

## ON THE WIFE OF THE GOLDSMITH FROM FADAK AND HER PROGENY

A STUDY IN JĀHILĪ GENEALOGICAL TRADITIONS

The section in Ibn al-Kalbī's *Jamhara* concerning the pedigree of Ḥiṣn b. Ḍamḍam and of his clan of Kalb<sup>1</sup> may shed some light on the relations between the different groups of the population in the North of the Arabian peninsula in the second half of the sixth century AD; some additional data from other sources enable us to get a better perception of the events. The passage of Ibn al-Kalbī, summarized by W. Caskel<sup>2</sup>, deserves a closer examination.

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Al-Ḥārith, the son of Ḥiṣn b. Ḍamḍam, nicknamed al-Ḥarshā, was the chief of his people. When Fadak was conquered by Kalb in the period of the Jāhiliyya his share of the booty consisted of the captives (*wa-lahu šāra sabyu fadaka ḥina ftataḥahā kalbun fi l-jāhiliyyati*). The very concise report about the conquest of Fadak given by Ibn al-Kalbī is amplified by an account recorded by Abū l-Baqā': al-Ḥārith b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḍamḍam b. 'Adī b. Janāb al-Kalbī, known as al-Ḥarshā, had the right to the pay (*ja'āla*) imposed on the people of Fadak; when they refused to pay, he raided them<sup>3</sup>. Among the captured women was Shaqīqa, the wife of the goldsmith. Wā'il b. 'Aṭiyya b. al-'Udayš (or 'Udas); al-Ḥārith took her to him and she bore him his son Suwayd. Ibn al-Kalbī points out that Shaqīqa was a Jewess and records her ancestors in a long pedigree which goes back to Abraham<sup>4</sup>. Abū l-Baqā' is more precise: the Jewish goldsmith Wā'il was captured together with his Jewish wife Shaqīqa<sup>5</sup>. Ibn al-Kalbī's

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, Ms. Br. Mus. (Esc.) Add. 11, 376, fol. 74a.

<sup>2</sup> See W. Caskel, *Ġamharat an-Nasan, das genealogische Werk des Ḥiṣām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, Leiden 1966, II, 307 (al-Ḥārith b. Ḥiṣn al-Ḥarshā), 520 (Suwaid b. al-Ḥārith), (Ḥiṣn b. Ḍamḍam).

<sup>3</sup> Abū l-Baqā', *al-Manāqib al-mazyadiyya fi akhbāri l-mulūki l-asādiyya*, Ms. Br. Mus., Add. 23, 296, fol. 72b inf. — 73b sup.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara* (Esc.), fol. 74a.

<sup>5</sup> Abū l-Baqā', *op. cit.*, fol. 72b.

account seems to contain a vague indication of the time of this event: the mother of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥiṣn was Hīr the daughter of Salāma of 'Ulaym, to whom Imru l-Qays referred in amatory language in his poems<sup>6</sup>. Imru l-Qays died about 550 AD<sup>7</sup>, and Hīr should have been a young woman at that time. Other chronological indications may be derived from the additional sources.

Both Ibn al-Kalbī and Abū l-Baqā' report about the four daughters of the couple Wā'il and Shaqīqa; they differ, however, as to their names. Ibn al-Kalbī records Salmā, al-Rābi'a, (?) al-Shamūs and Hind; Abū al-Baqā' records: Māwiya, Najwa, 'Afāt (? perhaps 'Uqāb – K) and Salmā<sup>8</sup>; thus only one name is common to both lists: Salmā. The couple had also two sons: Ma'bad and 'Ubayd. The progeny of Ma'bad joined the Banū Suwayd b. al-Ḥārith (i.e. the clan of his uterine brother – K); a family of them attached themselves to an Anṣārī tribal unit, falsely claiming Anṣārī descent. 'Ubayd settled as a tribal unit in Syria<sup>9</sup>.

The status of the four daughters can be deduced from Abū l-Baqā's account: they remained with al-Ḥārith, at his abode (... *fa-aṣāba wā'ila bna 'aṭiyyata l-yahūdiyya l-ṣā'igha wa-ma'ahu mra'atahu l-sha-qīqata, wa-kānat yahūdiyyatan, wa-arba'a banātin lahu... fa-kunna 'indahu*); the daughters of the Jewish couple married members of various Arab tribes, while Salmā married the king of al-Ḥīra, al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir, and gave birth to their son al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir, the last king of the Persian-protected vassal state of al-Ḥīra. Later (i.e. after his death) she married Rūmānis b. Mu'aqqil of the 'Amr b. 'Abd Wudd of Kalb and bore him a son, Wabara. Al-Nu'mān and Wabara were thus uterine brothers and this is why al-Nu'mān granted Wabara the two settlements: Baradān and La'la<sup>10</sup>. Yāqūt records the details about the

<sup>6</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī, *op. cit.*, (Esc.), fol. 74a.

<sup>7</sup> EI<sup>2</sup> s.v. Imru' al-Qays (S. Boustany).

<sup>8</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara* (Esc.), fol. 74a; Abū l-Baqā', *op. cit.*, 72b.

<sup>9</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara* (Esc.), fol. 74a.

<sup>10</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara* (Esc.), fol. 74a; cf. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rikh sinī mulūki l-ardī wa-l-anbiyā'*, Beirut 1961, p. 95 (al-Nu'mān is the son of Salmā, the daughter of Wā'il, the goldsmith from Fadak); al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1961, II, 194 (Nu'mān's mother is Salmā, the daughter of Wā'il, the goldsmith from Fadak); al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, Najaf 1384/1964, I, 185 (al-Nu'mān's mother is Salmā, a captive *said to be* from Kalb); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. Ch. Pellat, Beirut 1966, II, 224, no. 1061 (the mother of al-Nu'mān is Salmā, the daughter of Wā'il b. 'Aṭiyya from Kalb); al-Jāhīz, *al-Bayān wa-l-tabayin*, ed. Ḥasan al-Sandūbī, Cairo 1351/1932, III, 156 (Salmā, the daughter of 'Uqāb, is the mother of al-Nu'mān); cf. G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḥmiden in al-Ḥīra*,

kinship relations between al-Nu'mān and Wabara and reports that Wabara died in Baradān and was buried there<sup>11</sup>.

The story of the marriage of Salmā with al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir (= al-Mundhir *al-aṣghar*) is presented by Abū l-Baqā' in dramatic terms: al-Mundhir alighted on his way back from one of his raids against Syria in the abode of al-Ḥārith, who welcomed his guest, accomodated him in a tent of hides, slaughtered for him a camel and sent Salmā (i.e. the daughter of the Jewish couple captured in Fadak – K) to anoint his hair. When she entered al-Mundhir seized her and raped her. She returned to al-Ḥārith weeping, complaining that his guest dishonoured her. Al-Ḥārith hurried in rage to the tent of al-Mundhir with his sword drawn, and accused al-Mundhir of having put him to shame amongst Kalb. But al-Mundhir answered asking al-Ḥārith: «Did I bring shame upon you by marrying your maid»? Thus he married Salmā and set out with her to al-Ḥīra. There she bore him his son al-Nu'mān, who became later king of al-Ḥīra. After the death of al-Mundhir Salmā returned to Kalb and married Rūmānis b. Mu'aqqil of the branch of 'Abd Wudd of Kalb. She bore him Wabara, who was thus the uterine brother of al-Nu'mān. Al-Nu'mān was satirized as the heir of the goldsmith, the coward<sup>12</sup>.

According to a tradition recorded by Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, Salmā (the mother of al-Nu'mān) was a maid servant of 'Amr b. Tha'laba al-Kalbī<sup>13</sup>. During a raid launched by Ḍirār b. 'Amr al-Ḍabbī<sup>14</sup> against Kalb he captured Salmā with her mother and two of her sisters. 'Amr asked him to return them, but Ḍirār, who became impressed by Salmā, only agreed to return her mother and sisters. 'Amr appealed to his generosity by saying: «Let the horse (granted as a gift – K) be followed by the bridle», that is: as you have already

Berlin 1899 (repr.), pp. 108-109; Jawād 'Alī, *al-Mufaṣṣal fi ta'rikhi l-'arab qabla l-Islām*, Beirut 1969, III, 261-2.

<sup>11</sup> See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v. Baradān; cf. Abū Tammām, *al-Waḥshīyyāt*, ed. al-Maymanī, Cairo 1963, p. 133, no. 212.

<sup>12</sup> Abū l-Baqā', *op. cit.*, fol. 73a (with 8 verses), 31a-b (1 verse); the verses are attributed to al-Nābigha, 'Abd al-Qays b. Khufāf al-Burjumī and Murra b. Rabī'a b. Qura' al-Sa'dī; cf. W. Ahlwardt, *The Diwans of the six ancient Arabic poets*, Paris 1913, p. 173 (4 verses); al-Nābigha, *Diwān*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Salām. Beirut 1347/1929, pp. 80-90 (9 verses); Ibn Qutayba, *al-Shi'r wa-l-shu'arā'*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1904, pp. 73 (1 verse; the mother of al-Nu'mān is recorded as Salmā, the daughter of 'Aṭīyya, the goldsmith), 76 (3 verses; about the alleged authorship of the verses as in Abū l-Baqā's Manāqib); al-Jāhīz, *al-Ḥayawān*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1385/1966, IV, 377, 379.

<sup>13</sup> See on him Caskel, *op. cit.*, II, 185 ('Amr b. Tha'laba b. al-Ḥārith).

<sup>14</sup> See on him Caskel, *op. cit.*, II, 242.

returned the majority of the captured family, give back the remainder too. Thereupon Ḍirār returned Salmā<sup>15</sup>.

The version recorded by Abū l-Baqā' differs in some essential details: when al-Mundhir left the abode of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥiṣn b. ḌamḌam with Salmā, the daughter of the Jewish goldsmith, given him as a gift by al-Ḥārith, and set out (for al-Ḥira – K), he was attacked by al-Ḍirār al-Ḍabbī, who was at the head of a very strong troop. Ḍirār robbed him of everything he possessed, including Salmā. Al-Mundhir returned to al-Ḥārith and complained of Ḍirār's action. Al-Ḥārith (who was a friend of Ḍirār) intervened, and Ḍirār returned Salmā to al-Mundhir together with the other booty. Then al-Mundhir said to al-Ḥārith: «Place the bridle on the horse» (he obviously asked an additional gift); al-Ḥārith then gave him as an additional gift («the bridle» – K) a sister of Salmā, and al-Mundhir set out with both of them to al-Ḥira<sup>16</sup>.

The son of Salmā from her second marriage, Wabara (according to some reports Ḥassān b. Wabara) played an important role in the battle of al-Qurnatayn, in which Ḍirār b. 'Amr al-Ḍabbī fought courageously with his sons on the side of Wabara (or Ḥassān b. Wabara) against the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a who attacked both Tamīm and Ḍabba. According to the account of al-MufaḌḌal al-Ḍabbī, al-Nu'mān appointed his brother Wabara as governor (*'ammalahu*) on the Ribāb and he headed the forces of Ḍabba in the battle<sup>17</sup>. He was captured by Yazīd b. al-Ṣa'iq and released on the payment of a very high ransom<sup>18</sup>.

Another tradition, also recorded by al-Balādhurī, gives a quite different account. The attack against the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a was well planned and prepared by the king al-Nu'mān and his brother. Al-Nu'mān levied a strong force «from the Ma'add tribes and others» under the command of his uterine brother Wabara. Then he sent to Ḍirār b. 'Amr and summoned him to join his forces. Ḍirār responded and came with nine of his sons (eighteen according to another account)<sup>19</sup>. Al-Nu'mān sent a caravan to Mecca and ordered the (warriors escorting the – K) caravan to launch an attack (scil. suddenly

<sup>15</sup> Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, *Jamharat al-amthāl*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1384/1964, I, 92, no. 78.

<sup>16</sup> Abū l-Baqā', *op. cit.*, fols. 128b, inf. — 129a, sup.

<sup>17</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, Ms. fol. 956b (= 1016b).

<sup>18</sup> See e.g. *Arabica*, XV (1968), 156-7; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara* (Esc.), fol. 82a inf. — 82b sup.; idem, *Jamhara*, Ms. Br. Mus., Add. 23, 297, fol. 123b-124a; al-Marzubānī, *Mu'jam al-shu'arā'*, ed. F. Krenkow, Cairo 1354, p. 394 (al-Nu'mān's brother captured by Yazīd b. al-Ṣa'iq is Ru'ba b. Rūmānis, apparently a scribal error for Wabara b. Rūmānis); and see al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1368/1949, XV, 375-77.

<sup>19</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, Ms. fol. 949a (= 1009a).

and treacherously – K) on the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a on the way back, after the arrangements (of buying and selling – K) were accomplished and Quraysh would have come back to Mecca from 'Ukāz. The men (escorting the caravan – K) acted according to the plan; but the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a had been warned by 'Abdallah b. Jud'ān and succeeded to defeat the joint forces of Ḍabba and the troops levied by the king and put under the command of Wabara. Ḍirār managed to escape, aided by his sons; Wabara was captured by Yazid b. al-Ṣa'iq and had to pay a very high ransom: a thousand camels, two singing girls and granting Yazid the right to a share in his possessions<sup>20</sup>.

Some details about the descendants of one of the warriors who fought in the battle give us a hint as to the time in which the battle took place. Al-Mundhir b. Ḥassān b. Ḍirār, the grandson of Ḍirār, was one of the notables of al-Kūfa and gave his daughter in marriage to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam al-Thaqafī<sup>21</sup>. Another grandson of Ḍirār, Harthama, embraced Islam and settled in Baṣra<sup>22</sup>. The daughter of Ḍirār, Mu'ādhā, married the Tamīnī leader Ma'bad b. Zurāra and bore him a son, al-Qa'qā', who converted later to Islam<sup>23</sup>.

The grandsons and granddaughters of other persons connected with the account of the battle can be traced in the period of the Prophet and of the first Caliphs<sup>24</sup>. It is significant that these persons emigrated to Mecca or Medina and their fate was closely connected with some of the Companions of the Prophet. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Auf, one of the richest Companions of the Prophet, married Tumāḍir, the daughter of al-Aṣbagh b. 'Amr b. Tha'laba b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥiṣn b. ḌamḌam from Kalb. It is evident that she was the direct descendant of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥiṣn, the man who conquered Fadak and captured the family of the Jewish goldsmith Wā'il b. 'Aṭīyya. Tumāḍir was the first Kalbī woman married by a Qurashite, says the report. Muṣ'ab reports further that Tumāḍir's mother was «Juwayriyya the daughter of Wabara b. Rūmānis, who was the brother of al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir»<sup>25</sup>. The

<sup>20</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, Ms. fol. 948b-949a (= 1008b-1009a).

<sup>21</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, Ms. fol. 949a (= 1009a); and see on him Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyiz al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, Cairo 1292/1972, VI, 314, no. 8470.

<sup>22</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, Ms. fol. 949a (= 1009a), penult.

<sup>23</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, Ms. fols. 948b (= 1008b), 965a (= 1025a); and see on him: Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, V, 452, no. 7133.

<sup>24</sup> See e.g. Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, VI, 703 (Yazid b. Qays b. Yazid b. al-Ṣa'iq), 301, no. 8437 (Mu'ādh b. Yazid b. al-Ṣa'iq).

<sup>25</sup> Muṣ'ab b. 'Abdallah, *Nasab quraysh*, ed. E. Levi Provençal, Cairo 1953, p. 267; and see al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab quraysh*, Ms. Bodley, Marsh. 384, fol. 95b; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara* (Esc.), fol. 95b.

honourable position inherited by the descendants of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥiṣn and Wabara can be seen from the account that the Prophet sent 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Auf to Kalb and advised him to marry «the daughter of their king» if they would embrace Islam. As Kalb responded, 'Abd al-Raḥmān married Tumādir; her father, al-Aṣḥab, was indeed «the king» (i.e. the chief – K) of Kalb<sup>26</sup>. Another report lists three tribal groups tracing their origin to Juwayriyya, the daughter of Wabara b. Rūmānis<sup>27</sup>. The marriage of the Caliph 'Uthmān with another Kalbī woman, Nā'ila also reflects the position of the family of the conqueror of Fadak: her father was al-Furāfiṣa b. al-Aḥwaṣ b. 'Amr b. Tha'laba b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḍamḍam b. 'Adiyy b. Jandal<sup>28</sup>.

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It may be of some interest to trace the pedigree and vicissitudes of a Tamīmī woman, who emigrated to Mecca and married a distinguished man from the aristocratic clan of Makhzūm. Her progeny played an important role in the struggle between the Prophet and Quraysh. Asmā', the daughter of Mukharriba<sup>29</sup> from the tribal group of Nahshal b. Dārim of Tamīm, married Hishām b. al-Mughīra from the clan of Makhzūm and bore him two sons: Abū Jahl (= 'Amr) and al-Ḥārith; after her divorce from Hishām, she married his brother, Abū Rabī'a b. al-Mughīra, and bore him two sons: 'Abdallah and 'Ayyāsh<sup>30</sup>. The high status of Asmā' can be inferred from the report that she was entrusted with the keeping of the document of the boycott

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, Beirut 1377/1958, VIII, 298.

<sup>27</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara* (Esc.), fol. 74a.

<sup>28</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-'arab*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1962, p. 456 inf.

<sup>29</sup> On the reading «Mukharriba» and «Mukharriba» see e.g. the note of the Editor of Jumahī's *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-shu'arā'*, p. 123, note 2.

<sup>30</sup> Al-Jumahī, *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-shu'arā'*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir, Cairo 1952, p. 123, no. 142; *Naqā'id Jarir wa-l-Farazdaq*, ed. Bevan, Leiden 1908, p. 607; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, fol. 36a inf. — 36b sup. (Hishām is said to have been the first Qurashite to divorce his wife Asmā' by the *ḏihār* formula; it was his father al-Mughīra, who chose for Asmā' her husband after her divorce: his son Abū Rabī'a b. al-Mughīra), 67b; Muṣ'ab b. 'Abdallah, *op. cit.*, p. 318; al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *op. cit.*, fol. 135a inf. (she was also the mother of Umm Ḥujayr, the daughter of Abū Rabī'a), 140b (and see the two verses of Hishām b. al-Mughīra, in which he expresses his regret at divorcing Asmā', the daughter of Mukharriba, *ib.*, fol. 141a, sup.); Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, VIII, 300 (she married Abū Rabī'a after the death of her husband Hishām), V, 443-4, IV, 129 sup.; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb fī ma'rifati l-aṣḥāb*, ed. 'Alī al-Bijāwī, Cairo 1380/1960, p. 1230, no. 2009, p. 961, no. 1628, p. 301, no. 440; Anonymous, *al-Ta'rikh al-muḥkam fīman intasaba ilā l-nabiyyi ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam*, Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 8653, fol. 148a, 1.4.

of the Prophet and his family. Another version says that al-Julās, the daughter of Mukharriba, her sister, kept the document<sup>31</sup>. The marriages of the daughters of this Dārimī (Tamīmī) family with Qurashites are remarkable. Asmā', the daughter of Salāma b. Mukharriba b. Jandal of Nahshal (Dārim, Tamīm), married 'Ayyāsh b. Abī Rabī'a b. al-Mughīra. She joined her husband when he set out for his *hijra* to Abyssinia and there she gave birth to his son 'Abdallah<sup>32</sup>. Asmā', the daughter of Salāma b. Mukharriba, was for a period the wife of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Auf; his son, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Auf was born from her<sup>33</sup>. 'Abdallah b. 'Ayyāsh married Hind, the daughter of Muṭarrif b. Salāma b. Mukharriba; she bore him his son al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdallah b. 'Ayyāsh<sup>34</sup>. Al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdallah begot 'Abdallah b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdallah; the latter married Umm Abān, the daughter of ['Abbād b.] Muṭarrif b. Salāma b. Mukharriba and she bore him his son 'Abd al-'Azīz<sup>35</sup>. Also to be noted are the marriages of the members of this branch of Makhzūm (descendants of al-Mughīra) with the family of Zurāra (Tamīm). Abū Jahl married the daughter of 'Umayr b. Ma'bad b. Zurāra and she bore him his sons Abū 'Alqama, Zurāra and Abū Ḥājib, Tamīm<sup>36</sup>. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallah b. Abī Rabī'a, nicknamed al-Aḥwal, was the son of Laylā, the daughter of 'Uṭārid b. Ḥājib b. Zurāra<sup>37</sup>. Umm Ḥujayr, the daughter of Abū Rabī'a<sup>38</sup> married a Tamīmī from another family: Abū Ihāb b. 'Azīz<sup>39</sup>.

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<sup>31</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I (ed. Muḥammad Ḥamidullah), 235 sup.

<sup>32</sup> Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Akram Diyā' al-'Umari, Baghdād 1387/1967, p. 234; Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, VIII, 301; Muṣ'ab b. 'Abdallah, *op. cit.*, p. 319; al-Fāsi, *al-'Iqd al-thamīn*, ed. al-Ṭanāhī, Cairo 1388/1969, VIII, 180, no. 3300; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isāba*, VII, 484, no. 10795 (and see *ib.*, p. 492, the elucidation of the relationship between Asmā' bint Mukharriba and Asmā' bint Salāma b. Mukharriba); Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 1783; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, p. 230; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, ed. al-Saqā, al-Abyārī, Shalabī, Cairo 1355/1936, I, 273.

<sup>33</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, III, 128; Anonymous, *al-Ta'rikh al-muḥkam*, Ms. fol. 113a, inf.; Muṣ'ab v. 'Abdallah, *op. cit.*, p. 267 ('Abdallah b. 'Ayyāsh b. Abī Rabī'a was thus the uterine brother of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Auf, adds Muṣ'ab).

<sup>34</sup> Muṣ'ab b. 'Abdallah, *op. cit.*, p. 319; Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, V, 28; al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *op. cit.*, fol. 141b.

<sup>35</sup> Muṣ'ab b. 'Abdallah, *op. cit.*, p. 319; al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *op. cit.*, fol. 142a, sup.

<sup>36</sup> Muṣ'ab, *op. cit.*, p. 312 sup.; al-Zubayr, *op. cit.*, fol. 135b inf.

<sup>37</sup> Al-Zubayr, *op. cit.*, fol. 141a sup.

<sup>38</sup> See above note 30.

<sup>39</sup> Al-Zubayr, *op. cit.*, fol. 135b, 1.1.

The peculiar verses in the *Diwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit link the person of Asmā' (the mother of Abū Jahl and al-Ḥārith, the sons of Hāshim b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī) with that of al-Furāfiṣa, the father of Nā'ila, the wife of 'Uthmān :

«Had you been a scion of a noble woman you would prove it for her by a noble deed :

but you are a descendant of the daughter of 'Uqāb»<sup>40</sup>.

The verse is directed against al-Ḥārith b. Hishām who fled shamefully from the battlefield of Badr. 'Uqāb is recorded in the commentaries as a slave of the Taghlib. Some daughters of 'Uqāb ended up by chance (*fa-waqa'a ba'duhunna*) at al-Furāfiṣa b. al-Aḥwaṣ where they stayed on as slaves. One of these maids was married by a man from Taghlib and bore him a daughter. This daughter was later married by Mukharriba b. Ubayr (scil. from Nahshal, Tamim)<sup>41</sup>. The commentary gives insufficient details of the slave and the maids. One has thus to consult the other poem in which 'Uqāb and the maidslaves are mentioned. The *qaṣida* CLXXVIII is headed by an explanatory note : «He (i.e. Ḥassān) said satirizing al-Ḥārith b. al-Mughīra (i.e. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra – K); his mother, a Nahshalī woman (a descendant of one – K) of the daughters of 'Uqāb, a female slave staying with the Banū Taghlib; she (married and) had daughters who bore children in Kalb, Quraysh and in other tribes». The third verse of the *qaṣida* runs as follows :

«Lo, al-Furāfiṣa b. al-Aḥwaṣ is vexed :

because of your mother [one] of the daughters of 'Uqāb»<sup>42</sup>.

The commentary<sup>43</sup> does not add much for the understanding of the hints included in the two verses. It is therefore fortunate that Ibn al-Kalbī supplies some additional data about Furāfiṣa. It was Furāfiṣa who obtained the heritage of the goldsmith from Fadak and therefore Ḥassān uttered the verses against him. Ibn al-Kalbī mentions the other daughters of the goldsmith : al-Rābi'a married 'Amr b. Kulayb b. 'Adiyy b. Janāb and gave birth to daughters who got married with men from Kalb. The other daughter, al-Shamūs, married

<sup>40</sup> Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Diwān*, ed. Arafāt, London 1971, I, 298 (CXLIX 7) :

*Lau kunta dīn'a karimatīn ablaytahā :*

*ḥusnā, wa-lākin dīn'a bintī 'uqābi.*

<sup>41</sup> Ḥassān b. Thābit, *op. cit.*, II, 220.

<sup>42</sup> Ḥassān, *op. cit.*, I, 343 (CLXXVIII, 3) :

*Inna l-furāfiṣata bna l-aḥwaṣi 'indahū :*

*shajanun li-ummika min banāti 'uqābi.*

<sup>43</sup> Ḥassān, *op. cit.*, II, 246; and see *ib.*, II, 220 : 'Uqāb was a slave (not a slave-maid).



al-Jānn from Taghlib and became the mother of 'Anāq. 'Anāq married Mukharriba b. Ubayr from Nahshal; she gave birth to Julās, the daughter of Mukharriba (usually recorded as Umm Julās Asmā' the daughter of Mukharriba). Umm Julās bore the two sons of Hishām b. al-Mughīra : Abū Jahl and al-Ḥārith<sup>44</sup>. This very pedigree is recorded by al-Balādhurī on the authority of Abū 'Ubayda : Asmā' was the daughter of Mukharriba (or 'Amr b. Mukharriba) and 'Anāq; 'Anāq was the daughter of al-Jānn from Taghlib b. Wā'il, and his wife al-Shamūs, the daughter of Wā'il b. 'Aṭiyya from Fadak<sup>45</sup>. Abū 'Ubayda gives some additional details about the marriage of Asmā' with Hishām. Hishām met Asmā' in Najrān; she was a widow and Hishām married her and moved with her to Mecca. There she gave birth to his two sons. After his death she married his brother, Abū Rabī'a; she bore him two sons too<sup>46</sup>. This has already been mentioned above.

A similar tradition about the marriage of Hishām with Asmā' is recorded by al-Zubayr b. Bakkār on the authority of Ma'mar b. Rāshid; it contains some more details, such as those relating to the talk of Hishām with Asmā', her cleverness and beauty<sup>47</sup>. The date of the death of Asmā' is disputed: some put it at the time of the Prophet, others at the time of 'Umar<sup>48</sup>.

A quite different tradition is recorded in Ps. Aṣma'ī's *Nihāyat al-arab*. 'Adiyy b. Zayd introduced al-Nu'mān to the Persian Emperor, telling him that his mother was the daughter of the goldsmith 'Aṭiyya, who was a Persian. He came by chance to Taymā' and settled there. He married there. The daughter of the goldsmith, Salmā, bore al-Nu'mān<sup>49</sup>.

Finally an early tradition identifies the first husband of Salmā as Suwayd b. Rabī'a, the well known Dārimī tribesman who killed the relative of the king of al-Ḥīra and caused thereby the slaughter of the Tamīmīs on the Day of Uwāra<sup>50</sup>. On his flight from the king of al-Ḥīra Suwayd reached Mecca and became an ally (*ḥalīf*) of the

<sup>44</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara* (Esc.), fol. 74a inf.

<sup>45</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 209.

<sup>46</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 208-209.

<sup>47</sup> Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *op. cit.*, fol. 135b, sup.

<sup>48</sup> See e.g. Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, VII, 491, no. 10807; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 209.

<sup>49</sup> Ms. Br. Mus., Add. 23, 298, fol. 237b inf. — 238a.

<sup>50</sup> See e.g. on the Day of Uwāra: al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, fols. 966b (= 1026b), 968b (= 1028a); among his descendants was Abū Ihāb b. 'Aziz who was one of the thieves of the «Gazelle of the Ka'ba»; al-Balādhurī (Ms. fol. 342b) records his pedigree as follows: Abū Ihāb b. 'Aziz b. Qays b. Suwayd b. Rabī'a b. 'Abdallah b. Dārim... the *ḥalīf* of the Banū Naufal b. 'Abd Manāf.

Banū Naufal; Asmā' reached al-Yaman; she later married Hishām b. al-Mughīra. When she bore him his first son she named him 'Amr (later nicknamed by the Prophet «Abū Jahl» – K) after her father (as the real name of Mukharriba was 'Amr)<sup>51</sup>. This account closes the chain of stories in which the fates of the descendants of the goldsmith's daughters are related.

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Some comments on the few passages quoted above may be useful. It is instructive that the Jewish settlement, Fadak, had to pay some tribute to the tribal group of Kalb. The account seems to indicate that the power of the Jewish agricultural settlements in that period, the end of the third quarter of the sixth century, began to decrease; the weakness of the rulers of al-Ḥīra, the sudden changes in the Persian Empire, the rise of the strength of the Arab tribes, the emergence of Mecca as an influential centre in the Arabian peninsula — all these factors explain the successful raid of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥiṣn against Fadak and its conquest; it is indeed conspicuous that the account uses the expression: *iftataḥahā kalbun* denoting the conquest of a village or a city. It is noteworthy for the understanding of the event that about the same period the Jewish representative of Persia in Medina was replaced by the Khazrajī 'Amr b. al-Itṅāba<sup>52</sup>, and the dominant position of the Jews in this city declined.

The role which Mecca began to play in that period can be deduced from the reports about the migration of members of different tribes to Mecca. The marriages between Qurashites and members of the tribal immigrants reflect the evolution of a flourishing mixed population, dominated by a well developed Meccan tradition and custom; the immigrants became integrated into the Meccan order and absorbed into the Meccan society. It was a peculiar blend of Jewish, Christian, Kalbī, Taghlibī, Tamīmī and Qurashī elements, which produced devoted believers like 'Ayyāsh, malicious infidels like Abū Jahl and gifted poets like 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a.

<sup>51</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, fol. 986b (= 1046b).

<sup>52</sup> See *Arabica* XV (1968) 146-8.