

JEWES AND ARABS IN PRE- AND EARLY ISLAMIC ARABIA

Michael Lecker

VARIORUM COLLECTED STUDIES





Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

VARIORUM COLLECTED STUDIES SERIES

Jews and Arabs in
Pre- and Early
Islamic Arabia



Professor Michael Lecker
(Photo: Douglas Guthrie, Jerusalem)

Michael Lecker

Jews and Arabs in
Pre- and Early
Islamic Arabia

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 1998 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

This edition copyright © 1998 by Michael Lecker.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notice:

Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library CIP Data

Lecker, Michael

Jews and Arabs in Pre- and Early Islamic Arabia. (Variorum Collected Studies Series: CS639).

1. Jews – Arabian Peninsula – History – To 70 A.D. 2. Jews – Arabian Peninsula – History – 70. 3. Arabs – Arabian Peninsula – History – To 622. 4. Islam – Arabian Peninsula – History. 5. Arabian Peninsula – Religious Life and Customs. I. Title. 939.4'9

US Library of Congress CIP Data

Lecker, Michael

Jews and Arabs in Pre- and Early Islamic Arabia / Michael Lecker.

p. cm. – (Variorum Collected Studies Series CS639). Includes Index.

1. Saudi Arabia – History. 2. Jews – Saudi Arabia – History. 3. Saudi Arabia – Ethnic Relations. I. Title II. Series: Variorum Collected Studies Series CS639.

DS231.L43 1999

953.8 – dc21

98–42703

CIP

ISBN 978-0-86078-784-6 (hbk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003556695

CONTENTS

Preface viii

JEWS AND ARABS BEFORE ISLAM

- I Idol worship in pre-Islamic Medina (Yathrib) 331–346
Le Muséon 106. Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993
- II A note on early marriage links between Qurashīs and
Jewish women 17–39
Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam 10. Jerusalem, 1987
- III Zayd b. Thābit, ‘a Jew with two sidelocks’: Judaism
and literacy in pre-Islamic Medina (Yathrib) 259–273
Journal of Near Eastern Studies 56. Chicago, 1997
- IV ‘Amr ibn Ḥazm al-Anṣārī and Qur’ān 2, 256:
‘No compulsion is there in religion’ 57–64
Oriens 35. Leiden, 1996
- V Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān and ‘Ammār b. Yāsir, Jewish
converts to Islam 149–162
Quaderni di Studi Arabi 11. Venice, 1993

MUḤAMMAD AT MEDINA

- VI *Yahūd/’uhūd*: a variant reading in the story of the ‘Aqaba
meeting 169–184
With an appendix by Simon Hopkins
Le Muséon 109. Louvain-la-Neuve, 1996
- VII Wāqidi’s account on the status of the Jews of Medina:
a study of a combined report 15–32
Journal of Near Eastern Studies 54. Chicago, 1995
- VIII Muḥammad at Medina: a geographical approach 29–62
Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam 6. Jerusalem, 1985

XVIII	Biographical notes on Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā <i>Studia Islamica</i> 81. Paris, 1995	71–100
	Addenda et corrigenda	1–2
	Index	1–26

This volume contains xii + 350 pages

PREFACE

The articles included in this volume were published between the years 1985–97. As can be seen from the table of contents, they are not arranged chronologically but according to subjects. I have taken the opportunity to correct some slips and add several notes. The extensive index prepared for this volume, while giving away a love for details, demonstrates the egalitarian nature of Islamic historiography which accords thousands of men and women a name and a voice of their own.

The study of Islamic history and literature is a relatively young field of research, hence the large number of unexplored Arabic sources. In fact, the gap between current research and the potential evidence seems to be growing as more and more sources, some of which are quite voluminous, arrive at our libraries. Considering the difficulties of language and interpretation, progress is bound to be arduous and slow. However, we are now better equipped than ever before to study the history and literature of Islam during its formative centuries.

The tradition of philological training in Arabic is still alive in Jerusalem which is a hub of research into a variety of Islamic texts. Theories come and go, but in order to thoroughly study the history of Islam and the emergence of Islamic historiography we must explore the broadest possible spectrum of the textual evidence.

Grateful acknowledgment is made to Professor M.J. Kister and Professor L.I. Conrad for initiating this volume.

My thanks are due to the editors and publishers of the journals in which the articles originally appeared, for permission to

reprint them in this volume: *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* (II, VIII, IX, X, XI); the American Oriental Society (XIV); *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, and the University of Chicago Press (III, VII); *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* and Cambridge University Press (XV); *Journal of Semitic Studies* and Oxford University Press (XVI); *Le Muséon* (I, VI); *Oriens* and E.J. Brill, Leiden (IV); *al-Qanṭara* (XII); *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* (V); *Studia Islamica* (XVIII); *Die Welt des Orients* (XIII); and *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (XVII).

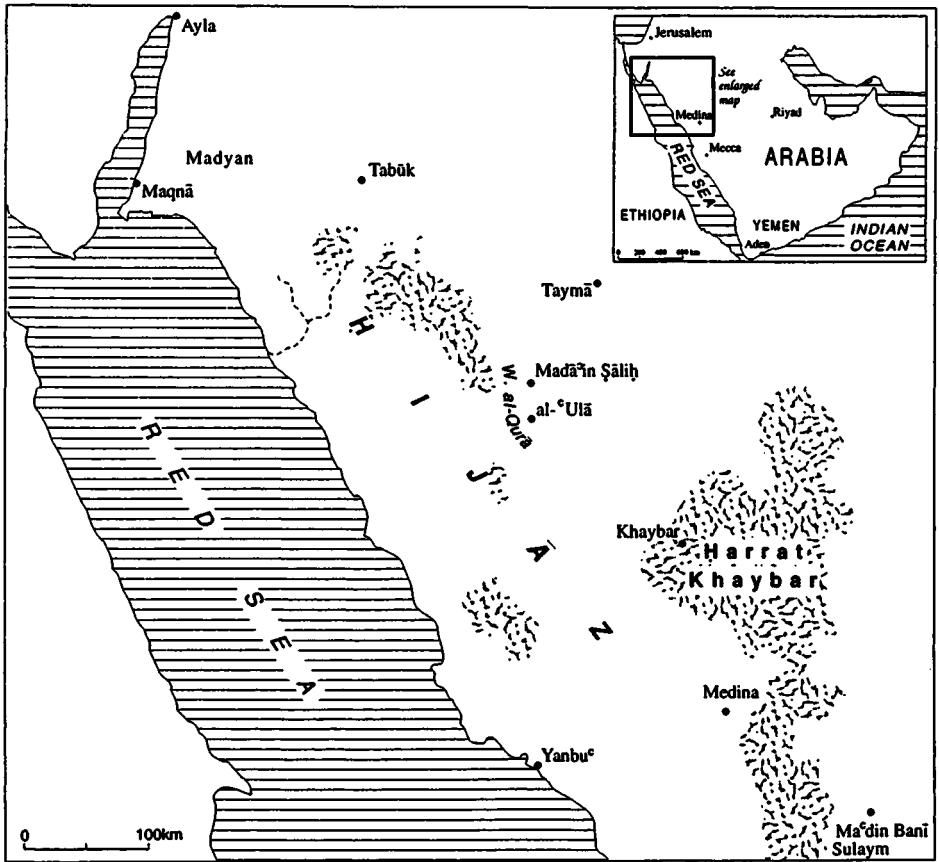
I am grateful to Dr John Smedley and Mrs Ruth Peters for their good counsel and help with regard to the organization and production of this volume.

Jerusalem
August 1998

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

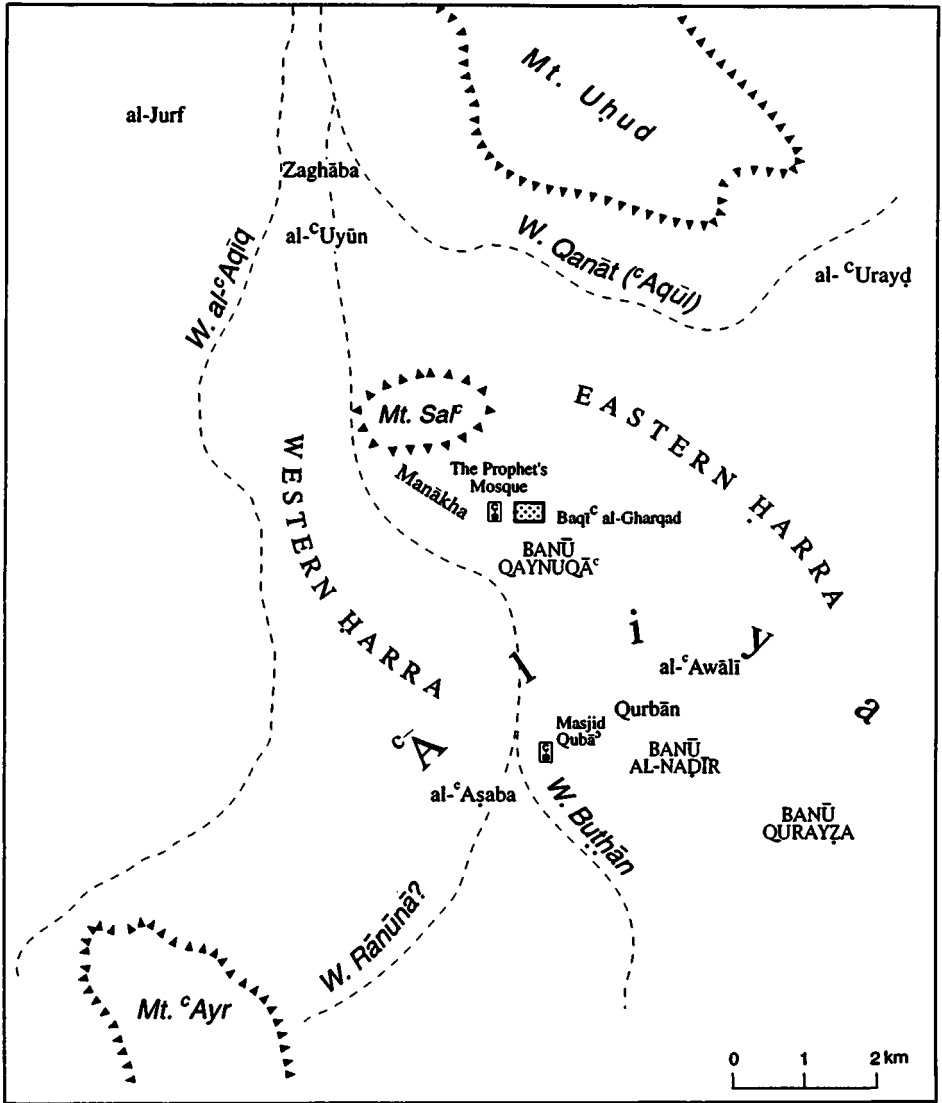
The articles in this volume, as in all others in the Collected Studies Series, have not been given a new, continuous pagination. In order to avoid confusion, and to facilitate their use where these same studies have been referred to elsewhere, the original pagination has been maintained wherever possible.

Each article has been given a Roman numeral in order of appearance, as listed in the Contents. This number is repeated on each page and quoted in the index entries.



Map 1: North-Western Arabia

Reproduced by kind permission of E.J. Brill, Leiden.



Map 2: Medina and its surroundings

Reproduced by kind permission of E.J. Brill, Leiden.

IDOL WORSHIP IN PRE-ISLAMIC MEDINA (YATHRIB)¹

Maqrīzī's universal history *al-Khabar 'ani l-bashar* includes a few passages which add considerably to our knowledge of pre-Islamic idol worship in Arabia in general and in Medina in particular².

Maqrīzī obviously collected these passages over a long period of time from different sources which he does not specify³. However, a little earlier in the MS (p. 425) 'Umar b. Shabba (d. 264/877) is quoted as the source of a report concerning the idol Sa'd (situated near Jedda). Ibn Shabba could well be the source of the information about the idols of Medina also, or at least of part of it, although the text discussed in this article could not be found in the printed edition of his *Akhbār al-Madīna*. But, as is well-known, the MS on which this edition is based is incomplete⁴. Alternatively, if Ibn Shabba is indeed the source, then the information could come from another book of his. A few pages earlier than the text discussed here Maqrīzī quotes Ibn Shabba's *Akhbār Makka*, and it is quite feasible that this work was the source of Maqrīzī's information. There is some indirect evidence in support of this possibility: Samhūdī quotes from *Akhbār Makka* a notice about Mukaymin, an idol located in the 'Aqīq near Medina⁵. If the *Akhbār Makka* has information on an idol near Medina it may well contain information on idols inside it also.

The Arabic text examined here appears at the end of the study. Its eight passages have been rearranged in the discussion for the sake of lucidity.

¹ The first draft of this study was read in Jerusalem in July 1987 at the Colloquium "From Jāhiliyya to Islam". I wish to thank the participants for their comments and suggestions. I am indebted to M. J. Kister for commenting on the final draft of this paper. Thanks are also due to S. Hopkins for the many improvements he suggested. Ever since I first came across the following passages I have tried in vain to find an Arabic text which will establish the readings of the idols' names.

² *MS Cairo. Dār al-Kutub, Ta'rikh* 947, vol. III.iii, 426-7. I wish to thank the authorities of the Dār al-Kutub for their kind permission to work there in December 1983.

³ *Al-Khabar 'ani l-bashar* was one of Maqrīzī's last works and he was still working on it in 844/1441 (i.e., shortly before his death in 845 A.H.); C. BROCKELMANN, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, Suppl. II, Leiden, 1938, 37f.

⁴ Hamad al-Jāsir, "Mu'allafāt fi ta'rikhi l-Madīna", no. 3, in *Majallat al-'arab*, IV.iv (January 1970), 327f; Majd ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Maghānim al-muḥāba fi ma'ālim ṭāba*, Riyād, 1389/1969, Introduction, p. zāy.

⁵ Samhūdī, *Wafā*, s.v. Mukaymin, II, 1311 (*wa-fi akhbār Makka li-'bn Shabba annahu kāna bi-Jammā' l-'Aqir bi-'Aqīq l-Madina ṣanam yuqālu lahu l-Mukaymin*).

1. *The list of clans and idols*

(1). He said: Every clan (*baṭn*) of the Aws and the Khazraj, who are the Anṣār, had an idol in a room (*bayt*) belonging to the whole clan which they honoured and venerated and to which they sacrificed.

1. The Banū (henceforward: B.) 'Abd al-Ashhal had al-Ḥarīsh.
2. The B. Ḥāritha had Ṣakhr.
3. The B. Ḥafṣ had Shams⁶.
4. The B. Mu'āwiya had al-B.hām.
5. The B. 'Amr b. 'Awf had al-Qayn.
6. The B. Khaṭma had Shafr.
7. The Qawāqila had al-Ḥabs⁷.
8. The B. Umayya had Ghayyān.
9. The B. Salima had Isāf.
10. The B. 'Adī b. an-Najjār had Samūl.
11. The B. Dīnār b. an-Najjār had Ḥusā (Ḥusan).
12. The B. Mālik b. an-Najjār had aṭ-Ṭamm (Alṭam?).
13. The B. Zurayq had as-Samḥ.

This passage (some of the readings and vocalizations are naturally uncertain) significantly increases our knowledge of pre-Islamic idolatry because the idols mentioned in it (presumably with the exception of no. 9 in the list, on which see below) are unknown to us from other sources⁸. The first six clans and the eighth are of the Aws and the rest are of the Khazraj. It seems unlikely that the other clans of the Aws and the Khazraj did not have idols; our information simply is incomplete.

Each *baṭn* had an idol of its own. That 'Abd al-Ashhal, Ḥāritha, Ḥafṣ etc. were *buṭūn* is confirmed by the genealogical information⁹.

2. *The Aws*

For some reason Maqrīzī's information is most detailed concerning the idols of a subgroup of Aws called Nabīṭ. To this group belong the first four *buṭūn*: 'Abd al-Ashhal, Ḥāritha, Ḥafṣ and Mu'āwiya¹⁰.

⁶ Cf. the idol Shams of Tanūm, e.g. WELLHAUSEN, *Reste*, 60-1; HÖFNER, *Die Stammesgruppen*, 467f.

⁷ For 'Ubāda b. aṣ-Ṣāmit of the Qawāqila see below, p. 340.

⁸ WELLHAUSEN, *Reste*, 215, has remarked correctly that we know only a fraction of the names of the Arabian idols.

⁹ See for example Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 338 ('Abd al-Ashhal, Ḥāritha and Ḥafṣ are each defined as a *baṭn*), 358 (Salima are defined as a *baṭn*).

¹⁰ In fact the Mu'āwiya were not included in the genealogy of Nabīṭ although they cooperated with them. For an attempt of 'Abd al-Ashhal, Ḥafṣ, Mu'āwiya and "the people of Rāṭij" on the eve of the Hijra to ally Quraysh see LECKER, *Muḥammad at Medina*,

Concerning the idols of the 'Amr b. 'Awf, no. 5 in the list, it should be noted that Sahl b. Ḥunayf of the Ḥanash subdivision of 'Amr b. 'Awf is said to have destroyed the idols of his clan. He reportedly brought the wooden debris to a destitute Muslim woman in Qubā' to be used as firewood. Sahl was among the closest supporters of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib and it comes as no surprise that the story is told on 'Alī's authority¹¹.

2.1. *Qays b. al-Khaṭīm's wife*

(6) Ḥawwā' bint Yazīd was the wife of Qays b. al-Khaṭīm. She said: "Qays was a man whom others did not dare to challenge (*lā yurāmu*). One day I assaulted his idol and destroyed it. When he entered he looked at it and said: "What is this? Did you do this?" She(!) said: 'No, the ewe butted it'". So he went to the ewe and slaughtered it.

This comic passage is a further reference to idol worship among the Nabīṭ to which both Ḥawwā' and her husband, the renowned poet Qays b. al-Khaṭīm, belonged. Ḥawwā' was of the *baṭn* called 'Abd al-Ashhal, more precisely of the abovementioned Za'ūrā', as is shown by her pedigree: Ḥawwā' bint Yazīd b. Sakan b. Kurz b. Za'ūrā' b. 'Abd al-Ashhal¹². Qays b. al-Khaṭīm was of the *baṭn* called Zafar¹³.

2.2. *Idols and genealogy*

Al-Ḥarīsh of the 'Abd al-Ashhal¹⁴ and al-Ghayyān of the Umayyā (viz. nos. 1 and 8 in the list) are of interest because their names can be traced in the genealogies of the respective clans. Perhaps these two were ancestor statuettes (images of dead kin), in which case we may expect them to have been at least roughly anthropoid¹⁵.

44; M. J. KISTER, *On strangers and allies in Mecca*, in *JSAL*, 13 (1990), 142f. We do not hear of idols belonging to the Za'ūrā', a *baṭn* of the Nabīṭ (IBN ḤAZM, *Ansāb*, p. 338), presumably because they were Jewish; cf. LECKER, *op. cit.*, 44f.

¹¹ IBN HISHĀM, II, 138-9. Cf. BALĀDH., *Ansāb*, I, 265 ('Abdallāh b. Jubayr [of the 'Amr b. 'Awf; cf. *Iṣāba*, IV, 35] and Sahl b. Ḥunayf used to break the idols and bring the debris to the Muslims). BUHL, *Leben*, 79, remarks correctly that the household idols were made of wood since they were usually said to have been burnt.

¹² Sa'd b. Mu'adh of 'Abd al-Ashhal was Ḥawwā's maternal uncle; *Usd*, V, 431:13.

¹³ See also IBN SA'D, VIII, 323-4; *Usd*, V, 431:12; *Iṣāba*, VII, 589-90.

¹⁴ Cf. WELLHAUSEN, *Reste*, 64 (who notes the appearance of al-Ashhal in the theophoric name 'Abd al-Ashhal).

¹⁵ Cf. perhaps J. HENNINGER, *Einiges über Ahnenkult bei arabischen Beduinen*, in J. HENNINGER, *Arabia Sacra*, Göttingen, 1981, 170f. (originally published in W. HOENERBACH [ed.], *Der Orient in der Forschung: Festschrift für Otto Spies*, Wiesbaden, 1967, 301f.). Also K. VAN DEER TOORN, *The Nature of the Biblical Teraphim in the Light of the Cuneiform Evidence*, in *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 52 (1990), 203f. (where it is argued that the teraphim are more likely to have been ancestor figurines than household idols), 207.

Al-Ḥarīsh is 'Abd al-Ashhal's brother and the eponym of the B. al-Ḥarīsh, a brother-clan of the B. 'Abd al-Ashhal¹⁶. At some stage the Ḥarīsh were incorporated into the 'Abd al-Ashhal¹⁷, which should perhaps be linked to the fact that the idol al-Ḥarīsh is said to have been worshipped by the B. 'Abd al-Ashhal.

The Ghayyān were a subdivision of the B. Khaṭma (no. 6 in the list)¹⁸. We find Ghayyān b. 'Āmir b. Khaṭma in the pedigree of the Prophet's Companion Khuzayma b. Thābit b. al-Fākīh b. Tha'āba b. Sā'ida b. 'Āmir b. Ghayyān b. 'Āmir b. Khaṭma¹⁹.

The Umayya said by Maqrīzī to have worshipped Ghayyān were a subgroup of Khaṭma: the abovementioned Ghayyān had a brother called Umayya who was presumably the eponym of another branch of Khaṭma. This Umayya appears in the pedigree of the Prophet's Companion 'Umayr b. 'Adī b. Kharasha b. Umayya b. 'Āmir b. Khaṭma²⁰. In other words the statement "the B. Umayya had Ghayyān" involves two different branches of Khaṭma; similarly the statement "the B. 'Abd al-Ashhal had al-Ḥarīsh" involves two clans who were (initially) brother-clans.

The late Islamization of the Khaṭma and their indifferent or even hostile attitude to the Prophet account for the scarcity of information about them in the genealogical sources²¹. These deal with the Khaṭma very briefly and mention only a few of them, including the abovementioned Companions Khuzayma and 'Umayr. It so happens that both of them are said to have destroyed the idols of the Khaṭma²².

On the basis of the above data alone one could argue that idol worship was most widespread among the Nabī while the 'Amr b. 'Awf had only one idol (al-Qayn), the Khaṭma had two (Shafr and al-Ghayyān) and the

¹⁶ IBN ḤAZM, *Ansāb*, 338; IBN AL-KALBĪ, *Jamharat an-nasab*, ed. N. ḤASAN, Beirut, 1407/1986, 633. IBN QUDĀMA, *Istīṣār*, 299f., dedicates to the Ḥarīsh a separate item. (Another Ḥarīsh, of the 'Amr b. 'Awf, does not concern us here: al-Ḥarīsh b. Jahjabā was the forefather of the pre-Islamic leader Uḥayḥa b. al-Julāh. It is not clear why az-Zubayr [b. Bakkār] says that al-Ḥarīsh b. Jahjabā is the only Ḥarīsh in the genealogy of the Anṣār, the rest being Ḥarīs [with a *sin*]; IBN MĀKŪLĀ, *al-Ikmāl*, ed. AL-YAMĀNĪ, Hyderabad, 1381/1962, II, 420.)

¹⁷ Cf. LECKER, *Muḥammad at Medina*, 45, n. 115 (Ḥarīsh figures as 'Abd al-Ashhal's son in the pedigree of a Companion).

¹⁸ The *Tāj al-'arūs* mentions two groups in Medina called Ghayyān: B. Ghayyān b. 'Āmir b. Ḥanzāla (read: Khaṭma!) of the Aws and the B. Ghayyān b. Tha'āba b. Ṭarīf of the Khazraj. The former are meant here.

¹⁹ IBN ḤAZM, *Ansāb*, 343f. He was nicknamed *Dhū sh-shahādātayni*; see *Usd*, II, 114; *Iṣāba*, II, 278-9.

²⁰ Incidentally, 'Umayr assassinated the Jewish poetess 'Aṣmā' bint Marwān; IBN ḤAZM, *Ansāb*, 343.

²¹ E.g. IBN ḤAZM, *Ansāb*, 343.

²² *Usd*, II, 114:6; *Istī'āb*, III, 1218. See also *Iṣāba*, II, 278 (Khuzayma).

rest of the Aws, namely the Imru'ū al-Qays b. Mālik (the Wāqif and the Salm) and the Murra b. Mālik (the Umayya, the Wā'il and the 'Aṭīyya) had none. But this would be wrong. For example, the idols of the Wāqif are mentioned elsewhere in the context of the Islamization of one of them²³.

3. The Khazraj

Maqrīzī's text mentions idols of the Qawāqila (a subdivision of the 'Awf b. al-Khazraj), the Salima, the Zurayq and three subdivisions of the Najjār²⁴. We shall mention below references to the idols of the Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj (section 3.3), the Sā'ida and the Bayāḍa (section 3.5).

3.1. The Najjār

A man of Najjār was in charge (?) of their idols. This is shown by the report about the expulsion, at the Prophet's behest, of the Munāqifūn (the hypocrites) from the Prophet's mosque. Abū Ayyūb of the Ghanm b. Mālik b. an-Najjār, a subdivision of the Mālik b. an-Majjār (cf. no. 12 in the list), violently expelled 'Amr b. Qays who was of the same subdivision from the mosque. We are told in this context that 'Amr was in the Jāhiliyya in charge(?) of their idols (*kāna ṣāhibā ālihatihim fī l-jāhiliyya*)²⁵.

Three prominent members of Najjār reportedly destroyed idols when they embraced Islam: As'ad b. Zurāra, 'Umāra b. Ḥazm and 'Awf b. 'Afrā'²⁶. They destroyed the idols of the Mālik b. an-Najjār²⁷. All three were of the Ghanm b. Mālik b. an-Najjār²⁸.

²³ *Usd*, V, 66, s.v. Hilāl b. Umayya al-Wāqifi (... *wa-kāna yukassiru aṣnāma B. Wāqif*).

²⁴ Owing to our incomplete evidence there is no mention of an idol belonging to the fourth component of Najjār, the Māzin b. an-Najjār.

²⁵ *IBN HISHĀM*, II, 175. The 'Amr b. Qays of the Ghanm b. Mālik mentioned in the dictionaries of the Companions is identical with our 'Amr b. Qays (although the dictionaries tell us nothing of his attitude to the Prophet). 'Amr's pedigree shows that he was of a subdivision of the Ghanm called B. Sawād b. Ghanm b. Mālik (or Sawād b. Mālik b. Ghanm b. Mālik); *IBN QUDĀMA, Istiḥṣār*, 64f., 68; *Iṣāba*, IV, 671; *Usd*, IV, 127:4 from bottom; *Istī'āb*, III, 1199; *IBN SA'D*, III, 495.

²⁶ 'Awf b. al-Ḥārith, also called 'Awf b. 'Afrā' (after his mother), was killed at Badr; *IBN SA'D*, III, 493. He was As'ad's relative: his mother 'Afrā bint 'Ubayd was the sister of As'ad's grandfather; cf. *IBN HISHĀM*, II, 71; *IBN SA'D*, III, 608. See on 'Awf *Iṣāba*, IV, 739; *Usd*, IV, 155-6 (cf. s.v. 'Awdh b. 'Afrā', *op. cit.*, 153; *Istī'āb*, III, 1247, 1225-6).

²⁷ *IBN SA'D*, III, 609f. (... *yukassirūna aṣnāma B. Mālik b. an-Najjār*). See also *IBN SA'D*, III, 486.

²⁸ The Ghanm are a separate group in the entries on the participants of Badr found in *IBN SA'D*, III, 484-97. The same list appears in *WAQ.*, I, 161-3, who has an even more detailed account of Ghanm's subdivisions. Wāqidī and Ibn Sa'd (who mention the same people) follow basically the same order of names; however, Ibn Sa'd lists the *ḥulafā'* of the Ghanm after the Ghanm themselves while Wāqidī incorporates them in the relevant

Of these three As'ad b. Zurāra was by far the most important figure. His position, we are told, was unparalleled by that of other Anṣārī leaders. A report going back to his grandson (from his daughter; As'ad had no sons) claims that at the 'Aqaba-meeting he was *ra's an-nuqabā*²⁹.

As'ad is associated with another close supporter of the Prophet, Abū l-Haytham b. at-Tayyihān. It is reported that Abū l-Haytham and As'ad hated the idols and were disgusted by them, and they believed in monotheism (*yakrahu l-aṣnāma... wa-yu'affifu bihā wa-yaqūlu bi-t-tawḥīd*). Both were among the first Anṣār to embrace Islam (which they did in Mecca, before the Hijra)³⁰.

3.2. The Salima

(2). Every nobleman (*rajul sharīf*) had one of these idols. In the house of 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ there was an idol called Sāf (cf. above, section 1 no. 9) which was destroyed by Mu'ādh b. Jabal (may God be pleased with him) and Mu'ādh b. 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ.

14. Al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr had an idol called ad-Dībāj.

15. Al-Jadd b. Qays had an idol called az-Zabr.

(8) The Salima had an idol called Manāf (cf. above, section 1, no. 9). One of them, a man called al-Jamūḥ (read: Mu'ādh b. 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ) attacked it, bound a dog (i.e. dog's carrion) to it and then threw it into a well where it was found. Al-Jamūḥ (read: 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ) said:

"Praise be to God, the Great, the conferrer of favours, indeed He has disgraced Manāf, the sullied one;

I swear: had you been a god you would not have been bound together with a dog in the middle of a well".

This is a garbled fragment of a report found in other sources as well. According to Ibn Ishāq's report concerning the Islamization of 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ³¹, 'Amr was one of the *sayyids* of the Salima and one of their noblemen (*sayyidan min sādāt B. Salima wa-sharīfan min ashrafihim*).

subdivisions of the Ghanm. Similarly, the Ghanm form a separate group in the information on the territory of the B. Mālik b. an-Najjār: it is reported that the Ghanm built a fortress called Fuwaynī; in its place the court of Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was later situated; SAMHŪDĪ, *Wafā'*, I, 210.

²⁹ IBN SA'D, III, 602, 611, quoting Wāqidī, from Ma'mar b. Rāshid, from Zuhri, from (As'ad's grandson) Abū Umāma b. Sahl b. Hunayf. Abū Umāma's name was As'ad: he received both the name and the *kunya* of his famous grandfather; IBN SA'D, III, 471; *Tahdh.*, I, 263-5; *Iṣāba*, I, 181-2 (d. 100/718-9). Cf. BALĀDH., *Ansab*, I, 243:13 (*naqīb an-nuqabā*).

³⁰ IBN SA'D, III, 448.

³¹ IBN HISHĀM, II, 95-6.

In his house he had a wooden idol, as was common among the noble-men. They would take for themselves an idol, honour and purify (i.e. consecrate) it (*kamā kānati l-ashrāf yaşna'ūna, tattakhidhuhu ilāhan tu'azzimuhu wa-tuṭahhiruhu*)³².

The name of the idol in the source just quoted, Manāt, is identical to the name of the main idol of the Aṣṣār which was located at al-Mushallal near the seashore. But the letter *fā'* is consistent in Maqrīzī's text and it seems that the version Manāf is preferable³³. Manāf is presumably identical with the idol of the Salima and the idol of 'Amr b. al-Jamūh, mentioned above as "Isāf" and "Sāf"³⁴.

The verses of 'Amr b. al-Jamūh belong to a pattern known from similar stories of idol worshippers who repented having realized, upon the humiliation of their idol, the falsity of their belief. The Muslim youths who attacked the idol included 'Amr's son Mu'ādh; conflict between fathers and sons is a prevalent topic in the *sīra*.

Abū Nu'aym adduces another piece of Ibn Ishāq's report, not preserved by Ibn Hishām, on the Islamization of 'Amr b. al-Jamūh³⁵. After the rest of the (Salima) clan had embraced Islam, 'Amr expressed readiness to follow suit. However, before doing so he went to consult the idol (called here: Manāt!). Whenever they wanted to talk to the idol, the report goes on, an old woman came, stood behind it and answered on its behalf. However, when 'Amr came, the old woman was concealed (*wa-ghuyyibati l-'ajūz*). 'Amr talked to the idol for a long time but it could not answer. 'Amr said (crossly): "I think that you are angry although I have not done anything yet" (*aḏunnuka qad ghaḏibta wa-lam aṣna' ba'du shay'an*), and he broke it to pieces. The story of the frustrated dialogue ridicules the gullibility of the naive worshipper.

³² Cf. ABŪ NU'AYM, *Dalā'il*, 266: 'Amr washed his idol, purified and perfumed it after it had been rescued from a dung pit. In other words he "reconsecrated" it after it had been profaned.

³³ WELLHAUSEN, *Reste*, 28 (= Ibn Hishām) thought that Manāt of Medina was an image of the main idol Manāt; see also BUHL, *Leben*, 80, n. 217. Cf. T. FAHD, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris, 1968. 29; 122, n. 11 (read: Salima instead of Salama); and see on Manāt HÖFNER, *Die Stammesgruppen*, 454f; FAHD, *op. cit.*, 123-6; *El'*, s.v. Manāf and Manāt (T. Fahd). Fahd's location of Manāt "about 15 km. from Yathrib" (373R) must be a misprint.

³⁴ Isāf is also the name of a Meccan idol; cf. WELLHAUSEN, *Reste*, 92 (the occurrence of the name Isāf among the Khazraj suggests a link with Quraysh). IBN KALBĪ, *Aṣṣnām*, 32, mentions an idol called Manāf which appears in the Qurashite euphoric name 'Abd Manāf; WELLHAUSEN, *Reste*, 3, 56f.; BUHL, *Leben*, 75, n. 195; HÖFNER, *Die Stammesgruppen*, 453f.; ID., *Die vorislamischen Religionen Arabiens*, 367.

³⁵ *Dalā'il*, 267-8; Minjāb b. al-Hārith (d. 231; *Tahdh.*, X, 297-8), from Ziyād b. 'Abdallāh al-Bakkā'i, from Ibn Ishāq, from his father Ishāq b. Yasār, from a man of the Salima.

In addition we learn from Maqrīzī that there were at least two other idols of Salima, one belonging to al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr of the 'Ubayd subdivision of Salima and the other to al-Jadd b. Qays of the same subdivision. ('Amr b. al-Jamūh was of the Ḥarām subdivision of the Salima). We realize that in addition to the idol worshipped by the whole clan of Salima (*jamā'ati l-baṭn*, section 1), plausibly kept by 'Amr b. al-Jamūh, two noblemen of the Salima, viz. al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr and al-Jadd b. Qays, had idols of their own. Domestic idols presumably existed in every household. In other words, we may speak of a hierarchy of idols which correlated with the social status of their owners.

Another correlation which is noteworthy is the one between idols and fortresses. Of the three noblemen of Salima mentioned above, two are known to have owned fortresses: al-Barā' of the 'Ubayd subdivision owned one called al-Ashnaq and 'Amr of the Ḥarām subdivision owned Jā'is³⁶.

3.3. *The Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj*

(3). When the seventy who participated in the 'Aqaba-meeting arrived, they began destroying the idols. 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa (may God be pleased with him) entered the house of an old man, bound up his idol with some carrion, then laid it at his door. The old man woke up and saw it. He said: "Who did this to our god?" He was told: "This is the deed of Ibn Rawāḥa". Ibn Rawāḥa came to him and told him: "Are you not ashamed, being one of our distinguished men, to worship wood which you made with your own hand?" The old man said: "I do not attack it, I am worried about my young children". Bashīr b. Sa'd laughed³⁷ and said: "Does it have the power to harm or benefit?" Then 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa broke it and the old man embraced Islam.

The old man was presumably of the Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj because both 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa and Bashīr b. Sa'd were of this clan³⁸. The report

³⁶ SAMHŪDĪ, *Wafā'*, I, 202. This leaves us on one hand with the third nobleman al-Jadd and on the other with a fortress of the 'Ubayd called al-Aṭwal the owner of which is unspecified; SAMHŪDĪ, *Wafā'*, *loc. cit.* Perhaps it should be suggested that al-Jadd was the owner of al-Aṭwal. Incidentally, al-Jadd was Barā's paternal cousin; *Usd*, I, 274. In other words, we can talk of the leading family of the 'Ubayd subdivision.

³⁷ Bashīr b. Sa'd's abrupt appearance on the scene shows that this is an abridged version of the report.

³⁸ Bashīr was married to 'Abdallāh's sister; IBN SA'D, III, 531; WAQ., II, 476; IBN QUḌĀMA, *Istibṣār*, 112-3. Both 'Abdallāh and Bashīr were literate before Islam; IBN SA'D, III, 526, 531. 'Abdallāh was also one of the Prophet's scribes; *Iṣāba*, IV, 83.

concerning 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa and Abū d-Dardā' (see below), who was also a member of the Ḥārith, points in the same direction.

'Abdallāh, who was at the 'Aqaba-meeting the *naqīb* of the Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj³⁹, was chosen by the Prophet to break the news of the victory at Badr to the people of the 'Āliya of Medina⁴⁰. There are also other indications that 'Abdallāh was trusted by the Prophet. He and Mu'adh b. Jabal (above, p. 336) were in charge of the shares from the crops of Khaybar given to the Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj and the Salima, respectively⁴¹. 'Abdallāh was sent by the Prophet to Khaybar as evaluator of its produce of dates as a basis for deciding the Muslims' share. He continued in this office until he was killed in the battlefield of Mu'ta⁴².

(4). Abū d-Dardā' was the last person in the territory of his clan (or his family) to embrace Islam. 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa used to urge him to embrace Islam but he refused. And he was his friend. He waited for an opportunity and when Abū d-Dardā' left (the house), 'Abdallāh entered his house and broke his idol, reciting: "I repudiate the names of the devils, all of them. Verily, everything which is associated with God in prayer is void". His wife said: "You have ruined me, O Ibn Rawāḥa".

³⁹ *Usd*, III, 157.

⁴⁰ IBN SA'D, III, 526. Note that the territory of the Ḥārith was considered part of the 'Āliya; SAMHŪDI, *Wafā'*, I, 198-9.

⁴¹ WAQ., II, 690. See also IBN SA'D, III, 526 ('Abdallāh in command of an expedition to Khaybar to kill a Jewish leader); WAQ., II, 566 ('Abdallāh and three others collect intelligence in Khaybar). Cf. the report on the aftermath of the battle of Uḥud: Mu'adh brought the women of the Salima and 'Abdallāh brought the women of the Ḥārith to bewail the death of the Prophet's uncle Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; WAQ., I, 317.

⁴² IBN SA'D, III, 526. WAQ., II, 691 and SUYŪTĪ, *ad-Durr al-manthūr fī t-tafsīr bi-l-ma'thūr*, Cairo, 1314 A.H., II, 284:14, report on attempts by the Jews to bribe him. It is not clear who replaced him after his death: Abū l-Haytham b. at-Tayyihān, or Jabbār b. Ṣakhr, or Farwa b. 'Amr; WAQ., II, 691. Jabbār b. Ṣakhr (of the 'Ubayd subdivision of Salima) reportedly replaced 'Abdallāh after the latter had held the office of evaluator for one year; *Majma' az-zawā'id*, III, 76; *Iṣāba*, I, 449. It is said of Jabbār: *wa-kāna khāriṣa ahli l-Madīna wa-ḥāsibahum*; *Iṣāba*, I, 450. These three, together with Zayd b. Thābit, were the "dividers" (*quṣām*) who helped 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb re-allocate the crops of Khaybar after the expulsion of the Jews; WAQ., II, 718 (read: Jabbār instead of Ḥubāb; see WAQ., II, 720, 721). Farwa (on whose role in destroying idols see section 3.5 below) was very skilful in evaluating crops; *Iṣāba*, V, 365. He had been in charge of Bayaḍa's share in the crops of Khaybar; WAQ., II, 690. According to another report he was put in charge of the spoils of Khaybar; IBN SA'D, III, 599. There are reports that Farwa carried out evaluation in Medina itself. This is important because it indicates that the Prophet received a fixed share from the crops of Medina. The reports on this are explicit; see IBN SA'D, *loc. cit.*: *wa-'sta'malahu rasūlu 'llāhi (Ṣ.) 'alā l-maghānimi yawma Khaybar wa-kāna yab'athuhu khāriṣan bi-l-Madīna*; *Iṣāba*, V, 364-5: *anna n-nabiyya (Ṣ.) kāna yab'athu ... Farwa b. 'Amr fa-yakhrūṣu thamra ahli l-Madīna*. Also *Usd*, IV, 179:4: *wa-kāna n-nabiyyu (Ṣ.) yab'athuhu yakhrūṣu 'alā ahli l-Madīna thimārahum*.

Then he left. Abū d-Dardā' came (and found) his wife crying. He said: "What is the matter with you?" She said: "Your brother (i.e. friend) Ibn Rawāḥa entered and said: "Had there been in this (idol) any good it would have defended itself". So he came to the Prophet (in order to embrace Islam).

This is an abridged version of a report found elsewhere in its entirety. In the complete version we find two important additional details: Abū d-Dardā' hung a veil (*mindīl*) on his idol and it was placed in a room (*bayt*) inside his house possibly dedicated to the idol (cf. "an idol in a room", *ṣanam fī bayt*; above, section 1)⁴³.

Like 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa, Abū d-Dardā' was of the Hārith b. al-Khazraj. Abū d-Dardā's Islamization, we are told, was slightly belated and he was the last person in the territory of his clan to embrace Islam⁴⁴.

16. (7). The B. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj worshipped (literally: "took for themselves") an idol called Huzam which was situated in their *majlis*, (also) called Huzam⁴⁵, in Buṭḥān⁴⁶.

3.4. The 'Awf b. al-Khazraj

(5). Ka'b b. 'Ujra's Islamization was belated and he had an idol in his house (*fī baytihi*)⁴⁷. 'Ubāda b. aṣ-Ṣārnit was a friend of his. One day he entered Ka'b's house (*manzilahu*) when Ka'b was absent and broke his idol. When Ka'b returned and saw what had been done to it he said: "This (idol) is of no use". Then he came to 'Ubāda's house. 'Ubāda suspected that he wanted to slander him but Ka'b said: "I realize that had it been of any use it would not have let you do to it what I have seen"⁴⁸.

⁴³ *Mustadrak*, III, 336-7 (from Wāqidi). The word *bayt* in the report is used in the sense of both "house" and "room": once he was in Abū d-Dardā's *bayt* (house), Ibn Rawāḥa entered with his adze (*qadūm*) the *bayt* (room) in which the idol was placed, brought it down (from an elevated place such as a shelf; this suggests that the idol was a small object) and started cutting strips (of wood) out of it, *fa-dakhala baytahu* (Abū ad-Dardā's room, a room in Abū d-Dardā's house) *'lādhi kāna fīhi ṣ-ṣanam wa-ma'ahu l-qadūm fa-anzalahu wa-ja'ala yuqaddiduhu fildhan fildhan*. See also WAQ., II, 871; *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. *f.l.dh.* (Hind bint 'Utba destroys an idol in her house using an adze).

⁴⁴ *Ta'akkhara islāmuhi qalīlan* (note the apologetic phrasing!) *wa-kāna ākhira ahli dārihi islāman*; *Usd*, V, 185; *Isfī'āb*, IV, 1646. Cf. DHAHABĪ, *Nubalā'*, II, 340.

⁴⁵ The name is vocalised in the MS in both places.

⁴⁶ The territory of the Hārith was east of Buṭḥān and Turbat Ṣu'ayb; SAMHŪDĪ, *Wafā'*, I, 198.

⁴⁷ Read *fī bayt* ("in a room") instead of *fī baytihi*? Later in this report Ka'b's house is called *manzil*.

⁴⁸ See a similar text in DHAHABĪ, *Nubalā'*, III, 53 (from Wāqidi).

At the time of the Hijra Ka'b b. 'Ujra was 23 years old: he died in 52 A.H. aged 75⁴⁹. Ibn al-Kalbī says that his Islamization was belated⁵⁰. Indeed Ka'b plays no role before Ḥudaybiyya at the end of 6 A.H.⁵¹

There are conflicting reports concerning Ka'b's status and tribal affiliation. According to some he was a full-fledged Anṣārī while others say that he was originally a client of foreign ancestry. As usual we choose the less flattering option: Wāqidi's claim that Ka'b was an Anṣārī is duly rejected by Ibn Sa'd who states that he was of the Balī tribe, a client of the Anṣār. The identity of the Anṣārī clan with which Ka'b was associated is much disputed but the evidence points to the 'Awf b. al-Khazraj⁵².

'Ubāda died in 34/654 aged 72⁵³. At the time of the Hijra he was 38 years old. He was the *naqīb* of his subdivision, the Qawāqila (cf. no. 7 in the list)⁵⁴. His prominence among the Qawāqila is reflected in his role in the siege and expulsion of the Jewish tribe Qaynuqā'⁵⁵. 'Ubāda's loyalty to the Prophet was rewarded: he was appointed as a tax-collector⁵⁶.

3.5. *People of the Sā'ida and the Bayāda destroy the idols of their respective clans*

Indirect evidence on idol worship among the Sā'ida (Khazraj) is gained from reports about three devoted Muslims who destroyed the idols of their clan: Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, al-Mundhir b. 'Amr (who were both *nuqabā'*) and Abū Dujāna. When they embraced Islam they destroyed the idols of the Sā'ida⁵⁷.

⁴⁹ *Mustadrak*, III, 479.

⁵⁰ *Usd*, IV, 244 (according to Ibn al-Kalbī, Ka'b adopted the genealogy of the 'Amr b. 'Awf; he probably means the B. Ghanm b. 'Awf b. 'Amr b. 'Awf b. al-Khazraj, i.e., the Qawāqila; IBN QUDĀMA, *Istibṣār*, 188).

⁵¹ Cf. WAQ., II, 578; ṬABARĪ, *Jāmi' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-qur'ān*, Būlāq, 1321-1330.

⁵² *Iṣāba*, V, 599; *Usd*, IV, 243-4. The sources mention the Ḥāritha b. al-Ḥārith (of the Aws), the 'Awf b. al-Khazraj and the Sālim; *Usd*, *loc. cit.*; a report in the *Iṣāba*, V, 600, presents him as a member of the Sālim. In fact 'Awf (b. al-Khazraj) and Sālim are not in disharmony: the latter were a subdivision of the former. But Ka'b's association with 'Ubāda b. aṣ-Ṣāmit, a member of the Qawāqila (who are also called: Qawāqil), lends weight to yet another version: he was a *ḥalīf* of the B.Qawqal/Qawāqila; IBN QUDĀMA, *Istibṣār*, 195.

⁵³ *Mustadrak*, III, 355.

⁵⁴ *Usd*, III, 106:11 (incidentally, his mother was the great-granddaughter of Mālik b. al-'Ajlān who struggled against the Jewish king al-Fiṭyawn); IBN SA'D, III, 546.

⁵⁵ *Iṣāba*, III, 625 (*wa-kāna lahu mina l-ḥilfi mithlu 'lladhī li-'Abdillāh b. Ubayy*).

⁵⁶ *Usd*, III, 106 (*wa-'sta'malahu n-nabiyyu [Ṣ.] 'alā ba'di ṣ-ṣadaqāt*).

⁵⁷ IBN SA'D, III, 614 (from Wāqidi).

As to the Bayāḍa (Khazraj), Farwa b. ʿAmr and Ziyād b. Labīd destroyed their idols when they embraced Islam⁵⁸.

Farwa and Ziyād, like other loyal supporters of the Prophet mentioned in this study, were rewarded for their loyalty and during the Prophet's lifetime held offices of authority. Farwa's financial skills were put to use when he served as an evaluator of agricultural produce, while Ziyād held a far more important position: he served as the Prophet's governor in Ḥaḍramawt and was still its governor when the Prophet died⁵⁹.

4. Conclusions

1. It appears that three different types of idols are to be discerned in the short passages preserved for us by Maqrīzī:

a. Clan idols worshipped by the whole clan (*jamāʿat al-baṭn*) and probably used in public cult. They were kept in rooms presumably dedicated to their worship (which is possibly true for the idols of the other categories as well).

b. Idols held by each nobleman (*raḡul sharīf*) of the Aws and the Khazraj.

The case of the Salima (above, section 3.2) suggests that the clan idols are a subgroup of the idols held by the noblemen: their clan idol Isāf is presumably identical with the idol of the nobleman ʿAmr b. al-Jamūh, Sāf/Manāf. The nobleman in charge of the clan idol, i.e. the one worshipped by *jamāʿat al-baṭn*, must have been the recognized leader of the whole clan⁶⁰.

c. Lesser idols of the domestic family cult which were presumably part of every household in Medina. The idols of the former categories had names while those of this domestic category were perhaps anonymous. "The idols of B. so-and-so" reportedly destroyed by certain Companions are above all these domestic idols⁶¹.

2. The association of the clan idol with the clan's *majlis* on one hand (see the end of section 3.3) and with the clan leader on the other (the Salima) suggests that the *majlis* was near the leader's house. When the leadership shifted to another, the *majlis* shifted with it.

⁵⁸ Ziyād belonged to a small and distinguished group of people who were both Muhājirūn and Anṣār: he set out to Mecca to join the Prophet and stayed with him until his Hijra to Medina; IBN SAʿD, III, 598, 599.

⁵⁹ *Majmaʿ az-zawāʿid*, III, 76 and above, n. 42 (Farwa); IBN SAʿD, III, 598 (Ziyād).

⁶⁰ The concept being that the idol is an image of a god and that control of the idol means control of the god?

⁶¹ See for instance above, n. 23. Cf. on the manufacturing and sale of idols in Mecca P. CRONE, *Meccan trade and the rise of Islam*, Princeton, 1987, 107.

3. One thing is certain: the Arabs of Medina on the eve of the Hijra were immersed in idol worship⁶². The extent of this is surprising indeed because the Jewish inhabitants of Medina are believed to have had an immense spiritual influence on their Arab neighbours⁶³.

4. Unsurprisingly, idols figure in the stereotypical stories of conversion to Islam which have a recurrent pattern: the destruction of the idol by the former pagan (or by his friend) signifies a break with past superstitions and symbolizes loyalty to the new faith. These stories are of little value as a direct historical source but they are a true reflection of conditions in Yathrib.

5. Since the worship of idols was closely connected with the tribal leadership, the destruction of idols (especially clan idols) defied the old leadership and undermined its authority. In other words, in the historical context of the Prophet's struggle against many of the leaders of Medina the destruction of idols was a political act.

6. The destroyers (or alleged destroyers) of idols belonged unmistakably to the front-line of the Prophet's supporters among the Anṣār. A few of them were *nuqabā'* at the great 'Aqaba-meeting and some were rewarded for their loyalty with important offices in the emerging Islamic state.

⁶² Cf. U. RUBIN, *Ḥanīfiyya and Ka'ba: An Inquiry into the Arabian pre-Islamic Background of dīn Ibrāhīm*, in *JSAI*, 13 (1990), 98 (a Medinan *ḥanīf* who abandoned idol worship).

⁶³ The fact that Qays b. al-Khaṭīm does not mention in his poetry *Manāt*, *Allāt* and other idols (BUHL, *Leben*, 203) should not be given too much weight. Cf. A. J. WENSINCK, *Muhammad and the Jews of Medina*, trans. and edited by W. Behn, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1975, 4, who says about the inhabitants of Yathrib: "Their receptiveness for monotheism can only be explained by their long contact with the Jews". Goldziher quotes approvingly Dozy's words that "religion, of whatever kind it may have been, generally had little place in the life of the Arabs, who were engrossed in worldly interests like fighting, wine, games and love"; *Muslim studies*, ed. S. M. STERN, trans. C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern, London, 1966, I, 12. Goldziher, basing himself on the testimony of Arabic poetry, has in mind the tribes which inhabited central Arabia, whose religious sense he contrasts with the monuments of South Arabia. Concerning the inhabitants of Yathrib he writes (13f.): "At Yathrib the indigenous disposition of immigrant tribes from the south produced a mood more easily accessible to religious thought which was a great help to Muhammed's success". Goldziher obviously thinks of the influence of Yemenite monotheism on the Arabs of Yathrib. But the widespread idol worship among them seems to suggest that whatever the extent of this influence, it did not make them abandon their idols.

١. قال: كان لكل بطن من الاوس والخزرج وهم الانتصار صنم في بيت لجماعة البطن يكرمونه ويعظمونه وينبجون له. وكان في بني عبد الاشهل صنم يدعا الحريش وصنم في بني حارثة يقال له صخر وصنم في بني ظفر يقال [له] شمس وصنم في بني معوية يقال له البهام وصنم في بني عمرو بن عوف يقال له اللقين وصنم في بني خطمة يقال له شفر وصنم للقواقله يقال له الحبس وصنم في بني امية يقال له غيان وصنم في بني سلمة يقال له اساف وصنم في بني عدي بن النجار يقال له سمول وصنم في بني دينار بن النجار يقال له حسا وصنم في بني مالك بن النجار يقال له الطم وصنم في بني زريق يقال له السمح.

٢. ولكل رجل شريف صنم من هذه الاصنام. وكان في بيت عمرو بن الجموح صنم يقال له ساف كسره معاذ بن جبل رضي الله عنه ومعاذ بن عمرو بن الجموح وللبرا بن معرور صنم يقال له اللبياج وصنم للجد بن قيس يقال له الزبر.

٣. فلما قدم السبعون الذين شهدوا العقبة جعلوا يكسرون الاصنام فدخل عبدالله بن رواحة رضي الله عنه على شيخ منهم قديم فربط مع صنمه ميثة ثم وضعه على بابه فاصبح الشيخ فراه فقال: من صنع هذا بالاهنا؟ فقيل له: هذا عمل ابن رواحة فاتاه ابن رواحة فقال له: اما تستحي وانت من كبرائنا تعبد خشبة انت عملتها بيدك؟ فقال الشيخ: اني غير متعرض له اخاف على صبيتي. فضحك بشير بن سعد وقال: وهل عنده ضر او نفع؟ فكسره عبدالله بن رواحة واسلم الشيخ.

٤. وكان ابو الدرداء اخر داره اسلاما وكان عبدالله بن رواحة يدعوه الى الاسلام فيابا وكان له صديقا فتحينه فلما خرج ابو الدرداء دخل عبدالله منزله فكسر صنمه وهو يقول
اتبرا من اسما الشياطين كلها الا كل ما يدعا مع الله باطل
فقال امراته: اهلكتي يابن رواحة. وخرج وجا ابو الدرداء وامراته تبكي.
فقال: ما لك؟ قالت: اخوك ابن رواحة دخل فصنع ما ترى. فغضب ثم فكر فقال: لو كان عند هذا خير لدفع عن نفسه. فاتي النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم.

٥. وكان كعب بن عجرة تاخر اسلامه وله صنم في بيته. وكان عبادة بن الصامت له صديقاً فدخل منزله يوماً وكعب غايب عن منزله فكسر صنمه. فلما جا كعب فرأى ما صنع به قال: ما عند هذا طایل. واتی منزل عبادة فظن عبادة انه يريد ان يقع به فقال: قد رايت انه لو كان عنده طایل ما تركك تفعل به ما رايت.

٦. قال: وكانت حوا بنت يزيد امرأة قيس بن الخطيم فقالت: كان قيس لا يرام فعدوت يوماً على صنمه فكسرتة فلما دخل نظر اليه وقال: ما هذا؟ انت فعلت هذا؟ قالت: لا ولكن الشاة نطحتة. فقام الى الشاة فذبها.

٧. قال: واتخذت بلحرث بن الخزرج صنماً يقال له هزم وكان موضعه في مجلسهم الذي يقال له هزم ببيطحان.

٨. وكان لبني سلمة صنم يقال له مناف فعدا عليه رجل منهم يقال له الجموح فربطه بكلب ثم طرحه في بئر فوجد فيها فقال الجموح:
الحمد لله الجليل ذي المنن قبح بالفعل منافا ذا الدرر
اقسم لو كنت الاها لم تكن انت وكلب وسط بئر في قرن

Abbreviated References:

- ABŪ NU'AYM, *Dalā'il*: ABŪ NU'AYM AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ, *Dalā'il an-nubuwwa*, n.d., n.p. (reprint Aleppo, 1397/1977).
- BALĀDHURĪ, *Ansāb al-ashraf*: I, ed. M. ḤAMĪDULLĀH, Cairo, 1959.
- BUHL, *Leben*: F. BUHL, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, trans. H. Schaefer, Heidelberg, Leipzig, 1930 (reprint 1955).
- DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a'lām an-Nubalā*: ed. AL-ARNĀWŪT *et al.*, Beirut, 1981.
- HÖFNER, *Die Stammesgruppen*: Maria HÖFNER, *Die Stammesgruppen Nord- und Zentralarabiens in vorislamischer Zeit*, mit Beiträgen aus griechischen und römischen Quellen von E. Merkel, in H.W. HAUSSIG, *Götter und Mythen im vorderen Orient*, I, Stuttgart, 1965 (*Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, I,i), p. 407f.
- ID., *Die vorislamischen Religionen Arabiens*: Maria HÖFNER, *Die vorislamischen Religionen Arabiens*, in H. GESE, M. HÖFNER and K. RUDOLPH, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer*, Stuttgart, 1970, 233f.

- IBN HISHĀM: IBN HISHĀM, *as-Sira an-nabawiyya*, ed. as-Saqqā, al-Abyārī and Shalabī, Beirut, 1391/1971.
- IBN ḤAZM, *Ansāb*: IBN ḤAZM AL-ANDALUSĪ, *Jamharat ansāb al-'arab*, ed. 'A. as-Salām HĀRŪN, Cairo, 1382/1962.
- IBN KALBĪ, *Aṣnām*: ed. A. Z. BĀSHĀ, Cairo, 1343/1924.
- IBN QUDĀMA, *Istibṣār*: IBN QUDĀMA AL-MAQDISĪ, *al-Istibṣār fī nasab aṣ-ṣaḥāba mina l-anṣār*, ed. 'A. NUWAYHID, Beirut, 1392/1972.
- IBN SA'D, *aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Beirut, 1380/1960-1388/1968.
- Iṣāba*: IBN ḤAJAR AL-'ASQALĀNĪ, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīzi ṣ-ṣaḥāba*, ed. 'A.M. AL-BUĀWĪ, Cairo, 1392/1972.
- Istī'āb*: IBN 'ABD AL-BARR, *al-Istī'āb fī ma'rifati l-aṣḥāb*, ed. 'A. M. AL-BUĀWĪ, Cairo, n.d.
- JSAL: Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam.*
- LECKER, *Muḥammad at Medina: A Geographical Approach*, in *JSAL*, 6 (1985), p. 29-62.
- Majma' az-zawā'id*: 'A. b. Abī Bakr AL-HAYTHAMĪ, *Majma' az-zawā'id wa-manba' al-fawā'id*, Beirut, 1967.
- Mustadrak*: A.'A. al-Ḥākīm AN-NAYSĀBŪRĪ, *al-Mustadrak 'alā ṣ-ṣaḥīḥayni fī l-ḥadīth*, repr. Riyād, 1968.
- SAMHŪDĪ, *Wafā' l-wafā bi-akhbār dāri l-muṣṭafā*, ed. M. M. d-Dīn 'ABD AL-HAMĪD, Cairo, 1374/1955 (reprint Beirut).
- Tahdh.*: IBN ḤAJAR AL-'ASQALĀNĪ, *Tahdhīb at-tahdhīb*, Hyderabad, 1325.
- Usd*: IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Usd al-ghāba fī ma'rifat aṣ-ṣaḥāba*, Cairo, 1280 A.H.
- WAQ.: M. b. 'Umar AL-WĀQIDĪ, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, ed. M. JONES, London, 1966.
- WELLHAUSEN, *Reste*: J. WELLHAUSEN, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², Berlin, 1897.

II

A NOTE ON EARLY MARRIAGE LINKS BETWEEN QURASHĪS AND JEWISH WOMEN

The commercial interests of Quraysh, the tribe of the Prophet Muḥammad, went far beyond Arabia, and along its routes of commerce Quraysh maintained a system of links of various kinds with the local tribes and communities. The relations with Medina are of major importance because of implications for the Prophet's activity there after the Hijra. We shall examine here several cases of marriages with Jewish women from Yathrib/Medina and from Khaybar. The more significant cases contribute to the discussion of the extent of Muḥammad's knowledge of Jews and Judaism before the Hijra. Their contribution is enhanced by the fact that some data refer to a rather early period in terms of the Islamic literature, i.e. a few generations before the Prophet. The case of a Jewish woman marrying a number of men successively is of some interest, since, as she was of noble extraction, this pattern of marriage probably was aimed at forming a solid link between her clan and the various clans in Quraysh into which she married. In addition, links amongst the Qurashī clans themselves were strengthened, each of them now including half-brothers and half-sisters.

Before turning to the facts, one question should be raised, namely the nature of the marriages between Jewish women and pagans. There are three possibilities: 1. that the woman remained Jewish and she and her kin did not consider that marrying a pagan was a problem; 2. that she turned her back upon her faith in order to marry a pagan; 3. that the pagan to whom she was married embraced Judaism. The first possibility must be ruled out: the Jews of Medina (and obviously also the Jewish converts among the Arabs of Medina) remained faithful to the Holy Law¹ and cannot be

* This is a revised version of a paper read in the 8th Congress of Jewish Studies on August 19, 1981.

¹ See M.J. and Menahem Kister, "On the Jews of Arabia — Some Notes", in *Tarbiz*, 48 (1979), pp. 231-247, esp. pp. 236-243.

considered to have acted so carelessly in such matters. For similar considerations the second possibility should also be rejected. As a result, we are left with the third possibility in at least some of the cases. But conclusions concerning so sensitive a matter, and one relating to some important personalities in Quraysh, must be based on more solid grounds.

Most of the following details relating to marriages with Jewish women are quoted from the book of Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (d. 245/860) *Kitāb al-munammaq fī akhbār quraysh*,² which has a special section on “the Qurashis who were sons of Jewish women” (pp. 506-7). This section appears amongst similar sections dealing with “the Qurashis who were borne by Abyssinian women” (pp. 503-5), “the sons of Sindi women” (p. 505), “the sons of Nabatean women” (pp. 505-6) and “the sons of Christian women” (p. 508).³

Since Jewish origin is not considered in the Islamic literature to be praiseworthy,⁴ one wonders why Muslim compilers found it appropriate to preserve records concerning the Jewish origin of prominent people from the tribe of Quraysh who had died many years before the records were put to writing. (The same question applies, though with less vigor, to the other similar sections.) Tracing the early compilations of reports in which these facts were first recorded may lead us to a possible answer.

The central report in the following pages derives from a book of Abū ‘Ubayda Ma‘mar b. al-Muthannā (d. 210/825) called *Kitāb al-mathālib* (“the Book of Faults”). A similar matter is mentioned, as will be shown below, in *Kitāb al-munammaq*, which does not specify its sources (the section on “the sons of Jewish women” does not mention any source at all;

² Ed. Khurshid Aḥmad Fāriq, Hyderabad, 1384/1964; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur (GAL)* — *Suppl.*, I, pp. 165-6.

³ And see also Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstaedter, Hyderabad, 1361/1942, which has an item on the sons of Christian women (pp. 305-6) and the sons of Abyssinian women (pp. 306-9). Ibn Rusta, *al-A‘lāq an-naḥḥīya*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden, 1892, (BGA VII), p. 213 has an item on the Ashraf who were sons of Christian women.

⁴ “Ibn al-Yahūdiyya”, “the son of a Jewish woman”, is always used in a pejorative manner. According to one report the Prophet’s Jewish wife Ṣāfiyya bint Ḥuyayy b. Akhtab came to her husband and complained that his other wives had insulted her by calling her *yahūdiyya bint yahūdiyyayni* (“O Jewish woman, the daughter of a Jewish father and a Jewish mother”). The Prophet is reported to have consoled her by saying, “Would you not answer them: ‘My father is Aaron, my uncle is Moses and my husband is Muḥammad?’” According to one commentary, Qur’ān 49:11 was revealed in connection with her, see al-Wāḥidī, *Asbāb an-nuzūl*, Cairo 1387/1968, p. 224 (who quotes ‘Ikrima <Ibn ‘Abbās). Cf. Ibn Sa‘d, *at-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Beirut 1380/1960, VIII, p. 127.

cf. below, n. 7). A contemporary of Abū ʿUbayda, Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819) also compiled a book titled *Kitāb mathālib al-ʿarab*.⁵ Although we know of several other compilations on the same topic⁶ one may perhaps suggest that Abū ʿUbayda and Ibn al-Kalbī were possible sources for the records in Ibn Ḥabīb's *Kitāb al-munammaq*, since Ibn Ḥabīb was a pupil of them both.⁷ The *Mathālib* compilations, which came into existence in the second half of the second Hijrī century as part of the huge literary movement aimed at preserving records of the pre-Islamic and Islamic history of the Arabs, were of a very special nature in that they endeavoured to preserve details concerning faults in the conduct or pedigree of people from prominent families, mainly Qurashīs. A sincere interest in the past, combined with some taste for "historical gossip" and, more often than not, a nasty tendency to tease an adversary, resulted in the preservation of these details, even though they are somewhat embarrassing. We may now turn to the facts concerning those marriages.

It is appropriate to start with the most important among Qurashī clans, the clan of B. ʿAbd Manāf.

B. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf

A very unusual story is told concerning Umayya the son of ʿAbd Shams, who was the grandfather of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, the great Meccan enemy of the Prophet Muḥammad and the great-grandfather of the caliph Muʿāwiyā. He went to Shām (Palestine) and stayed there for ten years. He had intercourse with Turnā, a Jewish slave-girl of the Lakhm tribe who inhabited Ṣaffūriya (= Sipori in the lower Galilee). She had, at that time, a Jewish husband in Ṣaffūriya. Turnā gave birth to a son called Dhakwān, and Umayya, alleging that he was the father, adopted him (*fa-ʿddaʿāhu umayya wa-ʿstalḥaqahu*) and gave him the *kunya* Abū ʿAmr. Afterwards he

⁵ See F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, I, (GAS), Leiden, 1967, p. 270.

⁶ See GAS, pp. 271, 261, 272.

⁷ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghādī, *Taʾriḫ baghdād*, Cairo, 1349/1931, II, p. 277; Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig, 1872, p. 106, 23; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, ed. Margoliouth, Leyden, 1907 (Gibb Memorial Series), VI, pp. 473-4. At the beginning of the item on the sons of Sindi women, Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 505 the words *qāla hishām* appear, and it seems that Hishām b. Muḥammad, that is Ibn al-Kalbī, is referred to. And see below, n. 8. See esp. M.J. Kister and M. Plessner, "Notes on Caskel's *Ġamharat an-nasab*", in *Oriens*, 25-26(1976), pp. 64f.

brought him to Mecca. As a result the Prophet told 'Uqba b. Abī Mu'ayt (b. Abī 'Amr b. Umayya): "You are but a Jew from the people of Şaffūriya" (*innamā anta yahūdī min ahl şaffūriya*).⁸

Among the B. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf there were others who had Jewish wives. Sufyān, son of Umayya b. 'Abd Shams (from another

⁸ Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif*, ed. Tharwat 'Ukāsha, Cairo, 1969, p. 319, quoting Ibn al-Kalbī (probably from his *Kitāb al-mathālib*, Kister-Plessner, "Notes..." pp. 65-6); al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā 'sta 'jama*, ed. Muşţafā as-Saqqā, Cairo, 1364/1945f, s.v. Şaffūriya; Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maqāl fi sharḥ kitābi l-amthāl*, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās and 'Abd al-Majid 'Ābidīn, Beirut, 1401/1981, p. 401; al-Maydāni, *Majma'u l-amthāl*, ed. Muḥammad Muhyi d-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamid, Cairo, 1374/1955, I, p. 191, no. 1018; al-Ḥimyarī, *ar-Rawḍ al-mi'ṭār fi khabari l-aqtār*, p. 363, s.v. Şaffūriya; al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, IVa, ed. Schloessinger - Kister, Jerusalem, 1971, p. 2, 1.10; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, pp. 104-107. According to al-Haytham b. 'Adī's (d. 206/821 or 207/822, *GAS*, p. 272) *Kitāb al-mathālib*, Dhakwān/Abū 'Amr was Umayya's slave, see Abū l-Faraj al-Isfahāni, *Kitāb al-aghāni*, Cairo, 1285, I, pp. 7-8; and see I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, ed. S.M. Stern, London, 1967, I, pp. 177f. Cf. aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ ar-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1380/1960f, II, p. 155; EI¹, s.v. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams (G. Levi Della Vida). Ibn Abī l-Ḥadid, *Sharḥ nahji l-balāgha*, Cairo, 1329/1911, III, p. 475, 1.5 quotes a report on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī according to which Umayya used to steal from the pilgrims when he was a youngster, and he was called Ḥāris (= "thief", cf. *Lisān al-'arab* s.v. ḥ.r.s.). Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, MS., fol. 796a reports that Abū 'Amr/Dhakwān married Umayya's wife, Āmina bint Abān b. Kulayb b. Rabī'a (see on her Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-'arab*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd as-Salām Ḥārūn, Cairo, 1382/1962, p. 280, 1. 6; Muş'ab, *Nasab*, p. 99, 1. 14) who bore him Abū Mu'ayt = Abān and Musāfir; Ibn Ḥazm, p. 114; Muş'ab, *Nasab*, pp. 135-137; *Aghāni*, VIII, pp. 48f; Ibn Hishām, *as-Sira an-nabawiyya*, ed. as-Saqqā, al-Abyārī, Shalābi, Beirut, 1391/1971, I, 158-159 (all the above sources quote verses of Musāfir boasting of feeding and supplying water to the pilgrims, as well as of the ownership of the well of Zamzam; on Musāfir see also Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat an-nasab*, Ms. Br. Mus., fol. 17a; and see al-Qurtubī, *al-Jāmi' li-ahkāmī l-qur'ān*, (*Tafsīr al-qurtubī*), Cairo, 1387/1967, V, p. 103. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, pp. 106-107 (who mentions only Abān) adduces another version: and some say that Dhakwān on his part adopted Abān. Al-Jāhiz (see Ibn Abī l-Ḥadid, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, III, pp. 464-465) argues that Umayya permitted his son Abū 'Amr to marry his wife while he was still alive and she bore him Abū Mu'ayt. This is obviously a lie. The other version concerning the pedigree of the Şaffūriya woman depicts her as free-born, see Muş'ab az-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, ed. L. Provençal, Cairo, 1953, p. 100, 1. 8; Cf. Kister - Plessner, p. 66, n. 108; Kister (above, n. 1), p. 236, n. 19. On the circumstances of Umayya's exile and the contest for nobility (*munāfara*) see also Ibn Sa'd, I, p. 76; ash-Shāmi, *Subul al-hudā wa-r-rashād fi sirati khayri l-'ibād (as-Sira ash-shāmiyya)*, I, ed. Muşţafā 'Abd al-Wāhid, Cairo, 1392/1972, pp. 319-20; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ ar-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1380/1960f, II, p. 253; al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, I, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamidullāh, Cairo, 1959, pp. 60-1. According to one report, the *munāfara* was between Ḥāshim b. 'Abd Manāf, the great-grandfather of the Prophet, and Ḥarb b. Umayya, Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-4 (quoting Ibn Sa'd <Ibn al-Kalbī), but this is just the second part of the report on the Jew protected by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, see below, p. 37.

woman)" married a Jewish woman: her name was ar-Ribāb, "from the people of Yathrib" and her mother was a Jewish woman of noble extraction (*sharīfa yahūdiyya*). She gave birth to al-Ḥuşayn.¹⁰ Another member of that family married a Jewish woman, though in much later times. ʿUmāra, the son of ʿUqba b. Abī Muʿayṭ b. Abī ʿAmr b. Umayya, who was the great-grandson of Abū ʿAmr/Dhakwān, married a Jewish woman of the people of Dūrān, and she gave birth to a son named ʿĪsā (*sic!*).¹¹

⁹ Ḥarb b. Umayya, the father of Abū Sufyān, was also born to the same woman. These two, together with other sons of Umayya, were called al-ʿAnābis ("the lions"), see e.g. Muṣʿab, *Nasab*, p. 100; *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, IVa, p. 3, l. 2 and the notes.

¹⁰ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 507: *wa-l-ḥuşayn b. sufyan b. umayya b. ʿabd shams, wa-ummuhum* (that is, the mother of al-Ḥuşayn and of three other Qurashis) *wāhida yuqātu lahā ar-ribāb min ahl yathrib, wa-ummuhā (sic) sharīfa yahūdiyya*. In the MS. of *al-Munammaq*, *ummuhumā* appears in both places, and the editor corrected as quoted. See Muṣʿab, *Nasab*, p. 200. (Perhaps *wa-ummuhum* should be preferred in the latter place as well; the text is not smooth, however.) Muṣʿab mentions a fuller pedigree of that woman without referring to the fact that she was Jewish: ar-Ribāb bint al-Ḥārith b. Ḥubāb. On *ahl yathrib* see *JSAI* 6 (1985), p. 43. Al-Ḥuşayn is not mentioned among the sons of Sufyān b. Umayya in al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, IVb, ed. Max Schloessinger, Jerusalem, 1938, p. 124.

¹¹ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 507. The editor suggests (*loc. cit.*, n. 9) that one should read here: Dawrān, and identify it with the village Dhū Dawrān between Qudayd and al-Juhfa (roughly in the middle of the way between Mecca and Medina, on the shore), see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, Beirut, 1957, s.v. Dawrān. Indeed, al-Juhfa near Dawrān was inhabited by Jews in the time of the Prophet, see e.g. az-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ ʿalā l-mawāhib al-laduniyya*, Cairo 1329, I, 362, l. 13, but the place referred to in *Munammaq* is Dūrān, which was, according to Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. a locality behind the bridge of Kūfa incorporating the castle of Ismāʿīl al-Qasri, the brother of Khālīd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasri, who was one of the governors of Kūfa in the Umayyad period. The reason is that ʿUmāra was an inhabitant of Kūfa and it is plausible that he married a woman from the neighbourhood of Kūfa, see Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isāba fi tamyīzi ṣ-ṣaḥāba*, ed. al-Bijāwī, Cairo, 1392/1972, IV, p. 585; Ibn al-Kalbi, *Jamharat an-nasab*, Ms. Br. Mus., fol. 17b *supra*; Muṣʿab, *Nasab*, p. 140, l. 3. *rahā ʿumāra* ("the mill of ʿUmāra", see Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v.) was a quarter (*maḥalla*) in Kūfa, named after ʿUmāra b. ʿUqba b. Abi Muʿayṭ; and see Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar kitābi l-buldān*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden, 1885 (BGA, V), p. 183. ʿUmāra's brother al-Walid was governor of Kūfa under ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, Ibn Ḥajar, *Isāba*, VI, pp. 616, 618. The family of Abū Muʿayṭ had contacts with Persia in the pre-Islamic period, as is indicated by the fact that ʿUqba b. Abi Muʿayṭ, among other Qurashis, most prominently Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, embraced the faith of Mazdak, Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-muḥabbar*, ed. Ilse Lichtenstaedter, Hyderabad, 1942; M.J. Kister, "al-Ḥira", *Arabica*, 15(1968), p. 145 (they are reported to have "learnt the *zandaqa* from the Christians of Hira). ʿUqba b. Abi Muʿayṭ is reported to have been a wine-seller, Ibn Rusta, *al-Aʿlāq an-naḥḥa*, p. 215, l. 6; he probably imported it from the region of Hira, cf. A. Oppenheimer in collaboration with B. Isaac and M. Lecker, *Babylonia Judaica in the Talmudic Period*, Tübingen Atlas des vorderen Orients, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden, s.v. Neharpanya.

Also in another branch of B. ʿAbd Shams a marriage with a Jewish woman can be found. Al-Walid b. ʿUtba b. Rabiʿa b. ʿAbd Shams was married to a Jewish woman, who bore him ʿĀṣim.¹² In another source¹³ we learn of her identity, although here her faith is not mentioned. It is reported that two of the children of al-Walid b. ʿUtba, namely ʿĀṣim and Hind, were born to him from Hind (she had the same name as her daughter) bint Jarwal b. Mālik b. ʿAmr b. ʿAzīz b. Mālik b. ʿAwf b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf b. al-Aws. As this detailed pedigree reveals, she was from one of the lesser-known (but not necessarily less important) families of B. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf (from the Aws), B. ʿAzīz b. Mālik.¹⁴ The Jewish wife of al-Walid b. ʿUtba

Also the brother of ʿUmāra's grandfather, Musāfir b. Abī ʿAmr (see above, n. 8) had contacts with Hīra, *Kitāb al-aghāni* (Būlāq), VIII, pp. 48-51; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, s.v. Hubāla. His affair with Hind bint ʿUtba b. Rabiʿa, who finally married Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb (see below) is of some interest, especially the report according to which he asked the help of an-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir, the King of Hīra (580-602; other versions have ʿAmr b. Hind, but an-Nuʿmān is preferable due to chronological considerations) in this matter — an-Nuʿmān was the son of a Jewish slave-girl taken captive at Fadak, see M.J. Kister, "On the wife of the goldsmith from Fadak and her progeny", in *Le Muséon*, 92(1979), pp. 322-324.

The item dealing with "the sons of Nabatean women", *Munammaq*, p. 506 lists another son of ʿUmāra, called ʿUmar, which means that ʿUmāra was married to a "Nabatean" woman as well. The epithet "Nabatean" can also apply to a Jewish woman, see the "Nabatean Jewess" by the name of Qāmi, below, p. 27. Among the "Nabatean" women appears also a woman from Sūrā, who was the mother of ʿAqīl b. Jaʿda b. Hubayra al-Makhzūmi, *Munammaq*, p. 506. See on Jaʿda Ibn Hajar, *Iṣāba*, I, pp. 527-8 (his mother was Umm Hāni bint Abī Ṭālib, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib's sister; Jaʿda was governor of Khurāsān under ʿAlī). As is well-known, a majority of the inhabitants of Sūrā were Jewish, at least by the beginning of the 10th century AD, al-Qiṣṣī, *Taʾrikh al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, Leipzig, 1903, p. 194.

¹² Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 507. Ibn Hajar, *Iṣāba*, III, p. 575 lists ʿĀṣim among the companions of the Prophet Muḥammad. According to him, he was eight years old at the time of the Ḥajjāt al-Wadāʿ (10AH). Strangely enough, Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, fol. 804a reports that after the death of al-Walid b. ʿUtba at Badr, Hind bint ʿUtba claimed that a man named ʿĀṣim was his son (*faʿddaʿat...rajulan yuqālu lahu ʿāṣim annahu bnuhu*). ʿĀṣim was for a short time a governor of Medina under Muʿāwiya. Balādhuri also says that ʿUtba b. Rabiʿa had no offspring except the descendants of al-Mughīra b. ʿAmmār b. ʿĀṣim b. al-Walid b. ʿUtba, who are in Shām.

¹³ Muṣʿab, *Nasab*, pp. 153-4.

¹⁴ In Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat an-nasab*, Ms. Br. Mus., fol. 251a; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 334 Hind's father Jarwal and her brother Zurāra are mentioned. The latter rebelled against the caliph ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. When Busr b. Arṭaʿa carried out a punitive expedition under Muʿāwiya, he destroyed his house in Medina, which was located in the market, see Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrikh dimashq*, X, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Dahmān, Damascus, 1383/1963, p. 10, l. 16.

was not from one of the main Jewish clans but from B. °Amr b. °Awf, and it seems that one of her ancestors embraced Judaism.¹⁵

Fascinating links between the family of °Utba b. Rabi°a and the Jews of Medina are revealed in a report on a marriage which took place in Mecca before Islam. When Abū Sufyān b. Harb married Hind bint °Utba b. Rabi°a (who afterwards bore him Mu°awiya, the first Umayyad caliph), °Utba sent his son al-Walid (who, as mentioned, was, or was to be, married to a Jewish woman) to B. Abi l-Huqayq, the leading house of B. Naḍir (in Medina), and he borrowed jewellery from them. Al-Walid and a group from B. °Abd Shams personally guaranteed the jewellery's safe return (the text implies that they remained in Medina as hostages; however, it is clear that al-Walid was permitted to return to Mecca). Al-Walid carried the jewellery to Mecca and one month later it was brought back in its entirety and the hostages were released.¹⁶

¹⁵ It may not have been a coincidence that another son of °Utba, Abū Ḥudhayfa, also married a woman from B. °Amr b. °Awf, from a family called B. °Ubayd b. Zayd (see on them Ibn Ḥajar, *Ansāb*, p. 334). After the marriage she lived in Mecca and made the Hijra to her home-town: Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, VII, pp. 547-8. She was Thubayta bint Ya°ar (there are also other versions regarding the name of her father) b. Zayd b. °Ubayd b. Zayd b. Mālik b. °Awf b. °Amr b. °Awf. She was the woman who freed Sālim, the *mawlā* of Abū Ḥudhayfa. Ibn Ḥajar (p. 548) objects to the statement of Abū °Umar (= Ibn °Abd al-Barr, see his *al-Isti°āb fi ma°rifati l-aṣḥāb*, ed. al-Bijāwī, Cairo, n.d., IV, p. 1799) that she was from the early Muhājirāt; she was, he says, from the Anṣār. However, there seems to be no difficulty here, because she moved to Mecca following her marriage to Abū Ḥudhayfa. As an outcome of °Utba's contacts with the inhabitants of Medina, among them the Jews, two Khazrajis, As°ad b. Zurāra and Dhakwān b. °Abd al-Qays, referred to him for arbitration. However, when they heard of the Prophet Muḥammad they went to him and embraced Islam, Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, I, p. 54 (quoting al-Wāqidi).

¹⁶ Ibn Sa°d, VIII, p. 236, quoting Wāqidi <Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Shuraḥbil al-°Abdārī <his father (Ibrāhīm and his father are also included in the chain of transmitters attached to a report on the battle of Uḥud, Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-Maghāzi*, ed. M. Jones, London, 1966, I, p. 239). On Ibrāhīm (b. Muḥammad b. Thābit b. Shuraḥbil) see al-Bukhārī, *al-Ta°rikh al-kabir*, Hyderabad, 1380, I, pp. 320-1; Ibn Abi Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ wa-t-ta°dil*, Hyderabad, 1371/1952f., II, p. 125. On his father see Bukhārī, *Ta°rikh*, I, p. 50; Ibn Abi Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, VII, p. 215-6 (Muḥammad b. Thābit b. Shuraḥbil al-Qurashī, and some say: Muḥammad b. Shuraḥbil). Text: *lammā banā abū sufyan b. harb bi-hind bint °utba b. rabi°a ba°atha °utba b. rabi°a bi-'bnihī l-walid ilā banī abi l-ḥuqayq fa-'sta°āra ḥuliyyahum. wa-rahamum l-walid naṣṣahu fi naṣar min banī °abd shams wa-dhahaba bi-l-ḥuliyyi fa-ghāba shahran. thumma raddūhu wāfiran wa-fakkū r-rahna.*

Hind bint al-Walid b. °Utba, who was born, as mentioned, to a Jewish woman from B. °Amr b. °Awf, married Qudāma b. Maz°un al-Jumahī (and also al-Muhājir b. Abi Umayya al-Makhzūmī), Muṣ°ab, *Nasab*, pp. 153-4, see on both Caskel, II, index, s.vv. Qudāma b. Maz°un and al-Muhājir b. Ḥuḍaifa, respectively. It may not have been a coincidence that