

SOME REPORTS CONCERNING AL-ṬĀ'IF

In memory of Yuval Taglicht

The battle of Ḥunayn (8H/630), in which the Muslim troops defeated the joint forces of the Hawāzin and Thaḳīf, heralded the submission of al-Ṭā'if. The expedition of the Prophet against al-Ṭā'if is reflected in a peculiar utterance attributed to him: "God's last tread was at Wajj (. . . *wa-inna ākhira waḥ'atin waḥi'ahā llāhu bi-wajj*; in another version: *inna ākhira waḥ'atin li-llāhi yaumu wajj*)¹ and interpreted as referring to the last campaign of the Prophet (aided by God's power, indicated by the word "*waḥ'a*" – K) against the unbelievers. The conversion of al-Ṭā'if to Islam marked in fact the last victorious stage of the Prophet's struggle for control over the three important cities in the Arabian peninsula: Mecca, Medina and al-Ṭā'if.

The reports about the negotiations between the Prophet and the deputation of Thaḳīf (in 9 H), and the concessions and privileges granted by him to Thaḳīf, are divergent and even contradictory. By surveying these traditions it is possible to elucidate some points of the negotiated conditions, which shed light on certain essential details of the concessions granted.

A report on the administrative and military steps taken by Mu'āwiya with regard to al-Ṭā'if may expose the changes in the structure of the population of al-Ṭā'if in that period.

I

According to the most widely quoted traditions,² the Prophet rejected all the requests submitted to him by the delegation of Thaḳīf, including the permission to profit from financial transactions based on usury, permission to have inter-

¹ Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā sta'jam*, ed. Muṣṭafa I-Saqā, Cairo, 1368/1949, p. 1369; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, Beirut, 1376/1957, V, 361; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharibi l-ḥadīthi wa-l-aṥar*, ed. al-Ṭanaḥīr, Cairo, 1385/1965, V, 200; al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Fa'iq*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, Cairo, 1971, I, 185; Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id*, Beirut, 1967, X, 54; *L'A*, s.v. w ḥ 'a, w j j; P.H. Lammens, *La Cité Arabe de Ṭā'if à la Veille de l'Hegire*, Beyrouth, 1922, p. 28.

² See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, ed. al-Saqā, al Abyārī, Shalabī, Cairo, 1355/1936, IV, 182-7; al-Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones, Oxford, 1966, III, 960-73; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, Beirut, 1380/1960, I, 312-13; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-umam wa-l-mulūk*, Cairo, 1357/

course with prostitutes (during their journeys), permission to drink wine and, finally, the concession to worship al-Lāt (*al-Rabba*) for a period; all these demands were refused by the Prophet, save the concession that the idol of al-Lāt be destroyed not by themselves but by others.

Watt, in scrutinizing the negotiations of the delegation with the Prophet, notices that there is no mention of anyone being commissioned to collect any contribution or tax from Thaḳīf; he remarks that "this might be a reason for the disappearance of the text of the treaty with al-Ṭā'if."³ Some fifty years earlier Buhl, pointing out that the Prophet granted to Thaḳīf as a privilege recognition of their valley, Wajj, as *ḥaram*,⁴ had suggested that he might have granted them additional concessions, not mentioned in the traditions.⁵ This line was followed by Sperber in his study of the letters of the Prophet.⁶

As a matter of fact there are reports which attribute to the Prophet far-reaching concessions granted to Thaḳīf. According to one of them Thaḳīf embraced Islam on condition that their people would be free from paying the *ṣadaqa* and

1939, II, 364-6; al-Kalā'ī, *al-Ikṭifā' fī maghāzī rasūli llāhi wa-l-thalāthati l-khulafā*, ed. Mustafā 'Abd al-Wāhid, Cairo, 1389/1970, II, 398-408; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, Beirut al-Riyād, 1966, V, 29-34; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *'Uyūn al-athar fī funūn al-maghāzī wa-l-shamā' il wa-l-siyar*, Cairo, 1356, II, 228-31; al-Maqrīzī, *Imṭā' al-asma' bi-mā li-l-rasūli min al-anbā' i wa-l-amwāl wa-l-ḥafadati wa-l-matā'*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākīr, Cairo, 1941, I, 491-4; al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib al-laduniyya*, Cairo 1327, IV, 6-10; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh*, ed. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Najjār, Cairo, 1349, II, 193-4; 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-'uyūn fī strati l-amīni l-ma'mūn (=al-Strā al-ḥalabiyya)*, Cairo, n.d., III, 243-6; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Durar fī kḥṣāri l-maghāzī wa-l-siyar*, ed. Shauqī Ḍayf, Cairo, 1386/1966, pp. 262-5; Dahlān, *al-Strā al-nabawiyya*, Cairo, 1310, II, 145 inf.-147; al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rīkh al-khamīs fī ahwāl anfas nafts*, Cairo, 1238, II, 134 inf.-138 1.1; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jawāmi' al-stra*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, Cairo, n.d., pp. 255-8; Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya, *Zād al-ma'ād*, Beirut, n.d., II, 197-9, III, 26-9; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Afghānī, Hyderabad, 1388/1968, III, 197; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. 'Abdallah and 'Umar al-Ṭabbā', Beirut, 1377/1958, p. 75.

³ W. Montgomery Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, Oxford, 1956, p. 104.

⁴ See on *taḥrīm wajj*: al-Fākīhī, *Ta'rīkh Makka*, Ms. Leiden Or. 463, fol. 539b; Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, I, 284-5; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *al-Qirā li-qāṣidi ummi l-qurā*, ed. Muṣṭafā I-Saqā, Cairo, 1390/1970, p. 666 (see the remarks of the author about the nature of *taḥrīm*: whether it was merely given the status of a *ḥimā*, or whether the privilege was later annulled); al-Samḥūdī, *Wafā'u l-wafā bi-akhbari dāri l-muṣṭafa*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo, 1374/1955, p. 1036; Abū 'Ubayd, *al-Amwāl*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīd al-Fiqī, Cairo, 1353, p. 193, no. 507, L'A, s. v. w j j; al-Zurqānī, *op. cit.*, IV, 10 (discussing contradictory opinions of scholars about the status of Wajj); al-Shaukānī, *Nayl al-aṭṭār*, Cairo, 1372/1953, V, 39-40 (see the discussion about the validity of the tradition and the position of Wajj); Ibn Zanjawayh, *Kitāb al-amwāl*, Ms. Burdur 183, fol. 68a; al-Diyārbakrī, *op. cit.*, II, 110, 11.2-6; al-Maqrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, 493; Amīn Maḥmūd Khaṭṭāb, *Faṭḥ al-malik al-ma'bud, Takmilat al-manḥal al-'adhb al-maurīd*, Cairo, 1394/1974, II, 231-3; Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, *Majma'at al-wathā'iq al-siyāsiyya*, Cairo, 1376/1956, no. 182; Shakīb Arslān, *al-Irtisāmāt al-lūṭf fī kḥṣāri l-ḥajji ila aqḍasi maṭāf*, ed. Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, Cairo, 1350, p. 135 (see the quotation from Ibn Fahd's *Tuḥfat al-laṭā'if fī faḍā'ili l-ḥabri bni l-'abbāsi wa-wajjin wa-l-ṭā'if*).

⁵ F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, transl. H.H. Schaeder, Heidelberg, 1955 (repr.), p. 332.

⁶ J. Sperber, "Die Schreiben Mohammeds an die Stämme Arabiens", *MSOS* 19 (1916), 71-2.

exempted from obligatory participation in the expeditions of *jihād*. The Prophet then noted that in the future they would pay the poor tax, the *ṣadaqa*, and participate in the holy war (*jihād*).⁷ It is evident that, according to this version of the tradition, the Prophet freed Thaqīf from the poor tax and from participation in war expeditions. The version which contains the final restrictive clause (*idhā aslamū*) is, however, interpreted in a different way: the convert is granted a respite from the obligation till a prescribed time or within specific circumstances. In this case Thaqīf would be obliged to pay the *ṣadaqa*, the poor tax, when the fixed time came and to participate in *jihād* whenever announced.⁸ It can thus be deduced, according to this interpretation, that the Prophet merely postponed for Thaqīf the fulfillment of some obligations.

The exemption of Thaqīf from paying the poor tax (*ṣadaqa*) and *jihād* is plainly reported in a *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet conceded payment of the tithe (*'ushr*) as well as conscription (*lakum an lā tuḥsharū wa-lā tu'sharū*); their third demand, not to perform prostration in prayer (*an lā yujabbū*) was refused by the Prophet, on the grounds that faith without prostration was devoid of good.⁹ The two concessions of *'ushr* and *ḥashr* are in fact included in the official epistle issued by the Prophet for Thaqīf as recorded by Abū 'Ubayd.¹⁰

The request of the deputation to exempt Thaqīf from prayer deserves particular attention. When the Prophet refused this demand he is said to have remarked: "A faith without prayer is devoid of good" (*lā khayra fī dīnin lā ṣalāta fīhi*);¹¹ the deputation, in accepting the Prophet's decision, said: "We grant you that even

⁷ Ibn Rajab, *Jami' al-'ulam wa-l-ḥikam*, ed. Muḥammad al-Aḥmadī Abū l-Nūr, Cairo, 1389/1969, I, 180 inf.: ... *wa-anna rasūda llahī ṣalla llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama qāla: sa-yaṣṣaddaqūna wa-yujāhidūna* (quoted from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's *Musnad*); Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, Cairo, 1348, II, 42; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, V, 30 (In both sources the utterance of the Prophet ends with an additional clause: *idhā aslamū*. They will pay the *ṣadaqa* and take part in the expeditions of the holy war "when they will embrace Islam"); al-Suyūṭī, *al-Khaṣa'ish al-kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad Khalīl Harās, Cairo, 1386/1967, II, 145; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya* I, 238, records a different version of the tradition. It was Jabir who explained the reason for the Prophet's dispensation: "he knew that they would fight and pay the *ṣadaqa* when they convert."

⁸ See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya* I, 238, ll. 5-6: "... *wa-lam yurakkhiṣ lahum ft tarki l-ṣalāti li-anna waqtahā ḥādirun mutakarrirun bi-khilāfi waqti l-zakati wa-l-jihādi*."

⁹ Abū Dāwūd, *op. cit.*, II, 42: ... *wa-lā khayra fī dīnin laysa fīhi ruku'un*; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, V, 30; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Bulāq, 1313, IV, 218 (with an additional request of the delegation: that the governor of al-Ṭā'if would be appointed from among themselves; this was granted by the Prophet).

¹⁰ Abū 'Ubayd, *al-Amwāl*, pp. 190-3, no. 506. (The crucial expression *lā yuḥsharūna* is glossed by Abū 'Ubayd: *tu'khadhu minhum ṣadaqatu l-mawāshī bi-afniyatihim, ya'tthimu l-muṣaddīqu hunāka, wa-lā ya'muruhum an yaḥlibūhā ilayhi*. But L'A s. v. ḥ sh r, referring to the conditions of the deputation of Thaqīf, explains *lā yuḥsharūna: ay lā yuradabūna ilā l-maghāzi wa-lā tuḥrabu 'alayhimu l-bu'ūthu*. L'A also mentions the interpretation as recorded by Abū 'Ubayd. Both these explanations are recorded by Ibn al-Athīr in his *Nihāya*, s. v. ḥ sh r; and see Ibn Zanjawayh, *op. cit.*, fol. 67a; Muḥammad Ḥamīdullah, *op. cit.*, no. 181; cf. Abū 'Ubayd, *Ghartbu l-ḥadīth*, Hyderabad, 1385/1966, III, 197 ult.-198.

¹¹ See e.g. al-Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, p. 968.

though it be humiliation” (*fa-qālū sa-nu’tīkahā wa-in kānat danā’atan*).¹² The expression *danā’a*, baseness, or humiliation, seems at first blush somewhat odd in this context. However, its connotation may become apparent from additional reports. The requests of the deputation are recorded in several commentaries to the Qur’ān (Sūra XVII, 75): “Indeed they were near to seducing thee from that We revealed to thee. . . .” Al-Khāzin¹³ and al-Baghawī¹⁴ record a tradition according to which the deputation asked the Prophet to grant them the following concessions: not to bend (or prostrate) in prayer; not to destroy their idols by themselves; and to be allowed to keep al-Lāt for a period of a year, on condition that the goddess would not be worshipped (by them). The Prophet conceded that other people should pull down their idol, but refused to allow its demolition to be delayed; concerning prostration in prayer he remarked: “A faith in which there is no prostration is devoid of good” (*lā khayra fī dīnin lā rukū’a fīhī*).¹⁵ It is thus clear that the deputation did not seek exemption from prayer, but from prostration. According to Arab concepts of honor prostration was deemed demeaning. This is well reflected in the reply of Abū Ṭālib, when invited by the Prophet to join him in prayer: “I know that you are on the right path, but I do not like to prostrate so that my hindquarter is higher than (the rest of) me” (. . . *wa-lākinnī akrahu an asjuda fa-ta’luwanī stī*).¹⁶ It is indeed instructive to find that Musaylima, when praying in front of Arabs, ordered them to perform the prayer upright, in the manner of noblemen.¹⁷ The opinion of the other false prophet, Ṭulayḥa, about prostrations was also unfavourable and he forbade his followers to prostrate in prayer.¹⁸ The idea regarding prostration as humiliating, in the Arab society of the Jāhiliyya, is clearly reflected in Ibn ‘Arabī’s commentary to the Qur’ān.¹⁹

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The economic factor behind the request to preserve their idol, though com-

¹² See e.g. Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, V, 30.

¹³ Al-Khāzin, *Tafsīr* (= *Lubāb al-ta’wīl fī ma’āni l-tanzīl*), Cairo, 1381, IV, 140 (the text here: *lā nahnt fī l-ṣalāt*, with the gloss: *ay: lā nanḥant*).

¹⁴ Al-Baghawī, *Tafsīr* (= *Ma’ālim al-tanzīl*) on margin of al-Khāzin’s *Tafsīr*, IV, 140 (with the reading *lā nanḥant fī l-ṣalāt*); and see Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya*, I, 237 ult.-238; *L’A* s.v. j b ā (quoted from Ibn al-Athīr).

¹⁵ See this version as variant: ‘Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, III, 245, I, 3; Daḥlān, *op. cit.*, II, 147; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, V, 30.

¹⁶ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta’rīkh Baghdād*, Cairo, 1349/1931, II, 274.

¹⁷ Nashwān, *Mulūk ḥimyar wa-aqyāl al-yaman*, ed. ‘Alī al-Mu’ayyad, Ismā’īl al-Jarāfī, Cairo, 1378, p. 176: . . . *wa-kāna musaylimatu idhā ṣalla bi-l-‘arabi qāla: mā yurtdu llāhu bi-tauliyati adbārikum wa-sujūdikum ‘alā jibāhikum, ṣallū li-llāhi aivāman, kirāman*.

¹⁸ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-ta’rīkh*, II, 232: . . . *wa-kāna ya’muruhum bi-tarki l-sujūdi fī l-ṣalāti, yaqūlu: inna llāha lā yaṣna’u bi-ta’affuri wujūhikum wa-taqabbuḥi (?) adbārikum shay’an*.

¹⁹ See e.g. Ibn ‘Arabī, *Aḥkām al-Qur’ān*, ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad al-Bijawī, Cairo, 1387/1967, I, 21: . . . *wa-qad kāna l-rukū’u athqala shay’in ‘alā l-qaumi fī l-jāhiliyyati, hattā qāla ba’dū man aslama li-l-nabiyyi (s): ‘alā allā akhīra illā qā’imān, fa-min ta’awwulihī: ‘alā allā arka’a*.

mitting themselves to eschew its worship, is given in a commentary to the Qur'an: Thaqīf would indeed refrain during the year from worshipping their idol, but other people would come to worship it and bring offerings which will form part of the revenue of Thaqīf.²⁰

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Some of the traditions relate a remarkable story about the intervention of 'Umar during the negotiations of the Prophet with the delegation of Thaqīf. At a certain point in the negotiations, when the delegation enumerated its insolent and excessive demands, 'Umar noticed vexation on the face of the Prophet; he stood up and stopped the negotiations by forceful interference. Then God revealed the verse: "Indeed they were near to seducing thee. . ."

According to a tradition recorded by al-Zamakhsharī, the deputation came forward with a considerable list of conditions, demanding exemption from the tithe, from participation in military expeditions and from prostration. Whatever was coming to them in usury was to remain due, but everything they owed in usury to others was to be cancelled; al-Lāt was to remain intact for a year, at the end of which the idol was to be destroyed by others, not by themselves; entrance to Wajj was to be forbidden to those seeking to cut trees in the area. Further, the deputation tried to persuade the Prophet, that if asked by the Arab tribes, he should claim that God had ordered him to grant these exceptional privileges and concessions to Thaqīf. The deputation came prepared with a letter in order to record the conditions agreed upon. They had written in the letter: "In the name of the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is the letter from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Thaqīf. They will not pay the *'ushr* (i.e. the tithe) and they will not be recruited for military expeditions." Then they added: "They will not prostrate in prayer." The Prophet kept silent. They said to the scribe: "Write: 'and they will not prostrate in prayer'." The scribe looked at the Prophet (waiting for his assent - K). At that moment 'Umar stood up, drew his sword and said: "You burnt the heart of our Prophet, O men of Thaqīf, may God burn your hearts" (literally: your livers)." The Thaqāfites replied that they had not come to talk with him, but with the Prophet. It was then that the verse mentioned above was revealed.²¹ There is no indication in this report whether the negotiations, broken off by 'Umar's interference, were resumed after the verse was revealed; whether the demands of Thaqīf which were accepted by the Prophet, were later confirmed, and whether the docu-

²⁰ Al-Qurṭubī, *Tafstr* (= *al-Jāmi' li-akhāmi l-qur'an*), Cairo, 1387/1967, X, 299; al-Ṭabarī, *Majma' l-bayān fī tafstri l-qur'an*, Beirut, 1380/1961, XV, 81.

²¹ Al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf*, Cairo, 1354, II, 370; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Kaṣf al-shāf fī takhrīji ahādīthi l-kashshāf*, Cairo, 1354, p. 100, no 296, states that he could not find this *ḥadīth*, but remarks that al-Tha'labī recorded it (evidently in his *Tafstr* - K) on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, though without *isnād*; al-Naysābūrī, *Gharā'ib al-qur'an wa-rahā'ib al-furqān*, Cairo, 1384/1965, XV, 64 (the text has: . . . *wa-lā nujabbiya fī ṣalātina* with a gloss: *ay lā nasjudā*; 'Umar's remark is different in style from that recorded in the *Kashshāf*); al-Rāzī, *al-Tafstr al-kabīr (Maḥāṭṭh al-ghayb)*, Cairo, 1357/1938, XXI, 20.

ment was signed by the Prophet. It is however explicit in the report that the reason why the negotiations broke off was the demand for exemption from prostration in prayer.

The report recorded by the early Qur'an commentator Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150 H) is more detailed and divergent in certain essential points. The deputation of Thaḳīf stressed in its speech the strong position of Thaḳīf and their influence on other tribes. If they accepted Islam, they said, the whole of Najd would follow suit; if they fought, all their allies would join them against the Prophet and his community. On this basis they appealed to the Prophet to accept their demands. Their conditions for converting to Islam included exemption from conscription, from tithes and from prostration in prayer, cancellation of their debts of usury while affirming suit debts owed to them by others; bestowing on the Wajj valley the status of the sacred *ḥaram* of Mecca, to prevent outsiders from trespassing in order to cut trees there; having the Prophet appoint governors from Thaḳīf over the Banū Mālik and the Aḥlāf; the preservation of al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā (sic!) for a year, though they were not to be worshipped by Thaḳīf, after which time the idols would be demolished by others. They urged the Prophet to accept their demands in order to demonstrate to the Arab tribes the Prophet's regard for them and their superiority over the other tribes. The Prophet acceded, in so far as he exempted them from the tithe, released them from conscription, promised to let their idols be destroyed by others, and granted them the privileges of usury; but he would not dispense them from prostrating in prayer. The crisis occurred when the deputation insisted on preserving al-Lāt for a year. The Prophet remained silent, unwilling to refuse them and say "no"; the deputation remained equally adamant in their demand but for which they would not convert. They tried to persuade the Prophet that, if the Arab tribes blamed him for destroying their own idols while allowing that of Thaḳīf to remain, he could claim that God ordered him to do so. It was at that instant that 'Umar intervened, holding that the deputation had vexed the Prophet. He emphasized that God could not allow heathen belief in a territory where He was worshipped, and demanded that they choose between conversion to Islam and return to their abode.²²

²² Muqātil. *Tafsīr*, Ms. Ahmet III, 74/1, fols. 217b-218a: . . .*wa-dhālika anna thaḳīfan atau l-nabiyya (s) fa-qālū: nahnu ikhwānuka wa-aḥārūka wa-jtrānuka wa-nahnu khayru ahli najdīn laka silman wa-aḍarrūhu 'alayka ḥarban, fa-in nuslim tuslim najdun kulluhā, wa-in nuḥaribka yuḥaribka man warā'anā, fa-a'tīnā l-ladhi nuridu; fa-qāla l-nabiyyu (s): wa-mā turīdūna? qālū: nuslimu 'alā an lā nuḥshara wa-lā nu'shara wa-lā nahniya, - yaqūlūna: 'alā an lā nuḥshara wa-lā naksira aḥnāmanā bi-aydīnā; wa-kullu riban lanā 'alā l-nāsi fa-huwa lanā, wa-kullu riban li-l-nāsi fa-huwa 'annā mauḍū'un; wa-man wajadnāhu fī wādī wajjin yaqṭa'u shajarahā ntaza'nā 'anhu thiyābahu wa-darabnā zahrāhu wa-baṭnahu, wa-ḥurmatuhu ka-ḥurmati makkata wa-ṣayduhu wa-ṭayruhu wa-shajaruhu (?); wa-tasta'mila 'alā bant mālikin rajulan wa-'alā l-aḥlāfi rajulan; wa-an tumatti'nā bi-l-lāti wa-l-'uzzā sanatan wa-lā naksirahā (!) bi-aydīnā, min ḡayri an na'budahā, li-ya'rifa l-nāsu karāmatanā 'alayka wa-faḍlanā 'alayhim; fa-qāla lahum rasīdu llāhi (s): ammā qaulukum lā nuḥsharu wa-lā nu'sharu wa-l-ribā, fa-lakum; wa-ammā qaulukum lā nahni, fa-innahu lā khayra fī dīnin laysa fīhi rukū'un wa-lā sujūdun; qālū: naf'alu dhālika wa-in kāna 'alaynā fīhi danā'atun; wa-ammā qaulukum lā naksiru aḥnāmanā bi-aydīnā, fa-innā sa-na'muru man yaksiruhā ḡayrakum; thumma sakata l-nabiyyu*

Some reports concerning al-Ṭa'if

The crisis in the negotiations, according to the report of Muqātil, occurred when the deputation insisted on their demand to keep the idol for a year; this was the cause why the negotiations failed, rather than their demand to be excused from prostration. There is nothing in this report on the reaction of the deputation, whether it yielded to having their idol destroyed without delay and whether the Prophet ratified the document on the basis of the concessions which he granted. It is noteworthy that this report explicitly states that the Prophet conceded to them profits from usury. Some questions which remain unanswered in this report can probably be answered by comparing it with the documents recorded by Abū 'Ubayd, and by comparing other accounts of the concession of usury, the privilege of the *haram* of Wajj, the exemption from tithes and from the military levy.

A concise version recorded by Abū 'Ubayd indeed mentions that the deputation returned home after the Prophet rejected their requests for concessions concerning usury, prostration and wine. Subsequently, they willingly returned to convert to Islam, and then the Prophet issued the document to them, as recorded by Abū 'Ubayd.²³ Although the setting of this tradition is different, the passage referring to the return of the deputation may be linked with the report recorded by Muqātil. The conditions agreed upon between the deputation and the Prophet, as given by Muqātil, seem to have served as basis for the letter of the Prophet.

Abū 'Ubayd emphasizes that the Prophet granted Thaḳīf special privileges not given to other peoples. He concludes that the Prophet did this so as to reconcile their hearts to Islam, and he mentions precedents in which the enemy's strength was feared and could be diverted by concessions, or in which conversion to Islam was made conditional to certain privileges. In such cases the Prophet was wont to accede to the demands made.²⁴

Abū 'Ubayd stresses that the Prophet did not grant Thaḳīf permission for transactions based on usury.²⁵ This statement is true, for in the negotiations the Prophet indeed upheld his interdiction of usury; but he granted Thaḳīf the privilege of collecting the debts owed to them up to the day of their conversion, including the interest, whilst in paying their own debts to other peoples they would only pay the capital without interest.

(s), fa-qālū: tumatti'unā bi-l-lāti sanatan; fa-a'raḍa 'anhum wa-ja'ala yakrahu an yaqtula la, fa-ya'bauna l-islāma; fa-qālat thaḳīfun li-l-nabiyyi (s): in kāna bika malāmatu l-'arabi fī kasri aṣnāmihim wa-tarki aṣnāminā, fa-qul lahum: inna rabbi amarant an uqīra l-lāta bi-arḍiḥim sanatan; fa-qāla 'umarū bnu l-khaṭṭābi (r) 'inda dhālika: aḥraqtum qalba l-nabiyyi (s) bi-dhikri l-lāti, aḥraqa llāhu akbādakum, lā, wa-lā ni'mata 'aynin, inna llaha 'azza wa-jalla lā yada'u l-shirka fī arḍin yu'badu llāhu ta'ālā fīhā, fa-immā tuslimū kama yuslimu l-nāsu, fa-immā talḥaqū bi-arḍikum; fa-anzala llāhu 'azza wa-jalla: "wa-in kādu la-yaftinūnaka – ay yaṣuddūnaka 'ani lladhi auḥaynā ilayka".

²³ Abū 'Ubayd, *al-Amwāl*, p. 194.

²⁴ Abū 'Ubayd, *al-Amwāl*, pp. 193 penult. - 194.

²⁵ Abū 'Ubayd, *al-Amwāl*, p. 194: . . . *wa-yubayyinu dhālika anna rasāla llāhi (s) lam yaj'al lahum, fī mā a'ṭāhum taḥlī la l-ribā* .

The fact that the Prophet did grant them this concession can be deduced from the traditions concerning a law suit brought before 'Attāb b. Asīd, governor of Mecca in the period following the conversion of al-Ṭā'if. The Banū Mughīra (a branch of Makhzūm), the traditions say, had close financial relations with the Banū 'Amr from al-Ṭā'if based on the lending of money. In their suit the Banū 'Amr demanded payment of the debt owed them by the Banū Mughīra, arguing that the Prophet had permitted them to collect such debts with all due interest. The Banū Mughīra argued, in their defence, that they were in difficult straits, for usury was forbidden by Islam and consequently they had lost considerable sums of money owed to them. 'Attāb b. Asīd wrote to the Prophet in Medina asking him for a decision in the matter. Then verse 278 of *Sūrat al-Baqara* was revealed: "O believers, fear God and give up the usury that is outstanding. . ." The Prophet conveyed the verse to 'Attāb, who summoned the Banū 'Amr from al-Ṭā'if and read before them the revealed verse. They promised to obey and act accordingly,²⁶ and dropped their suit.

The report about the suit of the Banū 'Amr against the Banū Mughīra²⁷ supplements the tradition of Muqātil and supports its validity. The Prophet apparently granted Thaqīf the concession to collect the debts owed to them with all due interest up to the date of their conversion. The privilege granted seems, however, to have remained in force for a very short period and was abrogated by the verse of the Qur'ān mentioned above. The date of the revelation of this verse can be fixed in the period after the visit of the deputation in 9 H and before the death of the Prophet in 11 H.

The terms granted to Thaqīf by the Prophet were considered by Muslim scholars as exceptionally favourable.²⁸ The privileged status granted to Thaqīf was

²⁶ Muqātil, *op. cit.*, I, fol. 47a; and see al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, Cairo, 1314, I, 366, ll. 12-18, 25-34; cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Lubāb al-nuqūl fī asbābi l-nuzūl*, Cairo, 1373/1954, p. 42 inf.-43; al-Wāhidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, Cairo, 1388/1968, pp. 58-9; al-Naysābūrī, *op. cit.*, III, 79; al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, III, 363; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, Cairo, 1392/1972, VI, 551-2.

²⁷ See al-Samarqandī, *Tafsīr*, Ms. Chester Beatty 3668, I, 70b: . . . *nazalat hādhihi l-ayatu fī nafarin min banī thaqīfin wa-fī banī l-mughṭrati min qurayshin, wa-kānat thaqīfun yurbūna li-banī l-mughṭrati fī l-jāhiliyyati, wa-kānu arba'ata ikhwatin minhum mas'udun wa-'abdu yālīla wa-akhawāhumā yurbiyānt li-banī l-mughṭrati; fa-lammā zahara l-nabiyyu 'alā ahli makkata waḍa'a l-ribā, wa-kāna ahlu l-ṭā'ifi qad ṣālahū 'alā anna lahum ribāhum 'alā l-nāsi ya'khdhūnahū, wa-mā kāna 'alayhim min ribā l-nāsi fa-huwa mauḍū'un 'anhum, lā yu'khdhu minhum; wa-qad kāna rasūlu llāhi (ṣ) katāba lahum kitāban wa-katāba fī asfali kitābihim: inna lakum mā li-l-muslimīna wa-'alaykum mā 'alayhim; fa-lammā ḥalla l-ajalu ṭalaba thaqīfun ribāhum, fa-khaṣamū ilā amṭri makkata wa-huwa 'attābu bnu asīdīn. . .*; and see this tradition (with slight variants) in al-Suyūṭī's *al-Durr al-manthūr*, I, 364, ll. 3-8; cf. the concise comment on the verse of the Qur'ān given by al-Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām al-qur'ān*, Istanbul, 1338, I, 470: . . . *ḥabṭala minhu mā baqiya mim mā lam yuqbaḍ wa-lam yubṭil al-maqbūḍ* (the abrogation referred to sums to be paid, but not to sums already paid).

²⁸ See A. Ben-Šemesh, *Taxation in Islam III* (Qudāma b. Ja'far, *Kit. al-kharāj*), Leiden, 1965, II, 30 (Ar. text, fol. 83a: . . . *annahū wa-in kāna bayna man aslāna ṭā'i'an wa-man ukriha 'alā l-islāmi farqun qad abānahu rasūlu llāhi (ṣ) bi-l-fi'lī, wa-dhālika annahu ja'ala li-ahli*

clearly expressed in the stipulation that Wajj was their exclusive domain (*wa-thaqīfun aḥaqqu l-nāsi bi-wajjin*), that no one could enter the city of al-Ṭā'if without their permission, that they could plan the building of their city according to will, and that the governors would be appointed only from amongst themselves. The document of the Prophet formed, in fact, a definite solution to the long-standing competition between al-Ṭā'if and Mecca in the Jāhiliyya. Tradition says that Quraysh increased in number in the period of the Jāhiliyya and coveted the valley of Wajj; they proposed to Thaqīf that they share the *ḥaram* (of Mecca – K) and Wajj on equal terms. Thaqīf refused, arguing that Wajj had been built up by their ancestors (they having therefore 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.²⁹ This alliance tightened their mutual relations; Thaqīf were granted entrance into the Qurashī controlled Ḥums organization and intermarried with Quraysh.³⁰ The agreement, however, also facilitated the purchase of land in Wajj by Qurashites, and reports of Qurashī possessions in Wajj and in al-Ṭā'if substantiate it.³¹

l-ṭā'ifi lladhtna kāna islāmuhum ṭau'an mā lam yaj'alhu li-ghayrihim miḥla taḥrīmi wādthim wa-allā yu'bara ṭā'ifuhum. . .; the translation: "declared their water-sources protected areas" is slightly inaccurate; it should, of course, be rendered: "and he declared their valley as *ḥaram*".

²⁹ Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, ed. Khursheed Aḥmad Fāriq, Hyderabad, 1384/1964, pp. 280-1.

³⁰ Al-Jāhiz, *Kitāb al-amṣar wa-'aja'ib al-buldān*, ed. Charles Pellat, *Al-Mashriq* 60 (1966), pp. 175-76 (The passage referred to was *wa-mimmā bānat [bihi] qurayshun annahā lam talid ft l-jāhiliyyati waladan [majnūnan] qaṭṭu wa-la-qad akhadha dhālika minhum sukkānu l-ṭā'ifi li-qurbi l-jiwāri wa-ba'di l-muṣāharati wa-li-annahum kānu ḥumsan wa-qurayshun ḥammasa thum*, seems to contain a misreading, the amendment of which may here be suggested. The reading *waladat* is erroneous and consequently the addition [*majnūnan*] is unwarranted. The reading that Quraysh "never gave birth to a mad child in the period of the Jāhiliyya" is incompatible with the following sentence, stating that the people of al-Ṭā'if "took it over (learnt it – K) from them". The correct reading is apparently "*lam ta'id*": Quraysh never buried a [living female] child in the period of the Jāhiliyya; Thaqīf took over this custom (i.e. learnt it, adopted it – K) from Quraysh. In the following passage: "*wa-laysa ft aydi jam'i l-'arabi nisbatun min jam'i nisā'i quraysh*", read correctly: *sabiyyatun*; when Islam came there was no captive Qurashī woman among all the tribes of the Arabs. [See the verse of al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il in al-Balādhuri's *Ansāb al-ashraf*, Ms. fol. 1154a, about the women of Mecca: *wa-innā lā tusāqu lanā ki'ābun: khūlā l-naq'i bādiyata l-khidāmi*]. The word *al-qasm* [p. 176, l. 3] should be read *al-ghashm*).

³¹ Al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, p. 75; al-Tabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 68: *. . . wa-qadima nāsun min al-ṭā'ifi min qurayshin lahum amwālun. . .*; and see Abū l-Baqā' Muḥammad b. al-Diyā' al-Makkī l-'Adawī, *Aḥwāl Makka wa-l-Madīna*, Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 11865, fol. 38b: *. . . wa-kāna li-l-'abbāsi karmun bi-l-ṭā'ifi, wa-kāna yaḥmilu zabībahu ilayhā wa-kāna yudayinu ahla l-ṭā'ifi wa-yaqṭadi minhum al-zabība. . .*; *ibid.*, fol. 39b sup.: *. . . fa-kānat ft yadi 'aliyyi bni 'abdi llahi bni 'abbāsīn. . . ya'tihi l-zabību min mālihi bi-l-ṭā'if. . .*; Muqātil, *op. cit.*, II, 215a: *. . . wa-ja'altu lahu mālan mamdūdan* (Sūra LXXIV, 13) *ya'nt bi-l-māli bustānahu lladhi lahu bi-l-ṭā'ifi, wa-l-mamdūdu lladhi lā yanqaṭ'u-khayruhu shitā'an wa-lā sayfan*. The person referred to,

It may be of some importance to elucidate a peculiar passage in the letter of the Prophet concerning the real estate of Quraysh in the region of al-Ṭā'if. "Half of the (crops of – K) vineyards of Quraysh watered by Thaqīf will be (the lot – K) of them," says the stipulation in the document of the Prophet.³² It is evident that this decision aimed at regulating the partnership relations between the Qurashī owners of the land and their Thaqafī partners, who saw to the tilling and watering of the vineyards. The Thaqafites, perceiving the weakness of the Qurashites who had been involved in the bloody struggle with the Prophet, tried apparently to change the terms of the partnership in their own favour, or even to take over the property of their Qurashī partners. This can be gauged from a tradition recorded by al-Balādhurī: when Mecca was conquered by the Prophet and Quraysh embraced Islam, the Thaqafites coveted the land property of the Qurashites (scil. in the region of al-Ṭā'if – K); when al-Ṭā'if was conquered (for Islam) the rights to ownership of the property were confirmed.³³ The stipulation in the document of the Prophet seems to have settled the problem of the ownership of the land property of the Meccans and the conditions of their partnership with the Thaqafites.

The privileges granted to Thaqīf by the Prophet included exemption from *'ushr* and *ḥashr*. The meanings attached to these two words are divergent, and Muslim scholars differed concerning their definition already in the second century H. Abū 'Ubayd states that the exemption from *'ushr* means that they would not pay the tenth of their property, and that the tax paid by them would be confined to payment of *ṣadaqa*, i.e. five dirhams of every two hundred and fifty dirhams. The exemption from *ḥashr* is interpreted as meaning that they would not be ordered to gather their flocks and bring them to the tax-collector, who would come to them to their court-yards to levy their taxes.³⁴ Other scholars, quoting the interpretation of Jābir,³⁵ state that the Prophet in fact exempted them from payment of the poor tax, the *ṣadaqa*, but only for a very short period; as the time came to pay the tax of *ṣadaqa*, he postponed their payment until the end of the year. Comparing the decision of the Prophet to exempt Thaqīf from *ṣadaqa* and *jihād* with his refusal to exempt Bashīr b. al-Khaṣāṣiyya from these two prescriptions, Ibn al-Athīr explains that Bashīr was an individual, whereas Thaqīf were a community group (*jamā'a*), and that Thaqīf would not have converted in contrast to Bashīr, of whom the Prophet knew that he desired to embrace Islam. Therefore the Prophet sought to reconcile them and to bring them into Islam by stages.³⁶

according to the commentary is al-Walīd b. al-Mughira; cf. al-Qurtūbī, *Tafṣīr*, XIX, 71; al-Naysābūrī, *Gharā'ib*, XXIX, 91.

³² Abū 'Ubayd, *al-Amwāl*, p. 191, ll. 18–19.

³³ Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 75 (. . . *wa-kanat li-'ammati qurayshin amwālun bi-l-ṭā'ifi ya'tā-nahā min makkata fa-yuṣliḥūnahā; fa-lammā futiḥat makkatu wa-aslama ahluhā ṭami'at thaqīfun fīhā, ḥattā idhā futiḥat al-ṭā'ifu uqīrāt fī aydī al-makkiyyīn. . .*).

³⁴ Abū 'Ubayd, *al-Amwāl*, p. 192.

³⁵ See note 7 above.

³⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya*, III, 239 inf.- 240; *L'A*, s.v. 'a sh r; (see on Bashīr b. al-Khaṣāṣiyya: Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, Būlāq, 1280, I, 193-4).

Some scholars explain *hashr* (*lā yuḥsharūna*), contrary to the interpretation of Abū 'Ubayd, as denoting that Thaḳīf would not be summoned for fighting in military expeditions.³⁷ Abū 'Ubayd's interpretation of *'ushr* and *hashr* reflects in fact the Muslim opinion on the tax "*'ushr*", the tithe collected only from Jewish and Christian merchants, but from which Muslims were exempt³⁸ and on "*hashr*" the forbidden practice of driving the flocks to a specific location for the purpose of taxation (taxes were to be collected "on the spot", *alā miyāhihim wa-bi-afniyatihim*).³⁹ The intricate and crucial problem of the meaning of these two terms was authoritatively solved by the late D.C. Baneth: "Der mehrfach vorkommende Ausdruck *lā yuḥsharūna wa-lā yu'sharūna* ist überall zu deuten: sie sollen weder zu Kriegsdiensten noch zum Zehnt herangezogen werden."⁴⁰ The Prophet apparently exempted Thaḳīf from the prescribed poor tax, *ṣadaqa* (= *zakāt*) and *jihād*, in his endeavour to gain their cooperation and thus secure control over a city of considerable economic importance.

The destruction of the heathen sanctuary of al-Lāt according to the stipulations of the letter of the Prophet⁴¹ marked the conversion of Thaḳīf to Islam. The mosque of al-Ṭā'if was erected on the spot on which al-Lāt had been worshipped,⁴² a visible mark of the victory of Islam over paganism. The Prophet, of course, knew that Thaḳīf, after their conversion to Islam, would become loyal members of the Islamic community and perform fully the prescriptions of the new faith.

*

The privileges bestowed upon Thaḳīf by the Prophet were generous and amounted almost to a measure of autonomy. The granted concessions, however, very soon lost their importance, when al-Ṭā'if was incorporated into the body politic of the nascent Muslim commonwealth. The Prophet sent 'Uthmān b. abī l-ʿAṣ to al-Ṭā'if as governor⁴³ and Sālif b. 'Uthmān b. Mu'attib as tax collector.⁴⁴

³⁷ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya*, I, 389; *L'A*, s.v. ḥ sh r; cf. al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Fā'iq*, II, 433 sup., I, 180, ll. 13–14.

³⁸ See Abū 'Ubayd, *al-Amwāl*, pp. 528–30, nos. 1631–43 (and see esp. no. 1638); and see al-Ṭahāwī, *Sharḥ ma'āni l-lāthār*, ed. Muḥammad Zuḥrī l-Najjār, Cairo, 1388/1968, II, 30–3.

³⁹ See e.g. Abū 'Ubayd, *al-Amwāl*, p. 404, no. 1092; and see above, notes 7, 10.

⁴⁰ D.H. Baneth, *Beiträge Zur Kritik und zum sprachlichen Verständnis der Schreiben Mohammeds* (Résumé of thesis, 1920).

⁴¹ See e.g. al-Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, pp. 971–2.

⁴² See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v. al-Lāt; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kit. al-aṣnām*, ed. Ahmad Zakī Pāshā, Cairo, 1343/1934, p. 16. (Comp. the story of the destruction of Dhū l-Khalasa: Ibn al-Kalbī, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 inf. – 36; the mosque of 'Ablā', was erected on the spot of the sanctuary of Dhū Khalasa [see al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-aṣhrāf*, Ms. fol. 1175a inf.: . . . *thumma innahu ḥajja ilā dhī l-khalasata wa-huwa baytun bi-l-'ablā' kānat khath'amun wa-man yalṭhim min qaysin wa-ghayrihim yahujjūnahu, wa-huwa l-yauma maudī'u masjidi l-'ablā'i* . . .]).

⁴³ Al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, p. 79; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'arīf*, ed. Tharwat 'Ukāsha, Cairo, 1969, pp. 268–9; al-I'āsi, *al-Iqd al-thamīn fī ta'rīkh al-balad al-amīn*, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid, Cairo, 1386/1966, VI, 24–5; al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, IV, 10; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. Akram Ḍiyā' al-'Umarī, al-Najaf, 1386/1967, pp. 61, 91; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, Cairo, 1957, II, 269.

⁴⁴ Al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-aṣhrāf*, ed. Muḥammad Hamīdullāh, Cairo, 1959, I, 531; Ibn

Sa'd b. abī Waqqāṣ was appointed by the Prophet over the *himā* of Wajj.⁴⁵ This marked, of course, the full absorption of Thaqīf into the activities of the Muslim community. Later al-Ṭā'if became a district of Mecca.⁴⁶ Abū Bakr appointed 'Attāb b. Asīd as governor of Mecca and al-Ṭā'if, but later 'Uthmān b. abī l-ʿĀṣ was reappointed governor of al-Ṭā'if, leaving 'Attāb solely as governor of Mecca.⁴⁷ 'Umar appointed Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Ḥārith from Khuzā'a as governor of Mecca and al-Ṭā'if, but later dismissed him⁴⁸ and appointed Sufyān b. 'Abdallāh al-Thaqafī as governor of Ṭā'if;⁴⁹ other sources record that 'Umar sent him to al-Ṭā'if as tax-collector.⁵⁰ In his questions addressed to 'Umar concerning taxes imposed on cattle, fruits and honey, and in 'Umar's instructions there is no trace of a privileged position for al-Ṭā'if,⁵¹ nor is there any such position in the taxation on land. Al-Ṭā'if had become equal to all other regions of the Arabian peninsula.⁵² The stipulation concerning the *tahrīm* of the entire area of al-Ṭā'if seems to have lost its validity and the privately owned *himās* fell under the control of the governor and received formal acknowledgement and protection upon due payment of taxes.⁵³

Shortly after the Prophet's death Thaqīf were summoned to participate in the enormous effort of the Muslim conquests: on the eve of the expedition against Syria, Abū Bakr called upon the people of al-Ṭā'if to join the forces being despatched towards the borders of the Byzantine empire.⁵⁴ It is noteworthy that as early as 13 H, 'Umar appointed Abū 'Ubayd al-Thaqafī, the martyr of the Battle of the Bridge, as the commander of the Muslim forces fighting on the Persian frontier.⁵⁵

Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, III, 8, no. 3041; . . . *fa-lammā aslamū sta'mala min al-ahlāfi sālifa bna 'uthmana 'alā ṣadaqati thaqifin*. . . ; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 245; and see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, Ms. Br. Mus., Add. 23297, fol. 155a, ll. 3-5.

⁴⁵ Al-Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, p. 973, ll. 7-8.

⁴⁶ Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 75 (. . . *wa-ṣarat arḍu l-ṭā'ifi mikhlaḥan min makhaltfi makkata*).

⁴⁷ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansab*, I, 529.

⁴⁸ Al-Fāsi, *al-'Iqd al-thamīn*, VII, 320-2, no. 2574; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 7-8; cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, VI, 408.

⁴⁹ Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 77, 79; see on him Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, III, 124, no. 3317; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 319-20; al-Fāsi, *al-'Iqd*, IV, 590, no. 1308; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

⁵⁰ 'Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥabīburrāḥmān al-A'zamī, Beirut, 1391/1972, IV, 10, no. 6806 (. . . *anna 'umara bna l-khaṭṭābi ba'atha sufyaṇa bna 'abdi llāhi l-thaqafīyya sā'iyan* . . .), II, no. 6808 (. . . *anna sufyaṇa bna 'abdi llāhi wa-huwa yuṣaddīqu fī makhaltfi l-ṭā'ifi* . . .)

⁵¹ See 'Abd al-Razzāq, *op. cit.*, IV, 14, no. 6816; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 76-8; cf. Yahyā b. Ādam, *Kit. al-kharāj*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākīr, Cairo, 1347, p. 155, no. 548.

⁵² See Abū Yūsuf, *Kit. al-kharāj*, Cairo, 1382, pp. 58 inf., 63; Abū 'Ubayd, *al-Amwāl*, p. 512, no. 1560.

⁵³ See 'Abd al-Razzāq, *op. cit.*, IV, 62, no. 6969; Abū Yūsuf, *op. cit.*, pp. 55 inf., 70 inf.-71 sup.; Abū 'Ubayd, *al-Amwāl*, p. 497, no. 1488; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, III, 141; and see F. Lokkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, Copenhagen, 1950, p. 31 (and see *ib.*, pp. 22-35 on *ḥaram* and *himā*).

⁵⁴ Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 149.

⁵⁵ See e.g. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 350-2; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 630-2; Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, Hyderabad, 1388/1968, I, 164.

As equal but not privileged members of the emerging society of the Arab Empire, the Thaqafites migrated to the various regions of the conquered lands and produced quite a few well known leaders and administrators, as well as rebels.

II

The wars of the *ridḍa* and the subsequent wars of conquest and expansion brought about fundamental changes in the population structure of the Arabian peninsula. As a result of the fact that tribal units emigrated by waves to the newly-conquered territories, bonds between clans and tribes were loosened, weakening the units and groups which remained in the peninsula; this led to the necessity to form new bonds amongst these tribal groups. Furthermore, small and weak tribal units, which had split away from their main tribe and had come to dwell among other tribal divisions, detached themselves during this stormy period of migrations, and tried to find the way back to their original tribes.

The changes which the re-distribution of land by the rulers in the Arabian peninsula introduced were considerable: vast areas of pasture land were expropriated and turned into *ḥimā* territory; lands of the expelled Jews and Christians in Najrān were divided and leased out on terms now fixed by the Caliph⁵⁶ and exacted by his governors.

Large estates were established by members of the Meccan aristocracy, and wells were dug (especially on the routes of the *hajj*), providing them with water. Captives from the conquered territories were brought to the Arabian peninsula and employed by land owners in building up their estates.

The rapid development of Mecca, as a center of pilgrimage for the rising Empire, called for large supplies of vegetables and fruits. This was the impetus for the growth of well-cultivated farms and estates in the vicinity of Mecca and Medina, providing for the needs of the population and the pilgrims to these two cities.

Mu'āwiya's grasp of the economic importance of real estate led him to acquire lands in the area of Mecca and Medina, where he also purchased buildings and courts. He did the same in al-Ṭā'if, buying land from Jews who had settled there as merchants after being expelled from al-Yaman and Medina.⁵⁷ It is obvious

⁵⁶ See Ibn Abī Shayba, *Ta'rikh*, Ms. Berlin 9409 (Sprenger 104), fol. 100b: *ḥaddathanā abū khālīdīn al-aḥmaru 'an yahyā bni sa'īdīn anna 'umara ajlā ahla najrāna l-yahūda wa-l-naṣārā wa-sharā (text: wa-starā) bayāda arḍihim wa-kurūmihim, fa-'āmala 'umaru l-nāsa: in hum jā'u bi-l-baqari wa-l-hadīdi min 'indihim fa-lahumu l-thulthāni wa-li-'umara l-thulthu; wa-in jā'a 'umaru bi-l-badhri min 'indihi fa-lahu l-shaṭru; wa-'āmalahum al-nakhl (sic!) 'alā anna lahumu l-khumsa wa-li-'umara arba'atu akhmāsīn; wa-'āmalahum al-karm (sic!) 'alā anna lahumu l-thultha wa-li-'umara l-thulthāni. 'Umar denotes in this report (. . . wa-li-'umara, . . . wa-in jā'a 'umaru. . .) the Muslim government of Medina. It is obvious that the government established a new order of the agrarian organization of Najrān and supplied, in certain cases, the peasants with means of cultivation of the land.*

⁵⁷ See al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 75.

that Mu'āwīya needed labourers to cultivate his lands, as well as reliable personnel for maintaining his houses and managing his enterprises.⁵⁸ The thread which may lead us to a better understanding of Mu'āwīya's policy against the background of the contemporary social and economic situation is provided in a concise account which states that Mu'āwīya affiliated the 'Ā'idhat Quraysh (i.e. the Khuzayma b. Lu'ayy) to Quraysh in order to strengthen his power by them (*yatakaththaru bihim*).⁵⁹ The expression "*yatakaththaru bihim*", in the context of the reports on the power struggle between the various parties, denotes the affiliation or adoption of a group of people by one of the parties in order to overcome a contending party.⁶⁰ The application of this principle in relation to the Banū Sāma is recorded in a significant report, transmitted by al-Zubayr b. Bakkār and Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, on the authority of al-Zuhrī. Abū Jahm b. Ḥudhayfa⁶¹ came to Mu'āwīya who enquired about his fight and dissension with Thaqīf, for the latter had submitted a complaint against him to Mu'āwīya. Abū Jahm's succinct reply was: he would not be reconciled with them until they said: "Quraysh and Thaqīf, Liyya

⁵⁸ See M. Rosen-Ayalon (ed.), *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, Jerusalem 1977, p. 44, notes 52-5.

⁵⁹ See *Oriens* 25-26 (1976) 56, note 42; and see on 'Ā'idhat Quraysh: al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab quraysh wa-akhbārīhā*, Ms. Bodley, Marsh 384, fol. 199a-b; Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, ed. Levi Provençal, Cairo, 1953, p. 442 sup.; al-'Iṣāmī, *Simṭ al-nujūm al-'awālī*, Cairo, 1380, I, 164. (And see about the different petty tribal divisions alleging a Qurashī pedigree: *Oriens* 25-26 (1976) 55-56, notes 33-41; and see about the Murra b. 'Auf alleging Qurashī origin: al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*. Ms., fol. 1143b; and see about the expulsion of Āl Junayda b. Qays from amongst Quraysh by 'Umar: al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *op. cit.*, fol. 201b; and see about alliances of certain small tribal factions: al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *op. cit.*, fol. 199b: *wa-kāna banū ma'īṣi bni 'amiri bni lu'ayyin wa-banū l-adrami wa-banū muḥārībi bni fihrin ḥulafā'a*. . . ; cf. al-'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, I, 164: *wa-ft qurayshin raḥṭun yuqālu lahu l-ajrabāni wa-hum banū baḡhīdi* (read correctly: *ma'īṣi bni 'amiri bni lu'ayyin wa-banū muḥārībi bni fihrin, wa-kāna hādḥāni l-raḥṭāni mutahālijayni wa-kānā yud'ayāni l-ajrabayni*. . .).

⁶⁰ The accusation of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam raised against Mu'āwīya: *lau lam tajid illā l-zanja la-takaththarta bihim 'alaynā*. . . was mistranslated and misinterpreted by Lammens, *Études sur la Règne du Calife Omayyade Mo'āwia Ier*, Beyrouth, 1906, p. 11: . . . *Par Dieu si les nègres pouvaient te rendre service tu n'hésiterais pas à les employer pour affermir ton pouvoir*. . . given as proof for the preceding assumption of Lammens: . . . *Ainsi, dans le gouvernement de l'islam, agissaient Mo'āwia et, à son exemple, les Omayyades; chez le premier surtout, la raison d'état a généralement primé les autres considérations*. . . This utterance was as well mistranslated and misinterpreted by W. Hoenerbach, "Araber und Mittelmeer, Anfänge und Probleme Arabischer Seegeschichte" in: *Zeki Velidi Togan'a Armağan*, Istanbul, 1950-5, p. 385: "*Wenn du Profit haben könntest durch die Zang so würdest du Profit durch sie haben*. . . *tatsächlich kennzeichnet sie seine stete Bereitschaft zur Übernahme aller Einrichtungen*. . . The correct translation should be: ". . . If you found none but negroes, you would strive to out-number us by [adopting or attaching] them [scil. to your clan - K]", as I gave it in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, p. 44, note 57.

⁶¹ See on him Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, VII, 71, no. 9691; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, Cairo, 1380/1960, pp. 1623-4, no. 2899; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 163-4; Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, pp. 369, 371; al-Fāsi, *al-'Iqd*, VIII, 34, no. 2846; Anonymous, *al-Ta'rtkh al-muḥkam ft man intasaba ilā l-nabiyyi ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam*, Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 8653, fol. 178a.

and Wajj.”⁶² “By God,” said Abū Jahm, “only a fool from among them will like us and only a fool from among us will like them; by this we discern our fools.”⁶³ Another report, also related on the authority of al-Zuhrī, tells of the conversation between Mu'āwiya and Abū Jahm on the latter's second visit⁶⁴ to Mu'āwiya, complementing and elucidating the policy which Quraysh were pressing with regard to the Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt, a Kinānī division which had long sojourned at Mecca, and towards Thaḳīf in al-Ṭā'if. Abū Jahm gives details of the situation and explains his plan of action; Mu'āwiya relates the steps taken. “The Banū Bakr (i.e. Banū Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kināna) are increasing in numbers, surpassing us” (thus forming a danger to our authority in the city – K),⁶⁵ said Abū Jahm, advising Mu'āwiya to send to the Banū Sāma and to settle them beyond the Ditch (*khandaq*) opposite the best of the Banū Bakr,⁶⁶ he further proposed to grant to the Banū

⁶² The reading in *al-Munammaq*, p. 397, l. 7: *wa-litā wajj* is erroneous; read: *wa-liyatū wa-wajj*.

⁶³ The passage in *al-Munammaq*, p. 397, l. 7: *wa-lā yuḥibbūna minnā illā aḥmaqa, wa-lā yuḥibbuhum minnā illā aḥmaqu wa-bi-dhālika na'tabiruka min ḥamqānā*, is erroneous; read: *wa-lā yuḥibbunā minhum illā aḥmaqu, wa-lā yuḥibbuhum minnā illā aḥmaqu, wa-bi-dhālika na'tabiru ḥamqānā*; and see al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā sta'jam*, p. 1168.

⁶⁴ The text in *al-Munammaq*, p. 397, l. 8: *ft qal'atin ukhrā* is erroneous; read as in al-Zubayr's *Jamhara*: *ft wafdatin ukhrā wafadahā ilayhi*.

⁶⁵ For the expression *yatakattharūna 'alaynā* see e.g. al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *op. cit.*, fol. 184a: ... *fa-inna banī kilābi bni murrata takattharū 'alā buṭūni bant ka'bi bni lu'ayyin fa-tahālafat 'alayhim tilka l-aḥlaf*...

⁶⁶ In *al-Munammaq*: *fa-j'alhum janāba bant bakr*; in al-Zubayr's *Jamhara*: *fa-j'alhum 'alā suyyābi bant bakr*.

The pedigree of the Banū Sāma is obscure, their relation with Quraysh is disputed and the reports of the scholars of *nasab* about their ancestor Sāma b. Lu'ayy are divergent and contradictory. According to tradition Sāma was compelled to leave his tribe. He escaped to 'Umān where he married the Quḍā'ī Nājiya bint Jarm b. Rabbān. The report that Sāma died childless is corroborated by an utterance of the Prophet that he left no progeny. But a contradictory *ḥadīth* attributed to the Prophet says that the Prophet asked a man about his pedigree. He said he was a descendant of Sāma and the Prophet asked: “The poet?”, referring to a widely circulated verse of Sāma. This may obviously point to the fact that the Prophet confirmed the existence of descendants of Sāma. Somewhat clearer information can be obtained from an account according to which the Prophet received a delegation of the Banū Sāma and remarked that they were the relatives of Quraysh.

Some genealogical accounts say that Sāma's son from his first marriage (with Hind bint Taym al-Adram b. Ghālib), al-Ḥārith, married after the death of Sāma his stepmother Nājiya bint Jarm in accordance with the custom of *nikāḥ al-maqt*. The Banū Sāma are thus the descendants of al-Ḥārith b. Sāma and Nājiya and are known as the Banū Nājiya. Another report says that Sāma and Nājiya had only a daughter, 'Āja, and the Banū Sāma (or Banū Nājiya) are the progeny of this daughter. A divergent account reports that Sāma died childless; Nājiya married after his death a man from Baḥrayn and gave birth to a child named al-Ḥārith. When her second husband died she went with her child, al-Ḥārith, to Mecca claiming falsely that al-Ḥārith was the child of Sāma b. Lu'ayy. She was welcomed by Ka'b b. Lu'ayy and accommodated by him with her child in Mecca. But when after some time a group of people from al-Baḥrayn divulged her lie, Ka'b b. Lu'ayy banned Nājiya with her son from Mecca; they returned to al-Baḥrayn. Another report states that Sāma did not beget children; he adopted a child of Nājiya and the Banū Sāma are in fact descendants of this adopted son.

Sāma as a source of sustenance the (income of the – K) settlements of Fadak, Khaybar and Wādī l-Qurā. Further, Abū Jahm described the situation in al-Ṭā'if, saying that Thaqīf would surpass Quraysh in numbers in Wajj and proposed that Mu'āwiya send many Byzantines and Persians⁶⁷ to settle densely in the Wajj valley, so that “we may devour them (i.e. Thaqīf) by them (i.e. the Byzantines and Persians).⁶⁸ Mu'āwiya expressed his full assent and told Abu Jahm that he fully settled⁶⁹ the (quarters of the – K) Banū Bakr with warriors and troops, so that if a Qurashite were to become enraged⁷⁰ he would send for one of the Banū Bakr; the Bakrī would be brought before him⁷¹ and would do what he (i.e. the Qurashī) would wish him to do. Mu'āwiya emphasized what he did with Thaqīf, driving them from their abode and resettling them in the high mountains of al-Sarāt. They asked to be given their pay in 'Irāq, but Mu'āwiya insisted upon paying them in Syria, the country of plagues⁷² in order to be rid of them. All their property

After the rise of Islam a delegation of the Banū Sāma asked to be affiliated to Quraysh, tracing their pedigree back to Sāma b. Lu'ayy, the ancestor of Quraysh. Both 'Umar and 'Alī denied any connection of Quraysh with them, refusing to include them in the pay-roll of Quraysh. A statement of 'Alī that the Banū Sāma were descendants of a bondswoman of Sāma raped by one of his black slaves, is said to have led to a rebellion of the troop of the Banū Najīya numbering 300 warriors. They openly revolted under their leader, al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid (from the Sāmī clan of 'Abd al-Bayt). They left 'Alī's camp and were joined by Muslim political malcontents, as well as by local inhabitants who refused to pay the land-tax (*kharaḡ*) and by Kurds and Bedouins. 'Alī was compelled to levy a strong force under the command of Ma'qil b. Qays al-Riyāhī who succeeded to defeat al-Khirrīt's force in the region of al-Ahwāz. Al-Khirrīt retreated to the coastal territory of the Persian Gulf where he managed to rally the Banū Sāma, some of the 'Abd Qays, as well as Christians and converts to Islam from Christianity, who wanted to revert to their former faith. A strong force dispatched by 'Alī defeated the rebelling troop and al-Khirrīt was killed in the battle. The captives were sold to Maḡqala b. Hubayra al-Shaybānī, who freed them; he failed, however, to pay the promised sum, absconded and joined Mu'āwiya. The Banū Sāma were later known by their hostile attitude towards 'Alī. (See: al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Maghribī, *al-Īnās bi-'ilmī l-ansab*, Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 3620, fols. 51a–55a; *al-Aghānī*, index; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḡh*, index; Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḡ*, Hyderabad 1391/1971, IV, 75–88; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḡ nahj al-balāgha*, ed. Muḡammad Abū l-Faḡl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1385/1965, III, 119–122, 126–151; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-'arab*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Ḥarūn, Cairo, 1962, p. 173; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uḡd*, II, 110; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Ist'rāb*, pp. 458–9; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, Ms., fol. 1054a; and see W. Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab, das genealogische Werk des Ḥiṣām ibn Muḡammad al-Kalbi*, II, 123, s.v. 'Abdalbait b. al-Ḥārīt; *Oriens* 25–26, 56 (1976), note 38).

⁶⁷ In al-Zubayr's *Jamhara*: *fa-akthir min [al-ahrāri min] al-rūmi wa-l-fursi [wa-mā' wajjan minhum]*; the words in brackets are missing in *al-Munammaq*.

⁶⁸ The reading *hattā ta'kulahum* is erroneous; read: *hattā na'kulahum*. For the expression *na'kulu bi* see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḡh*, II, 84: *wa-llāhi lau annī akhadhtu hādā l-fatā min qurayshīn la-akaltu bihi l-'araba*.

⁶⁹ The reading *mala'ahum* in *al-Munammaq* is erroneous; read: *fa-qaḡ mala'tuhum*.

⁷⁰ The correct reading is: *hattā anna aḡadakum la-yaghḡdabu l-ghadbata* as in al-Zubayr's *Jamhara*.

⁷¹ Read as in the *Jamhara*: *fa-yuqadu ilayhi* (not: *fa-yanqadu*); the correct reading is given in *al-Munammaq*, p. 398, note 9.

⁷² The reading *arḡu l-miṡwā'in*, the “land of the obedient”, is erroneous; the correct reading is *arḡu l-tawā'in*, the land of plagues and pestilences. This latter reading is corroborated by

(lands — K) were taken over by Quraysh and Mu'āwiya settled the territory with Byzantines and Persians.⁷³

The quoted traditions indeed explain the report stating that Mu'āwiya affiliated the Banū Sāma to Quraysh, with the aim of gaining strength for his clan through this extension. They were settled in Mecca and served as his loyal supporters, increasing his authority and reducing the power of the Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt, a tribal division which had played a considerable role in the relations between Quraysh and the Prophet.

Mu'āwiya's policy in relation to al-Ṭā'if is fully expounded in this report. He strived, like his father, to acquire lands in al-Ṭā'if and its surrounding territories and to widen Qurashī influence there. The Qurashī aim is expressed in the saying of Abū Jahm: "There will be no reconciliation with Thaqīf until they say Liyya and Wajj, Quraysh and Thaqīf." The intention seems to be that Thaqīf should acknowledge the demands of Quraysh to share in Liyya and Wajj as equal partners. The Qurashī pressure was reinforced by the dispersion of Thaqīf in the mountains of al-Sarāt and by necessitating them to go to Syria, considered a country exposed to plagues, in order to collect their pay. The Persians and Byzantines mentioned in the report were, in all probability, captives employed as labourers on the large estates.

*

Al-Ṭā'if after that played no political role in the history of the Muslim Empire. Praised for its good climate it remained a summer resort for the wealthy of Mecca and Medina. The descendants of Thaqīf clung fondly to the document of the Prophet about Wajj;⁷⁴ the fertile lands in the vicinity of al-Ṭā'if seem to have been considered a good investment and it is quite plausible that Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik purchased real estate there.⁷⁵ As a place of pilgrimage al-Ṭā'if became coupled with Mecca⁷⁶ or given a twofold sanctity comprising that of Mecca and of the Holy Land: al-Ṭā'if was a piece of Palestine transferred by God to the Arabian peninsula and placed in the spot of al-Ṭā'if after having performed the *ṭawāf* around the Ka'ba.⁷⁷ The traditions attributed to the Prophet, in which he

the phrase: "so that you and I may be rid of them", i.e. they would perish, afflicted by plagues in Syria. See on the "*ṭawā'if al-sham*" al-Tha'libī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1384/1965, p. 547, no. 896. And see about the deportation of people suspected of rebellious actions to Syria, the country of plagues: al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 232, ll. 5-6: *wa-wadidtu anni kuntu ḥabastuhu wa-aṣḥābahu au farrāqutuhum fī kūrī l-shāmi ḥa-kafatnīhimu l-ṭawā'ifnu*.

⁷³ Al-Zubayr b. Bakkr, *op. cit.*, fol. 170b; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, pp. 397-9.

⁷⁴ Shakīb Arslān, *op. cit.*, p. 119: *... wa-kānat thaqīfun tatarāthuhā hādha l-kitāba wa-tatabarraku bihi* (quoted from Ibn Fahd's *Tuhfat al-laṭā'if*).

⁷⁵ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, Ms. fol. 1225b: *... ittakhadha hishāmūn mālan bi-l-ṭā'if* . . .

⁷⁶ Shakīb Arslān, *op. cit.*, p. 136: *inna l-ṭā'ifa min makkata wa-makkatu min al-ṭā'ifi* (quoted from al-'Ujaymī's *Ihḍā'u l-laṭā'if*).

⁷⁷ See *Le Muséon* 82 (1969), 206, note 92; and see al-Ṭabarī, *Tafstr*, ed. Shākīr, III 52; al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafstr*, ed. Ḥashīm al-Rasūlī l-Maḥallāfī, Qumm, 1380, I, 60; al-Mas'ūdī,

asserted that Thaqīf were among the worst of the Arab tribes,⁷⁸ were replaced by traditions of praise. “The first for whom I shall intercede on the Day of Resurrection will be the people of Mecca, Medina and al-Ṭā’if,”⁷⁹ said a tradition attributed to the Prophet. “Thaqīf are God’s deputation,” says another tradition alleged to have been uttered by the Prophet.⁸⁰ Current stories predicted that during the period of disasters at the end of time the best people would dwell in the neighbourhood of al-Ṭā’if.⁸¹ “Wajj is a sacred valley,” says a *ḥadīth* recorded in the early compilation of Ma‘mar b. Rāshid.⁸² In the vein of this trend the tradition of God’s last tread seems to have been altered: “Wajj is a sacred valley; from Wajj God, may He be blessed and exalted, ascended to Heaven after He had accomplished the creation of heaven and earth.”⁸³ Wajj seems thus to have turned into the last spot on earth on which God trod and from which He ascended to Heaven, against the claims made on behalf of the Rock of the Dome in Jerusalem.

Ithbāt al-waṣīyya. Najaf. 1374/1955, p. 39; Ibn Bābūyah, *‘Itāl al-sharā’i’*, Najaf, 1385/1966, pp. 442-3; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, I, 124; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehran, 1378, XII, 109; Ḥāshim al-Baḥrānī al-Taubālī al-Katkānī, *al-Burhān fī tafsīrī l-qur’ān*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Mūsawī al-Zarandī. Tehran, 1375, I, 155, no. 8 and II, 319, nos. 4-5; Shakīb Arslān, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁷⁸ See Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, VI, 236: . . . *sharru qabā’ili l-‘arabi banū umayyata wa-banū ḥanīfata wa-thaqīfun*; al-Daylamī, *al-Firdaus*. Ms. Chester Beatty 3037, fol. 94a.

⁷⁹ Al-Nabīl, *al-Awā’il*. Ms. Zāhiriyya, ḥadīth 297/I, fol. 22a; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Ist’āb*, p. 1007; al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī, *al-Qirā li-qāṣidi umm al-qurā*, ed. Muṣṭafā l-Saqā, Cairo. 1390/1970, p. 666.

⁸⁰ Ibn Hibbān al-Bustī, *Kit. al-majrūḥīn*, ed. ‘Azīz al-Qādirī, Hyderabad. 1390/1970, I, 148: . . . *thaqīfun waḥdu llāhi ‘azza wa-jalla*; and see Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, III, 342inf.: *qāla rasūlu llāhi (s): allāhumma ḥdi thaqīfan*.

⁸¹ Shakīb Arslān, *op. cit.*, p. 136 (quoted from al-Māyurqī’s *Bahjat al-muhaj fī ba’dī fada’il al-ta’if wa-wajj*).

⁸² ‘Abd al Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, XI, 134, no. 20125; al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, p. 666.

⁸³ Al-Bakrī, *Mu’jam*, p. 1370.