ON THE WIFE OF THE GOLDSMITH FROM FADAK AND HER PROGENY

A STUDY IN JĀHILI GENEALOGICAL TRADITIONS

The section in Ibn al-Kalbi’s Jamhara concerning the pedigree of Ḥisn b. Ḍamḍam and of his clan of Kalb¹ 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-Kalbî, summarized by W. Caskel², deserves a closer examination.

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Al-Ḥārith, the son of Ḥisn b. Ḍamḍam, nicknamed al-Ḥarsha, was the chief of his people. When Fadak was conquered by Kalb in the period of the Jahiliyya his share of the booty consisted of the captives (wa-lahu sāra sabyu fadaka ḥina fi tataḥahā kalbun fi l-jāhiliyyati). The very concise report about the conquest of Fadak given by Ibn al-Kalbî is amplified by an account recorded by Abū l-Baqā³: al-Ḥārith b. Ḥisn b. Ḍamḍam b. ‘Adī b. Janāb al-Kalbî, known as al-Ḥarsha, had the right to the pay (ja‘ala) imposed on the people of Fadak; when they refused to pay, he raided them³. Among the captured women was Shaqiqa, the wife of the goldsmith. Wa’il b. ‘Aṭiyya b. al-‘Udays (or ‘Udas); al-Ḥārith took her to him and she bore him his son Suwayd. Ibn al-Kalbî points out that Shaqiqa was a Jewess and records her ancestors in a long pedigree which goes back to Abraham⁴. Abū l-Baqā⁵ is more precise: the Jewish goldsmith Wā’il was captured together with his Jewish wife Shaqiqa⁵. Ibn al-Kalbî’s

¹ Ibn al-Kalbi, Jamhara, Ms. Br. Mus. (Esc.) Add. 11, 376, fol. 74a.
⁴ Ibn al-Kalbi, Jamhara (Esc.), fol. 74a.
⁵ Abū l-Baqā, op. cit., fol. 72b.
account seems to contain a vague indication of the time of this event: the mother of al-Hārith b. Ḥiṣn was Hirr the daughter of Salāma of ʿUlaym, to whom Imru l-Qays referred in amatory language in his poems. Imru l-Qays died about 550 AD, and Hirr should have been a young woman at that time. Other chronological indications may be derived from the additional sources.

Both Ibn al-Kalbi and Abū l-Baqāʾ report about the four daughters of the couple Wāʾil and Shaqīqa; they differ, however, as to their names. Ibn al-Kalbi records Salmā, al-Rābiʿa, (?) al-Shamūs and Hind; Abū al-Baqāʾ records: Māwiya, Najwa, ʿAfāt (?) and Salmā; thus only one name is common to both lists: Salmā. The couple had also two sons: Maʿbad and ʿUbayd. The progeny of Maʿbad 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. ʿUbayd settled as a tribal unit in Syria.

The status of the four daughters can be deduced from Abū l-Baqāʾ's account: they remained with al-Ḥārith, at his abode (... fa-aṣāba wāʾila bnaʾ atiyyata l-yahūdiyya l-ṣāʿigha wa-maʾahu mraʾatahu l-shaqiqata, wa-kaʾnat yahūdiyyatan, wa-arbaʿa banātin lahu... fa-kunna ʿindahu); the daughters of the Jewish couple married members of various Arab tribes, while Salmā married the king of al-Ḥira, al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir, and gave birth to their son al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir, the last king of the Persian-protected vassal state of al-Ḥira. Later (i.e. after his death) she married Rūmānis b. Muʾaqqil of the ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wudd of Kalb and bore him a son, Wabara. Al-Nuʿmān and Wabara were thus uterine brothers and this is why al-Nuʿmān granted Wabara the two settlements: Baradān and Laʾlaʿ. Yāqūt records the details about the

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6 Ibn al-Kalbi, op. cit., (Esc.), fol. 74a.
7 El2 s.v. Imruʿ al-Kays (S. Boustany).
8 Ibn al-Kalbi, Jamhara (Esc.), fol. 74a; Abū l-Baqāʾ, op. cit., 72b.
9 Ibn al-Kalbi, Jamhara (Esc.), fol. 74a.
10 Ibn al-Kalbi, Jamhara (Esc.), fol. 74a; cf. Ḥamza al-Īsfahānī, Taʾrīkh sini mulākā l-ardi wa-l-anbiyāʾ; Beirut 1961, p. 95 (al-Nuʿmān is the son of Salmā, the daughter of Wāʾil, the goldsmith from Fadak); al-Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh, ed. Muhammad Abū l-Fadl Ibrāhim, Cairo 1961, II, 194 (Nuʿmān’s mother is Salmā, the daughter of Wāʾil, the goldsmith from Fadak); al-Yaʾqūbī, Taʾrīkh, Najaʿ 1384/1964, I, 185 (al-Nuʿmān’s mother is Salmā, a captive said to be from Kalb); al-Masʿūdī, Murūj al-dhahab, ed. Ch. Pellat, Beirut 1966, II, 224, no. 1061 (the mother of al-Nuʿmān is Salmā, the daughter of Wāʾil b. ʿAtiyya from Kalb); al-Jāḥiz, al-Bayan wa-l-tabyin, ed. Ḥasan al-Sandūbī, Cairo 1351/1932, III, 156 (Salmā, the daughter of ʿUqāb, is the mother of al-Nuʿmān); cf. G. Rothstein, Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Ḥira,
kinship relations between al-Nu‘mān and Wabara and reports that Wabara died in Baradan and was buried there. The story of the marriage of Salma with al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir (= al-Mundhir al-asghar) 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-Ḥira. There she bore him his son al-Nu‘mān, who became later king of al-Ḥira. 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.

According to a tradition recorded by Abū Hilāl al-‘Askari, Salmā (the mother of al-Nu‘mān) was a maid servant of ‘Amr b. Tha’labā al-Kalbi. During a raid launched by Dirār b. ‘Amr al-Ḍabbi against Kalb he captured Salma with her mother and two of her sisters. ‘Amr asked him to return them, but Dirār, 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


12 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. Khuwāf 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-Rahmān 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 ‘Aṭiyya, the goldsmith), 76 (3 verses; about the alleged authorship of the verses as in Abū l-Baqā‘’s Manāqib); al-Jāḥiz, al-Ḥayawān, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1385/1966, IV, 377, 379.


returned the majority of the captured family, give back the remainder too. Thereupon Dirār returned Salmā 15.

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-Dirār al-Ḍabbī, who was at the head of a very strong troop. Dirār robbed him of everything he possessed, including Salmā. Al-Mundhir returned to al-Ḥārith and complained of Dirār’s action. Al-Ḥārith (who was a friend of Dirār) intervened, and Dirār 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 16.

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 Dirār b. ‘Amr al-Ḍabbī fought courageously with his sons on the side of Wabara (or Ḥassān b. Wabara) against the ‘Āmir b. Ṣa’sa’a who attacked both Tamim and Ḍabba. According to the account of al-Muṭaḍḍal 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 17. He was captured by Yazid b. al-Ṣa’īq and released on the payment of a very high ransom 18.

Another tradition, also recorded by al-Baladhuri, gives a quite different account. The attack against the ‘Āmir b. Ṣa’sa’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 Dirār b. ‘Amr and summoned him to join his forces. Dirār responded and came with nine of his sons (eighteen according to another account) 19. Al-Nu‘mān sent a caravan to Mecca and ordered the (warriors escorting the – K) caravan to launch an attack (scil. suddenly

15 Abū Hilāl al-‘Askarī, Jamhara al-amthāl, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1384/1964, I, 92, no. 78.
16 Abū l-Baqā’, op. cit., fols. 128b, inf. — 129a, sup.
17 Al-Baladhuri, Ansāb al-ashrāf, Ms. fol. 956b (= 1016b).
19 Al-Baladhuri, 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 Dabba and the troops levied by the king and put under the command of Wabara. Dirār 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.20

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. Dirār, the grandson of Dirār, was one of the notables of al-Kūfah and gave his daughter in marriage to ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥakam al-Thaqafi.21 Another grandson of Dirār, Harthama, embraced Islam and settled in Baṣra.22 The daughter of Dirār, Mu‘ādh, married the Tamīnī leader Ma‘bad b. Zurāra and bore him a son, al-Qa‘qā‘, who converted later to Islam.23

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.24 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-Rahmān b. ‘Auf, one of the richest Companions of the Prophet, married Tumādir, the daughter of al-Asbagh b. ‘Amr b. Tha’labah b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥīṣn b. Dāmūs from Kalb. It is evident that she was the direct descendant of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥīṣn, the man who conquered Fadak and captured the family of the Jewish goldsmith Wa’il b. ‘Atīyya. Tumādir was the first Kalbi woman married by a Qurashite, says the report. Muṣ‘ab reports further that Tumādir’s mother was «Juwayriyya the daughter of Wabara b. Ri‘mān», who was the brother of al-Nu‘mān b. al-Mundhir.25

20 Al-Balādhuri, Ansāb, Ms. fol. 948b-949a (= 1008b-1009a).
21 Al-Balādhuri, Ansāb, Ms. fol. 949a (= 1009a); and see on him Ibn Ḥajar, al-Isābā fi tamyiz al-sahāba, ed. ‘Ali Muhammad al-Bījāwī, Cairo 1292/1972, VI, 314, no. 8470.
22 Al-Balādhuri, Ansāb, Ms. fol. 949a (= 1009a), penult.
23 Al-Balādhuri, Ansāb, Ms. fols. 948b (= 1008b), 965a (= 1025a); and see on him: Ibn Ḥajar, al-Isābā, V, 452, no. 7133.
24 See e.g. Ibn Ḥajar, al-Isābā, VI, 703 (Yazid b. Qays b. Yazid b. al-Ṣa‘iq), 301, no. 8437 (Mu‘ādh b. Yazid b. al-Ṣa‘iq).
honourable position inherited by the descendants of al-Hārith b. Ḥiṣn and Wabara can be seen from the account that the Prophet sent 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Auf to Kalb and advised him to marry «the daughter of their king» if they would embrace Islam. As Kalb responded, 'Abd al-Rahmān married Tumādir; her father, al-ʿAšbah, was indeed «the king» (i.e. the chief – K) of Kalb.26 Another report lists three tribal groups tracing their origin to Juwayriyya, the daughter of Wabara b. Rūmānīs. The marriage of the Caliph ʿUthmān with another Kalbī woman, Nāʾila also reflects the position of the family of the conqueror of Fadak: her father was al-ʿAḥwās b. ʿAmr b. Ṭaḥlabah b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥiṣn b. ʿAmmād b. ʿAdīy b. Jandal.27

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It may be of some interest to trace the pedigree and vicissitudes of a Tamimī 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. Asmāʾ, the daughter of Mukhirrība,29 from the tribal group of Nehshal b. Dārim of Tamīm, married Hishām b. al-Mughira from the clan of Makhzūm and bore him two sons: Abū Jahl (= ʿAmr) and al-Ḥārith; after her divorce from Hishām, she married his brother, Abū Rabīʿa b. al-Mughira, and bore him two sons: ʿAbdallāh and ʿAyyāsh.30 The high status of Asmāʾ can be inferred from the report that was entrusted with the keeping of the document of the boycott

27 Ibn al-Kalbī, Jamhara (Esc.), fol. 74a.
29 On the reading «Mukhirrība» and «Mukharrīma» see e.g. the note of the Editor of Jumahī’s ʿTabaqāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ, p. 123, note 2.
30 Al-Jumahī, ʿTabaqāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ, ed. Māhmūd Muḥammad Shākir, Cairo 1952, p. 123, no. 142; Naqāʾid Jarīr 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 Asmāʾ by the zihār formula; it was his father al-Mughira, who chose for Asmāʾ her husband after her divorce: his son Abū Rabīʿa b. al-Mughira), 67b; Muṣʿab b. ʿAbdallāh, 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 Rabīʿa), 140b (and see the two verses of Hishām b. al-Mughira, in which he expresses his regret at divorcing Asmāʾ, the daughter of Mukhirrība, ib., fol. 141a, sup.); Ibn Saʿd, op. cit., VIII, 300 (she married Abū Rabīʿa after the death of her husband Hishām), V, 443-4, IV, 129 sup.; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, al-Iṣtiʿāb fi maʿrifatāt l-ʾaṣḥāb, ed. Alī al-Bījāwī, Cairo 1380/1960, p. 1230, no. 2009, p. 961, no. 1628, p. 301, no. 440; Anonymous, al-Taʿrīkh al-muhkam fīman intasabā ilā l-nabīyyī șallā l-lāhu ʾalayhi 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. The marriages of the daughters of this Dārimi (Tamimi) family with Qurashites are remarkable. Asmā’, the daughter of Salāmā b. Mukharriba b. Jandal of Nahshal (Dārim, Tamim), married ‘Ayyāsh b. Abī Rabi’ā 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. Asmā’, the daughter of Salāmā b. Mukharriba, was for a period the wife of ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Auf; his son, ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Ayyāsh married Hind, the daughter of Muṭṭarriḍ b. Salāmā b. Mukharriba; she bore him his son al-Hārith b. ‘Abdallah b. ‘Ayyāsh. Al-Hārith b. ‘Abdallah begot ‘Abdallah b. al-Hārith b. ‘Abdallah; the latter married Umm Abān, the daughter of ‘Abbad b. Muṭṭarriḍ b. Salāmā b. Mukharriba and she bore him his son ‘Abd al-Ażīz. Also to be noted are the marriages of the members of this branch of Makhzūm (descendants of al-Mughīra) with the family of Zurārā (Tamim). Abū Jahl married the daughter of ‘Umayr b. Ma’bad b. Zurārā and she bore him his sons Abū ‘Alqama, Zurārā and Abū Ḥājīb, Tamim. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Abdallah b. Abī Rabi’ā, nicknamed al-Aḥwal, was the son of Laylā, the daughter of ‘Uṭārid b. Ḥājīb b. Zurārā. Umm Ḥujayr, the daughter of Abū Rabi’ā, married a Tamīmī from another family: Abū İhāb b. ‘Aẓīz.

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31 Al-Balāḏurī, Ansāb, I (ed. Muṭḥammad Ḥamīdullāh), 235 sup.
36 Muṣ’āb, op. cit., p. 312 sup.; al-Zubayr, op. cit., fol. 135b inf.
37 See above note 30.
38 Al-Zubayr, op. cit., fol. 141a sup.
39 Al-Zubayr, op. cit., fol. 135b, 1.1.
The peculiar verses in the *Diwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit link the person of Ḥasim b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī with that of al-Furāfīṣa, the father of Nā'il, 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».

The verse is directed against al-Ḥārith b. Hishām who fled shamefully from the battlefield of Bāḍr. 'Uqāb is recorded in the commentaries as a slave of the Taghlib. Some daughters of 'Uqāb ended up by chance (fa-waqa'ā ba'duhumna) at al-Furāfīṣa b. al-Ahwāṣ 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 Nahshali, Tamim). 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 *qasida* 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 Nahshali 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 *qasida* runs as follows:

«Lo, al-Furāfīṣa b. al-Ahwāṣ is vexed:

because of your mother [one] of the daughters of 'Uqāb».

The commentary does not add much for the understanding of the hints included in the two verses. It is therefore fortunate that Ibn al-Kalbi supplies some additional data about Furāfīṣa. It was Furāfīṣa who obtained the heritage of the goldsmith from Fādak and therefore Ḥassān uttered the verses against him. Ibn al-Kalbi mentions the other daughters of the goldsmith: al-Rabi'ā married 'Arnr b. Kūlāyib b. 'Aḍiyī b. Jānāb and gave birth to daughters who got married with men from Kalb. The other daughter, al-Shāmūs, married

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*Lau kunīa din'a karimatin ablaitahā:
husna, wa-lākin din'a binti 'uqābi.*

41 Ḥassān b. Thābit, *op. cit.*, II, 220.

42 Ḥassān, *op. cit.*, I, 343 (CLXXVIII, 3):

*Inna l-furāfīṣata bna l-ahwasi 'indahu:
shajunun li-ummika min banāti 'uqābi.*

43 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 'Ānāq. 'Ānāq 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-Mughira: Abū Jahl and al-Ḥārith. This very pedigree is recorded by al-Balādhuri on the authority of Abū 'Ubayda: Asmā' was the daughter of Mukharriba (or 'Amr b. Mukharriba) and 'Ānāq; 'Ānāq was the daughter of al-Jānn from Taghlib b. Wā'il, and his wife al-Shamiis, the daughter of Wā'il b. 'Atiyya from Fadak.

Abū 'Ubayda gives some additional details about the marriage of Asmā' with Hishām. Hishām met Asmā' in Najran; 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 Rabi'ā; she bore him two sons too. 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. The date of the death of Asmā' is disputed: some put it at the time of the Prophet, others at the time of 'Umar.

A quite different tradition is recorded in Ps. Ašma'i'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 'Atiyya, who was a Persian. He came by chance to Ta‘mā and settled there. He married there. The daughter of the goldsmith, Salmā, bore al-Nu'mān.

Finally an early tradition identifies the first husband of Salmā as Suwayd b. Rabi'ā, the well known Dārimī tribesman who killed the relative of the king of al-Ḥira and caused thereby the slaughter of the Tamīms on the Day of Uwāra. On his flight from the king of al-Ḥira Suwayd reached Mecca and became an ally (ḥalif) of the
Banū Naufal; Asmā’ reached al-Yaman; she later married Hishām b. al-Mughira. 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). 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-Ḥira, 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 Khazraji ʿAmr b. al-Ītnāba⁵², 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 Qurashi elements, which produced devoted believers like 'Ayyāsh, malicious infidels like Abū Jahl and gifted poets like 'Umar b. Abī Rabī‘a.

⁵¹ Al-Baladhuri, Ansāb, fol. 986b (= 1046b).
⁵² See Arabica XV (1968) 146-8.