

## ON STRANGERS AND ALLIES IN MECCA

*To the memory of my student Yehiel Amsallim*

The role of Quraysh in the commercial activities of Mecca in the period of the Jāhiliyya is well known and has been the subject of comprehensive research. There were, however, some non-Qurashī individuals or groups in Mecca, whose role in the social and political life of that city has not been sufficiently assessed. It seems desirable to put together the available data about the vicissitudes of these strangers, their relations with the Meccan clans and their absorption into the Meccan community.

It is also important to examine the reports about the struggles among the various factions of Quraysh and the changes which occurred as a result of this strife. This examination of the traditions and the stories may give us a better insight into the history of Mecca in the period of the Jāhiliyya.

### I

A case of successful absorption of immigrants into the Meccan community can be seen in the story about Abū Ihāb b. 'Azīz b. Qays b. Suwayd b. Rabī'a b. Zayd b. 'Abdallāh b. Dārim al-Tamīmī. According to the report recorded by Ibn Ḥajar, 'Azīz the father of Abū Ihāb came to Mecca, joined the Banū Naufal b. 'Abd Manāf as an ally (*ḥalīf*) and married Fākhita bint 'Amr b. Naufal; she bore him their son Abū Ihāb.<sup>1</sup> There are some differences between this report and the one transmitted on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī. According to the latter it was not 'Azīz who came to Mecca, but an ancestor of 'Azīz, Suwayd b. Rabī'a b. Zayd b. 'Abdallāh who sought shelter in Mecca and joined the Banū

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1 Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīzi l-ṣaḥāba*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Biḥārī, Cairo 1392/1972, VII, 24, no. 9551.

Naufal b. 'Abd Manāf as an ally. He sought refuge in Mecca because he had killed Mālik, the son of al-Mundhir, the king of al-Ḥīra. Mālik was entrusted as a child by the king to Zurāra b. 'Udus. When he grew up he happened to pass by a camel belonging to Suwayd; he ordered it to be slaughtered and ate its meat with his companions. When he returned from hunting, Suwayd was told of Mālik's deed. He attacked the youth and wounded him, and the youth died shortly afterwards from his wounds. Suwayd escaped and found shelter in Mecca.<sup>2</sup>

For the elucidation of the events it is necessary to provide some details about the background and circumstances of the incident: Suwayd was the son-in-law of Zurāra, the powerful leader of Tamīm. Zurāra was one of the *jarrārūn*; he succeeded in rallying Tamīm and other tribes and was their leader on the "Day of Shuwayḥit".<sup>3</sup> He is said to have frequented the court of *kisrā* and was granted a slave girl who bore him children.<sup>4</sup> He used to visit the court of the king of al-Ḥīra, fought on his side and advised him on matters of peace and war regarding the tribes of the Arab peninsula.<sup>5</sup> According to a tradition it was Zurāra who mediated between the Kindī king al-Ḥārith and the Lakhmī al-Mundhir and thus succeeded in bringing to an end the war between them.<sup>6</sup>

Zurāra's fame survived in Islam. An anecdote says that a Tamīmī woman, listening to the call of the *mu'adhdhin*, wondered why

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2 See e.g. the versions of the story: al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dūrī, Beirut 1398/1978, III, 305; Jarīr and Farazdaq, *al-Naqā'id*, ed. A. Bevan, Leiden 1905, pp. 652 ult. - 654 (the name of the king: 'Amr b. al-Mundhir; the name of the entrusted child: As'ad); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, MS. 'Āshir Ef., fol. 968b.

3 Muḥammad b. Habīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, ed. Ilse Lichtenstaedter, Hyderabad 1361/1942, p. 247.

4 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS. fol. 969a.

5 See e.g. Jarīr-Farazdaq, *al-Naqā'id*, p. 653.

6 See the commentary of the verse of al-Farazdaq:

*minnā lladhī jamā'a l-mulūka wa-baynahum: ḥarbutun yushabbu sa'īruhā bi-ḍirāmi, Naqā'id*, p. 266 inf.(L); according to other reports the mediator was the Tamīmī Sufyān b. Mujāshī' (see: *Naqā'id*, p. 267; Abū l-Baqā', *al-Manāqib al-mazyadiyya fī akhbāri l-mulūki l-asadiyya*, MS. Br. Mus. Add 23296, fol. 26a).

Zurāra was not mentioned in the *shahāda* together with the Prophet.<sup>7</sup>

One of the features of the close association of Tamīm with the kings of al-Ḥīra was the practice of entrusting the children of kings of al-Ḥīra to some noble families of Dārim. Ḥājib b. Zurāra boasted of the fact that his people brought up the children of the kings until their moustaches and beards came out.<sup>8</sup> Al-‘Askarī records that people reproached Ḥājib saying: "We never saw a man boasting of his shame except Ḥājib; a governess is just a servant (*al-zi'ru khādīmatun*) and service is degrading, not uplifting".<sup>9</sup> It is evident that this opinion is congruent with the views of a later period. Another report may be mentioned: the kings of al-‘Iraq (i.e. the kings of al-Ḥīra) used to fight the kings of Syria; when they intended to march out to Syria they used to leave their families under the protection of the strongest of the Arabs (*a'azzu l-'arab*).<sup>10</sup> These reports expose clearly the web of mutual relations between the Dārim and the rulers of al-Ḥīra. The murder of Mālik shattered these relations and brought about the cruel retaliation of the king of al-Ḥīra: the children of Suwayd were brought by Zurāra to the court of al-Ḥīra and were executed in his presence; a hundred Tamīmīs from the branch of Dārim were killed or burnt on the order

7 Al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Maghribī, *al-Īnās fī ‘ilmi l-ansāb*, ed. Ḥamad al-Jāsir, al-Riyāq, 1400/1980, p. 210.

8 Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, *Ṭabaqāt al-shu‘arā*, ed. ‘Abd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrāj, Cairo 1375/1956, p. 199. *rabbaynā bna māi l-muzni wa-bna muḥarriqin: ilā an badat minhum liḥan wa-shawārib.*

9 Al-‘Askarī, *Jamharat al-amhāl*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm and ‘Abd al-Majīd Qaṭāmish, Cairo 1384/1964, I. 261.

10 Jarīr-Farazdaq, *op. cit.*, p. 267 inf:  
*ajarnā bna māi l-muzni wa-bna muḥarriqin:  
jamīan wa-sharru l-qauli mā huwa kādhibu  
thalāthatu amlākin thawau fī buyūtinā:  
ilā an badat minhum liḥan wa-shawāribu.*

The two verses attributed here to Miskīn al-Dārimi are in fact the verses (with variants) attributed to Ḥājib b. Zurāra. A collection of Miskīn’s poetry edited by Khalīl Ibrāhīm al-‘Aṭīyyah and ‘Abdallah al-Jubūrī, Baghdād 1389/1970 records only the verse (p. 25):

*thalāthatu amlākin rubū fi ḥujūrinā: fa-hal qā’ilun ḥaqqan ka-man huwa kādhibu.*

of the king of al-Ḥīra. The event is well known as *yaum uwāra*.<sup>11</sup>

The daughter of Abū Ihāb, Umm Yahyā, intended to marry 'Uqba b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir al-Naufalī; but was prevented from carrying out the plan, because a black slave-maid attested that she had suckled both of them.<sup>12</sup> Abū Ihāb had friendly relations with al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir who was his half-brother from the mother's side.<sup>13</sup>

Abū Ihāb seems to have been a well-to-do person, with a taste for ease and luxury, fond of wine and singing girls. This can be deduced from the story relating the theft from the Ka'ba of the golden statue of the gazelle. This was stolen by a group of drunkards who attended a drinking party in the tavern of Miqyās b. 'Abd Qays al-Sahmī.<sup>14</sup> The list of the felons and profligate persons who frequented the place includes several quite prominent men of Quraysh: Abū Lahab, al-Ḥakam b. Abī l-'Āṣ, al-Fākih b. al-Mughīra, Mulaḥ b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Sabbāq, al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir b. Naufal, Abū Ihāb and others. On a certain day, when the drunkards failed to provide money for the wine and the supply of wine ran short, they decided to steal the gazelle of the Ka'ba and buy wine from a caravan which arrived in Mecca from Syria. The group which carried out the plan included Abū Lahab, Abū Musāfi' and al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir. They sold the statue, bought the wine and drank it at their leisure. When, after a

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11 See e.g. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ali al-Maghribī, *al-Īnās*, pp. 208-210; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, ed. Khurshīd Aḥmad Fāriq, Hyderabad 1384/1964, pp. 290-293.

12 Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, VII, 24, no. 9551, VIII, 324, no. 12298; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba fī marīfatī l-ṣaḥāba*, Cairo 1280, VI, 627; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb fī marīfatī l-aṣḥāb*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, Cairo 1380/1960, p. 1072, no. 1822.

13 See e.g. Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. al-Saqqā, al-Abyārī, Shalabī, Cairo 1355/1936, III, 180, ult. (and see *ibid.* 181, l. 1); Ibn Kathīr, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wāḥid, Cairo 1385/1965, III, 128; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, II, 263, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd*, V, 142.

14 But see Mu'arrij al-Sadūsī, *Ḥadhf min nasab quraysh*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, Cairo 1960, p. 84: *qaysu bnu 'adiyyi bni sādī bni sahm kāna min ru'asā'i quraysh fī l-jāhiliyya, wa-huwa ṣāhibu l-qiyāni lladhī kāna shabābu qurayshin yajtamī'ūna ilayhi fa-amarahum bi-akhdhi ghazālin mina l-kābati, fa-fa'alū, fa-qtasamahu qiyānuhu wa-kāna l-ghazālu min dhahabin.*

considerable time, the culprits were discovered, the affair stirred unrest and division between the two alliances of the Qurashī clans: the *muṭayyabīn* and the *aḥlāf*. Some of the culprits were severely punished, others escaped chastisement. Al-Ḥārith b. ‘Āmir and Abū Ihāb were compelled to leave Mecca and they returned only after some ten years. On the eve of the battle of Badr they asked of Quraysh the permission to join the force which was about to march out to fight the Prophet. They got the permission, joined the force and fought at Badr. Al-Ḥārith b. ‘Āmir was killed in the battlefield by Khubayb; Abū Ihāb managed to escape.<sup>15</sup>

The cordial relations between Abū Ihāb and al-Ḥārith b. ‘Āmir are reflected in the verses written by Abū Ihāb in which al-Ḥārith’s generosity in spending on good wine and beautiful women is praised.<sup>16</sup> Al-Ḥārith had friendly relations with Abū Lahab – he married Abū Lahab’s daughter Durra.<sup>17</sup> He shared Abū Lahab’s hatred for the Prophet: both are included in the list of the Prophet’s enemies.<sup>18</sup> He was the representative of the Banū Naufal b. ‘Abd Manāf in the consultation of Quraysh against the Prophet in the *dār al-nadwa*.<sup>19</sup> But at some point al-Ḥārith seems to have met the Prophet, had talks with him and was impressed by his words; Quraysh even suspected him to have embraced Islam.<sup>20</sup> On the eve of the battle of Badr he tried to

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15 Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān*, ed. Walīd N. Arafāt, London 1971, II, 115-127; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, pp. 54-57.

16 See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* III, 304; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, p. 62:  
*abligh quṣayyan idhā jī’tāhā - fa-ayya fatan walladat naufulu*  
*idhā shariba l-khamra aghlā bihā - wa-in jahadat laumahu l-’udhdhalu*  
*da’āhu ilā l-shanfi, shanfi l-ghazā - li ḥubbin li-khamṣānatin ‘ayṭali*  
*li-’athmata hīna tarāat lahu : wa-asmā’a ‘āḥilatin ajmali.*

17 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 65, according to Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, MS. Br. Mus. fol. 116b, ll. 4-5. Durra married Abū Ihāb.

18 See e.g. al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā’ al-asmā’ bimā li-rasūli llāhi min al-anbā’ wa-l-amwāl wa-l-hafada wa-l-matā’*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākīr, Cairo 1941, I, 23, l. 3 from bottom, 24 ult.

19 Ibn Hishām *op. cit.*, II, 125.

20 Ḥassān, b. Thābit, *Dīwān*, II, 125.

persuade Quraysh not to march out against the Prophet.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, he joined the Qurashī force and was one of the wealthy Qurashites who took care of food supplies for the forces.<sup>22</sup> The Prophet is said to have forbidden the Muslim fighters to kill al-Ḥārith and ordered them to "leave him for the orphans of the Banū Naufal": for he was a generous man and spent on the weak and needy (*du'afā banī naufal*).<sup>23</sup> He was killed, as mentioned above, in the battle of Badr by Khubayb b. Isāf, who did not know him, or, according to another report, by the pious Companion Khubayb b. 'Adiyy.<sup>24</sup> The solidarity of the families of Abū Ihāb and al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir is seen in the story of the execution of Khubayb: Ḥujayr b. Abī Ihāb bought Khubayb b. 'Adiyy for the husband of his sister, 'Uqba b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir in order that he may kill him, avenging the death of his father al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir; Ḥujayr and 'Uqba took part in the execution of Khubayb.<sup>25</sup> 'Uqba b.

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21 Al-Maqrīzī, *Imūā*, I, 68, (*wa-mā kāna aḥadun minhum akraha li-l-khurūji mina l-hārithi bni 'āmirin*); al-Wāqidi, *al-Maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones, London 1966, I, 36-37; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullah, Cairo 1959, I, 292.

22 Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, II, 320; al-Maqrīzī, *Imūā*, I, 69; al-Wāqidi, *op. cit.*, I, 128, 144.

23 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 154 (the report mentions that he helped to annul the document of Quraysh to boycott the Prophet and his family); al-Wāqidi, *op. cit.*, I, 91; Ḥassān b. Thābit, *op. cit.*, I, 269.

24 See e.g. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 297; al-Maqrīzī, *Imūā*, I, 90, l. 1; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *op. cit.*, II, 442 (*wa-kāna khubayb qad qatala abāhu yauma badr*); Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, II, 262; and see Ḥassān, *op. cit.*, I, 370, note 1 (the comment of the editor); 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-'uyūn fī sīrati l-amīni l-mā'mūn (=al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya)*, Cairo 1382/1962, III, 189, ll. 10-11 (and see I. 14: *wa-lau lam yaqtul khubaybu bnu 'adiyyini l-hāritha bna 'āmirin mā kāna li-'itnā'i āli l-hārith bi-shirā'ihī wa-qatlihi mānan*.)

25 See e.g. al-Maqrīzī, *Imūā*, I, 176, ll. 1-2 (and see *ib.* p. 175 penult.); Ibn Kathīr, *al-Sīra*, III, 128; Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, III, 180 inf. - 181 sup.; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, II, 263; al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-thamīn fī tarīkhi l-baladi l-amīn*, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid, Cairo 1384/1965, VI, 307; al-Wāqidi, *op. cit.*, p. 357; and see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khubayb (Wensinck).

al-Ḥārith embraced Islam and died in the time of Abū Bakr.<sup>26</sup> Abū Ihāb planned to kill the Prophet; Ṭulayb b. 'Umayr met him, beat him and wounded him.<sup>27</sup> He later embraced Islam and was the first Muslim after whose death a prayer was said in the mosque of the *ḥaram*.<sup>28</sup> Ḥujayr b. Abī Ihāb, a respected member of the Quraysh nobility, came with a group of noble Qurashites to Abū Sufyān and requested that profits from the sales of merchandise transacted by the Qurashī caravan be spent on equipping a Qurashī force against the Prophet and the Muslims for the purpose of avenging the defeat of Badr.<sup>29</sup> He was obviously a wealthy man and was an owner of a court (*dār*) in Mecca.<sup>30</sup> He later embraced Islam<sup>31</sup> and is included in the list of the Companions of the Prophet.<sup>32</sup>

The story of Abū Ihāb gives us some insight into the social and economic conditions prevailing at Mecca in the Jāhiliyya period, on the eve of Islam. Al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir, though a hedonist, had a sharp and acute understanding of the economic and political situation of the Meccan body politic. Tradition says that verse 58 in *Sūrat al-qaṣaṣ* (sūra XXVIII): "They say: Should we follow the guidance with thee we shall be snatched from our land", (*in nattabi' l-hudā ma'aka nutakhaṭṭaf min arḍinā*) was revealed in connection with a discussion between the Prophet and al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir b. Naufal. Al-Ḥārith conceded that the faith of the Prophet was true (*innā na'lamu anna qaulaka ḥaqqun*); but he argued that this faith (*the hudā*,

26 Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, IV, 578, no. 5596.

27 Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, III, 541, ll. 1-2; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS. fol. 968b (*wa-kāna abū ihābin dussa li-l-fatki bi-l-nabiyyi (ṣ) fa-laqiyahu ṭulayb b. 'umayr fa-ḍarabahu bi-laḥyi jamalin fa-shajjahu*); and cf. Mu'arrij al-Sadūsī, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

28 Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, VII, 24 (quoted from al-Fākihī); al-Fākihī, *Ta'rīkh makkata*, MS. Leiden Or. 463, fol. 442a.

29 Al-Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

30 Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, MS. fol. 461a, l. 9: ... *wa-kānat lahum dāru-l-ḥujayri bni abī ihābi bni 'azīn al-tamīmiyyi ḥalīfi l-mu'imi bni 'adiyyin*.

31 Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, II, 40-41, no. 1638.

32 Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *Kiṭāb al-thiqā*, Hyderabad 1397/1977, III, 94; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 387; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 333, no. 489; Ibn Ḥajar *al-Iṣāba*, II, 40 (quoting Ibn Abī Ḥātim that he was a Companion).

the right guidance – K) was unacceptable because the Bedouins (*al-‘arab*) would rise against Mecca and "snatch away" the Meccans, putting an end to the Meccan body politic.<sup>33</sup> Al-Ĥārith gladly accepted the family of Abū Ihāb, and the marriages between the two families helped to remove the barriers between them: Abū Ihāb became firmly rooted in the Meccan community. Satirical verses composed by Ḥassān brought to memory the fact that Abū Ihāb was a refugee expelled by ‘Udus (i.e. by his own family – K).<sup>34</sup> Indeed Abū Ihāb had the courage to state that he was a *ḥalīf*, an ally; but he demanded to be treated on a par with the members of the family which he had joined.<sup>35</sup> He could dauntlessly answer the influential ‘Abdallah b. Jud‘ān who urged the leaders of Quraysh to punish the thieves of the gazelle, accusing him that his court harboured prostitutes.<sup>36</sup> It is instructive to observe to what extent Meccan society was open to outsiders, enabling an ally to build his home in Mecca and contribute to its economic development.

One tribal group which attained a high position in Mecca was the group of the Tamīmī Usayyid. The small group was influential and controlled several divisions of Muḍar.<sup>37</sup> A report by Ibn al-Kalbī says that Ghuwayy b. Jurwa of the Usayyid used to levy taxes from ‘Āmir b. Ṣa‘sa‘a; after his death his son Salama b. Ghuwayy did the same.<sup>38</sup> Satirical verses by Ṭufayl al-Ghanawī (or by al-Ashall b. Riyāḥ) directed against the ‘Āmir b. Ṣa‘sa‘a describe the submissiveness of the

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33 See e.g. al-Wāhidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, Cairo 1388/1968, p. 228 inf.; al-Qurtubī, *al-Jāmi‘ li-ahkāmī l-qur‘ān* (= *tafsīr al-Qurtubī*), Cairo 1387/1967, XIII, 300; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manihūr fī l-tafsīr bi-l-ma‘thūr*, Cairo 1314, V, 135; Mu‘arrij al-Sadūsī, *op. cit.*, p. 43 (*al-ḥārithu bnu ‘āmiri bni naufali bni ‘abdi manāfin kāna ‘a‘īma l-qadri wa-huwa lladhī qāla: in nautabi’ -: wa-kāna fī lladhīna saraqū ghazāla l-kāba*); : in some sources the name is erroneously given *al-ḥārithu bnu ‘uhmāna*.

34 See Ḥassān, *op. cit.*, I, 227, II, 170-171.

35 Ḥassān b. Thābit, *op. cit.*, II, 121-122.

36 Ḥassān b. Thābit, *op. cit.*, II, 123.

37 Cf. *JESHO* VIII (1965) 144-145.

38 Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, MS. Br. Mus., Add. 23297, fol. 94a (the tax was paid in cheese [*aqīṭ*] and melted butter).

‘Āmir and their baseness.<sup>39</sup> Ghuzayy b. Buzayy b. Jurwa b. Usayyid was killed by Dhū l-‘ubra Rabī‘a b. al-Ḥārith b. Ka‘b of the ‘Āmir b. Ṣa‘ṣa‘a. “*Ubra*” is explained as “*kharza*”, a kind of crown worn by the kings.<sup>40</sup> Al-Balādhurī reports about the Tamīmī, who levied the taxes (*itāwa*) of the Hawāzin, that “he made himself a king over them” (*yatamallaku ‘alayhā*).<sup>41</sup> Al-Khims b. Rabī‘ b. Hilāl succeeded the Tamīmī in collecting the taxes of Hawāzin.<sup>42</sup> It was thus a conspicuous group who controlled the ‘Āmir b. Ṣa‘ṣa‘a and the Hawāzin. It is interesting to note that these tax collectors tried to gain power (*yatamallaku*) and to rule large tribal divisions.

To this group belonged a tax collector with the enigmatic name *Dhū l-‘awād*.<sup>43</sup> Mughulḥayy records the explanation of the word given by Abū ‘Ubayda in his *Kitāb al-tāj*: *Dhū l-‘awād* is ‘Adiyy b. Salama al-Usayyidī, who levied the taxes imposed on Muḍar; they used to pay

39 Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, MS. Br. Mus., fol. 94a:

*banī ‘āmirin lā tadhkurū l-fakhra innakum:  
matā tadhkurūhu fī l-mā‘ashiri tukdhabū  
fa-naḥnu mana’nākum tamīman wa-antumū:  
sawālīu illā tuḥsinū l-sa‘a tuḍrabū*

Al-Balādhurī records additional verses (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS. fol. 1177b-1178a):

*banī ‘āmirin lā tukhbirū l-nāsa fakhrakum:  
matā tanshurūhu fī l-kirāmi tukdhabū  
fa-innakumū lā tanṣībūna khaṭībakum:  
wa-lā tu‘īmūna l-zāda ḥatta tu‘annabū  
fa-ya’dhira [ ] qabla qad [ ] wa-asbalat:  
lakum khaylunā mā lam takūnū [ ]  
wa-naḥnu mana’nākum tamīman wa-antumū:  
sawālīu [ ]  
wa-naḥnu ḥabasnākum ḥifāzan ‘alaykumū:  
wa-kuntum unāsan qad raḥabtum [ ]  
fa-lammā khashīnā an taṣīrū li-ghayrinā:  
nafaynā l-‘ādī an tuḍamū wa-tuḥrabū*

40 Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara* MS. Br. Mus. fol. 187a.

41 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS. fol. 1177b, inf. (‘*alayhā* refers to Hawāzin).

42 Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, Ms. Br. Mus., fol. 187a.

43 See the explanation in *L.A.* s.v. ‘*awd*.

them every year. 'Adiyy grew old so that he had to be carried in a litter passing by the Bedouins at their water-springs while collecting the taxes.<sup>44</sup> Al-Fayrūzābādī mentioned different members of the Usayyid to whom the name *dhū l-ā'wād* may refer: *a.* Ghuwayy b. Salama, *b.* Rabī'a b. Mukhāshin, *c.* Salama, *b.* Ghuwayy who had the right to levy the tax from Muḍar, *d.* it refers to the grandfather of Aktham b. Ṣayfī (here Fayrūzābādī gives an account of his virtues),<sup>45</sup> Abū 'Ubayda's report from the *Kitāb al-tāj* is recorded by Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd.<sup>46</sup>

This group of Tamīm included the clan of al-Nabbāsh b. Zurāra in Mecca. The mother of Baghīḍ b. 'Āmir b. Hāshim, of the 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd al-Dār, who wrote the document of the boycott against the Banū Hāshim,<sup>47</sup> was a daughter of the Tamīmī al-Nabbāsh b. Zurāra of the Usayyid; he was an ally of the 'Abd al-Dār.<sup>48</sup> The plot of land which belonged to the clan of Murtafi' (*āl al-murtafi'*) was owned before that by the clan of Nabbāsh (*āl al-nabbāsh b. zurāra*).<sup>49</sup> The mountain of Sīnayba also belonged to al-Nabbāsh b. Zurāra.<sup>50</sup> A Meccan transmitter, Sulaym al-Makkī reports that people in the period of the Jāhiliyya used to say: "You are more powerful than the clan of al-Nabbāsh" (*la-anta a'azzu min āli l-nabbāsh*); he pointed with his hand to the houses around the mosque (of the *ḥaram* – K) and said: "These were their dwellings" (*hādhīhi kānat ribā'uhum*).<sup>51</sup>

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44 Mughultāy, *al-Zahr al-bāsim fī sīrat abī-l-qāsim*, MS. Leiden Or. 370, fol. 46a (.. *kāna lahu kharājūn 'alā muḍara yu'addūnahu kulla 'āmin* ..); and see other explanations *ibid.*, fol. 45b, inf. – 46a.

45 Al-Fayrūzābādī, *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, I, 330, s.v. 'awd.

46 Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1962, XV, 132.

47 See the comment of the editors: Ibn Hishām *op. cit.*, II, 16, note 2; and see Muṣ'ab, *Nasab quraysh*, ed. Lévi Provençal, Cairo 1953, p. 254.

48 Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab quraysh*, MS. Bodleiana, Marsh 384, fol. 88b; Muṣ'ab *Nasab*, p. 254.

49 Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, MS. fol. 456a, l. 2; cf. al-Azraqī, *Akhbār makka*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1275/1858, 465, l. 3 from bottom.

50 Al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 490.

51 Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, MS. fol. 456a, sup.

One of the members of this clan was Abū Hāla, the husband of Khadīja. There is no unanimity in the tradition as to his name, the name of his child (or children) born by Khadīja or the problem whether he was Khadīja's first or second husband. Ibn al-Kalbī records his name as Abū Hāla Hind b. al-Nabbāsh b. Zurāra b. Waqdān b. Habīb b. Salama b. Ghawayy b. Jurwa.<sup>52</sup> The exact pedigree of the Tamīmī husband of Khadīja is indeed important: he was a descendant of the powerful Usayyidī who succeeded in controlling the Muḍarī tribes which yielded to his authority and paid taxes to him. According to Ibn al-Kalbī Khadīja bore him a son, Hind; this son had in turn a son whom he named Hind; he was thus called Hind b. Hind b. Hind. Hind b. Hind attended the battle of Badr ("others say: *uhud*"); Hind b. Hind b. Hind fought on the side of Ibn al-Zubayr and was killed in battle. According to Ibn al-Kalbī Hind b. Hind b. Abī Hāla married Durra bint 'Utba b. Abī Lahab. It is noteworthy that the phrase is: *wa-gh̄tarabat durra bint 'utba b. abī lahab 'inda hind* ... Hind b. Hind b. Abī Hāla was still considered a *gharīb*, a stranger.<sup>53</sup> The descendants of Abū Hāla passed away, leaving no progeny.<sup>54</sup> Important details about the marriage of Khadīja are supplied by Ibn Sa'd: Khadīja was "mentioned" to Waraqa b. Naufal; but the plan of the marriage was cancelled and she married Abū Hāla Hind b. al-Nabbāsh. His father was of noble lineage: <sup>55</sup> He alighted in Mecca and joined the 'Abd

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52 Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, MS. Br. Mus. fol. 93b inf. - 94a sup.

53 Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, MS. Br. Mus., fol. 118a ult- 118b. l. 1.

54 Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, MS. Br. Mus. fol. 93b inf - 94a sup.

55 Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Beirut 1377/1958, VIII, 14; *wa-kāna abūhu dhā sharafin fī qaumihi*. (In text: *abūha* is an error). The report is on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī.

al-Dār b. Quşayy as ally. Ibn Sa'd adds a short comment: "Quraysh used to intermarry with their allies" (*wa-kānat qurayshun tuzawwiju ḥalīfahum*); this comment is indeed an important clue for the understanding of the position of the allies in Mecca. Khadija bore Abū Hāla two sons: Hind and Hāla. After Abū Hāla, she married 'Atīq b. Ābid b. 'Abdallah b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm. She bore him a daughter, Hind, who married Şayfī b. Umayya al-Makhzūmī and gave birth to a son named Muḥammad; the sons of Muḥammad were called "the sons of the pure woman", which, of course, referred to Khadija.<sup>56</sup> This family passed away without progeny. Khadija concluded her third marriage with the Prophet, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallah and bore him al-Qāsim, 'Abdallah (= al-Ṭāhir), al-Ṭayyib; the female children were: Zaynab, Ruqayya, Umm Kulthūm and Fāṭima.<sup>57</sup>

There are divergent, even contradictory, traditions concerning the name of Khadija's Tamīmī husband and the names and fate of their children.<sup>58</sup>

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56 Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, VIII, 15 sup.; and see about Muḥammad b. Şayfī b. Umayya; al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab quraysh*, MS. Bodley, fol. 149b (*wa-qaḍ inqaraḍa wuldu muḥammadi bni şayfiyyin*).

57 Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, VIII, 16.

58 See e.g. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 406 inf. (her first husband was Abū Hāla, the second: 'Atīq b. Ābid; 'Atīq divorced her; then she married Muḥammad b. 'Abdallah, the Prophet); Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, pp. 78 inf. – 79 sup.; Muş'ab, *Nasab*, pp. 21-23; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *op. cit.*, XV, 131-132 (the Prophet adopted the young boy (*ṣabannāhu*), the son of Abū Hāla); Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Tharwat 'Ukāsha, Cairo 1969, 132-133 (her first husband 'Atīq, the second Abū Hāla; he died in the period of the Jāhiliyya; Abū Hāla's son, Hind, was brought up by the Prophet); Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishiqāq*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1378/1958, p. 142 (al-Nabbāsh), 208 (Zurāra b. al-Nabbāsh); he died in Mecca in the period of the Jāhiliyya; Hind b. Hind died in Baṣra; some say that he left progeny; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, VI, 557-558, no. 9013 (see the different versions; see the version that his name was Mālik b. al-Nabbāsh); Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id*, Beirut 1967, VIII, 275 inf. (al-Nabbāsh and Mālik b. Zurāra); al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'riḫ al-khamīs*, Cairo 1283, I, 263-264 (the first husband 'Atīq; he died and she married Abū Hāla; she bore him a male

A peculiar tradition says that Khadīja bore Abū Hāla two sons: al-Hārith and Hind.<sup>59</sup> Al-Hārith was killed in Mecca during the first period of the Prophet's activity: when the Prophet started to preach openly in the mosque (scil. of the *haram* – K) at Mecca exhorting his listeners to believe in the one true God and was attacked by the unbelievers. Alarmed, Al-Hārith hurried to the mosque and was killed in a scuffle with the unbelievers at the Ka'ba.<sup>60</sup> There is a tradition mentioning another son of Abū Hāla named al-Zubayr, but there is no explicit statement that his mother was Khadīja.<sup>61</sup> Ibn Ḥajar records the name of a transmitter of *ḥadīth* who was a descendant of Abū Hāla: Yazīd b. 'Amr Abū 'Abdallah al-Tamīmī.<sup>62</sup>

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offspring and a female one; some traditions say that the first husband was Abū Hāla, the second 'Atīq; Mu'arrij al-Sadūsī, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Ibn al-Jauzī, *al-Wafā bi-ahwāli l-muṣṭafā*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wāhid, Cairo 1386/1966, p. 145 (the marriage of Khadīja with Warāqa was cancelled. She married Abū Hāla (Hind) (or Mālik) and bore him two sons: Hind and Hāla. She married afterwards 'Atīq b. 'Ā'idh and bore him a girl named Hind. Then she married the Prophet and bore him all his children, except Ibrāhīm); 'Alī Khān al-Madanī al-Shīrāzī al-Ḥusaynī, *al-Darajāt al-rafī'a fī ṭabaqā'i l-shī'a*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-'ulūm, Najaf 1381/1962, pp. 407, 411 ult. (the name of Abū Hāla: Nammāsh, or Nabbāsh, or Mālik b. Zurāra b. Nabbāsh, or Zurāra b. al-Nabbāsh or Nabbāsh b. Zurāra); al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhibi l-laduniyya*, Cairo 1325, I, 199 (Abū Hāla's name: Mālik b. Zurāra, or Hind, or al-Nabbāsh; Khadīja bore him two male children: Hind and Hāla. After the death of Abū Hāla, Khadīja married 'Atīq b. Ābid and bore him a daughter, Hind; some say: she bore him a son, Hind); al-Mauṣilī, *Ghāyat al-was'īl ilā marīfati l-awā'il*, MS., Cambridge Qq 33(10) fol. 37a, inf. – 37b sup.

59 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS. fol. 1069b.

60 Mughultāy, *op. cit.*, MS. Leiden, Or. 370, fol. 142b, ult.; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, I, 605; al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-thamīn*, I, 228 penult.; al-Mauṣilī, *Ghāyat al-was'īl*, MS. fol. 23a, inf.

61 Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, II, 558, no. 2792.

62 Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, Hyderabad 1327, XII, 148, no. 705 (.. *min wuldi abī hālata l-nabbāshi bni zurārata*).

To the clan of the Banū Nabbāsh belonged the poet al-A'shā b. al-Nabbāsh, who eulogized the unbelievers killed at Badr. He was, like his relatives, an ally of the Banū Naufal of the 'Abd al-Dār.<sup>63</sup> and an influential person in Mecca involved in its internal struggles.

The story of the Usayyidī group in Mecca is a convincing example of the skillful policy of the leaders of the Meccan body politic; the Usayyidī newcomers were received in a friendly manner, and due to their experience and energy they managed to acquire property, settle in the centre of Mecca and grow wealthy and influential. Their marriages with their allies in Mecca contributed to a considerable degree to their feeling of identity with their new relatives, and with the interests of Mecca and to their loyalty to their Meccan allies.

The story of Khabbāb b. al-Aratt is not in fact that of an ally; the circumstances of his life and career, and his attitude to the family to which he was attached, resemble however to a great extent the situation of the *ḥulafā'*, the allies in Mecca. Khabbāb was a man of obscure origin. His father was sold in Mecca as a slave to a Khuzā'ī family who, themselves, were allies of the Banū Zuhra. Khabbāb's profession and that of his mother were base and contemptible: she was a professional circumciser, he was a blacksmith. According to a tradition the mother of Khabbāb married a Khuzā'ī, an ally of Zuhra and bore him Sibā'; Khabbāb was thus a half-brother of Sibā', whose client he was. This may have granted him a special status in the family of his master and he could persuade them to join the Zuhri family of 'Auf b. 'Abd Auf as allies.<sup>64</sup> Khabbāb was one of the earliest converts to Islam and as one of the *ḍu'afā'* was exposed to persecution and torture at the hands of the unbelievers; the Prophet used to visit him

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63 See on him e.g. Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, pp. 403-404; al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Jamhara*, MS. fol. 185b; al-Ṭayālīsī, *Kitāb al-mukāthara 'inda l-mudhākara*, ed. al-Tanjī, Ankara 1956, pp. 22-24; al-Āmidī, *al-Mu'talif wa-l-mukhtalif*, ed. 'Abd al-Sattār Farrāj, Cairo 1381/1961, p. 21; *al-A'shā wa-l-a'shaun al-ākharūn*, *al-Ṣubḥ al-munīr fī sh'ir abī baṣīr*, ed. R. Geyer, London 1928, pp. 272-274 (and see "Anmerkungen", pp. 268-270); Ibn Durayd, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-143.

64 See e.g. Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, pp. 294-295.

in the midst of his troubles and showed him sympathy.<sup>65</sup> In Islam he is highly respected and was one of the eminent Companions, taking part in all the battles against the unbelievers. 'Uthmān granted him land in Iraq and he became a wealthy man. He, nevertheless, joined 'Alī and fought in the battle of Šiffin on the side of 'Alī. Some Šhī'ī sources claim that he signed the document of arbitration at Šiffin. He died in 37 AH and 'Alī is said to have prayed over his grave.<sup>66</sup>

The story of Khabbāb is highly instructive, being the case of an individual of low class origins who gradually rose from the position of a slave to that of a client (*maulā*), subsequently becoming an ally (*halīf*). He was presumably able to attain this position because his mother was married to one of her masters. But Khabbāb also endured hardship and suffering for the openness and courage with which he expressed his genuine opinions and beliefs. Islam granted him full rights in the community and a position of equal footing with all the believers.

An eminent person in Mecca in the period of the Prophet was al-Akhnas b. Shariq al-Thaqafī, an ally of the Banū Zuhra. His pedigree is given by Ibn al-Kalbī as follows: Ubayy b. Shariq b. 'Amr b. Wahb b. 'Ilāj, an ally of the Banū Zuhra. He was nicknamed "al-Akhnas" because he diverted the Banū Zuhra from fighting on the Day of Badr.<sup>67</sup> Al-Akhnas was a rich man: his clan owned a court (*dār*, *dār al-akhnas*) in the lane of the perfumers (*zuqāq al-'attārīn*); they possessed as well a patch of land (*haqq*) in the "night market" (*sūq al-layl*), which they bought from the 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy.<sup>68</sup> In the old days, says al-Fākihī, Abyssinians stayed in the mountain where the gorge of the clan of al-Akhnas was located.<sup>69</sup> The mountain al-Hirā (where the

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65 Al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-thamīn*, IV, 301.

66 See EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khabbāb b. al-Aratt; and see al-Shiblī, *Maḥāsīn al-wasā'il ilā mārīfati al-awā'il*, MS. British Library, Or. 1530, fols. 108b-109a; Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr*, ed. 'Abdallah Mahmūd Shaḥātah, Cairo 1969, I, 105 inf.; Abū l-'Arab, *Kitāb al-miḥān*, MS. Cambridge Qq 235(8), fols. 39b-40b (*dhikru qatli 'abdi llāhi bni khabbābi bni l-aratti wa-l-hārithi bni murrah*).

67 Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, MS. Br. Mus., fol. 155a.

68 Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, MS. fol. 457a.

Prophet received his revelation – K) is located by this gorge. Through this gorge the Prophet entered Mecca on the Day of the Conquest of Mecca. Najda, the Khārijite alighted in this gorge.<sup>70</sup> Al-Akhnas' relations with Quraysh were very close: his mother was Rayṭa bint 'Abdallah b. Abī Qays al-Qurashī, from the Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy.<sup>71</sup> Al-Akhnas married Khālida, the daughter of the noble Abū l-'Āṣī.<sup>72</sup> His son, Sa'īd, married Ṣakhra, the daughter of Abū Sufyān.<sup>73</sup> His sister, Thurayya, was the wife of Abū Dhi'b Hishām b. Shu'ba of the Abū Qays b. 'Abd Wudd of Quraysh.<sup>74</sup> Descendants of al-Akhnas continued to intermarry with Quraysh.<sup>75</sup> Al-Akhnas was an implacable opponent of the Prophet. Some patently tendentious traditions state that he did not embrace Islam at all.<sup>76</sup> Other traditions report that he embraced Islam and was one of the *mu'allafa qulūbuhum*, i. e. those whose sympathy for Islam was gained by gifts granted them by the Prophet.<sup>77</sup> A harmonizing report assumes that he embraced Islam and participated in the battle of Ḥunayn. He probably apostatized later and then converted again to Islam.<sup>78</sup>

We have, in fact, some information about the activities of al-Akhnas against the Prophet. A report recorded by al-Balādhurī says that al-Akhnas was a member of the Qurashī delegation which came

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69 Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, MS. fol. 500b.

70 Al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 492.

71 See Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, I, 102.

72 Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 101; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. M. Schloessinger, IV A, 169.

73 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 105; Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, VIII, 240.

74 Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 423.

75 See e.g. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, MS. Br. Mus. fol. 117a.

76 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS. fol. 1226a; al-Qurtubī, *Tafsīr*, (= *al-Jāmi' li-ahkāmī l-qu'ān*), Cairo 1387/1967, III, 15, l. 1.

77 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 48.

78 Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, I, 38-39.

to Abū Ṭālib asking him to halt the Prophet's missionary activity; al-Akhnas was the speaker of the delegation.<sup>79</sup> Al-Akhnas was involved in another incident: he watched, in the company of unbelievers, how a group of believers went out to the gorge of Abū Dubb in Mecca in order to perform there the ritual ablution (*wuḍū'*) and prayer (evidently in the first period of Islam, when believers had to conceal their ritual practices – K). The unbelievers attacked and beat them. Ibn Sa'd, one of the believers, seized a camel's jaw and beat them with it until he wounded one of the unbelievers, who were routed (*inkasara l-mushrikūn*) and left the place.<sup>80</sup> The relations in this early period preceding the *hijra* of the Prophet were probably not explicitly hostile: when the Prophet returned from his journey to al-Ṭā'if he sent to al-Akhnas asking for his protection (*jiwār*) in order to enter Mecca; al-Akhnas, however, could not respond; he argued that being himself an ally (*ḥalīf*) he was not authorized to grant protection.<sup>81</sup> The inferior status of the ally (*ḥalīf*) is mentioned only twice: in the case of Abū Ihāb with the gazelle and here in the case of the protection withheld from the Prophet. It is noteworthy that, according to a tradition, al-Akhnas granted protection to Abū Sabra b. Abī Ruhm.<sup>82</sup>

A decision made by al-Akhnas on the eve of the Day of Badr happened to be a turning point in the history of the Muslim community: it was a main contributing factor to the Muslim victory on the Day of Badr. Al-Akhnas headed a troop of 300 Zuhri warriors. In the consultations of the Qurashī leaders al-Akhnas opposed the activist

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79 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 231.

80 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 116; on Shī'b Abī Dubb see l-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā sta'jam*, ed. Muṣṭafā l-Saqqā, Cairo 1364/1945, p. 540.

81 Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, II, 20; al-Ṭabarsī, *l'lām al-warā bi-al'lām al-hudā*, ed. 'Ali Akbar al-Ghaffārī, Tehran 1379, p. 65; Ibn Junghul, *Tārīkh*, MS. British Library, Or. 5912, I, 203a: the messenger of the Prophet to al-Akhnas was 'Abdallah b. Urayqit.

82 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 228.

attitude of some leaders (like Abū Jahl), proposed to refrain from any military action against the Prophet and his forces and to return to Mecca. He explained to the Zuhri warriors that Muḥammad was their nephew (*ibn ukhu*), and that if he was a prophet they should not kill him; if, on the other hand, he was an impostor, they, of all people, should definitely refrain from fighting him.<sup>83</sup> According to another tradition al-Akhnas argued that, as the caravan had already reached its destination safely, the Meccan force should return to Mecca.<sup>84</sup> The Zuhri troop obeyed al-Akhnas and returned to Mecca.<sup>85</sup> The Qurashī force was thus reduced from 1000 to 700 and its striking force was seriously impaired. The retreat of the Zuhri troop was an important event, if not the decisive factor, in the victory of the Muslim forces and the defeat of Quraysh.<sup>86</sup> The victory at Badr heralded the triumph of Islam.

After the battle of Badr, al-Akhnas is said to have visited the court of the Prophet in Medina, engaged him in conversation, feigning willingness to embrace Islam. He assured the Prophet of his love for him and expressed his allegiance to the new faith. Unaware of the real nature of his thoughts and feelings, the Prophet used to honour him and let him sit in council close to him. It was in connection with this that the verses of Sūra II were revealed (*al-baqara*) 204–205: *wa-min al-nāsi man yu'jibuka qauluhu* ... "and some men there are whose saying upon the present world pleases thee and such a one calls on God to witness what is in his heart, yet he is most stubborn in altercation" (translation: Arberry).<sup>87</sup> Al-Akhnas afterwards went out,

83 Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, I, 103.

84 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 291; and see Abū l-Faraj, *Aghānī*, Beirut, 1390/1970, IV, 22 reprint; al-Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–45.

85 See e.g. al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 492; Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, II, 271; al-Ṭabarī, *I'lām al-warā*, p. 85; Ibn Hajar, *al-Iṣāba*, I, 38–39; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS. fol. 1226a; Ibn-Athīr, *Uṣd*, I, 48; Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, MS. I, fol. 146a–b and I, 161 (printed edition).

86 The Zuhra and the 'Adiyy were the only Qurashī divisions which did not join the Qurashī force; see al-Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

87 See e.g. Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, I, 102; al-Qurtubī, *Tafsīr*, II, 14 inf.; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Maḥmūd and Aḥmad Shākir, Cairo n.d. IV, 229–230, no. 3961.

burnt some crops and killed some donkeys.<sup>88</sup> Four verses of Sūra LXVIII (*Sūrat al-qalam*) 10–13: *wa-lā tuṭī' kulla ḥallāfin mahīn, hammāzin mashshā'in bi-namīm ...* "and obey thou not every man swearer, backbiter, going about with slander, hinderer of good, guilty aggressor ..." are also said to refer to al-Akhnas.<sup>89</sup> Some commentators record traditions saying that the words *humaza lumaza* in Sura CIV, 1 (*Sūrat al-humaza*), "backbiter, slanderer" refer to al-Akhnas.<sup>90</sup> That these interpretations seem to have been widely circulated can be inferred from the following anecdote: al-Kalbī was asked in Mecca about the interpretation of Sūra II, 204 (quoted above) and replied that the person intended in the verse was al-Akhnas. One of those present in the council (*majlis*), a descendant of al-Akhnas, requested al-Kalbī to desist from circulating these interpretations in Mecca.<sup>91</sup>

Al-Akhnas' son Abū l-Ḥakam fought in the battles against the Prophet. He (or his father) is said to have killed Unays b. Qatāda at Uhud.<sup>92</sup> Another tradition relates that Abū l-Ḥakam b. al-Akhnas killed 'Abdallah b. Jahsh.<sup>93</sup>

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88 See e.g. al-Wāhidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, Cairo 1388/1968, p. 39; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, IV, 229; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, I, 238; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, Beirut 1385/1966, I, 436.

89 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, VII, 84 inf.; al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, XVIII, 235; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, VI, 251 inf. 252 (According to other traditions the verses referred to al-Ḥakam, the father of Marwān, or to al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yaghūth); Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, I, 386; al-Naysābūrī, *Gharā'ib al-qur'ān wa-raghā'ib al-furqān*, Cairo 1390/1970, XXIX, 21 l.4 from bottom; al-Ṭabarsī, *Majma' al-bayān fī tafsīri l-qur'ān*, Beirut 1380/1961, XXIX, 27 (referred to al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, or to al-Akhnas b. Sharīq, or to al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yaghūth).

90 Al-Ṭabarsī, *Majma' al-bayān*, XXX, 230 inf. (refers to al-Akhnas, or to al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra); al-Samarqandī, *Tafsīr*, MS. Chester Beatty 3668, II, 344b, ll. 1–3 (al-Akhnas or al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra); al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, XX, 83 sup.; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, VI, 392.

91 Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 238.

92 Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī, *al-Istibṣār fī nasabi l-ṣaḥāba min al-anṣār*, ed. 'Alī Nuwayhid, Beirut 1391/1971, p. 294, ll. 1–2; al-Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, p. 301 (killed by Abū l-Ḥakam); Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 113, no. 91 (killed by al-Akhnas).

93 Anonymous, *al-Ta'rīkh al-muḥkam fī man intasaba ilā l-nabiyyi ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam*, MS. Br. Mus. Or. 8653, fol. 214a; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, IV, 37, no. 4586.

For years al-Akhnas remained hostile to the Prophet. He attended the execution of Khubayb in Mecca<sup>94</sup> and demanded that the Prophet extradite Abū Baṣīr al-Thaqafī, who was a *maulā* of Banū Zuhra.<sup>95</sup> Al-Akhnas died, as a Muslim of course, during the caliphate of 'Uthmān.<sup>96</sup>

The son of al-Akhnas, al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas, was a sincere and loyal adherent of 'Uthmān and lost his life defending 'Uthmān from the attacks of his enemies. The killer, at the time unaware of his victim's identity, on being informed that it was al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas, recalled a dream in which he had seen vessels with boiling water prepared for the man who would kill al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas.<sup>97</sup> After al-Mughīra's death, a man of the Banū Zuhra reported to Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydullah: "Al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas has been killed". Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydullah remarked: "The *sayyid* of the allies of Quraysh has been killed".<sup>98</sup>

One of the grandsons of al-Mughīra, al-Mughīra b. Asad b. Mughīra b. al-Akhnas b. Sharīq married 'Ā'isha bint 'Abdallah b.

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94 Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, III, 188; al-Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, p. 361; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 238.

95 Ibn Ḥazm, *Jawāmi' al-sīra*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, Cairo n.d., p. 210; Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, III, 337; al-Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, p. 624; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 211; on Abū Baṣīr see Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, IV, 433, no. 5401.

96 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 48.

97 See e.g. Anonymous, *al-Ta'rikh al-muḥkam*, fol. 62a-b; Abū l-'Arab, *Kitāb al-miḥan*, MS. fol. 18a-b; Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā l-Māliqī, *al-Tamhīd wa-l-bayān fī maqāli l-shahīdi 'uhmān*, ed. Maḥmūd Yūsuf Zāyid, Beirut 1964, pp. 134, 135 (and see index; the report on p. 133 is transmitted by the grandson of al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas); and see on him Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, I, 403, III, 66; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 405-406; al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-thamīn*, VIII, 252-253, no. 2498 (another version of the dream); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 76, 79 (ed. S.D. Goitein, Jerusalem 1936); Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 1444; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, VI, 196-197.

98 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 1444.

'Umar.<sup>99</sup> His grandson, Ya'qūb b. 'Utba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas b. Sharīq was a trustworthy *muhaddith*; he was honest and noble, and governors used to send him as tax-collector.<sup>100</sup>

There is no need here to comment at length on the story of al-Akhnas b. Sharīq. Suffice it to say that it reveals another aspect of Meccan policy towards strangers desirous of joining one of the Meccan clans: newcomers were allowed freedom of action, and opportunities were given them to attain the highest position of leadership. So it came about that an ally made a decision that was to prove momentous to the subsequent history of the Islamic community: it was the Thaqafī *ḥalīf* al-Akhnas b. Sharīq who issued the order of retreat to the Zuhri troop and made the Muslim victory at Badr possible.

The list of the arbiters of Quraysh includes the name of a Thaqafite ally of the Banū Zuhra: al-'Alā' b. Jāriya (or Hāritha) b. Sumayr b. 'Abdallah b. Abī Salama b. 'Abd al-'Uzza b. Ghiyara al-Thaqafī, *ḥalīf* (ally) of the Banū Zuhra.<sup>101</sup> It was, of course, unusual for a *ḥalīf* to gain the position of an arbiter on behalf of a tribal division. He must have been a very respected member of the Meccan community. It is indicative of the Prophet's skill in management that he included al-'Alā' in the group of the *mu'allafa qulūbuhum*, eminent unbelievers whose sympathy for Islam was won by gifts.<sup>102</sup>

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99 Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 357.

100 Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al tahdhīb*, XI, 392, no. 755; al-Bukhārī, *al-Ta'rikh al-kaḥbīr*, VIII, 389, no. 3434.

101 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 133.

102 Ibn Ḥazm, *Jawāmi' al-sīra*, p. 246; al-Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, p. 946; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, p. 342; Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, II, 153, l. 1; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, p. 1085, no. 1840; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, III, 90; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd*, IV, 7; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, V, 279, no. 6807; al-Balādhurī, *Anṣāb*, MS. fol. 1226b; Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, IV, 136; Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, MS. I, 155a; al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-gharām*, II, 108.

A peculiar case of tribal collaboration between Quraysh and Sulaym is seen in the story of Abū l-A'war al-Sulamī, the ally of Abū Sufyān. His family had a close relationship with Quraysh: his mother and his grandmother were from Quraysh (the mother from Sahn, the grandmother from 'Abd Shams).<sup>103</sup> His father, Sufyān b. 'Abd Shams, had been an ally of Ḥarb b. Umayya and fought with Quraysh against the Prophet. It was he who killed the father of Djabir b. 'Abdallah and 'Abbās b. 'Ubāda on the Day of Uḥud.<sup>104</sup> In the battle of the Ditch Sufyān b. 'Abd Shams headed a troop of 700 warriors of Sulaym fighting on the side of Quraysh against the force of the Prophet.<sup>105</sup> It is noteworthy that the Sulamī troop which joined the Prophet in the conquest of Mecca also numbered 700 (or 1000) warriors. It was probably this same group of warriors that went over to their former enemy.<sup>106</sup>

The son, Abū l-A'war, 'Amr b. Sufyān, was a leading figure in Mecca. He took part in a delegation of distinguished Meccans who came to Medina in order to persuade the Prophet that he should acknowledge the power of the idols.<sup>107</sup> He seems to have remained hostile towards the Prophet for a very long time; thus the biographical compilations of the Companions state that he cannot be counted among the Companions.<sup>108</sup> However, he played an important role in the reign of Mu'āwiya.<sup>109</sup> and the latter's plan to appoint him as governor of Egypt only failed on account of a stratagem employed by 'Amr b. al-'Ās.<sup>110</sup>

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103 See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, IV, 641, no. 5855.

104 See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 331, 333; al-Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, pp. 258, 266, 302, 306.

105 Al-Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

106 See Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, IV, 63; al-Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, 812 inf.- 813.

107 See e.g. al-Nasafī, *Tafsīr al-qu'ān*, Cairo n.d., III, 292; and see *JESHO*, XXIV, 258-259, ad notes 76-77.

108 See e.g. *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-A'war (Lammens); and see Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, 641, no. 5855; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd*, V, 138.

109 See e.g. Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at siffīn*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Ḥārūn, Cairo 1383, index.

110 See 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hudhayl, *'Ayn al-adab wa-l-siyāsa wa-zayn al-ḥasab wa-l-riyāsa*, Cairo 1388/1969, pp. 149-150.

Some of the allies were among the earliest converts to Islam. One of them was a Tamīmī, Saʿīd b. ʿAmr, an ally of the Banū Sahl of Quraysh; his half-brother on his mother's side was Tamīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Sahmī, who was among the first believers, and is listed among the distinguished group of Muslims who emigrated to Abyssinia (*kāna min muhājirati l-ḥabashati l-hijrata l-thāniya*); he is said to have been killed in the battle of al-Ajnadayn.<sup>111</sup>

The career of another *ḥalīf*, the Yarbūʿī Tamīmīte Wāqid b. ʿAbdallah, is also noteworthy. He was sold as a slave to Khaṭṭāb b. Nufayl of the ʿAdiyy, who adopted him. He was called Wāqid b. al-Khaṭṭāb and became an ally of the Banū ʿAdiyy. Later he changed his name to Wāqid b. ʿAbdallah according to the injunction of Sūra XXXIII, 6: *Udʿūhum li-ābāʾihim, huwa aqsaṭu ʿinda llāhi . . .* "Call them by the names of their fathers. That is more equitable in the sight of God". In the first fraternization (*muʾākhāt makka*) he was paired with Bishr b. al-Barāʿ.<sup>112</sup> He migrated to Medina and was sent by the Prophet to Nakhla with a group of warriors. In the attack of the Muslim group on the caravan of Quraysh, Wāqid killed ʿAmr b. al-Ḥaḍramī. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb composed two verses about this event. It has been pointed out that Wāqid was the first believer to kill an unbeliever, and was a highly respected person; ʿAbdallah b. ʿUmar named one of his sons Wāqid after Wāqid b. ʿAbdallah al-Tamīmī.<sup>113</sup> ʿUmar included him in the pay-roll (*farāḍa lahu*) of his family.<sup>114</sup> Wāqid died during the caliphate of ʿUmar.<sup>115</sup>

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111 Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, IV, 197; Muṣʿab, *Nasab*, p. 401, ll. 11-13; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 626, no. 990; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, III, 114, no. 3281.

112 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 73 inf.

113 Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, VI, 595 inf.

114 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, p. 314.

115 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS. fol. 1000a; and see about him Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *op. cit.* XV, 130; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 10, IV, 159.

The biography of the Tamīmī Ya'lā b. Umayya (or: Ya'lā b. Munya) is the story of the meteoric rise to eminence of an ally in Mecca. He was an ally of the Banū Naufal b. 'Abd Manāf; he converted to Islam, emigrated to Medina and fought in the battles of Ḥunayn, al-Ṭā'if and Tabūk. His sister, Nafisa bint Munya, who was the matchmaker between Khadīja and the Prophet, converted early to Islam.<sup>116</sup> Ya'lā's brother, Salama b. Umayya, fought on the Prophet's side in the expedition of Tabūk.<sup>117</sup> After the death of the Prophet he was appointed by Abū Bakr governor of Ḥulwān. 'Umar appointed him governor of some districts of the Yemen, but deposed him when he appropriated to himself land property (*ḥamā li-nafsihi ḥiman*). He was, nevertheless, highly regarded by 'Uthmān, and, on hearing of the latter's assassination, he hurried to Medina and urged that the murder of 'Uthman be avenged. Promising to equip any warrior willing to go out and avenge the murder, he actually equipped 70 warriors of Quraysh and bought the camel 'Askar for 'Ā'isha. He granted al-Zubayr 400,000 (*dirhams* - K) to implement the necessary preparations for the expedition. He married two distinguished Qurashī women: the daughter of al-Zubayr and the daughter of Abū Lahab. He died as a respected and wealthy man, a Meccan owning a piece of land (*khiṭṭa*) in Mecca.<sup>118</sup>

Two men of the Usayyidī group of Tamīm deserve to be mentioned here. Though there is no indication that they ever came to Mecca, they were certainly converts from the early Medinan period. Ḥanzala b. al-Rabī' al-Kātib and his brother Rabāḥ b. al-Rabī' rose speedily to a high position in the Muslim community and played an important role in the events of that period. Ḥanzala is said to have

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116 See e.g. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 98; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isāba*, VIII, 143, no. 11816 (Nafisa bint Umayya).

117 Al-Fasawī, *al-Māriḥa wa-l-tārīkh*, I, 337.

118 See e.g. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *op. cit.*, pp. 1585-1587, no. 2815; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd*, V, 128-129; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, ed. As'ad Talas, III, 66-67 no. 245; Ibn Ḥajar, *Isāba*, VI, 685, no. 9365; Idem, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, XI, 399, no. 772; al-Fāsi, *al-'Iqd al-thamīn*, VII, 478-480, no. 2753; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, index; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS. fol. 990-991a.

been the secretary of the Prophet, wrote the revelation and was entrusted with the Prophet's seal (*wa-kāna ma'ahu khātam al-nabiyyi*). The Prophet sent him as a spy to al-Ṭā'if and recommended him highly for his qualities of leadership. (*i'tammū bi-mithli hādihā wa-ashbāhihi*). According to Ibn al-Kalbī, Tamīm, Asad Ghatafān and Hawāzin fought under his banner on the Day of al-Qādisiyya.<sup>119</sup> He married a woman from a very noble family: a daughter of Naufal b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.<sup>120</sup> He took part in the battles of the Conquest of Islam and settled in Kūfa; but as 'Uthmān was generally spoken of in abusive terms there, Ḥanzala left the city and settled in Qarqisiyya. He used to visit the court of Mu'āwiya, who had a high opinion of him. He died during the latter's reign. Tamīm claim that the *jinn* bewailed his death. Al-Balādhurī, who records this information, however, notes that some people believed him to be of obscure provenance (*kāna da'iyyan*).<sup>121</sup>

His brother Rabāḥ (or Riyāḥ) suggested to the Prophet to fix a special day in the week for the Muslim community; they would have their day like the Jews and the Christians. The *sūrat al-jumu'a* was then revealed and Friday was established as the Day of the Muslim community.<sup>122</sup>

## II

Some additional details about the alliances in Mecca and the circumstances in which they were concluded may widen our understanding of general conditions in Mecca and the relations existing between allies and the clans which accepted them. In some cases

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119 Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, MS. Br. Mus., fol. 93b.

120 Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, MS. Br. Mus., fol. 118a.

121 See about him: al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS. fol. 1069b; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 379, no. 548; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, II, 134-135, nos. 1861-1862; Idem, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, III, 60, no. 109; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd*, II, 58; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Akram Diyā' I-'Umarī, Baghdād 1387/1967, pp. 43, 129; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Badrān, Beirut 1399/1979, V, 13-15.

122 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS. fol. 1069b; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd*, II, 160-161; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 486, no. 744.

Quraysh welcomed newcomers who applied for allied status. Such was the case of Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb of the Asad b. Khuzayma. In consequence of a blood feud between Asad and Khuzā'a a division of Asad requested the aid of Kināna; when these refused, they turned to the Ghaṭafān. Their request seems, however, to have been rejected. Ri'āb b. Ya'mur, the father of Jaḥsh, came to Mecca and applied for allied status with Quraysh. He was invited by Qurashī Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā to join them as ally and he gladly joined them as *ḥalīf*. Later, however, people remarked that the Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā were a wretched branch of Quraysh; Ri'āb consequently cancelled the alliance and concluded one with the 'Abd Manāf. When the Banū Jaḥsh made their *hijra* to Medina, Abū Sufyān sold their houses and appropriated for himself the proceeds of the transaction. One of the sons of Jaḥsh complained of this iniquity, stressing that "others" (i.e. other branches of Quraysh - K) wanted to affiliate them as allies, but the Banū Jaḥsh preferred an alliance with Abū Sufyān. 'Abd al-Malik inquired who it was who had offered the Banū Jaḥsh the alliance and 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr said that his clan had done so, but that Banū Jaḥsh had preferred to conclude an alliance with Abū Sufyān.<sup>123</sup> The verses indicating the purpose of the alliance are significant:

*wa-la-qad da'ānī ghayrukum fa-abaytuhuc  
wa-khabā'tukum li-nawā'ibi l-dahri.*

The place and time in which the alliance was concluded are also given:

*wa-'aqadtu ḥablī fī ḥibālikum:  
'inda l-jimāri 'ashiyyata l-naḥri.*

The attitude towards the Umayyads is expressed in warm words:

*a-banī umayyata kayfa uzlamu fīkumuc  
wa-anā bnukum wa-ḥalīfukum fī l-'usri.<sup>124</sup>*

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123 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, p. 286-288.

124 See the story and the verses in al-Fākihī, *Ta'rīkh*, fol. 452a-b (with many variants).

The close ties existing between the Qurashites and their allies are evident from the circumstance that Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb married the daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. She bore him three sons and two daughters: Zaynab bint Jaḥsh married the Prophet (before that she had been the wife of Zayd b. Hāritha); Ḥamna bint Jaḥsh married Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydullah.<sup>125</sup> Zaynab (her former name was Barra) was distinguished by special verses revealed about her in the Qur'ān.<sup>126</sup> The esteem in which these Asadī companions of the Prophet were held is reflected by the fact that their names were added to the list of the Qurashī Companions.<sup>127</sup>

A vivid description of the atmosphere in which an alliance was concluded is given in the story of Khālid b. al-Hārith of Kinānā, the father of Qārīz. The poet Khālid, a congenial and eloquent person, came to Mecca. Every clan desired to have him as an ally and many people offered him hospitality (*an yunzilahu*) and the hands of their daughters in marriage. Khālid asked to be given some time, went up to Hīrā' in order to worship God (*yata'abbadu*) and to pray for guidance in making his decision. After 3 days he came down and decided to conclude an alliance with the first person he met, who turned out to be 'Auf b. 'Abd al-Hārith of Zuhra b. Kilāb. He tied his garment to that of 'Auf, took his hand, and, both of them approached the *ḥaram*; they stood by the House and affirmed their alliance.<sup>128</sup>

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125 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 88; Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 19, ll. 3-10.

126 See e.g. Muḥibb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abdallah al-Ṭabarī, *al-Simṭ al-thamīn fī manāqib ummahāi l-mu'minīn*, Cairo n.d., pp. 87-92; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, pp. 85-88.

127 See Anonymous, *al-Ta'rīkh al-muḥkam*, MS. Br.Mus. 8653, fol. 213a: *hādḥā ākhiru mā aradnāhu min nasabi aṣḥābi rasūli llāhi (ṣ) wa-akḥbārihim; wa-adhkuru mā'ahum akḥbāra l-ṣaḥābati min banī asadi bni khuzaymata li-anna minhum banī jaḥshin, banī 'ammati l-nabiyyi (ṣ) wa-hum mina l-sābiqīna l-auwalīna wa-l-muḥājirīna l-hijratayn, wa-hum ḥulafā' banī 'abd shams ...*; and see the list *ibid.*, fols. 213a-222a; and see the list of the Asadī Companions in Albert Dietrich, 'Abdalmu'min b. Xalaf ad-Dimyā'īnin bir Muḥācirin Listesi, *Şarkiyat Mecmuasi*, III, 1959, pp. 136-137.

128 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, p. 288.

The aim of the alliance of al-Ghaydāq b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib with the Sulamī Shaybān was quite different. When al-Ghaydāq was denied his share in his father's heritage, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, by his brothers and was not able to secure the aid of his half-brother, 'Auf b. 'Abd 'Auf of the Zuhra, he applied for help to Shaybān of Sulaym, who had married Umm Ḥakīm, the daughter of al-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Al-Ghaydāq's half-brother helped to conclude the alliance. By means of this alliance al-Ghaydāq succeeded in compelling his brothers to grant him his lawful share of the heritage.<sup>129</sup>

The friendly relations obtaining between the sons of Shaybān and the family of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib seem to have continued: Arwā, the daughter of Rabī'a b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib married 'Abbād b. Shaybān.<sup>130</sup> She bore him two daughters (in the period of Islam); one of these daughters married Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and bore him a son, Ibrāhīm. Arwā's mother was Umm al-Ḥakam (not: Umm Ḥakīm as in *Munammaq*) the daughter of al-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.<sup>131</sup>

In some cases an alliance was concluded with two persons; such was the case of Mirdās al-Sulamī, who concluded the alliance with both Ḥarb b. Umayya and Abū l-'Āṣ b. Umayya; it later broke down.<sup>132</sup>

In others the effects of the alliance came to fruition after many years: 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sayḥān was the ally of the 'Abd Manāf. Mu'āwiya ordered his governor in Medina, Marwān, to refrain from punishing 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sayḥān for drinking an intoxicating beverage made of raisins (or dates).<sup>133</sup>

In some cases alliances were merely fictitious. Such was the case of a Persian slave who was set free in Mecca and established his abode there. He was a successful carpenter, sired pretty daughters and

129 See Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, p. 289; on al-Ghaydāq see Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 18, ll. 11-12; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 71, 90.

130 See Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, p. 289, ult.

131 Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, MS. Br. Mus. fol. 116b, inf.

132 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, p. 330.

133 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. M. Schloessinger, Jerusalem 1971, IVA, pp. 81, 112-114; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, p. 305.

gifted sons, and joined Ḥarb b. Umayya as ally.<sup>134</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb rightly remarks that it was in fact not an alliance at all: (*wa-qad dakhala fī ahlāfi qurayshin man laysa lahum bi-halīfin minhum al-ḥaḍārīma*...).<sup>135</sup> That the economic factor had played a decisive role in acceptance of the new ally by Ibn Umayya emerges quite clearly from the outline of al-Ḥaḍramī's career: *wa-nazala makkata wa-kathura māluhu wa-walada nisā'an ḥisānan wa-rijālan fa-anjabahum, fa-tazawwaja banūhu ḥaythu aḥabbū, wa-hum yaddā'una ḥilfa ḥarbi bni umayyata, wa-laysa lahum ḥilfun min aḥadin min qurayshin*.<sup>136</sup> Al-Ḥaḍramī married Umm Talḥa, the daughter of Umm Ḥakīm bint 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Their son, 'Amr b. al-Ḥaḍramī, was killed on the Day of Nakhla.<sup>137</sup>

Ibn Ḥabīb records many cases of alliances which were in fact never formally concluded, but subsequently acquired outward recognition when the daughters of Meccan noblemen married newcomers, who were usually of inferior status. An apparent case of this kind is that of the Byzantine slave Salama b. al-Azraq. His son, Salama "entered" into an alliance with the 'Abd Shams, marrying Āmina, the sister of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.<sup>138</sup>

The clan of 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī was considered an ally of the Banū Umayya because 'Amr b. Umayya<sup>139</sup> married Sukhayla bint 'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.<sup>140</sup>

Ibn Ḥabīb's opinions about fictitious alliances of this kind are instructive: *... fa-dakhalū fī banī 'abdi l-dāri bi-l-ṣihri, wa-laysa lahum ḥilf* ...<sup>141</sup> *... sami'tu man yuḥaqqiqu ḥilfahum wa-sami'tu man*

134 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, pp. 320-322.

135 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, p. 319 ult.

136 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, p. 321; and see *ibid*, p. 322, l. 5.

137 See Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 18, ll. 13-17; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 88, 297.

138 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, p. 302, ll. 6-7; but according to Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 101, ll. 8-9 she married a man from Madhḥij.

139 See on him *JESHO*, vol. XXIV, 251, notes 40-41; and see *ibid*, pp. 262-263 and notes 84-85.

140 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, p. 302.

141 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, p. 306, l. 8.

*yuwahhinuhu wa-yaqūlu: innamā dakhālū bi-arḥāmihim wa-aṣḥārihim fī-banī zuhra.*<sup>142</sup> In some cases Ibn Ḥabīb admits that he does not know the reason for the affiliation of an adopted ally to his clan: ... *wa-huwa ya'lā b. umayya; wa-lā a'rifu sababa dukhūlihīm fī banī 'abdi l-dāri.*<sup>143</sup>

The allies who attached themselves to the Meccan clans took part in the political events and war activities of Mecca. This is stated in the report about the fourth war of the Fijār: "Nobody of the Tamīm attended it except (the clans, or groups of Tamīm - K) because of the alliance with Quraysh: the clan of Zurāra, the clan of Abū Ihāb and the clan of Abū Ya'lā b. Munya".<sup>144</sup>

### III

The alliances of Quraysh with great tribal divisions differed in many respects from the alliances of individuals or of small groups with individuals and clans in Mecca. The strangers and small groups accepted into the body politic of Mecca became usually tied by marriage to the Meccan clans, and integrated themselves into Meccan society. They preserved their *nisba*, which kept the memory of their tribal origin, but were loyal to Meccan interests and Meccan policy. Great tribal divisions could endanger the balance of power between the various tribal units in Mecca and even bring about a situation in which one or more of these foreign elements would, on conclusion of the alliance, secure for themselves predominant positions.

These considerations emerge with clarity from the story of the alliance planned between a division of the Aus of Medina with Quraysh. The Aus proposed alliance with Quraysh; Quraysh consented and the alliance between them was signed. It was, however, cancelled when Walīd b. al-Mughīra (from Makhzūm - K) convinced the Meccans that such an alliance may endanger the existence of the

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142 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, p. 307.

143 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, p. 306.

144 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, p. 199.

Qurashī community in Mecca. Certain expressions in the story may reflect the considerations and reasons for the cancellation of the document: the Aus went out from Yathrib as a *jāliya*, a group of emigrants (i.e. a group which did not leave their abode of their own free will – K) and alighted in Mecca in the dwellings of Quraysh (*nazalat 'alā quraysh*); it was with this group that the Meccans signed the alliance.

Al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra's warning to Quraysh reads as follows: "Never did a people alight in the abode of another people, without depriving them of their honor and inheriting their abodes" (*mā nazala qaumun qatṭu 'alā qaumin illā akhadhū sharafahum wa-warithū diyārahum*). As a pretext for the cancellation of the document al-Walīd proposed to explain to the Aus that the Meccans tend to behave in a licentious manner with women; this may be detrimental for the Aus (*scil.* if they decide to live in Mecca – K). The Aus were impressed by the argument and cancelled the alliance.<sup>145</sup> The other account of the event (that of Abū 'Ubayda) is similar in outline but contains additional details. These merely record the names of clans who had left Yathrib and came to Mecca: 'Abd al-Ashhal, Zafar, Mu'āwiya and people from Rātij;<sup>146</sup> they went out clandestinely under the pretext of an *'umra*. They came to Mecca, alighted in the city, concluded the alliance and stayed there for some days. Then Abū Jahl returned from a journey and was reported about the alliance which had been concluded. It was he who warned the Meccans of the danger that they might be overpowered by the Aus. He proposed to use the aforementioned pretext, which, in the event, proved convincing, and the Aus annulled the document. In the words of Abū 'Ubayda: ". . . *wa-qad raddadnā ilaykum ḥilfakum*".<sup>147</sup>

Within the leading group in Mecca there was, however, a tendency to extend their socio-economic activity so as to include within it Medina and al-Tā'if. An important report about the relations

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145 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, p. 326.

146 Rātij is a locality in Medina (i.e. in Yathrib); see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v. Rātij.

147 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, pp. 327-330.

between Mecca and al-Tā'if is recorded by Ibn Ḥabīb: When Quraysh increased in number (*scil.* in the period of the Jāhiliyya - K) they coveted the valley of Wajj (. . . *anna qurayshan ḥīna kathurat raghibat fī wajjin*); they suggested to Thaqīf (the inhabitants of al-Tā'if) that they should share the *ḥaram* of Mecca and Wajj on equal terms. Thaqīf refused, arguing that Wajj had been built by their ancestors (thus claiming exclusive right of control over the land and the city - K), whilst the *ḥaram* of Mecca was established by Abraham (and was thus a place open to all - K). Quraysh then threatened to deny Thaqīf access to Mecca. Thaqīf, fearing war with Quraysh and their allies from Khuzā'a and Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt, were compelled to concede, and entered into alliance with Quraysh. They even persuaded the Daus to sign a treaty of alliance with Quraysh on the same terms.<sup>148</sup> The stipulation of *al-sharika fī l-dār* made by Quraysh was made into an alliance agreed upon by all the parties interested. Thaqīf were granted entrance into the Qurashī controlled Ḥums and intermarried with Quraysh. Quraysh were able to purchase land property in Wajj.<sup>149</sup>

The two cases of alliances of Mecca with large and cohesive divisions seem to exemplify the socio-economic views held by Quraysh concerning this type of alliance.

#### IV

In Mecca itself the tribal factions struggled among themselves for influence and power. Sometimes conflicts led to bloody encounters. Tradition reports such a clash between the Banu Jumah and the Banū Muḥārib b. Fihr. The date of the event (or even the period) is not given; the report says that the number of Jumahīs killed and heaped on the battlefield was so great that the place was called *radm banī jumah*.<sup>150</sup>

Conflicts between the various factions brought about

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148 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, pp. 280-281.

149 Comp. *JSAI* I (1979) 8-10.

150 Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā sta'jam*, p. 649 (s.v. al-radm); Mughulṭāy, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, MS. fol. 183b.

alliances of the different groups. The division of the Meccan society into the *muṭayyabūn* and *aḥlāf* is quite well known, and so is the story of the *ḥilf al-fuḍūl*.<sup>151</sup> Another tribal grouping, including the Zuhra and the Ghayātil,<sup>152</sup> was called the "alliance of righteousness" (*ḥilf al-ṣalāh*). The Qurashī tribes gave their consent to it, but did not join the alliance. The Muslims acted according to its tenets in the period of Islam.<sup>153</sup> 'Ubaydullah b. 'Adiyy b. al-Khiyār of the Naufal b. 'Abd Manāf sat on a council (*majlis*) at which the noble and the people of knowledge would meet. Mu'āwiya inquired what happened at this council, which was called "*majlis al-qilāda*", "the council of the necklace".<sup>154</sup>

Quarrels between families and clans brought about the establishment of temporary or relatively stable tribal alliances in which the weak sought the help of the strong. Such cases are seen in the reports about the Banū Zuhra. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams, says one report, was attacked and beaten because he used to pass by a Zuhri house and peep at the women. The Banū 'Abd Manāf became enraged at the deed of the Zuhra and demanded that they leave Mecca. The Zuhra started to prepare for departure; they were, however, urged to stay with one of their relatives of Sahm. He came with a band of fighting men in order to defend the Zuhra. The Banu 'Abd Manāf recoiled from a confrontation with the Sahmī group and consented to leave the Zuhra in their dwellings.<sup>155</sup>

Of a similar kind was the alliance between the Sahm and the Banū 'Adiyy. The 'Adiyy clashed with the 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf. In the fights between them the 'Abd Shams usually had the upper hand. Both parties suffered losses; but when 'Adiyy realized

151 See e.g. *Et<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. *Ḥilf* (E. Tyan), *Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl* (Ch. Pellat); M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, index, s.v. *Muṭayyabūn*, *Aḥlāf*, *al-Fuḍūl*; and see al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Jamhara*, MS. Bodleiana, Marsh 384, fol. 174b; al-Sinjārī, *Manā'ih al-karam bi-akḥbāri makka wa-l-ḥaram*, MS. Leiden, Or. 7018, fol. 46a-b, 60b-61b, 148b-149b; al-Mu'āfā b. Zakariyā, *al-Jalīs al-ṣāliḥ*, MS. Topkapi Saray III Ahmet, no. 2321, fol. 170b; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS. fol. 144a.

152 See about them Caskel, *Die Ġamhara*, II, 274, s.v. *Ġayātil*.

153 Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Jamhara*, MS. fol. 106b inf.

154 Mu'arrij al-Sadūsī, *op. cit.*, p.42.

155 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, pp. 40-42.

that they were no match for their foes, they decided to conclude an alliance with the Sahm. The 'Adiyy (almost all of them) sold their houses (which were between the Şafā and the Ka'ba - K) and moved to the dwellings of Sahm, where they were assigned plots of land (for their houses - K). Al-Khaṭṭāb (the father of 'Umar) praised the Sahm and thanked them.<sup>156</sup> The contest between the Sahm and the 'Abd Shams is referred to in the commentaries of the Qur'ān; (Sūra CII, *al-Takāthur*): "Gross rivalry diverts you, even till you visit the tombs."<sup>157</sup>

Traditions report about the help extended to some members of the 'Adiyy in critical situations: al-Khaṭṭāb, the father of 'Umar, detained a number of women of the Banū Ka'b, who were riding donkeys in the market of Mecca, in order to secure repayment of a debt owed to him by a man of the Ka'b. A group of the 'Abd Manāf hurried to the court of al-Khaṭṭāb in order to free the women. Al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il (the father of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ) came with haste, chased away the 'Abd Manāf, chided al-Khaṭṭāb and ordered the women's release.<sup>158</sup> It was al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il who defended 'Umar, when he was attacked by a group of unbelievers of Quraysh enraged by his public announcement of his conversion to Islam.<sup>159</sup>

Some reports talk of bloody clashes between the Banū Khālid b. 'Abd Manāf of the Taym b. Murra and the Banū l-Sabbāq of the Banū 'Abd al-Dār; it is said to have been the first act of violence and outrage (*baghy*) in Mecca. They fought each other so violently that they virtually annihilated each other, and only a few of them remained alive. Some of the Banū Sabbāq left Mecca and joined the 'Akk.<sup>160</sup> In another report about the clashes between Khālid b. 'Abd Manāf (called

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156 Al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, pp. 472-473; al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, MS. fol. 460a-b.

157 Al-Wāhidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, p. 305; Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, MS. II, fol. 249a; al-Qurtubī, *Tafsīr*, XX, 169; al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, MS. fol. 507a, ll. 7-10.

158 Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Jamhara*, MS. Bodleiana, fol. 187b.

159 Al-Zubayr, b. Bakkār, *Jamhara*, MS. fol.187a; Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 409, l. 4; Mu'arrij al-Sadūsī, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

160 Al-Zubayr, b. Bakkār, *Jamhara*, MS. fol. 89b.

al-Mashrafiyy) and the Banū l-Sabbāq, al-Zubayr records the verses of Khālid's mother, al-Subay'a, and of 'Abdallah b. Jud'ān.<sup>161</sup>

Muṣ'ab b. 'Abdallah al-Zubayrī gives a concise assessment of the role of Sahl in relation to other divisions of Quraysh: Qays b. 'Adiyy (of the Sahl) was the man who protected the Banū 'Adiyy b. Ka'b and the Zuhra b. Kilāb against the 'Abd Manāf, and also protected the 'Adiyy b. Ka'b against the Jumah. Muṣ'ab remarks that the Banū Sahl grew in number in Mecca (*kathurū*) so that they almost equalled the 'Abd Manāf; however, at the time of the Prophet's advent, their numbers were substantially reduced by a plague.<sup>162</sup>

A report recorded by al-Fākihī provides important information about a peculiar Sahlī fighting group – the Sahl were the most numerous and the most vigorous group of people in Mecca. They owned a rock at the mountain called Muslim.<sup>163</sup> (This is the mountain overlooking the narrow pass of the Ḥumrān in Dhū Ṭuwā).<sup>164</sup> When they were about to undertake an important matter (*idhā arādū amran*) their herald would cry out: *yā ṣabāḥāh*, and they would reply: *aṣbiḥ layl*. Then Quraysh would ask: "What's up with these inauspicious people?", for Quraysh considered them to be inauspicious. From among them was a group named *banū ghaytala*,<sup>165</sup> distinguished by their intemperance (*saraf*) and violence (*baghy*).<sup>166</sup>

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161 Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Jamhara*, MS. fol. 126a-b; comp. Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 293; and see al-Mausilī, *Ghāyat al-wasā'il*, MS. fol. 57b (two reports about the violence in Mecca; the violence of the Aqāyis mentioned); Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, MS. Br. Mus., fol. 30a; and see al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *op. cit.*, fol. 89b.

162 Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, pp.400 ult-401.

163 The mountain Muslim is mentioned by al-Azraqī (*op. cit.*, p. 501); but there is no mention of the Banū Sahl in this place.

164 See al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā sta'jam*, p. 896, s.v. Dhū Ṭuwan.

165 See above, note 152; and see Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 401, ll. 6-7; and see al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fol. 506b ult-507a sup; Ghaytala married 'Adiyy b. Sahl and bore him al-Ḥārith and Ḥudhāfa; they were numerous (*kāna fīhimu l-'adadu*) and violent (*baghy*).

166 See al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, MS. fol. 506b-507a.

It is noteworthy that when he decided to help the Zuhra, Qays b. 'Adiyy uttered the cry *ašbiḥ layl*, ordering the Zuhra to stay and commanding his group to be alert and ready for battle.<sup>167</sup> The violence of which Sahn was accused refers, probably, to a special section of Sahn staying in the close vicinity of Mecca. This fighting group was savagely violent and terrified the inhabitants of Mecca, which explains why the expression *baghy* is used in the sources.

## V

A distinctive feature of Meccan society in the period of the Jāhiliyya was the diversity of its inhabitants. Members of different tribes frequented Mecca in order to carry out the obligations pertaining to the pilgrimage and the ritual practices at the Ka'ba. Merchants with their wares flocked to the market in the neighbourhood of Mecca and were engaged in selling and buying transactions. Meccan caravans passed the tribal territories with safety due to the pacts concluded with the Arab tribes and the letters of security of the neighbouring countries.<sup>168</sup> For a very short period the believers debated whether they were allowed to conduct trade during the *hajj*; Sūra II, 198: *laysa 'alaykum junāḥun an tabtaghū faḍlan min rabbikum*, "It is no sin for you that you seek the bounty of your Lord" was interpreted as

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167 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, p. 41, l. 3.

168 See U. Rubin, "The Īlaf of Quraysh," *Arabica* XXXI, 165-188; and see: Mahmood Ibrahim, *Social and Economic Conditions in Pre-Islamic Mecca*, *JMES*, 14(1982), 343-358; Ḥamza al-Īṣfahānī, *al-Durra al-fākhira fi l-amthāli l-sā'ira*, ed. 'Abd al-Majīd Qaṭāmish, Cairo 1972, II, 335, no. 557; 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, Cairo 1397/1977, VI, 15-16; IV, 469-473; al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-'ibād*, Beirut 1389/1969, p. 84 penult.-85 sup.; al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-132; M.J. Kister, *Studies in Jahiliyya and Early Islam*, Variorum, London 1980, I, 117-121 and Addenda. About the markets see al-Fāsi, *Tuḥfat al-kirām fī akhbāri l-baladi l-ḥarām*, MS. Leiden, Or. 2654, fols. 180a-181a; and see Abū 'Ubayd, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, Hyderabad, 1384/1964, IV, 102-103, s.v. ḥabl.

allowing commercial activities during the pilgrimage;<sup>169</sup> the markets then turned again into places of lively commercial activity.

Sudden changes in the economy of Mecca during the period of the Jāhiliyya, which brought about depression and loss of capital for the merchants led to the establishment of the *i'tifād* (or *iḥtifād*); the merchants in their hopeless situation would leave for the desert, where they pitched their tents and patiently expected their death. Professor Serjeant informs me that the custom of the *i'tifād* endured in Arḥab until recent times. The reform introduced by Hāshim according to which the poor of Mecca had to be attached to the rich in their commercial journeys and thus their share in the profits apparently brought about a favourable change in the social situation in Mecca.<sup>170</sup>

It is noteworthy that the Qur'ān explicitly allowed the "nihd", a kind of collective sharing of common expenses of a group on a journey.<sup>171</sup> It is evident that the verse of *Sūrat al-Nūr*, 61: " ... *laysa 'alaykum junāḥun an ta'kulū jamī'an au ashtātan* ..." gave sanction to a practice which was deeply rooted in the Jāhiliyya period.

Somewhat separated from the Meccan community lived the *zanj* ("the black"). 'Abdallah b. al-Zubayr had a court (*dār*) in Qu'ayqi'ān in which he placed the *zanjī* slaves (*raqīqu zanjin*).<sup>172</sup> The mountain Thabīr was called *jabal al-zanj*; the *zanj* of Mecca used to pick up firewood and "play" there.<sup>173</sup> In the place where we nowadays have the *dār al-'abbās* there used to be in "the old days" the market

169 See e.g. al-Wāḥidī, *Asbāb*, p. 38: *... kāna dhū l-majāz wa-'ukaḥ matjara nāsīn fī l-jāhiliyya, fa-lammā jā'a l-islāmu ka-annahum karihū dhālika ḥattā nazalat : laysa 'alaykum junāḥun ... fī mawāsīmī l-ḥajjī ... an ibni 'abbāsīn: kānū yattaqūna l-buy'ā wa-l-tijārata fī l-ḥajjī, yaqūlūna : ayyāmu dhikri llāhi, fa-anzala llāhu tā'ālā: laysa 'alaykum junāḥ ...*

170 See al-Šāliḥī, *Subul al-hudā wa-l-rashād fī sīrat khayri l-'ibād* (=al-Sīra al-shāmiyya), ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wāḥid, Cairo 1392/1972. I, 317-318; al-Muṭṭawwī, *Man ṣābara zafira*, MS. Cambridge Or. 1473 (10), fol. 22a; and see MJ. Kister, *op. cit.*, I, 122, Addendum.

171 See al-Qurtubī, *Tafsīr*, XII, 317-318; Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, MS. II, fol. 41a.

172 Al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 464.

173 Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, MS. fol. 497a; al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 486.

where slaves were sold, says al-Fākihī.<sup>174</sup> In the *dār al-'ulūj*, which belonged to the Makhzūm, dwelt the Abyssinians. Some reports say that 'Aṭā b. Abī Rabāh was born in this court.<sup>175</sup> One can get some idea of the social status enjoyed by the Abyssinians at this time and of the Muslim community's opinion concerning their morality from the *ḥadīth* recorded by al-Fākihī. The Prophet was informed that the 'ulūj of the Banū Mughīra (i.e. the Abyssinians owned by the Banū Makhzūm - K) refrained from coming to his court, because they were afraid that the Prophet would drive them away (*an taruddahum*). The Prophet then said "The Abyssinians are no good: if they are hungry they steal; if they are sated they drink. They do indeed have two good qualities: they feed (the needy -K) and they are brave in war".<sup>176</sup> The alleged *ḥadīth* reflects indeed the views of some circles with an outspoken hostility towards the Abyssinians (and the Black - K) in the period of Islam, but it is possible to assume that some circles in Mecca entertained similar views about them during the Jāhiliyya. Thus they seem to have been ostracized from the community.

There was probably also a Christian enclave in Mecca, but no explicit information to this effect occurs in the sources. The existence of a Christian cemetery is, however, mentioned in Dhū Ṭuwā.<sup>177</sup>

In the Qurashī population of Mecca there were two divisions: the *quraysh al-ẓawāhir* and *quraysh al-biṭāh*. According to a tradition the *quraysh al-ẓawāhir* were driven out by their brethren the *quraysh al-biṭāh* and lived outside Mecca.<sup>178</sup> Small and weak groups of the Qurashī tribes tried to form alliances in order to ensure their own

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174 Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, MS. 448a, ll. 5-6.

175 Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, MS. fol. 458a.

176 Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, MS. fol. 458a; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmi' al-kabīr*, Cairo 1978, I, 90.

177 Al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 50; al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, MS. fol. 506a, l. 5 from bottom.

178 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 51: *thumma inna banī ka'b b. lu'ayy lammā kathurū akhrajū bu'ūnan min qurayshin ilā ẓawāhiri makkata, fa-summū quraysha l-ẓawāhir.*

survival.<sup>179</sup> The expelled Qurashī clans affiliated themselves to different tribes outside Mecca, but returned at the beginning of Islam and requested that they be reattached to Quraysh.<sup>180</sup> An alliance of different Qurashī tribal groups set up against another Qurashī tribal unit is seen in the alliance of Naufal b. 'Abd Manāf with 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf against Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf and al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf.<sup>181</sup>

Contests between the factions of Quraysh brought about a search for helpers and allies outside Mecca. Such a case was that of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Naufal b. 'Abd Manāf seized the land property (*al-arkāh*) owned by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. As 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's people failed to help him, he summoned his relatives in Medina, the Banū Najjār, and they hastened to Mecca threatening the Banū Naufal. The Banū Naufal perceived the danger and returned the land property.<sup>182</sup> The relationship between 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and the Banū Najjār was not one of *ḥilf*: they, however, behaved faithfully towards each other as one would according to the stipulations of a *ḥilf*. The Khuzā'a were deeply impressed by the action of the Khazraj and asked 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and his clan to conclude an alliance with them. He responded favourably, and the document was written down, signed and hung in the Ka'ba.<sup>183</sup> When the Khuzā'a appealed to the Prophet for help against the unbelievers in Mecca they based their pledge on this very alliance of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib with their ancestors, stressing that it was still valid.<sup>184</sup>

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179 See e.g. M.J. Kister, "Some reports concerning al-Ṭā'if," *JSAI*, I (1979) p. 14 note 59 and p. 15 note 65.

180 See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 42-47 (Noteworthy are the expressions: p. 44: ... *fa-lammā kānat khilāfatu 'uḥmāna alḥaqahum bi-quraysh* - ; p. 45: *fa-lam yarjū ḥatta qāma 'uḥmānu (r) fa-ataahu fa-athbahahum fī quraysh*; *fa-kānū fī l-bādiyati ma'a banī shaybāna, wa-kiūbatuhum fī quraysh* - ); and see about Sāma b. Lu'ayy M.J. Kister, "Some reports concerning al-Ṭā'if", *JSAI*, I (1979) 15-16, note 66.

181 Mu'arrij al-Sadūsī, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

182 See e.g. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 69-70.

183 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 70-72.

184 See *Et*<sup>2</sup>, Khuzā'a (English edition V, 78 inf.).

The allegiance to an alliance manifested itself in loyalty to the people one was allied with and in affection for the symbols of the alliance. The banner of Quraysh, which was handed over by Quṣayy to 'Abd al-Dār, remained in their possession for generations. In the battle of Badr this banner was borne by the unbelievers of the 'Abd al-Dār. In the battle of Uhud the Prophet handed over to the commanders of the Muslim army three banners: one of the Aus, one of the Khazraj, and one of the Muhājirūn.<sup>185</sup> The unbelievers went under three banners: one borne by Sufyān b. 'Uwayf; the other was the banner of the Aḥābīsh, borne by one of them; the third was the banner inherited from Quṣayy and borne by Ṭalḥa ibn Abī Ṭalḥa.<sup>186</sup> The description of the bearers of the banner of Quṣayy, who followed each other to death, is one of the most moving descriptions of loyalty and allegiance. They held the banner with their right hand; when their right hand was cut off, they transferred it to the left; when this was cut off as well, they held it with their arms. When the last bearer of the banners, a *maulā*, could only lift the banner with his arms (as his hands were cut off) he looked at the 'Abd al-Dār and asked them: "Did I do all I could do?"<sup>187</sup> When the 'Abd al-Dār converted to Islam they asked for their banner to be given back to them. The Prophet refused, arguing: "Islam is broader than that" (*al-islāmu ausa' min dhālika*). The meaning appears to be: there is no room for the banner of a particular group. The banner belongs to the whole Muslim community. There were, of course, special banners adopted by specific groups and divisions; but they distinguished only units which competed among themselves in the battles fought for the cause of Islam. This marked a new era in which tribal alliances were forbidden.<sup>188</sup>

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185 Al-Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

186 Al-Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

187 Al-Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, 226-227, al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* I, 54-55. According to the report of al-Balādhurī the last who lifted the banner of the 'Abd al-Dār in this battle was a woman: 'Umra bint al-Ḥārith b. 'Alqama of the 'Abd al-Dār.

188 Cf. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmi' al-kabīr* i, 905, l. 4 from bottom; I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, transl. C.R. Barber, S.M. Stern, London 1967, I, 70, notes 2, 4.

It is noteworthy that on the day of Uḥud Quraysh were still fighting under the banners of the *Muṭayyabūn* and the *Ahlāf*.<sup>189</sup> There were two separate cemeteries in Mecca (in the period of the Jāhiliyya): one of the *Muṭayyabūn* and one of the *Ahlāf*.<sup>190</sup>

Due to the marriages of the Meccans with the different tribes, Southern and Northern ones alike, there grew up a Meccan community in which the characteristic features of the various tribal groups survived. The memory of these ancestors remained vivid in the minds of the Meccans; the Prophet prided himself on the fact that "he was born" of twelve ancestresses named 'Ātika. The sources record, in fact, twelve ancestresses with this name: two Qurashī, three Sulamī, two 'Adwānī, one Kinānī, one Asadī, one Hudhalī, one Quḍā'ī, and one Azdī.<sup>191</sup> The peculiar blend of Meccan society helped to establish friendly relations with the Arab tribes, who recognized the superiority of Mecca and its leading role. The institution of the *ḥalīf* contributed in large measure to this development.

The role of Mecca had already been transformed in the early period of Islam: its leadership becoming distinctly spiritual in character. Only some jurists claimed that the position of the Meccans was that of *tulaqā'*, "the freed" or "manumitted", pointing to the assumption that the population of Mecca was hostile to the Prophet and that Mecca had been conquered by force. 'Umar, according to one tradition, refrained from paying '*atā'* to the Meccans and from levying fighting men for military expeditions from among them, on the grounds that the Meccans were *tulaqā'*.<sup>192</sup>

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189 Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Jamhara*, MS. fol. 86b.

190 Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fol. 480a: . . . *wa-kānat maqbaratu l-muṭayyabīna bi-dālā makkata wa-maqbaratu l-ahlāfi bi-asfali makkata* . . . ; and see additional details about the alliances in Mecca: M.J. Kister, "Some Reports Concerning Mecca", *JESHO*, XV (1972) 81-84.

191 See e.g. *L'A*, s.v. 'a t k; and see Ibn Ḥabīb, *Ummahāt al-nabiyyi ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam*, ed. Ḥusayn 'Alī Maḥfūz, Baghdad 1372.

192 Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, MS. fol. 417a.

Quraysh were however the people chosen by God, and in his utterances the Prophet enjoined love and respect them.<sup>193</sup>

In the course of the centuries, there evolved a large literature of *faḍā'il makkata* and of *faḍā'il quraysh*, extolling the city and its inhabitants, and predicting that on the Day of Resurrection the city and its inhabitants will be saved. The allies of Quraysh will be in their company, for, according to the tradition: "The ally is a member of the people".<sup>194</sup>

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- 193 See e.g. al-Ḥasan b. 'Arafa, *Juz'*, Chester Beatty 4433, fol. 142b: *aḥibbu qurayshan fa-innahu man aḥabbahum aḥabbahu llāhu ...*; and see this tradition: Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id wa-manba' al-fawā'id*, Beirut 1967, X, 27 inf.; and see Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *op. cit.*, X, 27 sup: *man ahāna qurayshan ahānahu llāhu* (and see this tradition: 'Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥabību l-Rahmān al-A'zamī, Beirut 1392, XI, 58 no. 19905; and see this tradition: al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-tārīkh*, I, 401; and see Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *op. cit.*, X, 26: *inna qurayshan ahlu amānatin fa-man baghāhumu l-'awāthira akabbahu llāhu li-mankharayhi ...* (and see this tradition: Ibrāhīm Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Dimashqī, *al-Bayān wa-l-tārīf fī asbābi wurūdi l-ḥadīthi l-sharīf*, Beirut 1400/1980, II, 63, no. 639); and see e.g. al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ al-qadīr, sharḥ al-jāmi' l-ṣaghīr*, Beirut 1391/1971, IV, 516, no. 6123: *qurayshun wulātu l-nāsi fī l-khayri wa-l-sharri ilā yaumi l-qiya'ma* –
- 194 See 'Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, XI, 56, no. 19897: (the Prophet ordered 'Umar to convoke Quraysh; among them were their nephews, their allies and their *mawālī*) the Prophet said: *ibn ukhtinā minnā wa-ḥulafa'unā minnā wa-mawālīnā minnā ...*; and see al-Dārimī: *Sunan*, Dār Iḥyā' al-sunna l-nabawiyya, n.d., n.p. II, 244, l 1: *maulā l-qaumi minhum, wa-ḥalīfu l-qaumi minhum wa-bnu ukhti l-qaumi minhum*.