); Muṣ'ab b. 'Abdallah al-Zubayri, *Nasab quraysh*, ed. Lévi-Provençal (Cairo, 1953), p. 301; and see *Le Muséon*, 78 (1965), 427 (according to this report he died AD 598).

<sup>92</sup> See e.g. on the Banū l-Mughīra and their relatives: Mu'arrij b. 'Amr al-Sadūsī, *Kitāb ḥadhf min nasab quraysh*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Cairo, 1960), pp. 66–75; and see Muṣ'ab b. 'Abdallah, pp. 301–303; on al-Ḥārith b. Hishām see e.g. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba fī ma'rifati*

This was the period of the growth of the Meccan body politic and the incubation of the opposition of certain Fazārī clans against their Makhzūmī hosts at Mecca.

As to Zuhayr b. Janāb, it is plausible to give credence to the reports about the relations between Zuhayr and Abraha. Abraha, when on his expeditions against Mecca, was evidently interested in the collaboration with Kalb in order to gain control over the Bakr and Taghlib when he would continue his march against al-Ḥīra. The appointment of Zuhayr as tax-collector seems to have taken place when Abraha went out against Mecca; this may be dated to the middle of the sixth century.<sup>93</sup> The failure of Abraha's expedition and his retreat to the Yaman stimulated the Bakr and Taghlib to rebel against Zuhayr, the merciless tax-collector. The destruction of the sanctuary of Buss must have taken place after the strength of Abraha was crushed and Zuhayr renewed close relations with Mecca; these relations began already in the period of Quṣayy, which is said to have preceded that of Zuhayr: Quṣayy was active in the first half of the sixth century.<sup>94</sup> Quṣayy succeeded in gaining control of Mecca and expelled the former ruler of Khuzā'a, aided by his Quḍā'ī half-brother (from the 'Udhra) and probably by a Byzantine troop sent by the governor of Syria.<sup>95</sup> The tradition that he rebuilt the Ka'ba<sup>96</sup> seems plausible.

*l-ṣahāba* (Cairo, 1280), I, 351–352; on 'Amr b. Hishām (Abū Jahl) see al-Balādhurī, I, index (esp. pp. 125–130); on al-'Āṣ b. Hishām see al-Balādhurī, I, 292, 299; on Salama b. Hishām see e.g. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 341. The hostile attitude of the Shi'a towards the Makhzūm is exposed in the interpretation of verses 28–29 of Sūrat Ibrāhīm: "Hast thou not seen those who exchanged the bounty of God with unthankfulness and caused their people to dwell in the abode of ruin? Gehenna wherein they are roasted, an evil establishment." (Arberry's translation). According to an utterance attributed to 'Ali and 'Umar the verses refer to the Banū l-Mughira and to the Banū Umayya; they are meant by "those who exchanged the bounty of God with unthankfulness" and "caused their people to dwell in the abode of ruin." The Banū l-Mughira were killed on the Day of Badr; the Banū Umayya were given some period of time to enjoy life. (. . . *wa-qīla: nazalat fi-l-aḡjarayni min qurayshin : banī makhzūmin wa-banī umayyata; fa-ammā banū umayyata fa-muttī'ū ilā ḥīnin, wa-ammā banū makhzūmin fa-uhlikū yauma badrin; qālahū 'alī b. abī ṭālib wa-'umarū bnu l-khaṭṭābi . . .*) See: al-Qurtubī, *al-Jāmi' li-aḡkāmi l-qur'ān* (Cairo, 1387/1967), IX, 364; 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Ṭawūs, *al-Malāḥim wa-l-fitan* (Najaf, 1382/1962), p. 98; Hāshim b. Sulaymān al-Tawbali al-Katakāni, *al-Burhān fī-tafsīri l-qur'ān* (Qumm, 1393), II, 316–317; al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr al-qur'ān*, ed. Hāshim al-Rasūlī al-Maḥallātī (Qumm, 1385), II, 229–230, nos. 22–23, 27–28.

<sup>93</sup> See *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Abraha (A.F.L. Beeston); and see Khālid al-'Āṣalī, "Aḡwā' 'alā kitāb al-muṣaṣṣal fī ta'rīkhi l-'arab qabla l-islām", *al-'Arab*, 1971, pp. 37–38, no. 14.

<sup>94</sup> See *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḳuraysh (Montgomery Watt): "... On the death of Ḳuṣayy, probably in the first half of the sixth century AD..."

<sup>95</sup> See Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif*, ed. Tharwat 'Ukāsha (Cairo, 1969), pp. 640 ult.–641: "... wa-a'ānahu qayṣar 'alayhā

<sup>96</sup> See Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ṣāliḥī, *Subul al-hudā wa-l-rashād fī sirat khayri l-'ibād* (=al-

Quşayy introduced substantial changes in the sanctuary of Mecca, ordered to build houses in areas in which building was hitherto forbidden and permitted to fell trees in the sacred territory.<sup>97</sup> The changes introduced by Quşayy in Mecca, the repatriation of the dispersed Qurashī factions and their unification into a coherent tribal body at Mecca<sup>98</sup> opened a new era of development and expansion for Mecca. The crucial event of the defeat of the army of Abrahā enhanced the growth of the power of Mecca and strengthened the prestige of Quraysh. The activity of Zuhayr can be estimated to have taken place in the period following the “Day of the Elephant.”

The date of the destruction of Buss can further be conjectured by the examination of the data about the persons who are mentioned in the accounts about this event. Al-Muthallam b. Riyāḥ b. Zālim, the grandson of the builder of Buss, killed a man named Ḥubāsha who was under the protection of al-Ḥārith b. Zālim al-Murrī. Al-Muthallam asked the protection of al-Ḥuşayn b. Ḥumām al-Murrī; when al-Ḥārith b. Zālim heard about it he demanded of al-Ḥuşayn b. al-Ḥumām to pay the blood-wit of the slain Ḥubāsha.<sup>99</sup> According to an account traced back to Abū ‘Ubayda the poet al-Ḥuşayn b. al-Ḥumām reached the time of Islam.<sup>100</sup> This opinion is indeed recorded in the compilations about the Companions of the Prophet.<sup>101</sup> His son is said to have visited the court of Mu‘āwiya.<sup>102</sup> The ill-famed commander sent by Yazīd b.

*Sīra al-shāmiyya*, ed. Muşţafā ‘Abd al-Wāḥid (Cairo, 1392/1972), I, 192: . . . *al-marrata l-sābi‘ata: ‘imāratu quşayyi bni kilābin; naqalahu l-zubayru bnu bakkārīn fī Kitābi l-Nasabi wa-jazama bihi l-imāmu Abū Ishāqa al-Māwardiyyu l-aḥkāmi l-sultāniyya . . .*; and see al-Maqriẓi, *Dhikru mā warada fī bunyāni l-ka‘bati l-mu‘azzama*, MS. Leiden, Or. 560, fols. 175b: . . . *dhakara l-zubayru bnu bakkārīn wa-ghayruhu anna quşayya bna kilābin banā l-bayta, walam yadhkur dhālika l-azraqī . . .* fol. 176b, l. 10: *wa-banā quşayyun al-ka‘bata ‘alā khamsin wa-‘ishrīna dhīrā‘n . . .* Fol. 178a, l. 17: *fa-lammā stabadda quşayyun bi-amri makkata akhadha fī bunyāni l-bayti wa-jam‘i nafaqatīhi thumma hadamahu wa-banāhu binā’an lam yabni miḥadun mimman banāhu mithlahu wa-ja‘ala yaqūlu wa-huwa yabni:*

*abni wa-yabni llāhu yarfa‘uhā : wa-l-yabni aḥlu wirāthihā ba‘dī;*

*bunyānuhā wa-tamāmuhā wa-ḥijābuhā : bi-yadi l-ilāhi wa-laysa bi-l-‘abdi;*

*fa-banāhā wa-saqqaḥā bi-khashabi l-dāumi l-jayyidi wa-bi-jarīdi l-nakhli wa-banāhā ‘alā khamsatin wa-‘ishrīna dhīrā‘an . . .*

al-Zurqāni, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib al-laduniyya* (Cairo, 1325), I, 206, l. 18: . . . *fa-banat-hu jurhum, thumma quşayy b. kilāb, naqalahu l-zubayr b. bakkār wa-jazama bihi l-māwardī . . .*

<sup>97</sup> See e.g. Ibn Hishām, I, 132; and see *JESHO*, 8 (1965), 126.

<sup>98</sup> See e.g. al-Balādhurī, I, 50; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. Muşţafā ‘Abd al-Wāḥid (Cairo, 1384/1964), I, 97.

<sup>99</sup> See *Aghānī*, XII, 126.

<sup>100</sup> *Aghānī*, XII, 128.

<sup>101</sup> See e.g. Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Işāba fī tamayizi l-şahāba*, ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, (Cairo, 1392/1972), II, 84–85, no. 1735.

<sup>102</sup> *Aghānī*, XII, 123.

Mu‘āwiya to attack Medina on the “Day of the Ḥarra” (63 AH), the aged Muslim b. ‘Uqba al-Murri (he went out to Medina at the age of more than 90 years), is listed with the same number of genealogical links as Muthallam.<sup>103</sup> The demolition of Buss may thus be dated to the third quarter of the sixth century.

Some other reports may be scrutinized as well. A tradition says that Zuhayr b. Janāb remained alive until he met a man of the fifth generation of the descendants of his brother; it was Abū l-Aḥwaṣ ‘Amr b. Tha‘laba b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḍamḍam b. ‘Adiyy b. Janāb.<sup>104</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī reports that ‘Amr b. Tha‘laba captured al-A‘shā when he was on his way to the king of the family of Jafna.<sup>105</sup> He was released according to the request of Shurayḥ b. Ḥiṣn b. ‘Imrān b. Samaw‘al.<sup>106</sup> This report, as recorded in the commentary of a *qaṣida* of al-A‘shā, is corroborated by an account in Abū l-Baqā’s *Manāqib*.<sup>107</sup> The accounts quoted above seem to indicate that the activity of Zuhayr b. Janāb and the strengthening of the ties of Quḍā‘a with Mecca took place in the second half of the sixth century and that Zuhayr died in the late decades of that century.

### III

Authority and rule were based in the Meccan body politic on mutual agreements concluded between the various tribal factions and clans. Duties were imposed and privileges were established after intertribal struggles ceased; the stipulations in the agreements were laid down according to the balance of strength of the negotiating tribal groups. According to such agreements or pacts, usages upheld by custom turned into customary law, administratively bidding taxes became obligatory payments, customary religious practices became mandatory regulations. The struggle for power of the different tribal factions on the one hand and the necessity to prevent disorder in Mecca on the other hand originated the institution of the *ḥukkām*, the arbitrators. Al-Maqrīzī provides a list of the arbiters of Quraysh in the period of the Jāhiliyya (in fact at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century — K): ‘Abd al-

<sup>103</sup> See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, VI, 294, no. 8420; al-Balādhurī, MS., fol. 1147a; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, MS. Br. Mus., fol. 168b (in all these sources; Muslim b. ‘Uqba b. Riyāḥ b. As‘ad b. Rabī‘a b. ‘Āmir.)

<sup>104</sup> Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, p. 29.

<sup>105</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, Esc., p. 384, l. 1; Caskel, *Ġamhara*, II, 185.

<sup>106</sup> See *al-A‘shā, Dīwān*, ed. R. Geyer (Wien, 1928), pp. 125–126, (nos. XXIII–XXIV) commentary.

<sup>107</sup> Abū l-Baqā, *al-Manāqib al-mazyadiyya*, MS., fol. 141a.

Muṭṭalib and his two sons, al-Zubayr and Abū Ṭalib; Abū Sufyān and his father Ḥarb on behalf of the Banū Umayya; al-Walid b. al-Mughīra on behalf of the Makhzūm; al-‘Āṣ b. Wā’il and Qays b. ‘Adiyy on behalf of Banū Sahm; Nawfal b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā on behalf of the Banū ‘Adiyy and al-‘Alā’ b. Ḥāritha al-Thaqafi on behalf of the Banū Sahm; Naufal b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā on behalf of the Banū Zuhra.<sup>108</sup> A passage quoted by al-Maqrīzī from al-Fākihī’s *Ta’rīkh Makka* sheds some light on the position of the arbiters and on the way in which they were elected: in order to avoid wickedness they were chosen by mutual consent and none of them would strive to overpower the rest of Quraysh (. . . *wa-lam yakun minhum aḥadun mutamallikan ‘alā baqiyyati qurayshin. wa-innamā dhālika bi-tarāḍīhim ‘alayhi ḥasman li-māddati l-sharri; qālahu l-fākihīyyu...*).<sup>109</sup> Quṣayy’s innovations and regulations (taxes imposed on aliens entering Mecca [scil. with merchandise – K], food provided for the pilgrims, fire lit on Muzdalifa, practices in the *dār al-nadwa* etc.) became binding and obligatory, as the different clans agreed to carry them out: the *ḥukkām* of Mecca seem to have acted according to that tradition. This is reflected in the following passage recorded by Maqrīzī: *wa-inna amra quṣayyin fī qawmihi ka-l-dīni l-muttaba‘i lā yu‘malu bi-ghayrihi fī ḥayātihi wa-min ba‘dihī*.<sup>110</sup>

The mutual agreements between the chiefs of the different tribal factions of Quraysh are reflected in the story of the rebuilding of the Ka‘ba by Quraysh. The different factions and clans agreed upon to allot every faction its share in the erection of the building: the Banū ‘Abd Manāf and the Banū Zuhra were entrusted with the side of the door; the space between the Black Stone and the southern corner was assigned to the Banū Makhzūm and groups of Quraysh who joined them; the back of the Ka‘ba was entrusted to the Banū Jumaḥ and Banū Sahm; the section of the *ḥijr* was given to the ‘Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy, the Banū Asad b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā and the Banū ‘Adiyy b. Ka‘b; the *ḥajīm* – says an attached note.<sup>111</sup>

According to tradition Quraysh planned to rebuild the Ka‘ba and to cover

<sup>108</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Dhikru mā warada fī bunyān al-ka‘ba*, MS., fols. 177b inf.–178a sup.; al-Sinjārī, *Manā’ih al-karam*, MS., fol. 59b.

<sup>109</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Dhikru mā warada*, MS., fol. 178a sup.; al-Sinjārī, *Manā’ih*, MS., fol. 59b.

<sup>110</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Dhikru mā warada*, MS., fol. 176b.

<sup>111</sup> Ibn Hishām, I, 207; al-‘Iṣāmī, *Simṭ al-nujūm*, I, 166; al-Sinjārī, *Manā’ih*, MS., fol. 62a; Ibn Ruzayq, *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-‘adnāniyya*, MS. Br. Mus. Or. 6569, fol. 259b; al-Shāṭibī, *al-Jumān fī akhbāri l-zamān*, MS. Br. Mus. Or. 3008, fol. 58b; al-Maqrīzī, *Dhikru mā warada*, MS., fol. 180a–b; al-Ṣāliḥī, *Subul al-hudā*, II, 229; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, I, 277 penult.–278 sup. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr* (Beirut, 1385/1966), I, 318; ‘Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-‘uyūn (=al-Sira al-ḥalabiyya)* (Cairo, 1382/1962), I, 159 inf.–160 sup.

the building with a roof; their calculation of the expenditure seems to have been inaccurate<sup>112</sup> and they were compelled to limit the size of the building; they did not include in the building the space of the *ḥijr*; the *ḥijr* remained outside the Ka<sup>ʿ</sup>ba.<sup>113</sup> The exclusion of the *ḥijr* led later to a heated discussion in connection with the circumambulation of the Ka<sup>ʿ</sup>ba; the question posed was whether the believers should during the *ṭawāf* disregard the area of the *ḥijr* excluded from the building or to circumambulate behind it, considering it as part of the Sanctuary. The Prophet’s answer was clear: the *ḥijr* is part of the Ka<sup>ʿ</sup>ba and the circumambulation has to be performed from behind the space of the *ḥijr*.<sup>114</sup> The reason for this decision is said to have been that the *ḥijr* was part of the House erected by Abraham.<sup>115</sup>

This fact was taken into consideration by ʿAbdallah b. al-Zubayr when he decided to rebuild the Ka<sup>ʿ</sup>ba (anno 64/683); although he was advised to confine himself to the repairing of the building “as built by Quraysh,” he decided to pull down the Ka<sup>ʿ</sup>ba and to erect the building of the Sanctuary in its original “Abrahamian” dimensions (i.e. to include the *ḥijr*, which was excluded by Quraysh – K); he indeed carried out his plan.<sup>116</sup> Al-Ḥajjāj changed the building of the Ka<sup>ʿ</sup>ba: he left Ibn al-Zubayr’s extension of the building, but ordered to pull down the part of the *ḥijr* built by Ibn al-Zubayr.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>112</sup> See the references provided by U. Rubin, *The Ka<sup>ʿ</sup>ba*, n. 26; and see al-Suyūṭī, *Jam<sup>ʿ</sup> al-jawāmi<sup>ʿ</sup>* (Cairo, 1978), I, 1218.

<sup>113</sup> See e.g. Ibn Kathīr, *al-Sīra al-nabawīyya*, I, 281–282; al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, I, 206, l. 20; al-Maqrīzī, *Dhikru mā warada*, MS., fol. 181b; al-Shāṭibī, *al-Jumān*, MS., fol. 59a; ʿAlī b. Burhān al-Dīn, *Insān al-ʿuyūn*, I, 189; and see the thorough scrutiny of the problem in U. Rubin, *The Ka<sup>ʿ</sup>ba*.

<sup>114</sup> See e.g. al-Shāṭibī, *al-Jumān*, MS., fol. 59a: ... *wa-suʿila rasūlu llāhi (ṣ) ʿani l-ḥijri, hal huwa mina l-kaʿbati am lā, fa-qāla huwa mina l-kaʿbati wa-lā yajūzu l-ṭawāfu illā khalfahu* ...; and see al-Muḥibbu l-Ṭabarī, *al-Qirā li-qāṣidi ummi l-qurā*, ad. Muṣṭafā l-Saqā (Cairo, 1390/1970), p. 507: ... *fa-inna l-ḥijra mina l-bayti fa-dhhabi fa-ṣallī fīhi* ...

<sup>115</sup> See U. Rubin, *The Ka<sup>ʿ</sup>ba*, chapter 2: “the ritual functions” ... esp. n. 54.

<sup>116</sup> See e.g. al-Ḥarbī, *al-Manāsik wa-amākin ṭuruqi l-ḥajj*, ed. Ḥamad al-Jāsir (Riyād, 1389/1969), pp. 488–491 (see esp. p. 488 penult.: ... *fa-adkhala fihā naḥwan min sabʿi adhruʿin mina l-ḥijri* ... and 489: ... *fa-in badā li-qawmiki min baʿdiki an yabnūhu fa-halummī urīki mā tarakū fa-arāha naḥwan min sabʿi adhruʿin* ...); Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *al-Qirā*, pp. 508–509; and see al-Shāṭibī, *al-Jumān*, MS., fol. 59a (seven cubits of the *ḥijr* not included in the building erected by Quraysh; according to a tradition recorded by Muḥibb al-Dīn, *al-Qirā*, p. 509, ʿAbdallah b. al-Zubayr included five cubits of the *ḥijr* in the Ka<sup>ʿ</sup>ba erected by him).

<sup>117</sup> See e.g. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *al-Qirā*, p. 509 (... *ammā mā zāda fī ṭūlhi fa-aqirrahu, wa-ammā mā zāda fīhi mina l-ḥijri fa-ruddahu ilā bināʿihi* ...); Ibn Zuhayra, *al-Jāmi<sup>ʿ</sup> al-laṭīf*, p. 92 has an erroneous reading: ... *ammā ma zāda fī ṭūlhi fa-akkkhirhu* ...; al-Maqrīzī, *Dhikru mā warada*, MS., fol. 184a: ... *thumma hadama* (i.e. al-Ḥajjāj) *mā banāhu bnu l-zubayri fī l-kaʿbati min nāhiyati l-ḥijri, thumma aʿādahu ʿalā mā kāna ʿalayhi wa-akhraja l-*

Tradition says that the Prophet attended the building of the Ka‘ba by Quraysh; when the chiefs of the Qurashī clans quarrelled as to who would put the Black Stone in its place the Prophet was unanimously chosen by the contending factions to put the Stone in its place.<sup>118</sup> Traditions are however divergent about the age of the Prophet at the time of the building of the Ka‘ba: whether he was a youth, a boy who had reached virility, 15 years old, 25 years, 30 years, 35 years, 15 years before he got his revelation, five years before revelation or before he was employed by Khadija.<sup>119</sup> All the traditions are unanimous that he participated in the building. An important role in the erection of the Ka‘ba was allotted to al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī,<sup>120</sup> a noble member of Quraysh; he was a courageous man and did not fear to start the demolition of the old building of the Sanctuary.

According to a tradition recorded by Ibn al-Kalbī when the Meccans were engaged in building the Ka‘ba and realized that they lacked the necessary funds for accomplishing of the building, they were surprised by a generous offer for help from a wealthy tribal leader of the Kalb. It was Ubayy b. Sālim al-Kalbī who came to Mecca and asked the Meccans to allow him to get a share in the building. They agreed and he built the right side of the Ka‘ba. Al-Jawwās b. al-Qa‘ṭal said about that:

*Lanā aymanu l-bayti l-ladhī tahjubūnahu :  
wirāthatu mā abqā ubayyu bnu sālīmi*

To us belongs the right side of the House which you cover with curtains :  
an inheritance left by Ubayy b. Sālim.<sup>121</sup>

This tradition is quoted (with few variants) by Ibn Qutayba.<sup>122</sup> Al-Maqrīzī records the tradition on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī and gives the full name of the Kalbi leader: Ubayy b. Sālim b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Wāhid (Mālik) b. ‘Abdallah

*ḥijra min al-ka‘bati, wa-kāna dhālika fī sanati arba‘in wa-sab‘īna; fa-laysa fī l-ka‘bati al-āna min binā’i l-ḥajjāji ghayru l-jidāri l-ladhī yali l-ḥijra faqaṭ.*

<sup>118</sup> See e.g. Ibn Ishāq, *al-Siyar wa-l-maghāzī*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār, (Damascus, 1398/1978), pp. 107–108; al-Ḥarbi, *al-Manāsik*, p. 487; al-Ṣāliḥī, *Subul al-hudā*, II, 231–232; ‘Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-‘uyūn*, I, 161; Ibn Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Dīnashqī, *Jāmi‘ al-āthār fī mawliḍi l-nabiyyi l-mukhtār*, MS. Cambridge Or. 913, fol. 268a.

<sup>119</sup> See e.g. al-Ṣāliḥī, *Subul al-hudā*, II, 233–234; al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, I, 203; al-Ḥarbi, *al-Manāsik*, pp. 494–495; Ibn Naṣīr al-Dīn, *Jāmi‘ al-āthār*, MS., fol. 268a; Ibn Ishāq, *al-Siyar wa-l-maghāzī*, p. 109; and see the references given by U. Rubin, *The Ka‘ba*, n. 16.

<sup>120</sup> See e.g. Ibn Hishām, I, 206–207.

<sup>121</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, Esc., MS., pp. 414–415; *inṣalaqa ubayyun ma‘ahu mānun kathīrun fa-atā qurayshan ḥīna arādū binā’ a l-ka‘bati fa-qāla: da‘ūni ushrikkum fī binā’ihā, fa-adhinū lahu, fa-banā jānibahā l-aymana . . .*

<sup>122</sup> Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma‘ārif*, p. 561.

b. Hubal b. ʿAbdallah b. ʿUlaym b. Janāb.<sup>123</sup> He was thus a descendant of ʿUlaym, the brother of Zuhayr b. Janāb.

There is nothing to make us doubt the soundness of this tradition; it is indeed credible that the Qurashites were glad to allot a share of the building to a Kalbite tribal group.

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The memory of Janāb b. Hubal remained alive among the Kalb. The troops levied from among his descendants are praised in the poems of al-Jawwās b. al-Qaʿṭal, himself a descendant of Janāb:

*Daʿā bi-silāḥin, thumma aḥjama idh raʿā : suyūfa janābin wa-l-ṭiwāla l-madhākiyā*

He called for weapons, then he turned back as he saw : the swords of Janāb and the long-bodied horses, which had reached full age and complete strength.<sup>124</sup>

In a verse in which al-Jawwās describes the march of the divisions of Janāb and ʿAuf he says that they are filling the high mountains formed of one mass of rocks.<sup>125</sup> Ibn Saʿd recorded a letter sent by the Prophet to the Banū Janāb and their allies.<sup>126</sup>

\*

Kalb were famous for their wealth and the multitude of their flocks. The Prophet is reported as saying that God would grant forgiveness to a countless multitude of believers on the night of mid-Shaʿbān as numerous as the hairs of the flocks of the tribe of Kalb.<sup>127</sup> The close ties of Kalb with the Umayyad rulers seem to be reflected in a saying reported by ʿAwāna in which the

<sup>123</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Dhikru mā warada*, MS., fol. 180a inf.-180 sup.

<sup>124</sup> Al-Balādhuri, *op. cit.*, V (ed. Goitein, Jerusalem, 1936), 142; al-Ṭabari, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1971), V, 542; al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa-l-ishrāf*, ed. de Goeje (rpt. Baghdad), p. 310.

<sup>125</sup> *Aghānī*, XVII, 112:

*idhā sārāt qabāʾilu min janābin : wa-ʿawfin ashḥanū shumma l-hidābi.*

<sup>126</sup> Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 285.

<sup>127</sup> See e.g. al-Naysābūrī, *Gharāʾib al-qurʾān wa-rahāʾib al-furqān*, ed. Ibrāhīm ʿAṭwa ʿAwaḍ (Cairo, 1388/1968), XXV, 65; Muḥammad Ḥasanayn Makhlūf al-ʿAdawī, *Risāla fī faḍli laylati l-niṣfi min shaʿbān*, ed. Ḥasanayn Muḥammad Makhlūf (Cairo, 1394/1974), p. 20 (and see *ibid.*, the explanation of the Prophet: . . . *qultu: yā nabiyya llāhi, mā bālu ghanami banī kalbin? qāla: laysa fī l-ʿarabi qawmun aktharu ghanaman minhum . . .*); and see the references given in Kister, "Shaʿbān is my month," in *Studia Orientalia Memoriae D.H. Baneth Dedicata* (Jerusalem, 1979), p. 26, n. 52.

position of different tribes was assessed. "The kingdom was never aided by a tribe (stronger — K) than that of Kalb."<sup>128</sup> It is not surprising that they attracted the enmity of the opposition-groups of the Umayyads. Apocalyptic tradition has gloomy things to say about the fate of Kalb during the crucial clash between the Mahdī and his enemy, the Sufyānī. The Kalb will be attacked by the forces of the Mahdī and plundered. The event will be named: "The Day of the Plunder of the Bedouins" or "The Day of the Plunder of Kalb." "The man who will be disappointed on that Day will [indeed] be disappointed."<sup>129</sup>

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The few accounts discussed above may provide us with a clue for a better understanding of the relations of Mecca with certain tribal groups. These reports seem to reflect the ingenious and sagacious policy of the Meccan leaders, who succeeded in their wisdom and flexibility to establish friendly relations with influential tribal leaders and to win them over to a peaceful co-operation with Mecca. The wise leaders of Mecca did not hesitate even to attach them as partners in the erection of the Sanctuary of Mecca.

<sup>128</sup> Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *al-Ishrāf fī manāzil al-ashraf*, MS. Chester Beatty 4427, fol. 43b: . . . *akhbaranā l-ḥakamu bnuʿawānata l-kalbiyyu ʿan abīhi, qāla, lam yuʿayyadi l-mulku bi-mithli kalbin, wa-lam tuʿla l-manābiru bi-mithli qurayshin, wa-lam tuḥlabi l-tirātu bi-mithli tamimin, wa-lam turʿa l-rīʿāya bi-mithli thaqifin, wa-lam tusadda l-thughūru bi-mithli qaysin, wa-lam tuhaji l-ḥitanu bi-mithli rabīʿata, wa-lam yujba l-kharāju bi-mithli l-yamani.*

<sup>129</sup> Nuʿaym b. Hammād, *Kitāb al-ḥitan*, MS. Br. Mus. Or. 9449, fol. 95b: . . . *thumma yasīru ilā kalbin fa-yanhābuhum fa-l-khāʿibu man khāba yawma nahbi kalbin . . .*; fol. 96a: . . . *ʿan kaʿbin qāla: wadīdu anni udriku nahba l-aʿrābi wa-hiya nahbatu kalbin fa-l-khāʿibu man khāba yawma kalbin . . .*; fol. 96b: . . . *fa-yaqtatillu huwa wa-jayshu l-sufyāniyyi ʿalā sabʿi rāyāt, kullu ṣāḥibi rāyatīn minhum yarjū l-amra li-naḥsihi fa-yahzīmuhumu l-mahdiyyu; qāla abū hurayrata: fa-l-maḥrūmu man ḥurima nahba kalbin . . .*; fol. 97b: . . . *fa-l-khāʿibu man khāba yawma kalbin, ḥaitā tubāʿa l-jāriyatu l-ʿadhrāʿu bi-thamāniyati darāhima.* And see Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā l-Maqdisī l-Shāfiʿī, *ʿIqd al-durar fī-akhbāri l-muntazar*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Ḥilw (Cairo, 1399/1979), pp. 69–70, 85, 86 (and see the references provided by the editor).