THE ECONOMIC POLICIES OF THE PROPHET - WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ALLEVIATION OF POVERTY

BY

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THESIS PRESENTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY - 1992 -
In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious,
the Most Merciful
I humbly dedicate this work to:

My late father, Haji Yaacob b Arshad, who never saw any of my success.
My late grandmother, Hajjah Rokiah, who was unable to see this work.
My mother, Hajjah Aminah Hj Wan Nik, who has been a permanent moral and material support for all of my success!
Acknowledgement

I would like to express my gratitude to all those who have stimulated my interest in this field of study and helped me in one way or the other. The first name that comes to my mind is my respected supervisor, Dr I.K.A Howard, who has guided me throughout this study and offered many valuable suggestions and directed my studies. Not only that, but he also showed great patience, consideration and tolerance throughout the period of my contact with him and played a great role in keeping my spirits up. His kindness and encouragement have enabled me to complete this research at Edinburgh. I am also very grateful to Dr. Mc Donald and other members of the staff of the Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies for their constant encouragements and assistances.

I have received the courteous assistance from the staff of the Edinburgh University library. A special acknowledgement is due to Miss I. Crawford, the secretary of the Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies for her general help throughout my study. I would also like to express my gratitude to the International Islamic University who granted me the study leave and the Government of Malaysia who awarded me the financial assistance.

A special debt of gratitude is owed to some of my friends from whom I received assistance and cooperation in different ways during this work. Alison Wernberg-Moller (who is a postgraduate student in this
department) was kind enough to go through the initial draft of the thesis and suggested many corrections. Finally I would like to thank my mother and all other relatives for waiting patiently for the good news of my return to Malaysia.
Transliteration table

This study follows the system of transliteration of the United State Library of Congress as outlined in the Cataloging Service Bulletin No. 49 (November, 1958). However, the tā marbūtah has been written as "h" at the end of a word when it is not part of the ʿidāfah construction, in which case it is written as a "t".

***

It is important to mention here that as a believing Muslim, it would be my practice to write the formula of "peace be on him" after mentioning the Prophet Muhammad and other Prophets, and also "God be pleased with them" after the names of Companions and other personalities in Islam. However, the requirements of writing a thesis in the United Kingdom, have meant that these formulas have been omitted. It is my intention that they should be understood whenever the Prophets and Companions are mentioned.

***

Most of the Qur’ānic quotations are taken from The Holy Qur’ān - Text, Translation and Commentary by A. Yusuf Ali. However, in some places where the meanings are ambiguous, other translations like The Glorious Qur’ān by Mohammad M. Pickthall or The Qur’ān - Translated, with a Critical Re-Arrangement of the Sūrah and A Commentary on the Qur’ān by Richard Bell are used.

***
Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation has been written by me (the undersigned), and that it does not represent the work of any other person.
Abstract

This thesis concerns the economic policies of the Prophet - with special reference to the alleviation of poverty. In Chapter 1, there is an examination of the principal terms in the Qur'ān: faqīr, miskīn, da‘if, mustad‘if and ibn al-sabīl. Chapter 2 investigates the problem of poverty in Mecca before the emigration. In Chapter 3 the Prophet's economic policies and their relation to the alleviation of poverty are examined. In the course of this Chapter the economic consequences of the raids made by the Prophet are discussed. Particular attention is given to khums, fay' and the prohibition of ribā. There are special Chapters on zakāh and jizyah and how these two forms of taxations came to be introduced. In an appendix there are several maps of Arabia and Medina to illustrate the Prophet's actions.
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INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

In this thesis on the economic policies of the Prophet - with special reference to the alleviation of poverty, the main area of study will be the policies of the Prophet in Medina. However, some attention will be paid to the economic problems of the small Muslim community in Mecca before the emigration.

This thesis will aim to explain the Qur'anic statements about poverty in the context of Meccan and Medinan society at the time of the revelation. The main sources for this, will be the Qur'an and its exegesis itself, al-sirah (the biography of the Prophet), his Traditions, the early historical accounts of the pre-Islamic Arabs, including their military campaigns and biographies. In addition works of law have also been consulted. In the detailed analysis of the exact meaning of certain Qur'anic revelations and the time that they were revealed, the work of the late Richard Bell of the University of Edinburgh had proved indispensable. However, while his dating is usually found to be acceptable, his analysis of how the Qur'an came to be arranged as it is, is not.

The Qur'an has important things to say about poverty and the alleviation of poverty. These statements in the Qur'an have two terms
reference, the first is to the immediate situation and the second as general injunctions for Muslim conduct toward poverty. As far as this thesis is concerned, the latter needs very little elaboration, because they are by and large universally accepted principles.

Before studying the economic policies of the Prophet, and their effect on poverty, it seemed to be both appropriate and necessary to make a detailed analysis of the terms used for the poor in the Qur’an. Therefore, the thesis examines the principle terms in the Qur’an in Chapter 1. These are faqir, miskin, da‘if, mustad‘if and ibn al-sabil. There are some other terms which do not play a significant part and these will be alluded to in the course of the discussion.

Then the thesis attempts to make an investigation of the economic situation in Mecca and Medina and how the Prophet tried to deal with it. This will follow largely a chronological pattern. However, the Qur’an and the work of the Qur’anic exegetes will also be used here when required. Although some of the economic institutions e.g, khums and fay’ of the Prophet in Medina have been dealt with in the course of the general discussion of the Prophet’s activities in these chapters, it has been necessary to have special chapters on zakāh and jizyah.

In the appendix I have included several maps to clarify the text of the thesis. Map 1 gives area frequented by the principal nomadic tribes in Arabia. Map 2 gives a more detailed view of the caravan routes in the area of Mecca and Medina so that the raids made against them may be more clearly understood. Map 3 illustrates the movements which led to
the battle of Badr. In map 4 there is a detailed outline of the immediate vicinity of Medina at the time of the Battle of the Trench. The area occupied by many of the Medinan clans is also given. It is followed by a list of the major clans in Medina. Map 5 shows the extension of the Prophet's military operations in Arabia.
CHAPTER 1
DEFINITIONS

Definition of faqīr

A close examination of explanations given by exegetes and linguistic scholars shows that while there may be a general similarity between the terms faqīr and miskīn, there is also a distinct difference in meaning between them. However, more important are the works of tafsīr (exegesis). Of these, the most influential to have survived is of al-Ṭabarī's Jāmi' al-Bayān 'an Ta'wil Ay al-Qur'ān. It is one of the most useful as it contains the works of exegesis of many of the earliest scholars. However, there are many other later works of commentary that either preserve early meanings or provide new insights into the meanings of the Qur’ān. Most of them have given a definition of faqīr and miskīn; supporting their discussions by etymological arguments and quotations from ancient poetry.

1 He is Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b Jarir b Yazīd b Khālid, known as al-Ṭabarī, he was born in Āmul (Ṭabaristān) at the end of 224 A.H. or at the early part of 225 A.H. He died in Shawwāl 310 A.H. He also wrote Kitāb Tārikh al-Rusul wa 'I-Muluk. Cf. Muluk, I, pp. 3-4; Wafayāt, IV, pp. 191-2.
The word *faqīr* is derived from the radicals *f-q-r*. One of the basic meanings of the stem is "to break the back"; thus *faqīr* can mean "with a broken back".² It also indicates that a misfortune or calamity has befallen someone,³ sometimes arising from a fracture or disease. As a result of such a disability, a person, i.e. a *faqīr*, cannot work properly or cannot work at all. Thus, he may remain on his bed for the whole of his life and consequently suffer from poverty. In this situation he depends on somebody else to help him in all aspects of life.⁴ From this original meaning, the word seems to have developed to signify a person in a state of poverty, want or need. When the word *faqīr* signifies a person in a state of need or poverty, its plural is *fuqarā*.⁵

A different meaning given by al-Jawhārī is that, a *faqīr* is a man in such a state that he has only what suffices for his household, or those who dwell with him and whose maintenance is incumbent on him.⁶ A second view is that, a *faqīr* is one who finds food sufficient to sustain life.⁷ A third is that, he is one whose property is or has become little, while a fourth is that, he is one who has enough to eat.⁸

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² Mukhtār, p. 508; Rāzī, II, p. 340; Lane, p. 2425.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Lisān, V-VI, p. 367.
⁶ Mukhtār, p. 508; Mu‘jām al-Wasṭī, p. 443.
⁷ Lisān, V-VI, p. 367.
⁸ Lane, p. 2426.
The word *faqīr* or its plural *fuqarā’* occurs 12 times in the Qur’ān. It is sometimes conjoined with the term *miskīn* to indicate two distinct types of needy person. The verses in which *faqīr* occurs are:

1. If ye disclose (acts of) charity, even so it is well, but if ye conceal them, and make them reach the *fuqarā’*, that is best for you... (2:271).

2. (Charity is) for the *fuqarā’*, who, in God's cause are restricted and cannot move about in the land, seeking...(2:273).

3. God hath heard the taunt of those who say: "Truly, God is *faqīr* and we are *aghniyā’*..." (3:181).

4. But if he (guardian) is *faqīr*, let him have for himself what is just and reasonable (4:6).

5. It be (against) rich or *faqīr*, for God can best protect both ... (4:135).

6. Alms (*ṣadaqāt*) are for the *fuqarā’* and *masākin*... (9:60).

7. Then eat ye thereof and feed the distressed *faqīr* (22:28).

8. If they are *fuqarā’*, God will give them means out of His grace (24:32).


10. O ye men! It is ye that are *fuqarā’* of God... (35:15).

11. But God is free (*ghanī*) of all wants, and it ye that are *fuqarā’*... (47:38).

12. (Some part is due) to the *fuqarā’* *Muhājirīn*, those who were expelled from their homes and their property, while seeking grace from God ... (59:8).

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9 al-Qur’ān, 9:60.
In addition, the basic form, *faqr*, occurs in one place in the Qur’ān. "The evil one threatens you with *faqr* and bids you to conduct unseemly..." (2:268).

Let us have a look at how various commentators have defined this term. Al-Ṭabarī does not give any definition of the words *fuqara’*, *faqīr* or *faqr* which occurred in the followings sūrahs: sūrah 2 verse 268 and 271, sūrah 3 verse 181, sūrah 4 verses 6 and 135, sūrah 24 verse 32, sūrah 28 verse 24, sūrah 35 verse 15, sūrah 47 verse 38, and sūrah 59 verse 8. He does, however, give some interpretations of this word as it is in the other three verses (2:273, 22:28, 9:60).

With regard to sūrah 2 verse 273 he maintains that the word *fuqara’* refers specifically to the *fuqara’* al-*muhājirīn* in Medina. Other exegetes refer to *ahl al-*suffah* who lived in the Prophet’s mosque in Medina and devoted their time to prayers and meditation. These people and their relationship with poverty will be discussed later. In the case of this definition of *fuqara’*, we can firmly state that it is the general agreement of Muslim exegetes that *fuqara’* in this verse applies to poor Muslim emigrants who stayed in the Prophet’s mosque.

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10 *Tafsīr*, III, p. 96.
12 See chapter 3, pp. 137-43.
Interpreting the phrase "and feed the distressed ones in need (wa at‘imū al-bā’is al-faqīr )" in surah 22 verse 28 as feeding them (faqir) with the sacrificed meat, al-Ṭabari maintains that the word bā’is means the "one who is subjected to starvation, disabled and in need". While the word faqīr means the one who has nothing. The above meanings are based on the following narrations.

Al-Ṭabari quoted Ibn ‘Abbās’s (d. 68 A.H.) view, that the bā’is indicate on one who is disabled (al-zaman al-faqīr).

According to Mujāhid, (d. 103 A.H.), this phrase is, one who is stretching out both of his hands [begging]. However Ibn Zayd (d. 93 A.H.) says that this phrase denotes the one who is satisfied. On the other hand, a narration from ‘Ikrimah (d. 105 A.H.) seems to denote

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13 He is ‘Abd Allāh b al-‘Abbās, surnamed Abu ‘l-‘Abbās, cousin of the Prophet. His birth is said to have taken place when the Hashimites were blocked in al-Shi‘b, a couple of years before the Prophet’s emigration to Medina. It is said that, he and his mother had already been converted prior his father’s acceptance of Islam. He died in Tā’if in the year 68 A.H. cf. Tibyān, p. 80; EI¹, I, pp. 19-20; EI², I, pp. 40-1; Dhahabi, I, pp. 65-68; Ṭabaqāt, I, pp. 40-2; Tadhkira, I, pp. 40-2.

14 Tafsīr, XVII, p. 148.

15 He is Mujāhid b Jabr known as Abū al-Ḥajjāj. He was born in 21 A.H. For further details, see Tibyān, p. 160; Dhahabi, I, pp. 104-7; Tadhkira, I, pp. 92-3.

16 Tafsīr, XVII, p. 149.

17 He is Jābir b Zayd al-Azdi al-Yahmadi Abū al-Sha‘thā’ al-Jawfī al-Baṣrī who was a mawlā of Banū al-Azd. He was also called as Abū al-Sha‘thā’ al-Azdī al-Kūfi, (or Jābir b Zayd al-Kūfī). He was among the reliable Tābi‘ī. He died about 93-104 A.H. Cf. Murūj, III, p. 203; Tahdhib, II, p. 38-9; XII, p. 127.

18 His full name was ‘Ikrimah b ‘Abd Allāh al-Barbari al-Madani. He was born in 25 A.H., and died in 105 A.H. For further details, see EI², article “Ikrimah”,

10
that the word *bā'is* means the one who is compelled to endure misery, and for him the word *faqīr* signifies the one who refrains from begging though he is in a real need.\(^1^9\)

Again there is no real uniformity among the Muslim exegetes as to the meaning of *faqīr*.

Interpreting the meaning of *fuqara'* in the context of al-Qur'an 9:60, al-Ṭabarī gives several views as to its meaning. In the first view, al-Ṭabarī points out that a *faqīr* is a person who is in need but abstains from asking other people, while *miskīn* is the one who is in need and asks other people.\(^2^0\) In supporting the first view, al-Ṭabarī quotes the following Traditions:

1. A narration from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110 A.H.)\(^2^1\): "*Faqīr* is the one who sits in his house, and *miskīn* is the one who makes an effort to gain something.

2. From Ibn 'Abbās: "*Masākin* are the ones who are roaming around, while the *fuqara'* are Muslims.

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\(^{19}\) *Tafsīr*, XVII, p. 149.


3. From Jābir b Zayd	extsuperscript{22}, that he was asked concerning fuqarā’	extsuperscript{2}, he answered that the fuqarā’ are those who refrain from requesting other persons, and the masākin are those who beg.	extsuperscript{23}

4. Ma‘qal b ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Jazari (d. 166 A.H.)	extsuperscript{24} asked al-Zuhrī (d. 124 A.H.)	extsuperscript{25} with regard to the above verse, al-Zuhrī says that the fuqarā’ are those who remain in their house and never asking others, while the masākin are those who go around and beg from others.

5. From Mujāhīd, that he said the faqīr is one who never begs, and the miskīn is one who begs from others.

6. From Ibn Wahb	extsuperscript{26}, that Ibn Zayd	extsuperscript{27} says that fuqarā’ are those who are not begging from other persons, they are amongst the people in need (ahl al-ḥājah), and the masākin are those who are begging.	extsuperscript{28}

The second view, apparently following the original meaning of faqr, maintains that a faqīr is disabled amongst the people in need, whereas, a miskīn is the one who is healthy. Al-Ṭabārī refers to the following Traditions:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{22} See note no. 17.
\item \textsuperscript{23} Tafsīr, XIV, p. 305.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Tahdhib, IV, p. 234.
\item \textsuperscript{25} He is Abū Bakr Muḥammad b Muslim b ‘Ubayd Allāh b ‘Ābd Allāh b Shihāb b ‘Ābd Allāh b al-Ḥārith b Zuhrah al-Zuhri, known as Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri. He was born in 50 A.H. One of the jurists and Traditionists. Al-Zuhrī is a nisbah related to Zuhrah Ibn Kilāb b Murrah, one of the big clan of Quraysh. The Prophet’s mother, Aminah was from this clan. See, Ibid., IV, pp. 108-13.; Ṭabaqāt, II, pp. 388-9; Wafayāt, IV, pp. 177-9.
\item \textsuperscript{26} He is Ibn Wahb b Munabbih. See Tahdhib, XII, p. 216.
\item \textsuperscript{27} It appears to be the same person as mentioned in number 3 above, i.e., it refers to Jābir b Zayd al-Kūfī.
\item \textsuperscript{28} Tafsīr, XIV, p. 306.
\end{itemize}
1. From Qatādah (d. 117 A.H.),\(^{29}\) that a faqīr is a man who is disabled and a miskīn is a man who, although healthy, is in need.\(^{30}\)

2. From Qatādah, that faqīr is one who is disabled, and the miskīn is one who is in good condition.\(^{31}\)

The third view is that, the fuqarā’ are the emigrants, and the masākin are Muslims who have not made the hijrah but are in need.

Al-Ṭabari based this upon the reports in the following Traditions:

1. From al-Ḍahhāk b Muzāhim (d. 105 A.H.),\(^{32}\) that the fuqarā’ were those who emigrated, whereas the masākin were those who did not emigrate.

2. From Ibrāhīm,\(^{33}\) who is quoted by Sufyān,\(^{34}\) saying concerning the verse "Verily the ṣadaqāt are for the fuqarā’ muhājirūn..." means that the bedouins are not given anything from the ṣadaqāt.

3. From Ibrāhīm, that the ṣadaqah is for the fuqarā’ muhājirūn.

\(^{29}\) He is among the prominent exegetes from Ahl Basrah. He was born in Basrah in 61H. For further details see, Tibyän, p. 168.; Tadhkirat, I, pp. 122-4; Dhahabi, I, pp. 125-7.

\(^{30}\) Tafsīr, XIV, p. 306.

\(^{31}\) Ibid., p. 307.


\(^{33}\) He is Ibrāhīm b Yazīd b al-Aswad b ‘Amr b Rabī’ah b Ḥārithah b Sa’d b Mālik al-Nakha‘ī al-Kūfī. He was amongst the Tābi‘īn. Died in 96 A.H. at the age of 49 years old. Wafayāt, I, p. 25.

\(^{34}\) He is Sufyān b ‘Uyaynah. He died in Rajab 98 A.H. at Mecca. Cf. Ibid., II, pp. 391-3.
4. From Ibrāhīm, that sadaqah is provided for the fuqarā’ who are the muhājirīn and in the way of God.

5. From Sa‘id Ibn Jubayr (d. 95 A.H)35 and Sa‘id b ‘Abd al-Rahmān b Abzī36, they say that "Indeed, there were some of the muhājirūn who did not have a house, wife, slave and camel, on which he may make the pilgrimage or make a raid [in the way of God]. Therefore God refers to them as fuqarā’, and then they have a portion in the zakāh.37

The fourth view seems to confuse faqīr and miskin in the Traditions which support it. However it seems that it was intended to define the miskin as a person who has some property but no work to bring him an income. Although the same definition is given for faqīr, this is probably the result of confusion and the faqīr was meant to be the one who had neither property nor an occupation to bring him income. The two Traditions given are:

35 Tahdhib, IV, p. 13; Tabaqāt al-Sha’rānī, I, p. 34.
37 Tafsīr, XIV, p. 307. The word liahadahum should be read as lā aḥadahum, in which it will give a clear picture of the early emigrants. al-Tabarī quotes this Tradition with the word liaḥadahum. However, in the authentic Tradition which is reported in Muslim from ‘Abd Allāh b ‘Amr b al-‘Āṣ that a person asked him:

"Are we not amongst the fuqarā’ of the muhājir?” Then ‘Abd Allāh asked him: "Do you have a wife?” That man answered: "Yes". Then he asked: "Have you got a house?” That man answered: "Yes, I do have one." Then he said: "You are among the rich.” That man again confessed that he had a servant. Finally, Abd Allah said to him, "then, you are a king". Qurṭubī, VIII, p. 171; al-Ṣahīḥ, IV, p. 348.

The previous idea is contradicted by this remark that, those who have a servant as well as a dwelling are considered as kings, for this means that they have power.
1. ‘Umar said that a faqīr is the one who possesses property, but the faqīr is the one who is unable to earn an income.

2. From Ibn Sirin (d. 110 A.H.) that ‘Umar said that the miskīn is the one who has property, but the miskīn is the one who is unable to earn an income.

The fifth and final view given by al-Ṭabarî in his commentary on sūrah 9:60 is that the faqīr is a Muslim, whereas the miskīn is from ahl al-Kitāb.

Al-Ṭabarî quotes the following Traditions:

1. ‘Ikrimah said: "Do not call fuqarā’ among the Muslims masākin; the masākin are from ahl al-Kitāb".
Al-Ṭabarī concludes from the five views that he has given that the faqīr is a man who is in need. He also maintains that although he is in need, he refrains from begging. On the other hand, the miskīn is the one who is in need and degrades himself by begging from other people.42

In his interpretation of fuqara’ in sūrah 9:60, al-Qurṭubī (d. 671 A.H.) gives several views as follows:

As his first view, al-Qurṭubī quotes Ya‘qūb b al-Sikkit (d. 244 A.H.),43 al-Qutabī44 and Yūnus b Ḥabīb (d. 182 A.H.)45 that the faqīr is the one who has some of what he needs, whereas the miskīn is the one who has nothing.

The second view is the opposite to the first and maintains that the faqīr is the one who has nothing, whereas the miskīn is the one who has some of what he needs. This supports the fourth view of al-Ṭabarī.

The third view follows the original meaning, namely that faqīr is the one who is disabled.46 Al-Rāzī47 also gives a similar meaning by

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42 Ibid., p. 309.
43 He is Ya‘qūb b Ishaq was known as Ibn al-Sikkit. He wrote Kitab al-‘Ibādāt fī al-Fiqh ‘alā al-Madhāhib al-Imām Ahmad and others. He died at the age of 58 years old. Cf. Wafayāt, VI, pp. 395-401.
44 Unable to identify.
45 He is Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Dibbi. It is also said al-Laythi. He was born in 70 A.H. and died in 182 A.H. at the age of 102. Cf. Wafayāt, VII, pp. 244-9; Yaqūt, Irshād al-Arib ilā Ma‘rifat al-Adīb, Mu‘jam al-Udābā’ wa Ṭabaqāt al-Udābā’, (Cairo, 1925), VII, pp. 310-2.
46 Qurṭubī, VII, p. 169
citing Aḥmad b ‘Ubayd’s view that the faqīr is in acute need, thus his disability prevented him from finding an income. This view is the same as the second view of al-Ṭabarī. However, al-Qurṭubi and al-Rāzi do not give any specification for the word miskīn as al-Ṭabarī does.

The fourth view put forward on the authority of Muḥammad b Maslamah (d. 42 A.H.) is that the faqīr is the one who possesses a dwelling place and a servant or lesser property than that, whereas the miskīn is the one who possesses no property.

The fifth is the opposite of the fourth view. Al-Qurṭubi comments that this idea contradicts with Tradition, which he regards as authentic, reported in Muslim from ‘Abd Allāh b ‘Amr b al-‘Āṣ that a person asked him:


49 Rāzi, I, p. 460.


51 He is Abū al-Ḥusayn b al-Ḥajāj b Muslim al-Qushayri. He heard from Qutaybah b Sa‘īd, al-Qa‘nabi, Ahmad b Hanbal and others. Abū ‘Isā al-Tirmidhī was amongst his students. He died at Nayṣābūr in 261 A.H. at the age of 55 years old. Cf. Muhīyy al-Dīn Abū Zakariyya Yahyā b Sharaf al-Nawawi, Saḥīḥ Muslim bi Sharah al-Nawawī, (Beirut, 1987), I, pp. intro.
"Are we not amongst the fuqara’ of the muhājir?" Then ‘Abd Allāh asked him: "Do you have a wife?" That man answered: "Yes". Then he asked : "Have you got a house?" That man answered: "Yes, I do have one." Then he said: "You are among the rich." That man again confessed that he had a servant. Finally, ‘Abd Allāh said to him, "then, you are a king".53

The sixth view is narrated by al-Ḍahhāk from Ibn ‘Abbās that the fuqara’ are the muhājirin, whereas the masākīn are the bedouin who did not emigrate.54 The former word resembles the third view of al-Ṭabarī in its meaning, however, he defines the later as referring to the Muslim who did not migrate.

The miskīn is the one who is submissive and keeps quiet [about his poverty] even if he begs or does not beg, whereas the faqīr is the one who endures and he accepts the things [the state or condition of his life within himself] and who does not submit [to the poverty]55 as his seventh view.

52 He is ‘Abd Allāh b ‘Amr b al-‘Āṣ b Wā‘il b Hāshim b Sa‘id b Sa‘d b Sahm b ‘Amr b Haṣīṣ b Ka‘b b Lu‘ay b Ghālib al-Qurashi. He was known as Abū Muḥammad or Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. His mother is Rā‘iṭah bint Manniyah b al-Ḥajjāj b ʿĀmir b Ḥudhayfah. It is said that the Prophet considered them as part of ahl al-bayt. He was amongst the Sahābī. Al-Askari says that he lived for approximately 100 years. He passed away in Jumādā al-ʿAkhīr 65 A.H. in Egypt. Cf. Tahdhib, V, pp. 337-8.
53 Qurṭubī, VIII, p. 171; al-Ṣaḥīḥ, IV, p. 348.
54 Qurṭubī, VIII, p. 171.
55 Ibid.
This idea shows that the *miskīn* is a negative man who shows his poverty even when he is not begging. He begs for his food and shows his poverty. However, the *faqīr* is a positive man who accepts the poverty privately, without begging. He is said not to be subservient, he tried to hide his poverty by whatever means he can, for instance if he only possessed one garment he would keep it clean, thus whenever other people looked at him, they would think that he [the *faqīr*] was rich enough.

The eighth view is from Mujāhid, ‘Ikrimah and al-Zuhrī, who said that the *masākin* are those who beg, whereas the *fuqarā’* refers *fuqarā’ al-muslimin* (the poor Muslim).\(^{56}\) This idea maintains the first view of al-Ṭabarī.

The ninth and the last view reflects the fifth view of al-Ṭabarī which is taken from ‘Ikrimah and seems to explain the previous view more fully. He maintains that the *fuqarā’* are the *fuqarā’* of the Muslims, whereas the *masākin* are the *fuqarā’* of *ahl al-kitāb*, i.e Jews and Christians.\(^{57}\)

From all these meanings al-Qurtubi concludes that this is what has been said concerning the explanation of the *faqr* according to which it is permissible to receive [*sadaqah*]. The simple word *fuqarā’* does not demand that it be applied exclusively to Muslims to the exclusion of *ahl


\(^{57}\) *Ibid.*
al-dhimmah,\textsuperscript{58} but the Tradition is clear that the \textit{sadaqāt} are taken from rich Muslims and are distributed to the \textit{fuqarā'} Muslims. 'Ikrimah says that the \textit{fuqarā'} are Muslim \textit{fuqarā'}, Abū Bakr al-'Absi\textsuperscript{59} said: 'Umar b al-Khaṭṭāb saw a \textit{dhimmi} who was blind and lying down at the city gate. 'Umar said to him, "what ails you?" he replied "They demanded much of this \textit{jizyah} from me, but when I became blind they left me, and I have no-one who will bring me anything". 'Umar said: I will give you your right, then he ordered his officers to give him food and what would set him aright. 'Umar said, this is one of those of whom God said: "Verily the \textit{sadaqāt} is for the \textit{fuqarā'} and the \textit{masākin}" (9:60). They are the disabled among \textit{ahl al-kitāb}.\textsuperscript{60} Al-Qurtubī adduces the \textit{dhimmi}, as to whom the word \textit{masākin} referred to in that verse.

\textsuperscript{58} \textit{Dhimmah} is a system of dispossession and colonization, aimed at protecting and safeguarding the domination of the triumphant Islamic community. The \textit{dhimmi} is defined as against the Muslims and the idolater (with reference to Arabia, but this is scarcely more than a memory); also as against the \textit{harbi} who is of the same faith but lives in territories not yet under Islam; and finally as against the \textit{musta'min}, the foreigner who is granted the right of living in an Islamic territory for a short time (one year at most). Originally only Jews and Christians were involved; soon, however, it became necessary to consider the Zoroastrians as well and later the other minor faiths who are not mentioned in the Qur'ān. Or other words, non-Muslim subjects at home. However, \textit{ahl al-dhimmah} refers to the Jews and Christians, between whom and the Muslims there is according to Muslim law a certain legal relation. \textit{EI}\textsuperscript{2}, I, p. 258 ; II, pp. 277-231 ; Bat Ye'or, \textit{The Dhimmi Jews and Christians under Islam}, trans. from French by David Maisel et. al. (Toronto, 1985), p. 67.

\textsuperscript{59} He is Rabi' b Kharāsh al-'Absi al-Kūfī. He was a famous \textit{Tābi'i} who narrates from 'Umar, 'Āli and others \textit{Ṣahābah}. He died in 104 A.H. \textit{Lubāb}, II, pp. 114-5.

\textsuperscript{60} Qurṭubī, VIII, p. 174.
Al-Zamakhshari (d. 538 A.H.)\textsuperscript{61} quotes Sa‘īd b Jubayr\textsuperscript{62} that the *fuqarā* in the Qur’an 9:60 as "if I am given a chance to look at *fuqarā* of a Muslim’s family, they are those who refrain from begging, thus I will give to them the *sādāqāt*, that is preferable to me".\textsuperscript{63}

In his discussion of *fuqarā* in surah 9 verse 60, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606 A.H.), the author of *al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr*, opines that both of them are in need, and their income does not meet their expenses. Although both are in need, he says that the *faqīr* is worse than *miskīn*.

In confirming his view, al-Rāzī cites the views of a number of scholars. The first view is according to al-Qaffāl (d. 417 A.H.)\textsuperscript{64} reports, on the authority of Jābir b ‘Abd Allāh (d. 73 A.H.)\textsuperscript{65} that the *fuqarā* are the *fuqarā* *al-muhājirīn*, while the *masākīn* are those who did not make *hijrah*. The second view is from al-Ḥasan [al-Ḍārī] also says that the *faqīr* is the one who sits in his house, whereas the *miskīn* is the one who goes around [begging]. The third view is from Mujāhid who

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{61} He is Muḥammad b ‘Umar b Muḥammad b ‘Umar al-Khawārizmi. He was born in 467 A.H. and died in 538 A.H. Cf. Dhahabi, I, pp. 429-31.
\item \textsuperscript{62} He is Sa‘īd b Jubayr b Hishām al-Asadī al-Wālībī. Their family were *mawlā* Abū Muḥammad. He is called Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Kūfī. He was an authentic authority in Traditions and considered as a leader of proof for Muslims. He was killed by al-Ḥajjāj in Sha‘bān 95 A.H. at the age of 49 years. *Tahdhib*, IV, pp. 11-4.
\item \textsuperscript{63} Zamakhshari, I, p. 400.
\item \textsuperscript{64} He is Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh b Aḥmad b ‘Abd Allāh. He was amongst the Shafi‘is’ scholar. He was known as al-Qaffāl al-Marwazi. He died at the age of 90 at Sijistān. Cf. *Wafayāt*, III, p. 46.
\item \textsuperscript{65} He is Jābir b ‘Abd Allāh b ‘Amr b Tha‘labah al-Khazraj al-Sulami. He was the *ṣaḥābī* who died at Medina. He was the last *ṣaḥābī* who died in Medina. *Tahdhib*, II, pp. 42-3.
\end{itemize}
states that the *faqīr* is the one who does not begging while the *miskīn* does. Finally, from al-Zuhrī who says that the *fuqaṟāʾ* are those who refrain from begging and do not go out, whereas the *masāḵin* are those who beg.66

Therefore, it seems that Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, supports al-Ṭabarī's view that the *faqīr* is one who does not ask from others. Thus, for him a *faqīr* is much more in need than the *miskīn*.67 Al-Rāzī's opinion was taken from al-Ḥasan's report which specifies that a *faqīr* is one who does not beg.68 In his *tafsīr*, al-Khāzīn69 also supports this view. He refers to the above report and maintains that a *faqīr* is one who sits in his house and does not ask from others.70

With regard to the definition, al-Bayḍāwī (d. 791 A.H.) maintains that the *faqīr* is the one who possesses no property nor employment which can provide for his needs due to his disability.71 Thus, he appears to agree with al-Ṭabarī's second and fourth view.

66 Rāzī, IV, p. 462.
67 Ibid.
68 Ibid.
69 His full name is, ʿAlāʾ ʾl-Dīn ʿAlī b Muḥammad b Ibrāhīm al-Khāzīn al-Baghdādī, known as al-Khāzīn. His work on Qur'ānic Exegesis is *Tafsīr al-Khāzīn, Lubāb al-Taʿwil fi l-Maʿāni al-Tanzil*. In his work, there is another tafsīr by al-Baghawī in the margin; He died in 741 A.H. For further details see, Dhahābī, pp. 310-6.
70 Khāzīn, p. 109.
Sūrah 9 verse 60 is important to the Islamic jurists who regard this verse as laying down the recipient of zakāh so they are naturally concerned with the difference, if any, between faqīr and miskīn. In this connection, Mālik b Anas,72 quoting Ibn ‘Abbās’s view, maintains that the faqīr is the one who is in need and refrains from begging, while the miskīn is the one who begs.73 The Hanafites give a somewhat different definition to the Maliki one.74 According to Ibn ‘Ābidin,75 the author of Kitāb al-Dar al-Mukhtār, the faqīr is the one who has some property, but the amount does not satisfy the niṣāb (minimum amount for which zakāh is liable). Whereas, the miskīn is one who has no property at all.76 Ibn Humām77 explains Abū Ḥanifah78’s view by saying that the meaning of lowest amount of property (adnā shay’) is the amount which is not sufficient for the niṣāb or it fulfils the niṣāb requirement but there is no more than that. Whereas miskīn is the one who has nothing. Therefore

73 Qurtubī, VII, p. 171.
74 Mabsūt, III, p. 8.
he begs. Ibn 'Abidin, therefore, defines the meaning of hājah or need as referring to the dwelling place, daily clothes, tools needed for his employment, books and so on.

On the other hand, al-Shafi'i maintains the fifth alternative given by al-Ṭabarî, namely that the faqīr is the one who possesses no property nor employment which can provide for his needs. Within this he also confirms that disabled may also be considered as a faqīr. Thus reconciling the second view of al-Ṭabarî with the fifth.

In the view of Imam Ahmad the faqīr is the one who is unable to work or the blind person who has no employment. According to Abū al-Qāsim al-Khiraqi, the employment is referring to craftsmanship. Furthermore, they do not possesses fifty dirhams or its equal in gold. Whereas the miskīn is the one who begs or does not beg but he has

79 Qadîr, II, p. 261.
81 He is Abū 'Abd Allâh Muhammad b Idris. The founder of the Shafi'i school of law. He belonged to a tribe of Quraysh; he was a Hâshimi and thus remotely connected with the Prophet. His mother belonged to the tribe of Azd. He was born in 150 A.H. and died in Fusṭâṭ in 204 A.H. EI1, VII, pp. 252-4; Wafayât, IV, pp. 163-9.
82 Umm, II, p. 61; Lane, p. 2427; Shams ad-Din al-Ramali, Nihâyat al-Muhtâj ila Sharah al-Minhâj fi Fiqh Madhhab al-Imâm al-Shâfi'i, (Cairo, 1967), VI, pp. 151-5.
employment. Although they have employment, they still do not have fifty dirhams or its equal in gold.84

According to Ibn Ḥazm85 (d. 456 A.H.), as far as wealth is concerned, the Qurʾān recognises four categories of people:

1. Mūsar - The one who has surplus foodstuffs.
2. Ghani - The one who is in no need of anybody's help even though there remains no surplus with him.
3. Miskin - The one who has wealth which does not suffice him.
4. Faqr - The one who has nothing.

Mūsar can also be called ghani because he has more than enough, for himself and his family's livelihood, but ghani cannot be called mūsar because his possessions are only enough for himself and he has nothing left over. Moreover, he [the ghani] is not in need of others. As such every mūsar is a ghani but not every ghani is a mūsar. Therefore, whoever is below these categories is regarded as faqr and miskin.86 Thus Ibn Ḥazm seems to oppose the Ḥanafis and support al-Shāfiʿī.

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84 Mughni, VI, p. 469.
85 He is Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī b Aḥmad b Saʿīd, a versatile Spanish Arab scholar, a notable theologian, a historian and a distinguished poet. He was born in 384 A.H. at Cordova (Spain). At first he was an ardent follower of the Shāfiʿī school and afterwards he became involved in the Zāhiri school of Dāʿūd al-Zāhirī of which he became a devoted advocate. EI4, III, pp.384-6.
Al-Ghazzālī defines the *faqr* as one who possesses no property and is unable to earn an income. Therefore, if a man has food for his day and he has a cloth, he is not called a *faqr*, but he is called a *miskīn*. However, if he possesses only half or some food for his day, he is a *faqr*.\(^87\)

There is an Imamī-Shī‘ite view put forward by Maḥmūd b al-Ḥasan al-‘Āmilī\(^88\) who quotes Abū ‘Abd Allāh’s (Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq)\(^89\) conversation when he was asked by Abū Basīr Layth b al-Bukhtari\(^90\) concerning the verse (9:60). The answer given was the *faqr* is the one who does not beg, while the *miskīn* is the one who is more miserable and more in difficulties and *al-bā‘īs* is the one who is poorer than the former two.\(^91\) To strengthen this view, al-‘Āmilī further cites the Shi‘ite traditionist Muḥammad b Yaḥyā b al-Ḥasan’s\(^92\) narration, which gives a


\(^88\) He is Muḥammad b al-Ḥasan b ‘Alī b Muḥammad b al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī al-Mashghari. He was born in Rajab 1033 in the village of Mashgharah in Mashhad (Iran). He comes from a traditional religious family. He wrote on many subjects and his known works are about thirty. He died in the year 1104. *EI*\(^2\), III, pp. 588-9; *Wasā’il*, I, pp. 20-3.


\(^90\) Unable to identify.

\(^91\) *Wasā’il*, VI, p. 144.

\(^92\) Unable to identify.
similar definition to the above with the addition that the *miskīn*, is more miserable and more in difficulty and therefore he does beg.\(^{93}\)

These Traditions seem to agree with the first view of al-Ṭabarī. However in al-Ṭabarī's first view he does not specify who is more in difficulty. The Shiʿite view also appears to support the Ḥanafite view. Furthermore, Ḥanafites seem to maintain that *miskīn* possesses no property, thus his life is more in difficulty. To maintain his life, the *miskīn* needs to beg.

From this brief survey of the Islamic jurists attempt to define *faqīr* and *miskīn*, it is clear that there was no unanimity among them as to the actual meanings of the terms.

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The term *faqīr* sometimes occurs as the opposite of *ghanī*. Which seem to be generally explained as having property. The one who possesses wealth or property would be called *ghanī* whereas the one who does not possess would be called *faqīr*. Therefore in these two specific verses (35:15 and 47:38) the term *ghanī* is referring to God, the Creator. Whereas the term *faqīr* is referring to the creation. The *ghanī* and *faqīr* is generally stated without mentioning the level and standard of *ghanī* and *faqīr*. As regards to these two verses, al-Ṣābūnī opines that the use of

\(^{93}\) *Wasāʿil*, VI, p. 144.
these terms do not indicate the differences between the rich and the poor.94

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According to the usual chronological judgement of the Qur'ānic sūrahs by the exegetes, the following verses are regarded as Medinan; sūrah 2:271, 273, sūrah 3:181, sūrah 4:6, 135, sūrah 9:60, sūrah 22:28, sūrah 24:32, sūrah 47:38 and sūrah 59:8; while sūrah 28:24, sūrah 35:15 are Meccan. In this case, it appears that only two verses in which the word faqīr or fuqara’ were revealed in Mecca (28:24; 35:15). The rest are Medinan sūrahs. However, Bell claims that 28:24 is also a Medinan revelation. He also suggests that sūrah 35:15 is also Medinan (?) with the sūrah having been expanded from an earlier Meccan revelation.95 This makes it possible that all uses of the word faqīr in the Qur’ān are Medinan.

These verses seem to have been concerned with the atmosphere of the early Muslim society in Medina. During this time many Meccan Muslims who migrated to Medina had to leave their possessions behind (59:8). This perhaps strengthens the arguments of those exegetes who suggest that the fuqara’ were the poor of the muhājirīn.

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94 al-Ŝābûni, Mukhtâṣar Tafsîr Ibn Kathîr, III, pp. 143, 144 & 334.
95 Bell, II, pp. 373 & 428.
Definition of *miskin*

Having looked into the definition of *faqîr*, let us examine the second concept, *miskîn* or its plural, *masâkîn*. Some of the definitions of this word have already been mentioned earlier in the treatment of *faqîr*. It seems that some people regard both concepts as the same. Its definition continued to be debated, by Qur’anic exegetes as well as the jurists.

Literally, the word *miskîn* is a loan word from Assyrian which has shown "remarkable vitality". In the meaning "poor" it has passed into other languages, such as Aramaic, Hebrew and South Arabian.96

However, Arab lexicographers maintained that the word is derived from *s-k-n*. It is in form of *Mif’il* because the person to whom it is applied trusts or relies upon others so as to become, or be easy, or quiet in mind. Thus, *miskîn* means, according to them, being silent, quiet, or involving very little movement or motion, as has been said "the wind is being silent when it stops".97 They maintain this meaning depends on a person’s needs, because needs and difficulties are common factors which cause someone to be silent in all of his actions and deeds. Thus, according to them, it comes to mean poor.

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96 *EiI*, III, p. 520.
The term "poor" gradually developed into other terms; "base" and "miserable", in the moral sense, for example according to Ibn Sa'd⁹⁸ where Abū Sufyân⁹⁹'s wife, Hind¹⁰⁰ is called miskina.¹⁰¹ The word miskin can also signify lowly, humble or submissive as in the words attributed to the Prophet;

"O God, make me to live lowly (miskin), and make me to die lowly (miskin) and gather me among the congregation of the lowly (miskin)".¹⁰²

Hence it is sometimes applied to a person who possesses much, and sometimes signifies low, abject, ignominious, in a state of modesty, humiliation and weakness or subdued or oppressed.¹⁰³ In other cases it is synonymous with faqir when the latter denotes destitution, i.e.

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⁹⁸ He is Abū 'Abd Allāh, Muḥammad b Sa'd b Mani' al-Baṣri al-Zuhri, a client of the Banū Hāshim known as secretary of al-Wāqidi. Cf. EI¹, III, pp. 413-4.

⁹⁹ He is Abū Sufyân (or Ḥanẓalah) Ṣakhr b Ḥarb b Umayyah, from Qurashi family of 'Abd Manāf. He was a leader of the aristocratic party in Mecca hostile to the Prophet. He was a few years older than the Prophet. He was a rich and respected merchant, who repeatedly led the great Meccan caravan. He died in the year 31 at the age of 88. Ibid., pp. 107-8.

¹⁰⁰ She is Hind bint 'Utbah b Rabī'ah, mother of Mu'āwiyyah. The Meccan women, belonging to the clan of the 'Abd al-Shams, and who had married as her third husband Abū Sufyân b Ḥarb. EI², III, p. 455.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 502.

¹⁰² This Tradition is said to be a Ḥadith munkar. Munkar is used of a Tradition from a weak transmitter which disagrees with what is generally transmitted. James Robson, Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ, (Pakistan, 1963), I, p. xii. ; The meaning of this supplication shows the humbleness, Ibn Mājah, Sunan, V, p. 1382. However, al-Tirmidhī says that this hadith is said to be Ḥadīth gharib. See Abū 'Īsā Muḥammad b 'Īsā al-Tirmidhī, al-Jāmi' al-Ṣahīḥ, (Medina, 1974), IV, p. 8.

¹⁰³ Lane, p. 1395.
possessing nothing and being lowly, humble or submissive as in the words attributed to the Prophet.

The word *miskin* or its plural *masākin* occurs 23 times in the Qur’ān. The verses in which these words occur are:

1. And remember we took a covenant from the children of Israel (to this effect); worship none but God; treat with kindness your parents and kindred, and orphans and *masākin*; speak fair to the people; be steadfast in prayer; and practise regular charity. Then did ye turn back, except a few among you, and ye backslide (even now). (2:83)

2. It is not righteousness that ye turn your faces towards East or West; but the righteousness - to believe in God and the Last Day, and the Angels, and the Books, and the Messengers; to spend of your substance, out of love for Him, for your kin, for orphans, for *masākin*, for the wayfarer, for those who ask, and for the ransom of slaves; to be steadfast in prayer, and practice regular charity; to fulfil the contracts which ye have made; and to be firm and patience, in pain (of suffering) and adversity, and throughout all periods of panic. Such are the people of truth, the God-fearing. (2:177)

3. (Fasting) for a fixed number of days; but if any of you is ill, or on a journey, the prescribed number (should be made up) from days later. For those who can do it (with hardship), is a ransom, the feeding of one that is *miskin*. But he that will give more, of his own free will, it is better for him. And it is better for you that ye fast, if ye only knew. (2:184)

4. They asked thee what they should spend (in charity). Say whatever you spend that is good, is for parents and kindred and orphans
and masākin and for wayfarers. And whatever ye do that is good, - God Knoweth it well. (2:215)

5. But if at the time of division other relatives, or orphans, or masākin are present, feed them out of the (property), and speak to them words of kindness and justice. (4:8)

6. Serve God, and join not any partners with Him; and do good - to parents, kinsfolk, orphans, masākin, neighbours who are near, neighbours who are strangers, the companion by your side, the wayfarer (ye meet), and what your right hands possess. (4:36)

7. God will not call you to account for what is futile in your oaths, but He will call you to account for your deliberate oaths: for expiation, feed ten masākin, on a scale of the average for the food of your families; or clothe them; or give a slave his freedom. If that is beyond your means, fast for three days ... (5:89)

8. If any of you doth so (kill game in pilgrim garb) intentionally, the compensation is an offering, brought to the Ka’ba, of a domestic animal equivalent to the one he killed, as adjudged by two just men among you; or by way of atonement, the feeding of masākin; or its equivalent in fasts; that he may taste of the penalty of his deed ... (5:95)

9. And know that out of all the booty that ye may acquire (in war), a fifth share is assigned to God - and to the Apostle, and to near relatives, orphans, masākin and the wayfarer ... (8:41)

10. Alms (sadaqāt) are for the fuqarā’ and masākin and those employed to administer the (funds); for those whose hearts have been (recently) reconciled (to truth); for those in bondage and in debt; in the cause of God and for the wayfarer ... (9:60)

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11. And render to the kindred their due rights, as (also) to miskīn, and to the wayfarer; but squander not (your wealth) in the manner of a spendthrift. (17:26)

12. As for the boat, it belonged to masākin: They plied on the water; I but wished to render it unserviceable, for there was after them a certain king who seized on every boat by force. (18:79)

13. Let not those among you who are endued with grace and amplitude of means resolve by oath against helping their kinsmen, masākin, and those who have left their homes in God's cause; let them forgive and overlook, do you not wish that God should forgive you? For God is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful. (24:22)

14. So give what is due to kindred, and masākin and the wayfarer. That is best for those who seek the Countenance, of God, and it is they who will prosper. (30:38)

15. And if any has not (the wherewithal), he should fast for two months consecutively before they touch each other. But if any is unable to do so, he should feed sixty miskīnan. This, that ye may show your faith in God and His Apostle. Those are limits (set by) God. For those who reject (Him), there is a grievous penalty. (58:4)

16. What God has bestowed on His Apostle (and taken away) from the people of the townships, - belongs to God, - to His Apostle and to kindred and orphans, masākin and the wayfarer; in order that it may not (merely) make a circuit between the wealthy among you ... (59:7)

17. Let not a single miskīn break in upon you into the (garden) this day. (68:24)

18. And would not encourage the feeding of miskīn. (69:34)

19. Nor were we of those who fed miskīn. (74:44)
20. And they feed, for the love of God, *miskîn*, the orphan and the captive. (76:8)

21. Nor do ye encourage one another to feed *miskîn*! (89:18)

22. (It is) freeing the bondman; or giving of food in a day of privation, to the orphan with claims of relationship, or to *miskîn* (down) in the dust. (90:13-16).

23. And encourages not the feeding of *miskîn*. (107:3).

The meanings of *miskîn* given by the exegetes in their analysis of 9:60 have already been mentioned.104 Thus the exegetes and jurists investigated the different interpretations of the meaning of this word, and gave varying definitions as to who should be called a *miskîn*. Al-Tabarî only gives a definition of the word *miskîn* or *masâkîn* in ten places excluding 9:60. As regards to 9:60, al-Tabarî maintains that his first interpretation of this word as "beggar" is correct.105 His opinion is followed by other commentators, such as al-Baghawi,106 al-Khâzîn, Fâkhr al-Dîn al-Râzî and also al-Suyûtî,107 all of whom, depend on their own sources from whom narrations are transmitted.

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104 Cf. definition of *faqîr*.


106 He is Muhammad al-Hasayn b Mas‘ûd al-Farrâ‘ al-Baghawi. His work was published by Dâr al-Ma‘rifah, Beirut in 1986 in four volumes, under the title, *Tafsîr al-Baghawi al-Musammî Ma‘âlim al-Tanzîl*; He died in 516H. For further details see, *Tadhkirat IV*, pp. 1257-9; Dhahabi, I, pp. 234-8.

107 He is Jalâl al-Dîn ‘Abd al-Rahman b Abî Bakr al-Suyûtî. His Qur’anic commentary is entitled *al-Durr al-Manthûr*; it was published in Tehran; Died in 849H. Dhahabi, I, pp. 251-4.
Sūrah 2 verse 83 insists that the duties of a Muslim include showing kindness toward those who are mentioned, i.e. both parents, relatives, orphans and *masākin*, besides performing prayer and paying *zakāh*. Al-Ṭabari relates that the kindness to these people is carried out by giving them the rights from one’s property which God has required.¹⁰⁸ This appears to refer to compulsory charity (*zakāh*). Thus, according to al-Ṭabari’s interpretation, the verse not only describes the payment of *zakāh* but also mentions the duty of paying it to the *masākin*. Furthermore, al-Ṭabari defines the *masākin* in this verse as referring to the one who is indigent and in need.¹⁰⁹ Al-Qurtubi maintains that the *masākin* in this verse are those upon whom need has settled and debased. He goes on to suggest the *sadaqah* is encouraged to be given to these, so that it might alleviate their needs.¹¹⁰ He cites the Tradition quoted by Muslim which is narrated by Abū Hurayrah¹¹¹ as, ”The strive on behalf of the widow and the *miskīn* is like the one who is fighting (*mujāhid*) on the way of God”.¹¹² Clearly al-Qurtubi interprets the verse as encouraging the giving of charity (*sadaqah*) to the *masākin* in addition to the duty of paying *zakāh*. Both interpret *masākin* in this verse in a general way to describe people who have been reduced to poverty by need.

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¹¹⁰ Qurṭubi, II, p. 15.
¹¹¹ He is a member of the Sulaym b Fāhm clan of the South-Arabian tribe of Azd. He was a companion of the Prophet and a zealous propagator of his words and deeds. It have been said that his name was ‘Abd al-Rahmān b Ṣakhir and ‘Umayr b ‘Āmir. His surname was Abū Hurayrah. He died in the year 57 or 58 A.H. at the age of 78. *EI*, I, pp. 93-4.
¹¹² Qurṭubi, II, p. 16.
The word *masākin* in sūrah 8 verse 41, is defined by al-Ṭabarî as those who are indigent and in need amongst the Muslims. This verse which concerns to distribution of the *khums* from the booty taken in a successful campaign.

Sūrah 17 verse 26 still emphasizes the relationship with both parents, relatives, *miskîn* and *ibn al-sabil* whose rights must be observed and considered. Thus, in his explanation, al-Ṭabarî maintains that it refers to the distribution of *zakāh*. With reference to the word *miskîn* in the above verse, al-Ṭabarî seems to put forward his views in which it is the one who is despised of amongst those who are in need. Bell claims that this is the duty of every Muslim. As for al-Qurtubi, he insists that the *sadaqah* must be given to the *miskîn* and *ibn al-sabil*, while kindness is given to parents. However, he says that this verse explains the relationship amongst parents and friends and the methods to alleviate the needs from whatever means available, particularly from ones' wealth.

Sūrah 24 verse 22 is specifically revealed regarding the slander against ‘Āishah. Amongst the accusers was Mistah (d. 34 A.H.), her

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113 *Tafsir*, III, p. 56. This verse will be explained in detail in the next chapter.


115 Bell, I, p. 265.

116 Qurtubi, X, p. 237.

117 ‘Āishah bint Abû Bakr, the favourite wife of the Prophet. She was born at Mecca 8 or 9 years before the Hijrah. She was popularly called Umm ‘Abd Allâh after the name of her nephew, ‘Abd Allâh b al-Zubayr. She was married to the Prophet at the age of 9. She has played great role in the history of Islam and Muslims.
own relative. Misṭāḥ was supported by Abū Bakr\(^\text{119}\). As a result of his behaviour, Abū Bakr had vowed not to give further support to a poor relative who has spread the slander. This verse was revealed telling him to forgive them.\(^\text{120}\) So for al-Ṭabārī, the word miskīn here is merely referring to Misṭāḥ b Uthāthah, who is in need. This was recorded in a Tradition narrated by Yūnus who said that Ibn Wahb said that Ibn Zayd said that this verse (24:22) refers to Misṭāḥ who is related to Abū Bakr and furthermore is in need, or in other words, miskīn.\(^\text{121}\) Thus, it seems that the word miskīn in this verse is an adjective for Misṭāḥ. On the other hand, al-Qurṭūbī does not make any specification as to whom the word miskīn is referred to. However, al-Rāzī adds that Misṭāḥ is an orphan.

\(^{118}\) He is Misṭāḥ b Uthāthah b ‘Ubayd b al-Muṭṭalib b ‘Abd Manāf b Quṣayy al-Muṭṭalib. \textit{al-Isābah}, III, p. 408.

\(^{119}\) He is Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh, surnamed was ‘Atiq. He was the first Caliph. His father ‘Uthmān, also called Abū Quḥāfah, and his mother Umm al-Khayr Salma bint Ṣakhir both belonged to the Meccan family of Ka‘b b Sa‘d b Taym b Murrah. He was three years younger than the Prophet. Cf. \textit{EI}^\text{I}, I, pp. 80-2.

\(^{120}\) Qurṭūbī, XII, p. 207; Bell, I, p. 338; Wāḥidī, p. 243.

\(^{121}\) \textit{Tafsīr}, XVIII, p. 102.
who is under Abū Bakr’s custody. Since Missāh is miskīn and has migrated, this word refers to him.\footnote{122}{Rāzī, VI, p. 252.}

Al-Ṭabarī defines the word masākīn in surah 59 verse 7 as those who have combined need with the shame of begging.\footnote{123}{Tafsir., XXVIII, p. 38. This verse will be explained in the next chapter.} In this regard al-Qurtūbi does not give any definition to the above term.

The next verse (68:24) "let not a single indigent person (miskīn) break in upon you into the (garden) this day" shows us the manners of some rich people who possessed farms. They thought that by not allowing the miskīn to glean from the field they would gain more wealth. Thus, some rich people agreed to harvest early in the morning with the intention of not giving to the miskīn. In other words, they broke with the traditional practice of allowing the miskīn to glean and gave them nothing. As a result, they lost all of their crops for that season.\footnote{124}{Ibid., XX, pp. 32 - 4.}

Concerning the above-said verse (68:24), al-Qurtūbi gives a report that a rich man had asked the masākīn to attend on the harvest day. Unfortunately, he died before the crops was harvested. As a result, his sons inherited the garden. Although, his sons knew that their father had asked the poor to attend, they came to an agreement to hide their crops from the poor in order to gain more profit. What happened was that they lost their crops.\footnote{125}{Qurtūbi, XVIII, p. 242.} According to another report, the man who
had owned the garden was a Muslim from Thaqif. He had a garden near Ṣan‘ā’. He gave a portion of the crops to the fuqarā’ on the day of harvest. After his death, his sons decided not to give the fuqarā’ their portion because they had many children and only a little wealth. Therefore, they could not do as their father had done and they tried to hide the harvest from the fuqarā’ and the masākīn. Thus, God destroyed their garden. Although the verse refers to the masākīn, the exegetical report refers to the fuqarā’. As the report describes the man as a Muslim, this may indicate that for this writer the fuqarā’ are Muslims and what is being given is zakāh. Further confirmation that this report refers to zakāh is found in the fact that the jurists discouraged harvesting at night on account of the Tradition that the Prophet forbade harvesting and slaughtering at night because this may lead to cheating on the measurement of the crops for zakāh.

Sūrah 69 verse 34 which says "and he would not encourage the feeding of the miskīn". This verse and the verses before refer to the record of sins given to sinners in the hereafter. One of these sins was that they were not encouraging other people to feed the miskīn and the one who is in need in this world. Not only not feed of the poor will be

126 See Appendix, map no. 1.
127 Rāzī, VIII, p. 1889; On the authority of ‘Ikrimah al-Ṭabarī opines that the owner of the garden is the people of al-Habashah. While on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās al-Ṭabarī says that the owner is the people of ahl al-Kitāb. Cf. Tafsīr, XXIX, p. 29.
128 Shawkānī, V, p. 217; Umm, II, p. 188; Yahyā Ibn Ādām al-Qurayshī, Kitāb al-Kharāj, (Beirut, n.d.), p. 133.
129 Tafsīr, XXIX, p. 64.
punished but also whoever did not urge others to feed the poor also will be having the same punishment in the Hereafter.\textsuperscript{130} Abū ‘Ubayd (d. 224 A.H.)\textsuperscript{131} states in the \textit{Kitāb al-Amwāl} that Abū Dardā’ (d.31 A.H.)\textsuperscript{132} asked his wife to urge him to feed the poor:

"O mother of Dardā’! God has a chain which is consistently being heated in Hellfire until it will be put round the neck of the guilty. God has by giving us \textit{Imān}, served us half of this wrath, to escape the other half, you must urge me to feed the poor".\textsuperscript{133}

Sūrah 74 verse 44 which says "nor were we of those who fed the \textit{miskīn}". Al-Qurtūbī says that these people did not give charity to the \textit{miskīn}.\textsuperscript{134} The previous verse says that the same people had not performed prayer. Thus they had committed two of the four grave sins listed by al-Rāżī, i.e. not praying, not paying \textit{zakāh}, giving false testimony in court and lying as meriting grave punishment in the Hereafter.\textsuperscript{135}

On the other hand, sūrah 76 verse 8 refers to the pious man who gives food to the \textit{miskīn}, which is considered the best for the cause of

\textsuperscript{130} al-Qur’ān, 69:30-34.
\textsuperscript{132} He is ‘Uwaymir b Zayd b Qays b ‘Āisham b Umayyah b Mālik b ‘Adi b Ka‘b b al-Khazraj b al-Ḥārith of the Bal-Ḥārith of the Khazraj. He was the younger contemporary of the Prophet. He died in Damascus in 32 A.H. \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 113-4.
\textsuperscript{133} Qāsim b Salām Abū ‘Ubayd, \textit{Kitāb al-Amwāl}, (Cairo, 1355), pp. 438-9.
\textsuperscript{134} Qurtūbī, XIX, p. 87. Qurtūbī uses the word \textit{tašaddaq} but could well be referring to \textit{zakāh}. However, this verse was revealed in Mecca and therefore was referring to the duty of almsgiving without the later requirements of \textit{zakāh} law.
\textsuperscript{135} Rāżī, VIII, PP. 257 - 8.
Moreover, he also feeds the orphans and the captives. The one who performs this alms-giving should regard this as his duty to fulfil God's cause. As a result God will increase the love in their hearts towards Him.\textsuperscript{136} Thus, the word \textit{miskīn} in this sūrah (76:8) is defined by al-Ṭabari as those who are indigent whose needs have humiliated them.\textsuperscript{137} Al-Qurṭūbī opines that the \textit{miskīn} is the one who possesses a domicile [\textit{maskan}]. However, he quotes a narration from Abū Ṣāliḥ\textsuperscript{138} from Ibn ‘Abbās saying that he [the \textit{miskīn}] is the one who goes around begging you for (some of) your wealth.\textsuperscript{139} As for al-Rāzī, he defines the \textit{miskīn} here as referring to the one who is too weak to find his own sustenance by himself.\textsuperscript{140}

In sūrah 90 verse 16, a \textit{miskīn} is described as \textit{dhā matrabah}. Al-Ṭabari gives three views in defining this sentence. In his first view, this verse means the one who is covered with dust.\textsuperscript{141} He cites numerous Traditions to support his argument regarding the interpretation of this verse. He gives seventeen Traditions, 14 from Mujāhid who cites the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās in twelve of them. All seventeen Traditions emphasise the acute poverty of the \textit{miskīn} who is \textit{dhā matrabah}. They imply that such is his poverty that he has nowhere to live but in the dust

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{136} \textit{Tafṣīr}, XXIX, p. 211.
  \item \textsuperscript{137} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 209.
  \item \textsuperscript{138} \textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{138} He is a mawla Umm Hāni', and one of the famous \textit{tābi‘in}. \textit{al-Iṣabah}, IV, p. 110.
  \item \textsuperscript{139} Qurṭūbī, XIX, p. 127.
  \item \textsuperscript{140} Rāzī, VIII, p. 277 ; Wāhīdī, p. 331.
  \item \textsuperscript{141} \textit{Tafṣīr}, XXX, p. 199.
\end{itemize}
and that he is treated almost like garbage which is thrown into the dust or the rubbish dump. He, too, has little to cover his body but dust.142

142 1& 2- From Mujahid from Ibn 'Abbās that this verse refers to the one who possesses no house except a dust. [Therefore presumably he is covered with dust, from having to sleep on the ground.]

3- A narration from Mujahid from Ibn ‘Abbās that he possesses no clothes except the dust.

4- From Mujahid from Ibn ‘Abbās that the word dhā matrabah means the one who has no home except the dust.

5- From Mujahid from Ibn ‘Abbās that dhā matrabah is the one who has no home except the dust.

6- From Mujahid from Ibn ‘Abbās that the miskīn is the one who lays on the ground.

7- From Mujahid from Ibn ‘Abbās that the one who has nothing to protect him from the dust.

8- From Mujahid from Ibn ‘Abbās that he is the one who is covered with dust because of extreme want.142

9- From Mujahid from Ibn ‘Abbās that dust here means rubbish which is thrown on the street or the rubbish dump.

10- From Mujahid from Ibn ‘Abbās that the miskīn is the one whom dust has been thrown [while walking along] the roadside.

11- From Mujahid only not citing Ibn ‘Abbās that the one who has been thrown to the ground and has nothing to protect him except the dust.

12- From Mujahid from Ibn ‘Abbās that he is the one who is covered with dust and has nothing to protect him except the dust.

13- From Mujahid from Ibn ‘Abbās that the one who has nothing to protect him from the dust.

14- From Mujahid only not citing Ibn ‘Abbās that the phrase dhā matrabah is one who falls (sāqiḥ) on the dust.

15- From 'Ikrimah who says that dhā matrabah is the one who covers himself with the dust because of his need.

16- From Ma'mar from 'Ikrimah that the dust which is covered altogether on the ground.

17- From Sa'id b Jubayr from Ibn ‘Abbās that the one who is thrown on the roadside and he has no home except the dust. See Tafsir, XXX, p. 205.
The second interpretation denies this literal understanding of the word and maintains that dhā matrabah is equivalent to tariba, which, it is maintained does not mean here "covered with dust" but "in need". This would seem to imply that miskīn did not itself necessarily mean "one who was in need". Al-Ṭabarī quotes the following Traditions:

1. From ‘Ali from Ibn ‘Abbās that the meaning is "extremely in need".

2. From ‘Ikrimah that he is the one who earns but is not enough to support himself and his family (al-muhāraf) and therefore has no wealth.

3. From Yūnūs from Ibn Wahb he says that Ibn Zayd defines as turb as meaning "one who is in need." Al-Ṭabarī supports his arguments with the Traditions as follows:

1. A narration of Ibn ‘Abbās that the miskīn is one who has many children and dependents, without any kin to support him.

2. From Sa‘īd b Jubayr that this verse is referring to the one who has many dependents.

3. From Qatādah that the dhā matrabah refers to a man who has many dependents and he has nothing for himself.

143 Ibid.

144 The fourth Caliph, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet. Died 40 A.H, at the age of 58 or 63. Ei², I, pp. 381 ff.

145 Tafṣīr, XXX, p. 205.

146 Ibid.
4. From al-Ḍahḥāk that the *miskīn dhā matrabah* is one who has many dependents and who is considered as being covered with the dust, due to poverty and exertion.\(^{147}\)

Al-Ṭabarî maintains that the first view is more correct. That the *miskīn* is the one who is covered with dust because of great poverty.\(^{148}\)

As for al-Qurtubî, he defines the *miskīn* in this verse (90:16) as the one who possesses nothing, so that it is as if he has rubbed (*laṣiqa*) [himself] with dust of poverty, for he has no shelter save the dust. Al-Qurtubî quotes several Traditions to this effect, most of which were recorded by al-Ṭabarî and have already been mentioned. He supplements this with two Traditions from ‘Ikrimah which describes *miskīn dhā matrabah* as the one who is in debt. The other Tradition which has Ibn ‘Abbās as its final authority defines *miskīn dhā matrabah* as meaning a (indigent) stranger far from his country. In another Tradition from Abū al-Ḥāmid al-Khāranjī\(^{149}\) that he [i.e., the *miskīn*] is described as one who is dusty because of the severity of his circumstances.\(^{150}\) According to al-Rāzī, the *miskīn* in this verse refers to one who has nothing to wear, thus, he covers himself with the dust because of his acute need.\(^{151}\)

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\(^{147}\) Ibid.

\(^{148}\) Ibid.

\(^{149}\) He is Abū al-Ḥāmid b Muḥammad al-Khāranjī, one of the literary figures of Khurāsān. His date of death is varied: 348 A.H. as in *Ansāb* and 408 A.H. as in *Lubāb*. *Ansāb*, V, p. 83; *Lubāb*, I, p. 335.

\(^{150}\) Qurtubî, XX, p. 70.

\(^{151}\) Rāzī, VIII, p. 407.
According to Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalūsī,¹⁵² the author of the *tafsir al-Bahr al-Muḥit*, a *miskin* is one who moves around and begs at the same time.¹⁵³ Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzi adds that when the *miskin* asks from others, he will get what he asks.¹⁵⁴ The reports of these two writers are taken from Ibn ‘Abbās, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Mujāhid, Qatādah, ‘Ikrimah, al-Zuhrī,¹⁵⁵ Muḥammad b Maslamah, Ibn Zayd¹⁵⁶ and al-Ḥakam.¹⁵⁷

However, al-Baghawi and Abū Hayyān maintain that when a person has employment but his income is insufficient for him and his family, he is also considered as a *miskin*.¹⁵⁸ Al-Suyūṭī cites a report from Mujāhid that a *miskin* is one who does not have a family or relatives, in addition to lacking wealth.¹⁵⁹ Therefore, he lives alone. Such a person may be able to work, but since he does not have any

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¹⁵³ Muḥīt, V, p. 58 on the verse 9:60.

¹⁵⁴ Rāzi, VI, p. 462 on the verse 9:60.

¹⁵⁵ They were narrators for Tafsir al-Khāzin, II, p. 109; Baghawi, p. 109; and Rāzi, VI, p. 462.

¹⁵⁶ He is Muḥammad b Maslamah Ibn Zayd died in 129 A.H. See Tadhkirat, I, pp. 140-1.

¹⁵⁷ Muḥīt, V, p. 58; He is Al-Ḥakam b ‘Utaybah al-Kindī and was called Abū ‘Umar al-Kūfī. He studied from Abi Ḥujayyafah, Zayd b Arqam, Mujāhid, ‘Aṭā’ and Ẓāwūs. He was a contemporary of Ibrāhīm al-Nakhā’ī. He was a Shi‘ah but did not display his conviction. He was born in 50 A.H. and died in 115 A.H.; Tadhkirat, I, p. 117; Tahdhib, II, pp. 432-4.


¹⁵⁹ Durr, III, p. 251 (sūrah 9:60).
descendants or relatives\textsuperscript{160} he still needs to depend on other people. His income is insufficient, he is lonely and at the same time he possesses nothing, and as a result, he is not independent. Perhaps he begs from others either to gain the means of life or to overcome his loneliness.

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As mentioned earlier, Abū Ḥanīfah says that the \textit{miskīn} is one who possesses nothings, whereas a \textit{faqīr} for him is the one who possesses that which can suffice him. This view is transmitted through the transmission of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Karkhī (d. 340 A.H.).\textsuperscript{161} Even though he may be ashamed to beg from others, it is permissible for the \textit{miskīn} to go around in order to get something to cover his body.\textsuperscript{162} This view is opposed to the views of the other jurists, who say that a person who has clothes or 50 \textit{dirhams}, is not permitted to beg. They draw this conclusion from the Tradition narrated from Abū Dā’ūd,\textsuperscript{163} al-Tirmidhi\textsuperscript{164} and al-Nāṣīr from Ibn Mas‘ūd\textsuperscript{165} that:

\textsuperscript{160} Qurṭubī, VIII, p. 171.


\textsuperscript{164} The author of one of the canonical collection of Traditions. His name was Abū ‘Isā Muḥammad b ‘Isā b Sawra b Shaddād. He was born in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 200
"The Prophet has said that any person who begs from us while he has whatever is sufficient for himself, then, on the day of Resurrection, he will be woken up without flesh on his face. Then the Prophet was asked: O Prophet, how do we know that someone has sufficient for himself? The Prophet answered: 50 dirhams or something having the same value in gold".166

This Tradition suggests that somebody having less than 50 dirhams is named miskin. Nevertheless, this Tradition also discourages a person who has sufficient for himself from begging. Miskin also refers to a person who has half or more as a daily income of whatever he needs, but is still does not have sufficient. Thus al-Shâfi‘î and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal167 divide sufficiency into two categories:-

1. Sufficiency with respect to an employed person. By this is meant that which suffices for his living day by day.

2. Sufficiency with respect to an unemployed person. By this is meant that which suffices for his living for the rest of his life, mostly regarded as extending to 62 years.168

A.H. and died at Bugh in Muḥarram 279 A.H. El1, VIII, pp. 796-7; Tahdhib, IX, pp. 387-9; Wafayât, IV, pp. 195-6.


166 Shawkāni, p. 181; Ibn Salām, Kitāb al-Amwāl, p. 659.

167 He is Aḥmad b Ḥanbal b Ḥilāl b Asad b Idris b ‘ʿAbd Allāh b Ḥayyān. He was born in Baghdad in 164 A.H. He was the founder of the Ḥanbalite school of law. He died, on Friday 22 Rabi‘ al-Awwal in 241 A.H. He left two sons, Sāliḥ, who died in 266 A.H. and ‘ʿAbd Allāh who died in 290 A.H. Cf. Wafayât, I, pp. 63-5.

168 Wahbah, II, p. 869.
Malikites agree with Hanafites on this definition, since according to the Malikites, a *miskīn* is one who is in need rather than a merely *faqīr*.\(^{169}\)

Basing themselves on the above discussion, the jurists have ruled that whoever earns wealth which goes in some way to support himself and his family, but is still insufficient, may be called *miskīn*. An example of this would be a person who needs $10.00 daily, but gains $5.00 or more without gaining the full $10.00 which he needs.\(^{170}\) Therefore al-Ghazzālī in his book, *Iḥyā’*, defines the *miskīn* as the one whose income does not meet his expenses. He further says that a man may be a *miskīn* even though he possesses 1,000 *dirhams*. On the other hand a man who only has an axe may be a rich person.\(^{171}\) This is because he is competent in his field, and he can suffice himself and his family’s need. On the other hand the one who has 1,000 *dirhams* but no skill, may be unable to satisfy himself as well as his family’s need.

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According to the traditional chronological analysis of the Qur’ānic sūrahs by the exegetes, the following verses which mention *miskīn* or *masākin* are considered as Medinan; sūrah 2:83, 177, 184 and 215, sūrah 4:8 and 36, sūrah 5:89 and 95, sūrah 8:41, sūrah 9:60, sūrah 24:22, sūrah

\(^{169}\) al-Fiqh ‘alā al-Madhāhib al-Arba’ah, p.506.


As regards surah 69:34, Bell suggests that it seems to have been expanded from an earlier revelation. However, he still feels that it might be Meccan.\textsuperscript{172}

In respect of surah 74:44 which is regarded as Meccan, Bell suggests that it is also a Medinan surah but it may have been expanded from an earlier Meccan revelation. This is due to the rhyme of these verse, which is telling the fate of sinners.\textsuperscript{173}

Exegetes seem to have agreed that surah 90 is a Meccan surah. But by referring to its verses (12-16) in which are further explained of the word "steep", Bell suggest that these verses may be Medinan.\textsuperscript{174}

Referring to surah 107:3 which is regarded as Meccan, Bell seems to have some doubt about this claim based on the last verse in this surah in which the word \textit{māʿūn} is mentioned. Although the word \textit{māʿūn} is claimed to be derived from a Hebrew word meaning refuge, it is modified by the meaning of the Arabic root, which is usually interpreted

\textsuperscript{172} Bell, II, p. 602.
\textsuperscript{173} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 619.
\textsuperscript{174} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 658.
as referring to the zakāh. This is his reason for regarding it as possibly Medinan.175

Thus, if one examines all of the above verses in which the word *miskīn* or *masākīn* occur, four out of these verses are mentioned as regards the recipients of expiation such as *kaфиrah, fidyah* as well as the sacrifice. All of them are in Medinan sūrahs (2:184, 5:92 & 98 and 58:4). While in another ten verses the word *miskīn* is used together with the words *yatīm* and *dhawī al-qurbā*, in which the latter are legally allowed to receive some assistance from their relatives. Therefore being situated in the same place, the *miskīn* becomes eligible for accepting support. Most of the assistance is in the form of wealth which includes *sadaqāt, fay’, ghanīmah* and *zakāh*.176 All of these verses are Medinan sūrahs. Finally, the remaining verses are used as a reminder for rich people who are supposed to help the poor but neglect to do it.177 These verses seem to be regarded as Meccan sūrahs, so that the *miskīn* is merely referred to in terms of needing wealth and property.

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In conclusion it can be seen that neither the Islamic commentators, nor the Islamic jurists are clear about the difference between *miskīn* and *faqīr*. However, the chronological analysis of the revelation reveals that *miskīn* or *masākīn* are used generally for people in some kind of poverty

in both the Meccan and Medinan periods of the revelation. On the other hand, the word *faqir* or *fuqarā'* may not have been used at all in Mecca. As previously indicated the two uses of the word which the Muslim exegetes have stated to be Meccan are questioned by Bell. He suggests that they are, in fact, Medinan verses. If this is the case and there is every possibility that it is, it enables us to draw some distinction between the two words. *Miskīn* or *masākin* will still retain its meaning of poor in general in the Medinan verses but when contrasted with *faqir* or *fuqarā'* it would seem that it would refer to a more general group of poor people while *faqir* or *fuqarā'*, it refers to a more specific group. In one verse, 2:273, the commentators all define *fuqarā'* as *ahl al-suflah*. These are poor emigrants who stay in the Prophet's mosque. In another verse 59:8, *fuqarā'* is actually coupled with the word *muhājirīn* making it clear that here the *fuqarā'* can only be poor emigrants. It begins to look more than plausible that where the Qur'ān uses the word *faqir* or *fuqarā'* it is usually referring to poor emigrants. In 9:60 where *fuqarā'* and *masākin* are included, as different recipients of *zakah*, it would appear that the *fuqarā'* are the poor emigrants while the *masākin* are the other poor people in Medina, particularly the poor members of *Ansār*. However, where *masākin* is used more generally for poor, the emigrants would not be excluded, for example as recipients of the *khums* in 8:41.

**The *da‘if* in the Qur‘ān**

In the Qur‘ān the word *da‘if* and its plural form *du‘afā‘* occurs in nine places. These verses are:
1. Does any of you wish that he should have a garden with date-palms and vines and streams flowing underneath, and all kinds of fruit, while he is stricken with old age, and dhurriyyah ḍu’afā' (his children are not strong to look after themselves) ... (2:266)

2. O ye who believe! When ye deal with each other, in transactions involving future obligations in a fixed period of time, reduce them to writing let a scribe write down faithfully as between the parties: let not the scribe refuse to write: as God has taught him, so let him write. Let him who incurs the liability dictate, but let him fear His Lord God, and not diminish aught of what he owes. If the party liable is safihan aw ḍa‘ifan (mentally deficient, or weak, or unable) himself to dictate, let his guardian dictate faithfully ... (2:282)

3. Let those (disposing of an estate) have the same fear in their minds as they would have for their own if they had left dhurriyyah ḍi‘āf (a helpless family) behind: let them fear God, and speak words of appropriate comfort. (4:9)

4. God doth wish to lighten your difficulties for man was created ḍa‘if (weak - in flesh). (4:38)

5. Those who believe fight in the cause of God, and those who reject faith fight in the cause of evil: so fight ye against the friends of Satan : ḍa‘if (feeble indeed) is the cunning [deception] of Satan. (4:76)

6. There is no blame on those who are ḍu‘afā’ (infirm), or ill, or who find no resources to spend, if they are sincere to God and His Apostle ... (9:91)

7. They said: "O Shu‘ayb! Much of what thou sayest we do not understand! In fact among us we see that thou ḍa‘if (hast no strength!).
Were it not for thy family, we should certainly have stoned thee! For thou hast among us no great position. (11:91)

8. They will all be marshalled before God together: then will the _du‘afā’_ (weak) say to those who were arrogant, "for us, we but followed you; can ye then avail us at all against the wrath of God? ... (14:21)

9. Behold, they will dispute with each other in the fire! The _du‘afā’_ (weak) ones will say to those who had been arrogant, "we but followed you: can ye then take from us some share of the fire?". (40:47).

The Qur'ānic exegetes and other scholars comment on the following passages the word, _da‘if_. In sūrah 2 verse 266, there is a kind of parable of a man overcome by old age and his _dhurriyyah_ _du‘afā’_. Al-Ṭabārī and al-Rāzī opine that this phrase means offsprings who are still small and unable to protect themselves.\(^{178}\) Al-Qurṭubi maintains that young boys, girls and slaves are _dhurriyyah_ _du‘afā’_.\(^{179}\) Rodwell, Sale and Bell seemed to interpret this word as "an offspring of weaklings".\(^{180}\) While, Serjeant gives the meaning as "offspring unable to defend themselves", i.e. unprotected.\(^{181}\)

Sūrah 2:282 put a great emphasis on the _salam_ transaction, in which the writing is given the priority especially for the creditors who are _safih_ or _da‘if_. They could dictate it to the writer.\(^{182}\) On the

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\(^{178}\) _Tafsīr_, III, p. 77; Rāzī, II, p. 338.

\(^{179}\) Qurṭubi, III, p. 321.


\(^{181}\) Serjeant, p. 11.

\(^{182}\) _Tafsīr_, III, p. 121.
authority of Mujāhid, al-Ṭabari defines the word safīh as meaning unlettered and powerless (jāhil bi al-imlā' wa al-umūr), as his first view.

Al-Ṭabari's second view refers to minors. To strengthen his view, al-Ṭabari quotes two Traditions. The first is on the authority of al-Ḍāḥḥāk, the word safīh is interpreted as a minor. Thus his guardian is responsible to dictate the contract justly. The second is narrated by al-Suddī that safīh means the minors.

According to al-Ṭabari, the correct meaning of safīh in this verse is unlettered, for he argues that the word is generally used in Arabic to refer to ignorance (jahl).

Al-Qurṭubi like al-Ṭabari seems to disagree with the view that safīh refers to minors. He also argues that the word safīh signifies weakness in mind and weakness in the body. Therefore, he maintains that not only the quality of being safīh appear in minors but it may also occur in adults. Al-Rāzī reinforces this meaning and making it

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183 Ibid.
184 Ibid., p. 122.
185 Ibid.
186 He is Ismā’īl b ‘Abd al-Rahmān b Abī Dhu’ayb Ibn Abī Karimah al-Suddī al-A’war, the mawla of Zaynab bint Qays b Mukharrimah from Banū ‘Abd Manāf. He was from Hijāz but stayed in Kufah. He passed away in 127 A.H. at Iraq. Cf. Lubāb, I, p. 537.
187 Tafsīr, III, p. 122.
188 Qurṭubi, III, pp. 385-6.
exclusively refer to adults by defining \textit{safih} as, meaning, the one who has already attained his majority and is unsound in mind.\footnote{Rāzi, II, p. 366.}

As regards to the word \textit{da'īf} in this verse, Ibn ‘Abbās explains the word \textit{da'īf} in the phrase \textit{safih aw da'īf} as meaning "stupid" (\textit{ahmaq}) and the word \textit{safih} as \textit{jāhil}, "unlettered". Both of these words, he says, are in the dialect of Kinānah.\footnote{Miqbās, I, p. 147.} Al-Ṭabarî also maintains a similar meaning as given by Ibn ‘Abbās by citing al-Suddi and Mujāhid as authorities in order to strengthen his discussion.\footnote{Tafsīr, III, p. 123.} As for al-Qurtubi, the word \textit{da'īf} refers to an adult who possesses no reason or intellect.\footnote{Qurtubi, III, p. 385.} Al-Rāzi seems to suggest that \textit{da'īf} may refer to minors, insane and old men who have entirely lost their minds.\footnote{Rāzi, II, p. 366.}

Although the word \textit{d-īf} could be read in two ways (\textit{du'f} or \textit{da'f}), al-Qurtubi seems to suggest that the right recitation is \textit{al-da'īf}.\footnote{Qurtubi, III, pp. 386-7.} And he further elaborates the word \textit{da'īfan} as referring to one who lacks natural ability [mind], impotence to write, or dumbness. In these circumstances, the father or the trustee becomes his \textit{wāli}.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 388.} By citing the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās, Muqātil\footnote{He is Muqātil b Sulaymān b Bashir al-Azdi al-Khurāsānī. He was from Balkh. Thus he was called Abū al-Ḥasan al-Balkhi. Amongst his teachers were Nāfi', al-Ḍahhāk, ‘Aṭā’, al-Zuhri and others. He was considered as \textit{munkir al-ḥadīth} and he} and al-Rābi’\footnote{Ibid., p. 366.} al-Rāzi seems to

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{su'f} or \textit{da'f})
  \item \textit{al-Qurtubi}
  \item \textit{al-Suddi}
  \item \textit{Mujāhid}
  \item \textit{Qurtubi, III, p. 385.}
  \item \textit{Rāzi, II, p. 366.}
  \item \textit{Qurtubi, III, pp. 386-7.}
  \item \textit{Ibid., pp. 388.}
  \item \textit{Ibid., p. 366.}
  \item \textit{Ibid., pp. 388.}
\end{itemize}
support this view. Da‘if also applies to those who are unable to give a witness, sick or due to the other disability or being a minor. The dumb are also included as being amongst the du‘afā’.199

In sūrah 4 verse 9 ḍi‘āf seems to mean as "unprotected" rather than physically weak. Al-Ṭabari seems to suggest that the use of the ḍi‘āf used here to refer to orphans means those who are "too weak" to defend their interests.

As for al-Rāzī, he seems to give a similar interpretation and suggests that this is the correct view.200

Al-Qurtubi not only gives a similar interpretation but also quotes the same narrators as al-Ṭabari. Al-Qurtubi adds that someone should not leaves his heirs who are du‘afā’, neglected and corrupted. They are weak, thus it is an obligation to enrich them and show them sympathy. Al-Qurtubi seems to choose this as the correct view by citing the Prophet

has studied especially on Qur‘ānic from the Christian and the Jews. He not dependable narrator according to many Muslims scholars. He was ṣāḥib al-tafsīr and it said that he was one of the Imām of al-Zaydiyyah school of law. He died at Baṣrah in 150 A.H. Taḥdīhib, X, pp. 279-80 ; Anwār Aḥmad Qādirī, Islamic Jurisprudence in the Modern World, (Lahore, 1975).


199 Qurtubi, III, pp. 388.

200 Rāzī, III, p. 150.
saying "if you leave your heirs behind richer, it is better than leaving them in poverty; so that they will not have to beg from other people.\textsuperscript{201}

Al-Ṭabarī interprets the phrase "...for man was created weak (\textit{da'īf})", in sūrah 4:28, as referring to the weakness of a man's will. This is because man is created with weakness in which he is incapable of doing without a woman. Thus, he is allowed to marry a Muslim slave (\textit{fata}) when one fears the commission of fornication in the absence of it. So the word \textit{da'īf} in this phrase seems to be understood as one's lack of patience to refrain from having sexual intercourse with women. To support his view, al-Ṭabarī quotes Tāwus\textsuperscript{202} interpretation that this phrase as one's weakness to do without women. He also insists that this is the weakest matter for a man [as a human being].\textsuperscript{203} Al-Rāzī maintains a similar view as al-Ṭabarī that the permission to marry the slave (\textit{amah}) is permitted when it is necessary. Al-Rāzī supports his view by citing the opinion of Mujāhid and Muqāṭīl.\textsuperscript{204}

Al-Qurtūbī supports the same view and seems to suggest that the great weakness is passion, and which is needed to be alleviated. He gives several Traditions to support his arguments in which some of them were

\textsuperscript{201} Qurṭūbī, V, pp. 51-2; \textit{Maghāzi}, pp. 1115-6.
\textsuperscript{202} He is Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Tāwus b Kaysān al-Khawlānī al-Hamdānī al-Yamānī. He was amongst the tābi‘īn. Amongst his students were Mujāhid, ‘Arm b Dinār and others. He died in 106 A.H. at Mecca. al-Asbahānī, \textit{Rawdāt al-Jannāt fi Aḥwāl al-‘Ulama' wa al-Sādāt}, (Qum, n.d.), IV, p. 130.
\textsuperscript{203} \textit{Tafṣīr}, V, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{204} Rāzī, III, p. 205.
cited by al-Ṭabarī. On the authority of Ibn al-Musayyib,205 he said "when I attained the age of eighty years, I lost my sight. But, I am too passionate with the other and my friend is blind and dumb... i.e. I fear the temptation of the woman".206 It appears that the word *daʿif* in this verse seems to indicate the weakness in the emotional senses. Al-Qurṭubi also quotes Traditions from Tāwus, Ibn ‘Abbās, Ibn Musayyib, ‘Ubadah207 and Yaḥyā in order to support his view.

In surah 9 verse 91, it is possible that *duʿafāʿ* may be interpreted as 'physically weak'.208 Al-Ṭabarī explains that the exemption to attend the military expedition is given to those who are diseased or unable to travel or to fight. He does not say whether this inability (‘ajz) refers to physical inability or material inability, i.e. lacking weapons to fight or an animal to travel on.209 Interestingly, Serjeant in his analysis of the word *daʿif* suggest that it means one who does not bear arms. This may well be

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206 *Qurṭubi*, V, p. 149.


208 Rāzī, IV, p. 486.

209 *Tafsir*, X, p. 211.
the correct interpretation.\textsuperscript{210} Al-Mawdūdī seems to agree with al-
Ṭabarî.\textsuperscript{211}

Sūrah 11 verse 91, in which the word \textit{da’if} is mentioned, can only refer to Shu‘ayb’s social status and clearly the intention is to lower it—Serjeant says this word was used about Shu‘ayb’s social status in order to "\textit{istiḍ‘af}" it\textsuperscript{212}, (seeking to make it seem lower) in fact.

The Qur’ānic commentators are in some confusion over the meaning of the \textit{da’if} in this verse. As far as al-Ṭabarî is concerned it means "blind". He cites two Traditions from Sa‘īd b Jubayr to this effect.\textsuperscript{213} Al-Qūrṭubī quotes similar Traditions to this effect. Interestingly, he claims in a footnote that the Prophet Shu‘ayb could not have been blind because this would have been a violation of his ‘\textit{Iṣmah}’ (integrity of body).\textsuperscript{214} He then identifies this Shu‘ayb who is blind as being a companion of Moses. However, he provides alternative meanings of \textit{da’if} which seem far more acceptable. He quotes al-Ḥasan as describing the word as insulting. Another Tradition gives the definition "bodily infirm". He gives a Tradition from al-Suddī which backs the view adopted of its meaning here by me and also Serjeant's

\textsuperscript{210} Serjeant, p. 9.


\textsuperscript{212} Serjeant, p. 7.

\textsuperscript{213} \textit{Tafsîr}, XII, p. 105.

\textsuperscript{214} It is worth nothing in this connection that Islamic Theologians in their definition of the necessary qualities of a Caliph regard blindness as something which would prevent a man from carrying out the office. Presumably al-Qūrṭubī is regarding this requirement as applying to Prophets as well.
view. Al-Suddi says that the meaning *daʿīf* in this context is "one who is alone without army or supporters". This definition is reinforced by another unattributed definition: "One who has little knowledge of worldly advantages and the government of people".215

In interpreting sūrah 14 verse 21 al-Ṭabarî, al-Qurtubi and al-Rāzi, all maintain that the verse shows that the *duʿafāʾ* (i.e. those of inferior status in the tribe) before God will not come under the protection of the leaders, who in ancient and contemporary Arabia were tribal chiefs.216 However, there is one isolated alternative given in the margin of *Mafāţīh al-Ghayb*, where Abū Saʿūd al-ʿAmādī217 opines that the *duʿafāʾ* in this verse refers to unsound in mind.218

Again in sūrah 40 verse 47 al-Ṭabarî repeats that *duʿafāʾ* refers to those who follow the tribal leaders,219 thus, indicating their inferior status. Serjeant points out that in this verse there is a kind of imagery of God as a tribal arbiter and the tribe and its followers sharing in the suffering and penalty which the arbiter awards them.220

Furthermore in sūrah 7 verse 75, the Prophet's situation in Mecca and the social order there seems to be illustrated by the story of Ṣāliḥ

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215 Qurtubi, IX, p. 91.
216 Tafsir, XIII, p. 199; Qurtubi, IX, p. 355; Rāzi, V, p. 231.
217 Unable to identify.
218 Rāzi, VI, pp. 199.
219 Tafsir, XXIV, p. 73; Qurtubi, XV, p. 321.
220 Serjeant, p. 8.
and the position which he was in.\textsuperscript{221} Regarding the term, \textit{istud'ifū}, al-Ṭabari opines that it refers to those followers of the Prophet Ṣāliḥ with the exclusion of those who possesses \textit{sharaf}.\textsuperscript{222} While for al-Qurtubi, the word \textit{istud'ifū} in the above verse refers to the believers.\textsuperscript{223} In sūrah 34 verse 31, the responsibility of the tribal leaders for turning the \textit{da'if} group from the right path is repeated and again the Qur’ān shows the punishments which the chiefs will incur for corrupting the \textit{mustad'afūn}.\textsuperscript{224}

Sūrah 7 verse 137 and sūrah 28 verse 4-5, describes how Pharaoh became exalted in the land and made the people of it into parties, seeking to degrade (\textit{yastad'if}) a section of them, slaughtering their sons but sparing their women and enslaving them.\textsuperscript{225} Bell maintains that the redactor of the Qur’ān assigns this sūrah to the Meccan period and the parable of Pharaoh's treatment of Moses and his people seems to reflect the conditions of the Prophet and his followers at Mecca.\textsuperscript{226} While in sūrah 7 verse 150, describes the situation of the followers of the Prophet Moses, who disparaged and abandoned "\textit{istad'af"} Aaron during Moses absent.\textsuperscript{227}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{221} \textit{Ibid.}
\item \textsuperscript{222} \textit{Tafsir}, XII, p. 542.
\item \textsuperscript{223} Qurtubi, VII, p. 240.
\item \textsuperscript{224} Serjeant, p. 8.
\item \textsuperscript{225} \textit{Tafsir}, IX, p. 43 ; XX, pp. 27-8 ; Zamakhshari, I, p. 346 ; Kathir, III, p. 379.
\item \textsuperscript{226} Bell, II, p. 375 ; Serjeant, p. 9.
\item \textsuperscript{227} \textit{Tafsir}, IX, p. 68 ; Qurtubi, VII, p. 286.
\end{itemize}
In his history, al-Ṭabari\textsuperscript{228} describes the early Muslims as the ḏu‘afā’ (weak), masāḵīn, young boys and women. One will find that during the early stage of the Prophet’s mission, many of his followers were from the lower status in society. There were not many from strong and powerful people who followed his mission. Thus, in this context, al-Ṭabari refers the word ḏu‘afā’ to the lower status in society and not to a person who is physically weak.

Serjeant defines  ḏa‘if , weak as a term applied by the Arabians to people without the capacity to fight and defend themselves. Therefore it applies to those classes which do not bear arms, the majority being peasants, perhaps, also shepherds but including craftsmen, petty tradesmen and others. Women and children are also considered to be  ḏa‘if .\textsuperscript{229} Those of them who become Muslims in Mecca will be of particular concern to the Prophet while he was in Mecca.

The mustad‘af in the Qur’ān

The term mustad‘af is the passive participle of the verb istad‘afa. It is derived from the word  da‘afa  which means weak, feeble, tainted, infirm or unsound.\textsuperscript{230} Mustad‘af and the verbal form occurs in thirteen passages in the Qur’ān. The verses are:

\textsuperscript{228} R.B. Serjeant quotes from al-Ṭabari, Tarikh, (Leiden, 1879-90), I,III, p. 1563.
\textsuperscript{229} SRB, p. 232.
\textsuperscript{230} Lane, p. 1792.
1. And why should ye not fight in the cause of God and of those who, being weak (al-mustad'afīn), are ill treated (and oppressed)? Men, women and children, whose cry is: "Our Lord! Rescue us from this town, whose people are oppressors; And raise for us from Thee one who will protect; And raise for us from Thee one who will help!. (4:75)

2. They say: "In what (plight) were ye?" They reply: "We were mustad'afīn (weak and oppressed) in the earth"... Such men will find their abode in hell, what an evil refuge. (4:97)

3. Except mustad'af (weak and oppressed) - men, women and children - who have no means in their power, nor (a guide-post) to direct their way. (4:98)

4. They ask thy instruction concerning the women. Say: God doth instruct about them: And (remember) what hath been rehearsed unto you in the book, concerning the orphans of women to whom ye give not the portions prescribed, and yet whom ye desire to marry, as also concerning the children who were mustad'afīn (weak and oppressed)...

(4:127)

5. The leader of the arrogant party among his people said to those who were ustūd'ifū (powerless) - those among them who believed...

(7:75)

6. And we made a people, yustad'afūn (considered weak), inheritors of lands in both East and West...

(7:137)

7. ...Aaron said: "Son of my mother! The people did indeed istad'afūnī (reckon me as naught), and went near to slaying me!...

(7:150)

8. Call to mind when ye were a small (band) mustad'afūn (despised) through the land...

(8:26)
9. Truly Pharaoh elated himself in the land and broke up its people into sections, *yastad’if* (depressing) a small group among them; their sons he slew, but he kept alive their females... (28:4)

10. And We wished to be gracious to those who were *istud’ifū* (being depressed) in the land, to make them leaders (in faith) and make them heirs. (28:5)

11. ...Throwing back the word (of blame) on one another! Those who *ustud’ifū* (had been despised) will say to the arrogant ones: "Had it not been for you,...". (34:31)

12. The arrogant ones will say to those *ustud’ifū* (had been despised); "Was it we who kept you back from guidance after it reached you? Nay, rather, it was ye who transgressed. (34:32)

13. Those who *istud’ifū* (had been despised) will say to the arrogant ones: "Nay! It was a plot (of yours) by day and by night; behold! Ye ordered us to be ungrateful to God and to attribute equals to Him!" ... (34:33)

Sergeant quotes al-Baladhuri as defining *mustad’af* as those who have no tribe and no protection which one can enjoy as a member in a group.231 ‘Ammār b Yāsir232, Bilāl233 - a slave later freed, Khabbāb234 -

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231 Serjeant, p. 4. He cites from Kitāb Ansāb al-Ashraf, I (ed. Muḥammad Ḥamdullāh), (Cairo, 1959); p. 156.
234 He is Khabbāb b al-Arath b Jandalah b Sa’d al-Tamīmī. His kunniyah was Abū ‘Abd Allāh. He was a blacksmith or singer in the jāhiliyyah. He was sold as a slave in Mecca and became a halīf of Banū Zuhrah. He became a Muslim prior to the Prophet’s moving to the house of al-Arqam. He was one of the earliest convert to Islam. He was among the *mustad’afīn* who were tortured in Mecca. He was among
a mawlā (a freed slave), ‘Āmir b Fuhayrah - who became a Muslim while he was mamlūk (owned) and Abū Fukayyah\textsuperscript{235} - a mawlā of the Banū ‘Abd al-Dār were amongst the early adherents who were considered as the mustadʿafūn.\textsuperscript{236}

Commenting on sūrah 4 verse 75, Ibn ‘Abbās states that, it refers to those wronged, persecuted men, women and children who were left behind in Mecca and of the other tribes of Arabia who had embraced Islam, but were neither able to migrate nor to protect themselves from the wrongs to which they were subjected. Therefore, they had to face the oppression, and were considered as mustadʿaf.\textsuperscript{237} The word mustadʿaf in this verse seems to refer to men, women and children who embraced Islam in Mecca. However, they had to face the oppression from the powerful men amongst the Meccan. In order to turn the mustadʿaf away from a new religion, the powerful men will impose whatever means of tortures, for instance, physical harassments. Thus, God ordains them to be released from any persecutions.\textsuperscript{238} To strengthen these remarks, al-Ṭabari cites a Tradition on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās, that this verse refers to the Meccan Muslims, who had no power to migrate. Thus, God

the early muhājurīn. He was included amongst the ahl al-ṣuffah in Medina. He took part in the battle of Badr. And died in 37 A.H. at the age of 63 or 73. El\textsuperscript{2}, IV, pp. 896-7; Tahdhīb, III, pp. 133-4.

\textsuperscript{235} Cf. pp. 110-111.

\textsuperscript{236} Muhammad Yūsuf al-Kandahlawi, Ḥayāt al-Ṣaḥābah, (Damshiq, 1969), III, pp. 32-3; Serjeant, p. 5.

\textsuperscript{237} Miqbās, I, p. 271.

\textsuperscript{238} Tafsīr, V, p. 166.
exempts them from migration. As a result, they had to face oppression.\textsuperscript{239} Al-\textit{Rāzi} supports this definition by citing a similar Tradition as al-\textit{Ṭabari}.\textsuperscript{240} After the migration was commanded, some Muslim Meccans were unable to make it; especially men, women and children who were weak (\textit{da'îf}) - in tribal status. These people suffered many forms of persecution, and prayed for deliverance from oppression. It was possible for some of the \textit{du'afā} to be helped to emigrate. Perhaps, most of the emigrants to Abyssinia were of this status.\textsuperscript{241}

Thus, R.B. Serjeant opines that the emigrants to Abyssinia (615 CE) would have been described as \textit{mustad'afūn}.\textsuperscript{242} If one examines the historical literatures, it is clear that the Prophet did not accompany these people who emigrated to Abyssinia because he was protected by his uncle, Abū Ṭālib.\textsuperscript{243} However, Abū Ṭālib was unable to extend his protection to the other Muslims. Thus, they migrated to Abyssinia to find a protection from the king there.

With regard to the women and children, Ibn ‘Abbās reported that, at the time of the emigration to Medina, he and his mother were left behind; while (most) of the Muslims migrated.\textsuperscript{244} Since women and

\textsuperscript{239} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 169.
\textsuperscript{240} \textit{Rāzi}, IV, p. 263.
\textsuperscript{241} See also chapter 2.
\textsuperscript{242} Serjeant, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{243} Abū Ṭālib b ‘Abd Manāf b ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib is the Prophet uncle. He died 3 years before the Prophet emigration to Medina. \textit{EI\textsuperscript{I}}, I, pp. 108-9.
\textsuperscript{244} al-Bukhārī, \textit{Sahiḥ}, (Cairo, 1953), III, p. 86; \textit{Rāzi}, III, p. 263; Ibn ‘Abbās was born three years before the \textit{Hijrah}. His mother had became Muslim before \textit{Hijrah}, thus he was also regarded as a Muslim. See \textit{EI\textsuperscript{I}}, I, p. 40.
children were considered weak or *mustad‘af*, the historical literature cites Umm Salamah\(^{245}\) who became a Muslim and intended to migrate with her husband and her son. Unfortunately, on the departing day, her tribe came and snatched her with her son, and let her husband migrate alone towards Medina.\(^{246}\) In the early days of Islam in Mecca, there was undoubtedly only a small number of Meccans who became Muslim. Thus, whatever persecution happened, they had to face it alone. According to al-Kalbi,\(^{247}\) he reported that since the early Meccan Muslims were small in number at the beginning of Islam, they were therefore, called *al-mustad‘af*,\(^{248}\) as we read in surah 8:26:

"Call to mind when ye were a small (band), despised (*mustad‘afūn*) through the land, and afraid that men (*al-nās*) might despoil and kidnap you; but He provided a safe asylum for you, strengthened you with His aid, and gave you good things for sustenance; That ye might be grateful".

This verse indicates, how the Meccan Muslims avoided being tortured by the Meccan Quraysh whom Qatādah and ‘Ikrimah interpreted the word *al-nās* as referring to in the above-said verse. Since the Muslims were small in number, it seems that the Quraysh would "*istaḍ‘af*" them. Not only that they would seduce Muslims to

\(^{245}\) Her name is Hind bint Abī Umayyah b al-Mughirah b ‘Abd Allāh b ‘Amr b Makhzūm al-Qurashiyyah al-Makhzumiyyah. She is the early convert and migrated to Abyssinia with her husband, Abū Salamah b ‘Abd Al-Asad b al-Mughirah. Their son Salamah was born in Abyssinia. They returned to Mecca. Cf. *al-Iṣābah*, IV, pp. 458-60.

\(^{246}\) *Sirah*, pp. 280-1; Ibn Išāq, pp. 213-4.

\(^{247}\) Unable to identify.

\(^{248}\) Qurṭubi, VII, p. 394; *Tafsīr*, IX, p. 220.
renounce their faith. Ibn ‘Abbās and al-Suddī agree that the aid which was provided for the Muslim Meccans were the Helpers in Medina, who tried their best to support the emigrants. This verse exhibits the situation before and after the prophet’s migration. Before the Prophet’s migration, Muslim Meccans were not only small in number, but also mustaḍ‘af (weak) or in other word istaḍ‘af, while the Quraysh outnumbered them. Thus the Quraysh may do anything to harm the weak ones. Al-Ṭabarī quotes a Tradition from ‘Ikrimah that this verse refers to the Meccan Muslims before the Hijrah who were with the Prophet [al-mustaḍ‘afīn] and those who follows Quraysh amongst their clients and slaves. Thus the Muslims were scared of being seized by the mushrikīn. This means that once they moved out from the town, the mushrikīn Arabs who were near and hostile might kidnap them or act violently towards them.

However, after the migration, their position entirely changed. Not only was a new refuge provided for them in which they were secure from any oppression, but also they were successful in the battle of Badr. In addition to this, they received aid from the fellow Helpers. Therefore, the priority was given to them. Thus, the migration was considered as a stepping stone towards gaining success for the Muslims.

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249 Tafsīr, IX, p. 219.
250 Qurṭubi, VII, p. 394.
251 Tafsīr, IX, p. 220.
252 Ibid.
253 Rāzi, IV, p. 364.
254 Ibid.
But not all of them were capable of performing the emigration. Some remained behind and were called *al-mustadʿaf*.

The *mustadʿaf* in sūrah 4 verses 97-98 in fact refers to those who were unable to migrate, i.e. from Mecca to Medina, whereas those who were able were encouraged to migrate. It seems that on some occasions those who were left behind and were not able to migrate claimed to be weak people; for they were tortured and oppressed, and some died because of these tortures. These people who claimed to be weak while they were not, gave an excuses that they were *mustadʿaf*, because the unbelievers "yustadʿaf" them in their country. This happened because, the unbelievers outnumbered the Muslims and the former had power to force the Muslims to disobey God and His Apostle. However, their excuses were rejected, because they were not in a real position to claim to be *mustadʿaf*. They were present together with the *mushrikin* to fight the Muslims. An exception was made for the real *mustadʿaf* in the following verse (4:98). So it seems that this term refers to men, women and children who were really (made) "istadʿaf" by the Quraysh. These people were unable to migrate. Furthermore, they had less power and were not sure of how to migrate to the land of believers. Sūrah 29 verse 10 and sūrah 16 verse 110 exhorts the Muslims to migrate from the unbelievers' land. Al-Suyūṭi cites al-Ṭabari's remark through a narration from al-Suddī that these people in 4:98 had no means to migrate, thus their excuse was accepted by God.

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In support of this view of the mustad’af being Muslims who were unable to migrate, al-Ṭabarī cites Ibn ‘Abbās interpretation regarding these verse (4:97-98) where he claims that when he was still a child, he and his mother were amongst the mustad’af. According to ‘Ikrimah, al-‘Abbās was also amongst the mustad’af. However, although ‘Ikrimah says that al-‘Abbās was one of the mustad’af, historical literature reports that during the battle of Badr that al-‘Abbās and his nephews, ‘Uqayl and Nawfal were taken prisoner which would imply that they took part in the military expedition against the

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258 He is al-‘Abbās b ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, surnamed, Abū al-Faḍl, uncle of the Prophet. It is said that he was about two or three years older than the Prophet. He was a constant supporter of the Prophet in Mecca in giving information about Qurashi activities. When the Prophet visited Mecca in 7 A.H. ‘Abbās gave his siter-in-law, Maymūnah as a wife to the Prophet. It is said that in the reign of Caliph ‘Umar he made a present of his house for the purpose of enlarging the Mosque of Medina. He died in Medina in 32 or 34 A.H. at the ripe age of 88. Etḥ, I, pp. 9-10.

259 Ṭabaqāt, IV, p. 31 ; Tafsir, V, p. 233. It is said that al-‘Abbās had became Muslim before Hijrah, but he concealed his faith. Thus, he stayed in Mecca still. It is claimed that he was the one who informed the Prophet about the activities of the Meccan mushrikīn. He is said to have helped most the mustad’af (weak and helpless) in Mecca. It is claimed that he intended to emigrate to Medina, but the Prophet advised him not to emigrate and said that "his staying in Mecca is better". See Lughāt, I, p. 258.

260 He is a brother of ‘Ali and Ja’far b Abī Ṭālib b ‘Abd Manāf al-Qurashi al-Hashimi. He was known as Abū Yazid. He is said to be converted to Islam after the conquer of Mecca and other said after al-Ḥudaybiyyah. He migrated to Medina in 8 A.H. and died in the early reign of Caliph Yazid. al-Iṣābah, II, p. 494.

261 He is Nawfal b al-Ḥarth b ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b Ḥāshim b ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Qurashi al-Ḥāshim. He was captured at the battle of Badr. He died two years prior to the end of Caliph ‘Umar’s reign. Ibid., III, p. 577.
Prophet.262 A claim is made that ‘Abbas had become a Muslim earlier.263 At this revelation, it seems that if a Muslim does not migrate, he would have been considered unbeliever until he migrated. Those who are given exception are those who had no power in terms of property or does not know how to migrate. In defining this term Ibn ‘Abbās again emphasizes that he was amongst the children [i.e., the weak ones - mustad’af].264 Al-Suyūṭī also quotes a similar Tradition in which it is stated that Ibn ‘Abbās and his mother were the mustad’af.265

‘Ikrimah interprets the phrase (4:97-8) "those who are (really) weak and oppressed (al-mustad’afīn) - men and women, and children" as meaning the old men, the weak and the children who were incapable.266 Therefore, they were exempted from migration.267 This term mustad’af (4:98) seems to apply to ‘Iyāsh b Abī Rabī‘ah,268 Salamah Ibn Hishām269 and al-Walid, for whom the Prophet is reported

262 Lughāt, p. 257.
263 Ibn ‘Abbās is alleged to have said, "We were Muslims amongst Banū Ḥāshim in Mecca. We concealed our belief out of fear of Abū Lahab and other Quraysh. These people brutally tortured Salamah b Hishām, ‘Iyāsh b Abī Rabī‘ah and others from Banū Makhzūm. Therefore, during the battle of Badr, the Prophet asked his companions not to kill al-‘Abbās. It is said that he went out reluctantly. However, after ransoming himself, he went back to Mecca and later proceeded to emigrate to Medina. See Ṭabaqāt, IV, pp. 10, 14, 16 & 73; Muluk, II, pp. 450; Tafsīr., V, p. 233.

264 Tafsīr, V, p. 233 & 237.
266 Tafsīr, V, p. 235; Durr, II, p. 207.
267 Tafsīr, V, p. 235.
268 Cf. pp. 113-4.
to have said prayer, as it is narrated by Abū Hurayrah, "... O God, let ‘Iyāsh b Abī Rabī‘ah, Salamah Ibn Hishām, al-Walid and the mustad‘af from believers succeed..."270 Al-Qurtubi also agrees with the definition given by al-Ṭabari as mentioned above.271 In his Musnad, Ibn Ḥanbal insists that the mustad‘af refers to Muslims in Mecca.272

As regards these verses, Bell also opines that by this revelation emigration to Muslim territory is encouraged.273 Thus, the Medinan Muslims sent a letter to the Meccan Muslims asking them to migrate. In a report from Ibn Hishām,274 al-Ṭabari and al-Waqidi275 maintain that one day a wife of Salamah b Hishām came to Umm Salamah (the Prophet’s wife),276 and was questioned by Umm Salamah about what was happening to Salamah. Her answer was that, Salamah could not move out. Whenever he tried, he was caught and taken back to their home in Mecca.

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271 However in quoting the Tradition, al-Qurtubi omitted the name of al-Walīḍ. See Qurtubi, V, p. 346.

272 Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad, II, p. 396.

273 Bell, I, p. 82.

274 He is ‘Abd al-Malik b Hishām b Ayyūb al-Ḥimyari al-Baṣrī, an Arab grammarian and he wrote biography of the Prophet. Born in Basrah, died in Egypt in the year of 218 A.H. EI1, III, p. 387.

275 He is Muḥammad b ‘Umar b Wāqid al-Madani, also known as Abū ‘Abd Allāh, mawlā Banū Ḥāshim. He was born at the early year of 130 A.H. and passed away in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 209 A.H. Wafayāt, IV, pp. 348-51.

276 See Umm Salamah above. After the death of her husband, the Prophet married her in the year 3 of 4 A.H. She died in Shawwāl 59 A.H. and considered as the last wife of the Prophet dead. al-Isābah, IV, pp. 458-60.
Mecca. Umm Salamah told this to the Prophet and the Prophet said that "Whoever goes out repeatedly, comes back on the way of God. So move out [keep trying]."\(^{277}\)

Some Meccans migrated, but on their way they were seized and some of them were forced to renounce their belief. ‘Aṭā‘,\(^{278}\) cites Ibn ‘Abbās’s comment on this verse (4:100) that, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b ‘Awf\(^{279}\) wrote to the Meccans to inform them about the verse (4:97). While ‘Ikrimah says that in respect of sūrah 4 verse 99 and the passage "Should he die as a refugee from home for God and His Apostle, his reward becomes due and sure with God ...", applied to Ḥabīb b Ṭāmirah,\(^{280}\) who was old and sick, but knew of a way to get to Medina. Thus he asked his son to bring him to Medina, and he said that he was not a mustad‘af. However, he died on his way at al-Tan‘īm.\(^{281}\) As a result a verse

\(^{277}\) Muluk, III, p. 42; Maghāzi, II, p. 795.

\(^{278}\) He is ‘Aṭā‘ b Abi Rabāh, Arab jurist and Traditionist. A native of Yemen, he was reared in Mecca; he was of humble origin and is commonly referred to as mawlā of the family of Abū Maysarah b Abi Khuthaym al-Fihri. Among his master ‘Abd Allāh b ‘Umar and ‘Abd Allāh b ‘Abbās and may others are mentioned. As muftī in Mecca he attained extra ordinary repute and was regarded as one of the most eminent authorities in jurisprudence and Tradition generally. Especially he was considered to be an unsurpassed authority in all that concerned the pilgrimage-ceremony. He died in Mecca in 114 A.H. at the age of 88 years. EI\(^1\), I, p. 501.

\(^{279}\) He is ‘Abd ‘Amr or ‘Abd al-Ka‘bah. He was the most prominent early Muslim convert from Banū Zuhrah of Quraysh. He was one of the ten who had been promised the Paradise. He was one of the six members nominated by the second Caliph ‘Umar to succeed him on his death. By his shrewdness and skill as a merchant he made an enormous fortunes. He died about 31 A.H. at the age of 75. Ibid., I, p. 54; EI\(^2\), I, p. 84.

\(^{280}\) Unable to identify.

\(^{281}\) Wahidi, p. 132; Durr, II, pp. 207-8.
regarding this oppression was revealed. After this revelation, some people were trying to move out from Mecca as in the following phrase which says "Was not the earth of God spacious enough for you to move yourselves away (from evil)?", showing that the Muslims may migrate to whichever place they need, since there are many places to go to. But the exemption was given only to the weak who were unable to find the way to migrate, especially to Medina; for, if they had migrated, they would have been killed, thus, they were excused from migration. On the other hand, those who attended the battlefield, with the opposition party, were captured.

As a matter of fact, all these verses quoted, in which the term mustad'af occurs, seem to refer to the early Muslims in Mecca who were left behind and had no power to emigrate, except for verse 127.

However, the word al-mustad'af in surah 4 verse 127 is concerned with inheritance, as read here:

"They ask thy instruction concerning the women. Say: God doth instruct you about them: And remember what hath been rehearsed unto you in the Book, concerning the orphans of women to whom Ye give not the portions prescribed, and yet whom ye desire to marry, as also concerning the children who are weak and oppressed (al-mustad'afin): That ye stand firm for justice to orphans. There is not a good deed which ye do, but God is well-acquainted therewith".

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282 Tafsir, IX, p. 107.
283 Ibid., p. 109; Unuf, V, p. 150.
284 The reference is to the injunction regarding the protection of the right of orphans.
As far as this verse is concerned, justice must be given to the orphans; male and female, and widows. In the pre-Islamic times, the women and weak children were often dispossessed of their inheritance. Strong man would look after them and their wealth when the women or children were rich, otherwise, they would be neglected. Furthermore with regard to the passage in the above verse which said "and also concerning the children who are mustad'afūn (weak and oppressed): That ye stand firm for justice to orphans", al-Ṭabari emphasizes that orphans [who were weak] must be given their rights of property. It seems that during the pre-Islamic times, the guardians did not always give property to orphans.

To support this view al-Ṭabari quotes a numbers of Traditions. There are two Traditions from al-Suddī that this passage refers to the slave girls and the children who do not inherit. So God orders the guardian to carry out justice towards them. In fact the word al-qist means to give their right of inheritance, male or female. In this case the children are similar to adults. Guardians in the pre-Islamic era often used to give the property to an adult, only, neglecting the orphans who were weak. Ibn Zayd reports that not only the adult males were to receive inheritance, but, that the women and children, were also included. There are another two Traditions from Mujāhid who emphasizes that justice must be done to the orphans. And finally, there are two Traditions from Ibn ‘Abbās that in the pre-Islamic period, they

286 Tafsīr, V, p. 304.
287 Ibid.
[guardians] did not consider weak children, especially female, were eligible for inheritance as "to whom ye give not the portions prescribed" describes. Thus, God prohibited this practice in which they discriminated against girls and boys, of all ages. Therefore, when sūrah 4 verses 11 and 176 states "as regards your children's (inheritance): to the male, a portion equal to that of two females", it specifies the distribution of inheritance. This verse clearly requires shares to be given to males and females in general without specifying the age or any one particular individual. These narrations from al-Suddi, Mujāhid and Ibn 'Abbās show that the orphan male or female, of whatever age as well as the women must be treated justly, and their shares must be observed in the case of distributing inheritance.

From the above views it seems that the inheritance system is in favour of justice being done to the orphans and the women and this contradicts the pre-Islamic practice. Although, in pre-Islamic times they took care of these people, sometimes, they often neglected the mustad'af group who were supposed to receive aid. Thus, the Qur'ān categorizes the orphans and women as al-mustad'af.

As far as sūrah 4 verse 75 is concerned, Bell maintains that the revelation urges Muslims to wage war against the Meccans. In the same sūrah verse 97, it goes on to describe the states of men, women and children who can find no way of making the migration in order to avoid

288 Ibid., V, p. 305; Wahidi, p. 106.
289 Tafsir, IX, pp. 265 - 6.
the oppressions, so they may be pardoned by God.290 Regarding surah 4:127, he considers that, it consists of early Medinan materials in which the treatment of women is examined.291 However, in surah 8 verse 26, the Muslims are exhorted to remember God when they are few, mustadʿafūn in the land, fearing that the people would carry them off by force and He found them refuge (in Medina) and aided them with His support. Bell seems to say that God’s help probably refers to the battle of Badr. And this verse is claimed to be a later addition and the continuation of the appeal.292

From the above verses it is clear that the existence of ʿdaʿif and mustadʿif are recognized as part of the social structure. It is clearly stated in surah 2 that the ʿdaʿif must be treated honestly and equitably. However, it does not envisage an alteration in the social system. Moreover, the term ʿdaʿif clearly means a person of inferior social status who requires protection by those who hold the power to defend him, if necessary by aggressive action. The well armed tribesmen give their ʿdaʿif great protection and retaliate in the case of any injury done to them. The term al-mustadʿaf also applies to the Prophet’s adherents who were of high status but who endured insults and detractions of their honour at the hands of their fellow tribesmen in Mecca.

However, the weak people who were left behind in Mecca were exempted from migration, as they could not migrate. They migrated to

290 Bell, I, pp. 78,82.
291 Ibid., pp. 67 & 84.
292 Ibid., p. 145.
other places in order to find sustenance, as narrated by Ibn ‘Abbās, while according to Qatādah, he says that they will come out from the darkness to the light and also from being poor to becoming rich. Al-Ṭabarî made remarks that God states that the one who migrates will find that there are many places he can go. Thus, migration entails obtaining sustenance and becoming rich after being poor and also those who migrate feel happy after having led a depressing life. To conclude, therefore, there were three main classes in Meccan society:

1. The independent, the one who has *sharaf*.
2. The intermediate class of merchants.
3. The *da’if*, who is not a fighting man and obviously does not possess the attribute of *sharaf*.

It is clear from the Traditions and the historical literature that women and children were among the weak people who needed to be protected. Bearing in mind, these people are included as the *mustad’af*, or, in the other words, they may be considered as those who are physically weak. They are:

i. Orphans
ii. Widows and divorcees
iii. Physically weak, especially the old, weak and sick people including men and women.
iv. Those without a means of earning a living.
v. Families of the prisoners

293 *Tafsir*, pp. 119-21
295 Serjeant, p. 5.
vi. Families of those who are lost.

Even though these people are not directly stated in the Qur’ān, they are mentioned in several passages with a great emphasis. This indicates that, conditions and positions of the mustaḏʿafīn must be considered as generally similar to the fuqarāʾ and the masākīn, that is, as the recipients of zakāh and any charity.

**Ibn al-Sabīl in the Qur’ān**

*Ibn al-sabīl* is a term used in the Qur’ān to mean someone who needs support from the Muslim community. Al-Ṭabarī suggests that they are regarded as *ahl al-fāqah* and also amongst the *ahl al-baʿsāʾ wa al-ḍarrāʾ*.²⁹⁶ It occurs 8 times in the Qur’ān. They are:

1. It is not righteousness that ye turn your faces towards East or West; but the righteousness - to believe in God and the Last Day, and the Angels, and the Books, and the Messengers; to spend of your substance, out of love for Him, for your kin, for orphans, for masākīn, for *ibn al-sabīl* (the wayfarer), for those who ask, and for the ransom of slaves; to be steadfast in prayer, and practice regular charity; to fulfil the contracts which ye have made; and to be firm and patient, in pain (of suffering) and adversity, and throughout all periods of panic. Such are the people of truth, the God-fearing. (2:177)

2. They asked thee what they should spend (in charity). Say whatever you spend that is good, is for parents and kindred and orphans

²⁹⁶ *Tafsīr*, II, p. 100.
and *masākin* and for *ibn al-sabil* (the wayfarer). And whatever ye do that is good, - God Knoweth it well. (2:215)

3. Serve God, and join not any partners with Him; and do good - to parents, kinsfolk, orphans, *masākin*, neighbours who are near, neighbours who are strangers, the companion by your side, *ibn al-sabil* (the wayfarer) (ye meet), and what your right hands possess. (4:36)

4. And know that out of all the booty that ye may acquire (in war), a fifth share is assigned to God - and to the Apostle, and to near relatives, orphans, *masākin* and *ibn al-sabil* (the wayfarer) ... (8:41)

5. Alms (*sadaqat*) are for the *fuqara’* and *masākin* and those employed to administer the (funds); for those whose hearts have been (recently) reconciled (to truth); for those in bondage and in debt; in the cause of God and for *ibn al-sabil* (the wayfarer) ... (9:60)

6. And render to the kindred their due rights, as (also) to *miskin*, and to *ibn al-sabil* (the wayfarer); but squander not (your wealth) in the manner of a spendthrift. (17:26)

7. So give what is due to kindred, and *masākin* and *ibn al-sabil* (the wayfarer). That is best for those who seek the Countenance, of God, and it is they who will prosper. (30:38)

8. What God has bestowed on His Apostle (and taken away) from the people of the townships, - belongs to God, - to His Apostle and to kindred and orphans, *masākin* and *ibn al-sabil* (the wayfarer); in order that it may not (merely) make a circuit between the wealthy among you ... (59:7)
Al-Ṭabari appears to give three meanings to this term. Firstly, a guest.  

To support his view, al-Ṭabari quotes Qatādah, Mujāhid and al-Ḍahḥāk who comment that *ibn al-sabil* is a guest. Not only that, but, al-Ṭabari also cites two Traditions to support his view, in which the first means, "those who believe in the Day of Judgement, say and do good or be quiet". And the second Tradition is:

"The right of a guest is three days. During this period he must receive his hospitality, and a host's duty is to entertain him as he can. Whatever hospitality was given after three days was considered as *sadaqah*."

Thus, during his stay, *ibn al-sabil* is eligible to receive this hospitality which is regarded as his right. It is said that the minimum hospitality is a day and a night and the maximum is three days as further quotes in the following Tradition narrated from Abū Shurayḥ al-Khuza‘i:

"Whoever believes in God and the Hereafter, honour his guest, the minimum day which is allowed is a day and a night. It is forbidden for the host to let his guest stay in difficulty or constrain. The right of the guest is three days, and whatever more than that is regarded as *sadaqah*."

300 *Ibid.*, XV, p. 72. This seems to support the view which says that *ibn al-sabil* refers to a guest.
However, the only indication that *ibn al-sabil* means the guest (*da’if*) in the quotation of the two Traditions, is that looking after guests is regarded as a form of ṣadaqah.

Secondly, al-Ṭabarî quotes Mujāhid and Qatādah who comment that *ibn al-sabil* is the traveller who comes to you, or a person who is travelling or passing from one country to another,303 even though he may be originally, a rich man in his own country. Al-Qurṭubî also gives a similar view as al-Ṭabarî to this respect.304

Thirdly, it is said that the *musāfîr* could also be called *ibn al-sabil*, due to his being inseparable from the road. In another words, the man of the road.305 With this regard, the *ibn al-sabil* is the one who runs short of [his provision] during his journey.306

Ibn Kathîr307 seems to support this view and he adds that the traveller is the one who needs to cover his travelling expenses in order to continue his journey.308 However, Ibn Kathîr opines that the traveller

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304 Qurṭubî, V, p. 189.
305 *Tafsîr*, V, p. 83.
307 He is Ismâ’il b ‘Umar ‘Imâd al-Dîn Abû al-Fidâ’ b al-Khaṭîb al-Qurashî al-Buṣrawî al-Shâfi‘î. He was born in 701 A.H. and died in 774 A.H. *EI* 
308 Kathîr, III, p. 434.
who is supposed to accept the zakāh must travel at least two farsakh\textsuperscript{309} or
more. The distance which one is allowed to shorten the prayer according to shari‘ah. If such a person is travelling less than that distance, he is not eligible to be supported.\textsuperscript{310} If a man of the road runs short of from his provision, he could receive support from the country where he is. Provided that he made a good intention of his journey. And this becomes a responsibility for the leader of that country to give aid to him, which comes from the charity of that country.\textsuperscript{311}

It is clear from the above discussion, that, the exegetes seem to agree that the *ibn al-sabil* is one who has run short of [his provisions on his journey]. Therefore, he is allowed to receive the charity, even though he is a rich person in his own country.\textsuperscript{312} They are also considered as the people in need, but only for a temporary period, and the help is only needed to continue his journey, whenever he has run short of his provisions.

It seems important to stress that *ibn al-sabil* has been made a recipient of the *khums* as well as zakāh. Although, it might be possible to argue that hospitality to the guest (defined as *ibn al-sabil*) could be regarded as a form the statutory zakāh or an additional form of zakāh, it

\textsuperscript{309} Farsakh is a measure of distance for an approximate distance of 3 miles or 12000 dhira‘ which is equal to 5544 meters. Dr Muḥammad Rawās Qal‘ajī and Dr Hāmid Ṣādiq Qanīdī, *Mu‘jam Lughat al-Fuqahā’* - Arabic to English., (Beirut, 1985), p. 343.

\textsuperscript{310} *Ibid.*, II, p. 313.


\textsuperscript{312} Shawkānī, IV, p. 237 ; *Tafsir*, V, p. 83.
is impossible to say this with regard to the *khums*, the distribution of which was done by the Prophet. Thus, it seems more probable that the reference to *ibn al-sabil* as a recipient of *zakāh* is concerned with the distribution of that revenue by the Prophet and not, ordinarily speaking, the members of the community.

If this is the case, it would follow that *ibn al-sabil* was a special kind of traveller. Of the Qur'ānic references given we know that 2:177, 2:215 & 4:36 probably are the early Medinan verses.\(^{313}\) According to Bell, 8:41 was revealed sometime after Badr.\(^{314}\) 9:60 has already been established as a late Medinan verse in its present form.\(^{315}\) 30:38 and 59:7 are also definitely Medinan revelations.\(^{316}\) Only 17:26 could possibly be Meccan, but, Bell has argued that, although, the sūrah is Meccan, it has Medinan additions. Bell argues, and, from the analysis of the text, it seems likely, that *ibn al-sabil* in the Qur'ānic text is a Medinan expression and refers to a Medinan phenomenon. He suggests that, it refers to people from other tribes who leave their tribes and come to Medina for the sake of Islam.\(^{317}\) If this is the case then *ibn al-sabil* would be either those who journeyed to Medina to join Islam and then stayed there or those who journeyed to Medina to join Islam but then returned to their homes. It appears that the term *muhājirīn* as emigrants was generally used only to refer to those who made the emigration from

\[^{313}\] *Tafsīr*, II, p. 94; *Qurtubī*, II, p. 239; Wāhīdi, pp. 33 & 39-44; Bell, I, pp. 24, 30 & 74; *Commentary*, I, p. 35.

\[^{314}\] Bell, I, p. 166.

\[^{315}\] Cf. Chapter *zakāh*.

\[^{316}\] Bell, II, pp. 396 & 569-70; *Commentary*, II, pp. 76 & 463.

\[^{317}\] Bell, I, p. 265; *Commentary*, I, p. 463.
They were also normally expected to have made this emigration before Badr, although, the term is sometimes used for emigrants in a more general sense.

Thus, it would seem that *ibn al-sabil* refers either to emigrants who were not from Mecca or to people who made their journey to Medina to accept Islam. In both cases special provision would have to be made to look after them while they were in Medina.

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318 *Tafsir*, III, p. 92; *EI*², p. 366.
319 *Tafsir*, XVIII, p. 102.
320 Qurtubi, XVI, p. 348.
CHAPTER 2
THE MECCAN ECONOMY AND SOCIETY AT THE TIME OF THE COMING OF ISLAM

Mecca was situated in a barren valley in the Arabian Peninsular, midway between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean\(^{321}\) and, therefore, had to rely on the products and goods of neighbouring towns and countries. According to the geographer, Ptolemy, this city was called Macaroba in his time.\(^{322}\) Hitti maintains that Mecca was derived from Sabean Makuraba, meaning sanctuary. This sanctuary made al-Ḥijāz as a whole a most important religious centre in Arabia.\(^{323}\) This status as a sanctuary (ḥaram) made Mecca a place of pilgrimage. It was this situation which made Mecca wealthy, and Ibn ‘Abbās in his interpretation of the verse (28:57),

"And they say: "If we were to follow the guidance with thee, we should be snatched away from our land." Have We not established for them a secure sanctuary, to which are brought as tribute fruits of all kinds, - a provision from Ourself? But most of them understand not."\(^{324}\)

says that fruits and food were collected from many countries and places.\(^{325}\)

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322 *EI*, III, p. 437.
324 al-Qurʾān 28:57; also refers to other verse 16:11-3.
325 *Tafsīr*, XX, p. 94; Qurṭubi, XIII, pp. 300-1.
The annual pilgrimage (hajj) was the principal pilgrimage to Mecca for the Arabs but there was also the 'umrah or lesser pilgrimage which took place in the month of Rajab. In addition, since no bloodshed was permitted within the city, it attracted visitors and merchants throughout the year. According to W. M. Watt, Mecca became a commercial centre because it was a place "to which men could come without fear or molestation". For the pilgrimage rite and trade combined to contribute to the growth of the Meccan city as a commercial centre.

While the sanctuary of Mecca made the town a centre for pilgrimage and trade, the Quraysh also developed trading contacts and enterprises outside Mecca. This trade conducted by the Quraysh brought additional wealth to Mecca.

The Quraysh seem to have been traders even before they occupied Mecca, and Mecca itself was a cultural and commercial centre even in antiquity. After their occupation, they developed it. Crone concludes that there may have been trade in Mecca before its occupation by the Quraysh and that the Quraysh may have been traders before they occupied the city.

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326 EI I, IV, p. 1018.
329 Philip K Hitti, Capital Cities, p. 4.
330 Crone, p. 169.
Mecca became an important Arab caravan city. The Meccans, although they were in no way responsible for the demand which kept this trade alive, nor for the political circumstances, were able to capitalize on their good fortune. By about A.D 600, they had come to prevail successfully over their South-Arabian and Syrian competitors in the formation and management of caravans and dominated the West-Arabian transit trade completely.\footnote{MUST, pp. 61 - 93 ; F. McGraw Donner, "Mecca's Food Supplies", \textit{JOESHO, XX} (1977), pp. 230-33.} The substance of this trade was staple foodstuffs to feed the Meccans. Unlike some other caravan cities, Mecca did not have an oasis and was therefore not an agricultural centre; so it was necessary for trade to flourish. In short, Mecca was unable to produce the basic foodstuffs required to support its growing population on the eve of Islam. Mecca relied upon the outside world, not only for the transit trade which raised its prosperity, but also for the staple foodstuffs needed to sustain life itself.\footnote{\textit{EI1}, III, pp. 437-441.}

The question arises, upon whom did the Meccans rely for their foodstuffs? It seems clear that the agricultural area around the city of Ṭāʾif produced a variety of cereals. Even though it is not very clear whether cereals were brought to Mecca since the distance between Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif was short\footnote{al-Ṭāʾif was a place where the tribe of Thaqif lived. It lies 75 miles South East of Mecca in the mountains of Sarāt. See. Lane, p. 2369 ; Yaʿqūbi, \textit{Tārikh}, III, p. 496 ; \textit{EI1}, VIII, p. 261. They monopolised the fertile land of Wadi Wajj. One \textit{farsakh} has been fixed precisely at 6 km. Cf. \textit{EI2}, II, pp. 812-3.}, some of Mecca's food imports must
have been brought from al-Ṭā‘if and its neighbourhood, even if it was not grain.

Thus, it is clear that to some extent Mecca relied on sources within Arabia for its food. The demand for staple foodstuffs had probably existed long before the ability of nearby agricultural centres to meet the Meccans' needs; therefore the caravan trade remained, going North and South. This may indicate that Meccan trade concentrated on ordinary daily products rather than luxury goods.

The Qur'ānic sūrah 106:1-2 speaks of "the bringing together (ilāf) by Quraysh and their bringing together (ilāf) the winter and summer caravans". The second ilāf is regarded as the treaties by which the Quraysh arranged the winter journey to Yemen and summer journey to Syria. They were probably organised at least as far as Yemen is concerned, after the defeat of the Abyssinians in 570 A.D. by the Persians, because, before that such journeys could not have been made. It was believed that the Quraysh brought all the caravans together on these two journeys, whereas, before traders had travelled individually.

According to the traditional explanation of this, Hāshim b ‘Abd Manāf, the great-grandfather of the Prophet, went to Syria and

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alighted in the territory of the Byzantine Emperor. He was invited by the Emperor to visit him. Eventually he realised that he had gained the Emperor's favour, and then Hāshim asked him to give the merchants of Mecca safe conduct for themselves and their merchandise.\textsuperscript{336}

While there may be some exaggerations in this account, it is possible an arrangement seems to have been made with some official in Syria or on the borders of Syria by Hāshim. This would refer to the first \textit{ilāf} which would be concerned with extra-Meccan \textit{ilāf} which were required to arrange the large caravans safely.

It is said that on his way back, Hāshim met other chiefs of the tribes with whom he came into contact, and secured from them the \textit{ilāf}, the pact of security in their tribal areas. The merchants of Quraysh would carry the goods to Syria, paying the Bedouin from their capital and their profits.\textsuperscript{337} His brother, al-Muṭṭalib went to Yemen and gained a similar permission for the merchants of Quraysh.

There are further suggestions of extended trade relations outside these two caravans. It is said that ‘Abd Shams\textsuperscript{338} went to Abyssinia and on his way he gained the \textit{ilāf}, while Nawfal, the youngest son of ‘Abd Manāf,\textsuperscript{339} got the \textit{ilāf} from the Persian Emperor.\textsuperscript{340} The Quraysh's

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{336} \textit{Mulūk}, II, p. 252.
\item \textsuperscript{337} \textit{Munammaq}, pp. 31-33.
\item \textsuperscript{338} He is the father of Umayyah, and the great-grand-father of Abū Sufyān b Ḥarb.
\item \textsuperscript{339} He is the great great grand-father of the Prophet.
\end{itemize}
trade developed after these pacts in the period of Jāhiliyyah and their wealth increased.

In the explanations so far given, the word *ilāf* has been interpreted as "bringing together through a pact or treaty". However there are differences among the commentators of the Qurʾān as to what the actual word means. The first is those who interpret the term *ilāf* as "bringing together"; as it is possible that the Quraysh were able to unite the caravans or bring together the two journeys in Winter and Summer.341 There is a tradition pointed out by al-Zubayr b Bakr,342 cited by Kister, which maintains the significance of *ilāf*: "Before Hāshim had obtained an *ilāf* from Qaysar, the caravans were sent by individuals". Before the *ilāf* was concluded the sending of caravans seems to have been very risky and in the case of an attack of brigands or of a hostile tribesman, a man who invested all his capital lost everything. It was the *ilāf* which brought all caravans together and made the journey secure.343 Ibn Ḥabīb uses the word *ilāf* for the agreements and the charters with the chiefs of the tribes.344 When the *ilāf* was provided by foreign rulers, the Bedouin

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342 He is al-Zubayr b Bakkār (Bakr ?) b ʿAbd Allāh b Musʿab b Thābit b ʿAbd Allāh b al-Zubayr b al-ʿAwwām al-Asadi al-Madani Abū ʿAbd Allāh b Abi Bakr. He was a jurist in Mecca. He died in Dhū al-Qaʿdah in the year of 256 A.H. at the age of 84 years. He was buried in Mecca. *Tahdhib*, III, p. 312.

343 Kister, p. 1232.

344 *Muhābbar*, p. 162.
who stayed in their own lands profited, and the Qurayshite merchants were safe.

Kister quotes al-Jāhiz'\textsuperscript{345} report about the \textit{ilāf}, that Hāshim imposed taxes on the heads of the chiefs of the tribes. These amounts collected by Hāshim enabled him to organize a defence for the people of Mecca from brigands and tribes who did not respect the sanctions of Mecca.\textsuperscript{346} In his \textit{Tafsīr al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ}, Abū Ḥayyān gives an indication of the advantages of \textit{ilāf} by quoting al-Naqqāsh\textsuperscript{347} who said that there were four journeys, i.e. the Quraysh sent four caravans, to Syria, Abyssinia, Yemen and Persia.\textsuperscript{348} The second explanation given is that God may make the Quraysh feel "at home or safe in undertaking the two journeys"; and He gives them a favour, because of their worship.\textsuperscript{349} The last verse of this sūrah is interpreted as meaning that after having \textit{ilāf} in either of the two meanings mentioned above, the merchants have freedom from anxiety or fear in the conduct of these two journeys.\textsuperscript{350} Al-Qurtubi quotes a report that due to the difficulty of trading, God sent His mercy through

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{345} He is Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr b Baḥr, a client of Kinānah. His famous name was Jāhīz (on account of his prominent eyes). He was a famous prose-writer, theologian and one of the chiefs of the Mu‘tazilite school of Baṣrah. He died in 255 A.H. at the age of over ninety. \textit{EI}\textsuperscript{I}, II, pp. 1000-1.
\footnote{346} Kister, p. 119.
\footnote{347} Unable to identify.
\footnote{348} \textit{Muḥīṭ}, VIII, p. 515.
\footnote{349} \textit{Tafsīr}, XX, pp. 305, 306, 308 ; \textit{Qurtubi}, XX, p. 203.
\footnote{350} \textit{Qurtubi}, XX, p. 209 ; \textit{Munammaq}, p. 263.
\end{footnotes}

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the Negus\textsuperscript{351} who sent food to Mecca by ship. The Meccans were afraid. After it was discovered that the ship provided food, all the Meccans came out and bought from it.\textsuperscript{352}

Yet the interpretation of God "making the Quraysh feel safe" does not in fact contradict the idea of God providing the Quraysh with the means of making treaties of security and thereby making them feel safe.

Although the two caravans seem to refer specifically to Syria and Yemen, it also seems that there was significant trading with Abyssinia. Kister cites from \textit{Nihāyat al-Arab} a statement that "Abyssinia was the best land in which the Meccan merchants traded".\textsuperscript{353} This was due to the ilāf tradition, by which the Negus gave the chance to the Quraysh to trade in his territory peacefully. Furthermore, Ibn Ḥajar\textsuperscript{354} states that Ḥāshim wrote to the Negus asking him to grant a charter for the merchants of Mecca.\textsuperscript{355} Thus Abyssinia became one of the Meccan’s trading places.

However, it is doubtful whether the Meccan traders actually went further than Yemen or not. It is said that a Meccan trader, Walid b al-Mughirah returned in a caravan from Yemen\textsuperscript{356} or from Abyssinia via

\textsuperscript{351} He was a leader of Abyssinia. He was called Najāshi who established a commercial treaty with the Meccans. \textit{EI}\textsuperscript{2}, III, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{352} Qurṭubi, XX, p. 209.
\textsuperscript{353} MUST, p. 61.
\textsuperscript{354} His name was Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Āḥmad b Nūr al-Dīn ‘Āli b Muḥammad. He was an Egyptian scholar, a \textit{muhaddith}, a judge and a historian belonging to Shāfi‘ī school of law. \textit{EI}\textsuperscript{2}, III, pp. 773-852.
\textsuperscript{355} \textit{Muluk}, I, p. 181.
\textsuperscript{356} \textit{Munammaq}, p. 163.
Yemen.\textsuperscript{357} It was also said that the Abyssinians came to Mecca rather than Meccans to Abyssinia; because, the Abyssinians brought foodstuffs to Jeddah, so, that the Meccans no longer made their journey to Abyssinia.\textsuperscript{358} Yemen, however, participated in the trade with Abyssinia, so some Meccan traders were resident in Yemen and participated locally, selling and distributing Abyssinian goods.\textsuperscript{359}

Ibn Sa‘d\textsuperscript{360} suggests that Abyssinian trade was an extension of Meccan links with Byzantine Syria rather than Yemen, thus, one version of \textit{ilāf}-tradition has it that it was the Byzantine Emperor, who obtained permission for the Quraysh to trade in Abyssinia;\textsuperscript{361} whilst, al-Ṭabarī mentions that, Hishām b ‘Urwa\textsuperscript{362} called Abyssinia, the \textit{matjar}\textsuperscript{363} of the Quraysh.\textsuperscript{364} However, it is clear that trade with Abyssinia played a significant role in the Meccan economy. This relationship between Mecca and Abyssinia is underlined by the fact that the first emigrants migrated to Abyssinia in order to avoid persecutions from the Meccan Quraysh and to find economic relief there. They crossed to Abyssinia by paying only a few \textit{dirhams} as fare. When the Meccan Quraysh

\textsuperscript{358} \textit{Munammaq}, p. 126; \textit{MUST}, p. 73.
\textsuperscript{359} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{360} \textit{Ṭabaqāt}, I, p. 78.
\textsuperscript{362} He is Hishām b ‘Urwa b al-Zubayr b al-‘Awwām al-Asadi, known as Abū al-Mundhir or Abū ‘Abd Allāh. He was born in the year 61 A.H. when al-Ḥusayn b ‘Alī was martyred, and passed away in the year 147 A.H. \textit{Tahdhib}, II, pp. 49-51.
\textsuperscript{363} This is the \textit{maš‘al} form of the word \textit{t-J-r} meaning the "place of trade transaction".
\textsuperscript{364} Cf. Crone, p. 181.
discovered their migration to Abyssinia, they sent delegates, known to the Negus, to take back the Muslims. But, the Negus refused. Abū Nu‘aym\textsuperscript{365} reports that the Negus said to that delegation, "What is your business and why do you come to me if you are not a trader?"\textsuperscript{366} The question from the Negus shows that the Meccans traded with Abyssinia.

It appears that the prosperity brought by the caravans and the pilgrimage reached down to all levels of Quraysh. It is claimed that some of the profit from a caravan would be distributed amongst the poor and the needy of one's clan, as Ḥakim b Hizām,\textsuperscript{367} used to do.\textsuperscript{368} A report from al-Diyārbakri\textsuperscript{369} has been cited by Kister concerning Hāshim that the Meccans were in a state of need, until Hāshim sent the caravans to Syria and Yemen. Therefore, they were as a whole indebted to Hāshim. The profits from the caravans used to be divided amongst the rich and the poor; so that the poor became like the rich.\textsuperscript{370} Ibn Ḥābib reports that the

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{365} He is Abū Nu‘aym Ahmad b ‘Abd Allāh b Ahmad b Ishāq al-İsfahānī. He was an author of an Arabic history of saints, a Shāfī‘ite theologian and a Traditionist. He was born in 336 A.H. and died at Ispaḥān in 430 A.H. EI¹, I, p. 102.

\textsuperscript{366} MUST, p. 61. He cites Abū Nu‘aym in Dalā‘īl al-Nubuwwah, p. 197.

\textsuperscript{367} He is Ḥākim b Hizām b Khuwaylid b Asad b al-‘Izzi al-Qurayshī al-Asadī. Known as Abū Khālid al-Makki. His paternal aunt was Khadijah bint Khuwaylid, the wife of the Prophet. It is said that he spent 60 years in ḥālīyyah and 60 years in Islam. Thus, he lived for 120 years. It is also said that he was born about 13 years before the Abrahah's invasion of Mecca. And al-Zubayr b Bakkar said that Ḥākim was born inside the Ka‘bah. He was an expert in genealogy. He died in 54 A.H. or 60 A.H. Tahdhib, II, pp. 447-8.

\textsuperscript{368} Kister, p. 125.

\textsuperscript{369} Husayn b Muḥammad b al-Ḥasan, born at Diyār Bakr. He died at Mecca some time after 982 A.H. EI¹, I, p. 983.

\textsuperscript{370} Kister, p. 125.
men of ilāf said that, through ilāf, God raised the Quraysh and their poor became rich.371

Meccan trade had clearly developed foreign contacts before Islam. The foreign merchants brought their merchandise, and the Meccan merchants sold their wares to the inhabitants of Mecca and the neighbouring tribes. Since Mecca is a sanctuary, most merchants in the pre-Islamic period traded during the pilgrimage: they used to bring merchandise, almost invariably identified as foodstuffs, to Mecca during their pilgrimage. However, the early Muslims, seem to have felt that the combination of trade and pilgrimage was wrong, and therefore the question seems to have been asked, whether trade could be conducted during the pilgrimage or not. Consequently the answer was revealed in surah 2 verse 198.372

"It is no crime in you if ye seek of the bounty of your Lord (during pilgrimage). Then when ye pour down from (mount) ‘Arafat,373 celebrate the praises of God at the Sacred Monument, and celebrate His praises as He has directed you, even though, before this, ye went astray".

Thus, trading and the pilgrimage were reconciled. That trading was taking place during the pilgrimage is further emphasised by the fact that when the Pagans were forbidden from the pilgrimage the Meccans

371 Muḥabbār, p. 162.
373 ‘Arafah is a plain about 21 km (13 miles) east of Mecca, on the road to Taʾīf, bounded on the north by a mountain-ridge of the same name. The plain is the site of the central ceremonies of the annual Pilgrimage to Mecca. EI2, I, p. 604.
(particularly the early Muslims) feared for their livelihood. However, to reassure them, the Qur'ān says in surah 9 verse 28:374

"O ye who believe! Truly the pagans are unclean, so let them not after this year of theirs, approach the Sacred Mosque. And if ye fear poverty, soon will God enrich you, if He wills, out of His bounty, for God is All-knowing, All-wise".

In fact, such was the success of Islam that Meccan trade was in no way disturbed nor affected.

As a result of widening trading contacts, dinārs and dirhams (the gold and silver currencies of Byzantine and Sassanian empires) were brought to Mecca.375 Thus, money became an important means of exchange for the Meccans.376 The practice of lending at interest, with the development of financial capital, was equally well known in the Meccan society in which Islam first appeared.377 Rodinson states in his notes, that creditors developed capitalistic activity by enabling borrowers to engage in profitable enterprises and lenders to accumulate a capital which seems, in many cases, at least, to have been re-employed.378 Quraysh considered a loan to be only "a legitimate sale" of letting out capital for a rent.379

Mecca became the centre of trade for middlemen, bankers with their money-loans placed at the rates of interest, which were usurious or

374 Tafsir, XIV, pp. 192 - 5; Qurṭubi, VIII, p. 106.
375 EI1, III, p. 440; Mufassal, VII, pp. 487-504.
376 EI1, III, p. 440; Mufassal, VII, p. 289.
377 Maxime, p. 35.
378 Ibid. see note no 25 p. 257.
379 EI1, III, p. 440; Qurṭubi, III, p. 356.
appeared so to those who did not take into account the enormous risks posed by the capital at that time and in such a place. The abundant availability of Byzantine, Sassanid and Yemenite coins, changed the monetary system of Mecca; thus, knowledge of the new monetary system was necessary for trading. Therefore, in the money-changers' books, men speculated on the currency exchanged; they gambled on the rise and fall of foreign moneys, on caravan freights, on their arrival and also their lateness.

Besides gaining profit from loan activities, investment in the caravans was also profitable. Lammens cited Strabo’s idea which says that all Arabs are stockbrokers and merchants. At Mecca, "esteem was professed only for the merchants". This infatuation spread even to the women. They put their wealth into banks and commercial enterprises; they took shares in them, sometimes for trivial amounts. As a result, there were few caravans in which the whole population, men and women, had no financial interest. On their return, every one received a part of the profits proportionate to his stake and the number of shares he or she subscribed. The dividends of the profit were never less than 50% and often amounted even to double. Some of the businesswomen at this time were Khadijah bint Khuwaylid, Asmā’ bint Mukharribah,

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381 Ibid., p. 16.
382 Strah, I, p. 171. She was the Prophet's first wife, from the Qurashi family of 'Abd al-'Uzza. She had previously been married twice: one was from Makhzūmī and the other from Tamīmī. She had 5 children by her marriage to the
and Hind, the wife of Abū Sufyān, who sold her commodities among the Kalbis of Syria. Most of the businesswomen had commercial investments in caravan trades.384 The Meccan and other traders always took their commodities along with them, even on military campaigns. This was what they did when they went out to rescue the Badr caravan. Among the first things the early emigrants (muhājirūn) did on their arrival in Medina was to ask the way to the market place.385

This explanation of interest among the Meccans, clearly shows that interest was charged against time in the case of loans, while the caravan business depended on the profit gained. In the latter case, the conduct of trade, in particular, is supposed to have been characterised by cooperation between the rich and the poor, and indeed, at the same time it made the poor richer. However, this may not have been universal in Mecca and greater attention could have been paid to some of the results of borrowing by the poor in Mecca.

The word for usury is ribā; it literally means growth or increase. In general, it refers to any unjustified increase of capital for which no

Prophet. She gave a great support to the Prophet. Her death is said to have taken place three years before the Hijrah. EI1, IV, pp. 860-1.

384 EI1, III, p. 440.
385 Ibid.
compensation is given.\textsuperscript{386} In his work, \textit{Aḥkām al-Qur‘ān}, Abū Bakr al-Jaṣṣāṣ (d. 370 A.H.)\textsuperscript{387} emphasizes that \textit{ribā} means growth, and defines the term \textit{ribā} as: "the loan given for a specified period on condition that (on the expiry of that specified period), the borrower will repay it with some excess."\textsuperscript{388} Therefore, \textit{ribā} is that excess money which is obtained on the pre-determined conditions and at a fixed rate for the principal sum loaned out in consideration of the period for which the money has been lent out. It was also applied to speculations of all kinds. It had been an essential element in the development of the trading system in Mecca.\textsuperscript{389}

Etymologically, \textit{ribā} is of two kinds: One, which came to be prohibited in Islam, is the \textit{ribā} which a person earns by taking from the debtor more than the principal sum which the creditor gave to him on credit or any debt from which any profit might be obtained. And the second type, which is permissible, is a gift in exchange for which the giver demands a more valuable gift or in exchange for which he expects to receive a bigger gift.\textsuperscript{390}

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī says the Pagan Arabs used to lend money on the condition that they would charge a fixed amount each month, while

\textsuperscript{386} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 1148.
\textsuperscript{388} Jaṣṣāṣ, I, p. 469.
\textsuperscript{389} \textit{EI} I, III, p. 1148.
\textsuperscript{390} \textit{Lisān}, I, p. 75.
the capital would remain the same. And, if the borrower could not pay, when the money became due, they would increase the amount by extending the date of payment. This was practised by the Arabs in the Jāhiliyyah. Therefore, this type of interest is called (Ribā al-Jāhiliyyah) "interest of Jāhiliyyah".391

The way ribā was carried out in pre-Islamic times is further explained in the Muwatta’ where Mālik records the report on the authority of Zayd b Aslam:392

"In the pre-Islamic days, ribā operated in this manner that, if a man owed another a debt, at the time of its maturity the creditor would ask the debtor: 'Will you pay up or will you increase?' If the latter paid up, the creditor received back the sum; otherwise the principal was increased on the stipulation of a further term."393

The process of 'continued redoubling' went on in connection with the borrowing of cattle, as well as money. Zayd b Aslam, therefore, makes a further remark that in pre-Islamic days, if cash was borrowed, interest would be repaid in terms of cash and in the case of cattle, the interest would be paid in terms of cattle, depending on the age of the

392 He is Zayd b Aslam al-‘Adawi Abū Usāmah. He was called as Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Madani al-Faqih. He was mawālī ‘Umar. He died in 136 A.H. Tahdhib, III, pp. 395-7.
borrowed cattle. This practice was assumed as one of the ways in which the Pagan Meccans accumulated their wealth.

So far in the examination of the situation in Mecca at the time of the emergence of Islam, we have spoken of rich and poor with the idea that Meccan trading helped to improve the wealth of the poor while the operation of ribā frequently reduced their circumstances and increased their poverty. Thus, despite the commercial wealth of Mecca, there must have been a degree of poverty among the weaker members of Meccan society. The general words for the poor, miskīn and faqīr; as used in the Qurʾān were discussed in Chapter 1. It seems likely that in Mecca, the general term used for the poor in the Qurʾān is miskīn.

However, at this stage it would seen appropriate to discuss the principal classifications of Meccan society in order to deal with the problem of poverty in Mecca.

In Mecca, the usual tribal distinction existed among the tribe of Quraysh. The leaders were from families who possessed inherited authority. Influence and power rested on the two inherited principles of honour (sharaf) and wealth. The notables and the chiefs of the clans were members of the malāʾ, [the council which directed the affairs of Mecca]. Thus, they were in a position to perpetuate their own position and wealth within the Meccan society.

394 Tafsir, IV, p. 90.
395 Mufassal, p. 290.
396 Cf. pp. 50-1.
There was an intermediate group which consisted of traders who came from clans and who did not have power and influence in Mecca. However, by dint of trade, some of this group had acquired wealth, if not influence. The next level of society was those who could be described as (\textit{da'if}) weak. The use of this term in the Qur'ān has been treated comprehensively in Chapter 1. In view of this discussion, it seems appropriate to follow R.B. Serjeant’s analysis, in which he has defined \textit{da'if} and its plural \textit{du'afā'}, in terms of tribal society, as terms applied by the Arabians to people without the capacity to fight and defend themselves. Therefore, it applies to those classes which do not bear arms, the majority being peasants, perhaps also shepherds, but including craftsmen, petty tradesmen and others. Women and children are also considered to be \textit{da'if}.\footnote{SRB, p. 232.}

In addition to the \textit{du'afā'}, there was also a number of slaves who were entirely dependant on their masters for their existence. When a slave was given his freedom, he had to have some association with the tribe in order to survive. This was achieved through the institution of \textit{wala'}.\footnote{\textit{Wala’} means to be near, and \textit{waliya} means to govern, to rule, to protect someone. As such a \textit{wali} is one who is considered a protector, companion, friend and is also applied to near relatives. \textit{EI}^{1}, VIII, p. 1109.} The freed slave was also called a \textit{mawlā} just like his master. Sometimes the two are distinguished by the terms \textit{mawlā asfal} (inferior)
and mawlā a‘lā (superior). The master would act as a protector or wālī of the freed slave within the tribe. Under this system, if the mawlā or freed slave died, the master would have a right to inherit from him. Such freed slaves were also considered among the du‘afā’ in Meccan society.

According to Watt's analysis, one of the features of the earliest revelations, preached by the Prophet Muḥammad was, a call on the Meccan society to observe good attitudes towards the poor. They are told in sūrah 89 verses 17-20:

"Nay, nay! But ye honour not the orphans! Nor do ye encourage one another to feed the poor! And ye devour inheritance - all with greed, and ye love wealth with inordinate love!".

Thus, concern for the poor (miskīn) was an important theme of the early message. Some of these poor (miskīn) and weak (da‘īf) became converts to Islam despite their vulnerable positions. Even slaves became Muslims and Abū Bakr spent a lot of money to free Muslim slaves by purchasing them. So, the freed slave had a walā’ relationship with the Muslims.

It appears that, as a result of a commercial dispute, a group of Meccans belonging to the Banū Ḥāshim, Asad, Zuhrah and Taym gathered in the house of ‘Abdullah b Jud‘ān al-Taymī and the Prophet also joined them. All of them swore that they would support the

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oppressed person and restore his rights. They also undertook to ensure that thereafter all persons in Mecca whether kinsmen or strangers and whether freemen or slaves should remain immune from molestation and none should oppress them.\textsuperscript{400} This gathering was named the \textit{hilf fuḍūl}.\textsuperscript{401} This was taken place in Dhū al-Qa‘dah 590 A.D.\textsuperscript{402} This idea was a theme of early Islamic teaching and would have attracted many of the \textit{du‘afā’}.

After the message of Islam began to gain converts in Mecca, there arose another group in society who were not \textit{du‘afā’} in terms of family and prestige within Quraysh. However, by virtue of their conversion to Islam and their families power over them, they became in many ways equivalent to the \textit{du‘afā’} in society. Their conversion to Islam caused their families to endeavour to exert influence over them so that they became almost equivalent to the \textit{du‘afā’}. This group is sometimes referred to as mustad‘afīn (those who have been caused to be considered weak). There is a fuller discussion of the use of the term mustad‘afīn in Chapter 1. Some of these, together with some of the \textit{du‘afā’}, probably took part in the emigration to Abyssinia.\textsuperscript{403}

The new religion preached by the Prophet did not gain many adherents among the influential Meccan families. For, the new religion threatened not only their own status within Mecca but also, they thought,

\textsuperscript{400} \textit{Mufassal}, IV, pp. 86-7; V, p. 501; \textit{Tabaqāt}, I, p. 127.
\textsuperscript{401} This was the famous pact which was concluded between several Qurashi clans a few years before the Prophet's mission. \textit{Elī}, III, p. 389.
\textsuperscript{402} \textit{Tabaqāt}, I, p. 128.
\textsuperscript{403} Serjeant, p. 5.
the attraction of Mecca as a centre of pilgrimage and trade. As a result, persecution of the \textit{du'afā} and \textit{mustad'ifīn} was intensified.

There were two Meccans in particular who used to abuse the Muslims, Abū Jahl\textsuperscript{404} and Umayyah b Khalaf.\textsuperscript{405} Abū Jahl was responsible for torturing new converts, but if a convert had a powerful family to defend him, Abū Jahl would merely insult him and promise to ruin his reputation and make him a laughing-stock. If, he was a merchant, Abū Jahl would threaten to stop his trade by organising a general boycott of his goods, so that, he would be ruined. If he was weak and unprotected by his clan he would have him tortured, and Abū Jahl had powerful allies in many other clans whom he would persuade to do the same with their own weak and unprotected converts.\textsuperscript{406}

Although, the Prophet and the Qurʾān did encourage the alleviation of poverty and distress, the Prophet had no actual power to do anything but persuade. In fact, he was unable to help, sufficiently, many of the persecuted \textit{du'afā} and \textit{mustad'ifīn}. It was probably for this group, in particular, the emigration to Abyssinia was arranged.

\textsuperscript{404} His name is Abu '1-Ḥakam 'Amr b Hishām b al-Mughirah, also named Ibn al-Ḥanzaliyyah after his mother. He was an influential Meccan from the family of Makhzūm. He was said to be the same age as the Prophet. In the battle of Badr he was wounded and was killed by Mu‘ād b ‘Amr b Jamūḥ and Mu‘āwiyyah b ‘Afrā’. \textit{EII}, I, p. 83.

\textsuperscript{405} \textit{Tabaqāt}, I, p. 149. Unable to identify him in detail.

\textsuperscript{406} Martin Lings, \textit{Muḥammad - his life based on the earliest sources}, (Cambridge, 1988), p. 79.
It is difficult to give a full list of all the slaves and *du‘afā’* who became Muslims. However, the following fifteen names are those of slaves who became Muslims and whose *wala’* and freedom were bought by the Muslims and are people who could be described as *du‘afā’* or *mustad‘fin* as a result of their weak status in Mecca. They are:

1- Thawbān
2- Bilāl b Rabāh
3- Ṣuhayb b Sinān
4- Abū Fukayyah
5- Yāsir
6- Sumayyah
7- ‘Ammār b Yāsir
8- Salīm
9- ’Āmir b Fuhayrah
10- Abū Rāfī‘
11- Shiqrān Şāliḥ
12- Khabbāb b al-Aratt
13- Abū Kabshah
14- Zayd b Bulā
15- Khabbāb *mawlā* ’Utbah b Ghazwān.
16- Zannīrah
17- Lubaynah

All of them were Companions of the Prophet and performed splendid service in the cause of Islam. We will give a brief account of the biographies of some of those mentioned above.

**Bilāl Ibn Rabāḥ**

Amongst the slaves who became Muslim was, Bilāl b Rabāh, who was of Abyssinian stock. He was born a slave to Ḥamāmah in Mecca, and

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407 He is called as Abū Ghassān al-Namirī, known as al-Rūmī or Abū Yahyā. According to Ibn Sa‘d his father and his paternal uncle were the worker for the king of Aylah. He was sold as a slave and bought by ‘Abd Allāh b Jud‘ān. He was among the earliest converts. According to Abū Zakariyya he was among the *mustad‘af* in Mecca. He passed away in Medina in 38 A.H. at the age of 84 years. *Tahdhib*, IV, pp. 438-9.
Umayyah b Khalaf was his master during his period of bondage. Umayyah tortured Bilal after he knew that Bilal had converted to Islam, and tried to persuade him to return to his original religion, but Bilal displayed unflinching fortitude, patience and perseverance. As a result, he was tortured. Ibn Sa'd records a report from 'Urwah b al-Zubayr that Bilal belonged to a group of pious people who were very weak, poor and helpless by worldly standards. When he accepted Islam, the infidels subjected him to a series of torments, so that, he might succumb (to their demands) and renounce his faith, but Bilal did not utter a syllable which suited the views of the infidels.

The infidels tied a rope round his neck and urged the urchins to drag him to and fro between the two hill of Mecca. Yet, under this severe torment, Bilal's tongue repeated only one word, "Ahad" (one- a reference to God). Thereupon, the infidels gave him a severe beating and stretched him out on the burning sand. They placed a heavy stone over his body, but still Bilal uttered nothing save the creed, "Allah is one". At last, when he was on the verge of death, Abū Bakr came to

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408 EI2, I, p. 1215; Lughāt, I, p. 136.
409 Qurtubi, X, p. 180; EI2, p. 1215.
410 He is 'Urwah b al-Zubayr b 'Awwām, al-Asadī al-Madani. One of the earliest and foremost authority on Tradition in Medina. He was born between 23 and 29 A.H., and died between 91 and 99 A.H. His mother was Asmā' bint Abi Bakr, his father al-Zubayr b al-'Awwām b Khuwaylid, a nephew of Khadijah. And he was some thirty years younger than his brother, 'Abd Allāh. EI1, VIII, p. 1047.
412 al-Bidāyah wa 'l-Nihāyah, II, p. 64.
Bilāl’s rescue and bought him for five *awāq*. Ṣafwān was much oppressed and tyrannised on account of his avowal of the new faith. He was laid on the scorching sand, and cruelly beaten till he fainted. After Ṣafwān felt fatigued, he would tie a rope round Abū Fukayhah’s neck and pour a thousand insults on his victim. Ṣafwān would give the rope to the children to drag him through the streets of Mecca. Abū Bakr took pity on him and bought him from his master and set him free for the sake

Abū Fukayhah

He was also a slave of Ṣafwān b Umayyah and was much oppressed and tyrannised on account of his avowal of the new faith. He was laid on the scorching sand, and cruelly beaten till he fainted. After Ṣafwān felt fatigued, he would tie a rope round Abū Fukayhah’s neck and pour a thousand insults on his victim. Ṣafwān would give the rope to the children to drag him through the streets of Mecca. Abū Bakr took pity on him and bought him from his master and set him free for the sake

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414 *Muluk*, II, p. 452.
416 He is Ṣafwān b Umayyah b Khalaf b Wahb b Ḥudhāfah b Jumāh, known as Abū Wahb al-Jumhī. His mother was Ṣaḥīyyah bint Mu’ammad b Ḥābiḥ Jamḥīyyah. His father (Umayyah b Khalaf) died at the battle of Badr as an infidel. It is said that he participated in the conquest of Mecca and his wife became a Muslim. Her name was Nāḥiyah bint al-Walīd b al-Mughirah. He attended the battle of Ḥunayn and it is said that he became a Muslim, thus the Prophet present him his wife. He was the one who fed people in *jāhiliyyah* and a very influential person. He died at Mecca during the reign of ‘Alī. *al-Isābah*, II, pp. 187-8.
of God. He became very weak and depressed on account of constant oppression and he died a wreck before the battle of Badr.

Two women slaves, Zannirah and Lubaynah

Female slaves who became Muslims were also persecuted. Zannirah, a slave-girl of 'Umar was thrashed by Abū Jahl so badly that, as a result, she lost both of her eyes. Before his conversion to Islam, 'Umar used to go on thrashing and beating his maid-servant, named Lubaynah. He beat her until he was exhausted and then he would say that he left her not because he pitied her, but because he fell tired with such exercise. The liberty of both these female slaves was purchased by Abū Bakr.

Yāsir, Sumayyah and their son 'Ammār

Yāsir b 'Āmir b Mālik, the father of 'Ammār was from Yemen. He had left his home and tribe along with his two brothers named Mālik and Ḥārith to find his fourth brother who had wandered away from Yemen. When the three brothers lost of hope of locating their brother, Mālik and Ḥārith returned home, but Yāsir remained staying in Mecca

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417 Ibid., VII. p. 152.
418 Tabaqāt, IV, p. 91.
420 Tabaqāt, IV, p. 136; al-Isābah, III, p. 647.
421 Both Mālik and Ḥārith are 'Ammār's uncle. Unable to identify them.
and became a *halif*\(^{422}\) of Banū Makhzūm.\(^{423}\) Abū Ḥudhayfah (the chief of Banū Makhzūm) gave him in marriage Sumayyah who was his freed slave and ‘Ammār was their son.\(^{424}\) Although she had been freed, they remained with Abū Ḥudhayfah until the time of their death.\(^{425}\) Yāsir, his wife Sumayyah and their son ‘Ammār all became Muslims. One of the reasons for their conversion may well have been the early calls in the Qur'ān to treat the weak in society more generously. However, both husband and wife were seized by the Banū Makhzūm, and in particular, Abū Jahl tortured them in order to make them renounce their faith. They refused to do so and died as the first martyrs in Islam.\(^{426}\)

Having seen the torture which his mother and father had to face, ‘Ammār complied with the infidels' wishes, when they asked him to confess and praise idolatry, and curse the Prophet. He was spared after being tortured. He confessed idolatry, but his heart still firmly believed in Islam. He was heart-broken at what he had done but was reassured by the Prophet.\(^{427}\) It is said that verse 106 in sūrah 16 was revealed regarding his condition\(^{428}\):

\[^{422}\] This is the *maf'il* form of of the word *h-l-f* means confederate or ally.
\[^{423}\] *Tabaqāt*, IV, p. 136.
\[^{424}\] *al-Iṣābah*, IV, p. 334.
\[^{425}\] *Tabaqāt*, IV, p. 136; *EI*\(^{2}\), p. 448.
\[^{427}\] With regard to this occasion, one day the Prophet met ‘Ammār who was weeping. In reply to his enquiries ‘Ammār said:

"O Prophet, they would not let me go till I had abused thee and spoke well of their god." The Prophet said: "But how dost thou find thy heart?"
"Secure and steadfast in the faith," ‘Ammār replied. "Then" continued the Prophet, "if they repeat their cruelty, repeat thou, also thy word".

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"Any one who, after accepting faith in God, utters Unbelief, except under compulsion, his heart remaining firm in faith - but such as open their breast to Unbelief, on them is Wrath from God, and theirs will be a dreadful Penalty".

After migrating to Medina, 'Ammār was taken as a brother by Ḥudhayfah Ibn al-Yamān.429

Apart from those slaves mentioned earlier, there were several persons from influential Meccan families who were considered as mustad'afīn due to their conversion to Islam. The following persons are some of those mustad'afīn belonging to this category:

'Iyāsh b Abī Rabī‘ah

'Iyāsh b Abī Rabī‘ah, the brother of Abū Jahl on his mother's side, had also undergone the persecution.430 It seems that despite the high position of his family in the clan of Makhzūm, he had to emigrate to

Therefore, he asked the Prophet regarding his position. The Prophet said, "if you repent, then return to the faith". See Qurṭubi, X, p. 180.

429 Muḥabbar, p. 73. He is Ḥudhayfah b al-Yaman b Jābir al-‘Abasi. Both he and his father became Muslim, and they intended to take part in the battle of Badr. However, the Meccan Pagans took them away. And his father al-Yaman was killed in the battle of Uhud. He was a personal confident (ṣāhib al-sirr) of the Prophet. During the reign of ‘Umar b al-Khaṭṭāb, he conquered Hamadan, Ray and Madā‘in. He stayed in Kufah where he died in the year 36 A.H., forty days after the assassination of ‘Uthmān b ‘Affān. Tahdhib, II, pp. 219-20.
430 Tabaqāt, IV, p. 129.
Abyssinia to escape persecution. This was in the second migration to Abyssinia in 615 A.D. However, later he returned to Mecca under the protection of Abū Jahl. This indicates that he had probably been forced to make some compromise with his beliefs in Islam. However, he must have preserved his contacts with the Muslims, for he took part in the emigration to Medina accompanying ʿUmar b al-Khaṭṭāb. Once they arrived at Qubā his two brothers from his mother's side, Abū Jahl and al-Ḥārith Ibn Hishām followed him, seized and took him back to Mecca. They imprisoned him. He escaped and went to Medina, but then was recaptured. He tried to emigrate to Syria but returned to Mecca again and he died in Mecca. He died in 15 A.H.

Salamah Ibn Hishām

Another member of the Banū Makhzūm who could be regarded as among the mustaḍʿafīn was Salamah Ibn Hishām Ibn al-Mughirah b ʿAbd Allāh b ʿUmar b Makhzūm. His father, Hishām Ibn al-Mughirah is

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431 Ibid., p. 132.
432 He is al-Ḥārith b Hishām b al-Mughirah b ʿAmr b Makhzūm known as Abū Abd al-Rahmān al-Qurayshī al-Makhzūmī. He was the brother of Abū Jahl and the paternal cousin of Khālid b al-Walid. And his mother was Fāṭimah bint al-Walid b al-Mughirah. He died during the battle of Yarmuk. al-Īsābah, I, pp. 293-4.
434 Tabaqāt, IV, p. 129.
436 He is Hishām b al-Walid b al-Mughirah al-Makhzūmī. He is the brother of Khālid b al-Walid. He is one of the muʿallaṭat qulūbuhum. Cf. al-Īsābah, III, p. 606.
said to have had the title as "the lord of Mecca". He was a nephew of Khālid b al-Walid. He was among the early converts to Islam. He also came under severe pressure from Abū Jahl and according to Ibn Sa'd quoting Ibn Isḥāq and al-Wāqidi, he migrated to Abyssinia. Later, he returned to Mecca, but refused to compromise his Islamic beliefs. As a result, Abū Jahl arrested him, tortured, beat and starved him. Eventually, he succeeded in emigrating to Medina. He arrived at Medina after the Battle of Khandaq. He died in 13 A.H or 14 A.H.

‘Uthmān b Maz‘ūn

Another member of the Banū Makhzūm who could be regarded as from the group of mustad‘ifīn in Mecca was, ‘Uthmān b Maz‘ūn, a relative of al-Walid b al-Mughirah. He adopted Islam and had to take

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437 EI¹, III, p. 171.
438 Lughāt, I, p. 220. He is Khālid b al-Walid b al-Mughirah al-Makhzūmi, a contemporary of the Prophet and a Muslim general. He became a Muslim at the beginning of 8 A.H. together with ‘Amr b ʿĀṣ. He was given a title as "sword of God" because of his bravery. He brought a great success to Islam. And he died in Hims or Medina in the year 21 A.H. EI², IV, pp. 878-9.
439 He is Muḥammad b Isḥāq b Yasār b Kūmān or Kūtān. He was born in Medina about 85 A.H. and died in Baghdad in 150 A.H. EI², III, pp. 8110-11.
440 Ṭabaqāt, IV, p. 132.
441 Ibid., pp. 130-1; Lughāt, I, p. 220.
442 Lughāt, I, p. 220.
443 Muluk, III, p. 418.
444 Ṭabaqāt, IV, pp. 130; Lughāt, I, p. 220.
part in the first emigration to Abyssinia to avoid persecution.446 On hearing a rumour that the Quraysh had became Muslims, he returned to Mecca under the protection of al-Walid b al-Mughirah.447 It is said that he wished to break off this relationship, the later endeavour to dissuade him, but in vain. After al-Walid had released him from all obligations to his relative ‘Uthmān was severely wounded in a squabble, whereupon al-Walid again offered him his protection but ‘Uthmān rejected this offer.448 He made the hijrah to Medina and was killed in the Battle of Badr.449

446 al-Iṣābah, II, p. 464.
447 Ibid.
448 EI1, IV, p. 1112.
CHAPTER 3
THE PROPHET'S ECONOMIC POLICY IN MEDINA

The Medinan economy and society at the time of the emigration (hijrah)

When the Prophet and the Muslims in Mecca were offered the opportunity of emigrating to Medina, it meant that Islam was given a better chance to establish itself in an environment that was not as hostile to it as Mecca. However, the emigrants were, in fact, creating a further complication in Medinan economic life. Those who had wealth like Abū Bakr had to leave behind in Mecca all their possessions. Whereas others, particularly the ʿduʿafāʾ, were already poor at the time of their emigration. In the discussion about the meanings of faqīr and miskīn, it was seen that, generally speaking, faqīr, a term which only seems to be used for poor in Medinan verses of the Qurʾān, refers to poor Muslim frequently and more specifically, to the poor among the emigrants. Whereas miskīn is a more general term for poor, that irrespective of that poor being Muslim or non-Muslim.

Before further analysing the plight of the emigrants in Medina, it would appear appropriate to discuss the general situation in Medina, at the time of the emigration.

Medina is about 160 km from the Red Sea and about 350 km north of Mecca. It was known during the Pre-Islamic time as Yathrib.450 It

had developed from an oasis at the foot of the hill of Uhud on the north and that of 'Ayr on the south.\footnote{See Appendix, map 4.} There are several watercourses which cross the oasis from south to north.\footnote{\textit{Wafā'}, I, pp. 265, 343; al-Sharif, \textit{Makkah wa 'l-Madinah fi al-Jāhiliyyah wa 'l-'Ahd al-Rasūl}, (Cairo, 1965), p. 355; \textit{EI}^2, V, p. 994; AWJ, p. 8.} They have some water, especially after the rains, but their water is neither sufficient nor quite suitable for drinking.\footnote{Saleh Ali, "Studies in the Topography of Medina" in \textit{Islamic Culture}, XXXV, (1961), p. 68.} However, it did provide sufficient water to keep these springs flowing throughout the year, so as to make irrigation possible for the cultivated fields.\footnote{\textit{Wafā'}, I, pp. 119-52; AWJ, p. 12.} The winters are cool with a slight rainfall which provided some of the water for the oasis. The summers are hot and sultry. The air was reckoned to be pleasant. Perhaps, it was due to this reason the Prophet gave the honorific name \\textit{tayyibah}, the sweet-smelling, to it.\footnote{\textit{EI}^2, V, p. 994; AWJ, p. 22.}

Medina can be extremely fertile, if properly cultivated. In Yāqūt's time the region was desolate and neglected, and its water

\footnote{He is Shihāb al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Ya‘qūb b ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawī, the famous Arab encyclopaedist. He was born in 575 A.H. in Byzantine territory of non-Arab stock. He was captured when he was a boy and was sold as a slave in Baghdad. He was purchased by a certain 'Askar b Ibrāhīm al-Ḥamawī. He died in 626 A.H. Some of his works seem to have been lost. But he is known through his famous work \textit{Mu‘jām al-Buldān} which took him 17 years of hard labour till the time of his death. \textit{EI}^1, VIII, p. 1153.}
flowed without being used by anyone. This situation was entirely different in the time of the Prophet.\textsuperscript{457}

In addition to the wells and springs available, the soil which consists of salty sand, lime and loamy clay, and is everywhere very fertile. Wensinck says that Medina is surrounded by an elevated plain covered with fragments of basalt and fire-stone. Its inhabitants earned a living through agriculture and cultivation of palms. The palm groves were owned by various tribes.\textsuperscript{458} Thus it seems that private ownership was well established, and the principle of inheritance existed. There was inequality of property. The small estate owner was probably working personally on his land, while the large estate owner employed agrarian labourers whose relations to the owner are not clearly known. From the available evidences, it appears that there was at least one clan in Medina, in particular, which owned surplus wealth, that of Banū Ḥarithah. The Banū Ḥarithah used to rent their surplus land to tenants on profitable terms. There were probably other clans in similar position.

Nevertheless, Medina was not fully exploited, and there were large areas of uncultivated lands, especially the plain to the west of Medina which was called the Western Ḥarrah. On the other hand to the North-Eastern and East part of the town, the cultivated land become more

\textsuperscript{457} AWJ, pp. 22-3.

extensive. The reason for the land being left uncultivated was that there was no sufficient water supply. The Medinans had built the canal to irrigate the land by whatever means they could, perhaps, by using their own power to dig wells or by using animals to irrigate the land.

Before the time of the Prophet, date-palms were numerous and it became the most important plantation. Cereals were also grown besides date-palms, but were considered a secondary form of plantation. It is reported that cereal were usually planted under the date-palms. Several Qur'anic verses give evidences on the agricultural activity in Medina. Most of these verses seem to indicate dates and vines.

Thus, Medina was at first not a compact town, but a collection of scattered settlements, surrounded by groves of date-palms and cultivated fields. It is said that, there were about two hundreds forts or strongholds constructed for defensive purpose. The inhabitants took refuge in these confinements during times of danger. And in the time of peace, they provided permanent storerooms for the agricultural products and possessions of the inhabitants.

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460 Imtā', I, pp. 182-328; al-Sharif, Makkah wa 'l-Madinah, p. 358.
462 al-Sharif, Makkah wa 'l-Madinah, p. 293. It seems that Medina is situated in a very strategic place by which the stony hills protected it. It seem certain that during the battle of Trench, the focus for the trench was given to the main entrance of the city. Thus, it was only dug in that specific area. See Wafā', I, pp. 114, 139 & 141.
463 Maghāzi, pp. 179, 368.
There were several economic activities in Medina before the Prophet's migration. Since it was situated in the fertile area, there is no doubt that, most of its inhabitants were involved in the agricultural fields. Besides this type of occupation, Medinan people were also engaged in grazing animals, trading and in industrial activities.

The historians are uncertain about the numbers of wadis in Medina. According to Yāqūt there are three wadis: al-‘Aqiq, al-Qanāt and Buṭḥān. Al-Ya‘qūbī reckons four because he considers the two branches of al-‘Aqiq as separate wadis.464 However, Wellhausen counts the Maḥzūr as separate and according to him there are four wadis.465 Al-‘Aqiq is situated in the West, al-Qanāt in the East and Buṭḥān in the South of the town.466

Wadi Buṭḥān is the largest wadi in Medina. It originates in the South, flows eastward past the mosque of Qubā, and then between the houses in the town proper to the Western part of Medina. This wadi is said to be of 40 or 50 feet wide.467 The wadi Buṭḥān, Maḥzūr (branch of al-Qanāt), descending from the eastern Ḥarrah, passes through orchards south of the city where it converges, first with a branch of the Mudhaynīb and then flows past Baqī‘ al-Gharqab, where the Prophet's

464 Kitāb al-Buldān, ed.. de Goeje, p. 312.
465 AWJ, p. 12.
466 Ibid. See Appendix, map 4.
467 Ibid., p. 15.
mosque was build to rejoin al-Qanāt, outside Medina. It flows through the territory where the Jewish clan Qurayzah had settled.468

Ranūra, (one branch of the Buṭhān, comes from the hill ‘Ayr south-west of Medina, runs eastward past Qubā’ and converges inside the town in two branches with the Buṭhān),469 and Mudhaynib branch off to the south of the town into a number of torrents, which, after any rainfall, distributes water over a large area. In this quarter of Medina, the level of the subterranean water is particularly high so that the owners of the various properties need not dig deep wells to reach it. This part of the town is, therefore, by far, the most fertile of all. In the time of Muḥammad, this belonged to al-Naḍir and Qurayzah and, at least partly, to some families of al-Aws as well.470

Before the migration of the Prophet to Medina, there were two main Arab tribal groupings, Aws and Khazraj.471 The historians mention that the migration of Aws and Khazraj to Medina and their residence there began after the event of the ‘Arim flood and the destruction of Yemen.472 In addition, there were a number of Jewish tribes who were in alliance with the Arab tribes. When and whence they came is a question that has not been answered. Wensinck seems to agree that their emigration took place at the breaking of the dam of Ma‘rib in 450 A.D. He emphasizes that the Jews were living in Yathrib before this

469 Wafā’, p. 252 ; AWJ, p. 15.
470 AWJ, p. 15.
472 Sirah, I, p. 9 ; Mufassal, III, p. 156 ; Athir, I, p. 401.
time. Jews in Medina spread over the whole area. However, the most well-known groups were Qaynuqā‘, al-Naḍīr and al-Qurayzhah. Al-Samḥūḍī states that there were more than twenty Jewish sub-tribes inside these main groups. Most Jews were settled in the fertile area around Medina and in the oases of Taymā‘, Fadak and Wadi al-Qurā‘. For example, Banū al-Naḍīr occupied the South-East part of Medina in Wadī Mudhaynīb, which is the source of the other wadis. Banū Qurayzhah in the North of Medina were in the wāḍī Maḥṣūr (branch of al-Qanā‘t), and Banū Qaynuqā‘ were in the wadi Biḍḥān. Besides having date-plantations, they also had controlled their own markets as one of the financial resources of Medina. Their wadis were quite close to each other and the wadis ran mainly from the South and Southern parts to the North-West.

Medina had several market places. There was one in Zubālāh, near Medina, another at the bridge in the quarter of Banū Qaynuqā‘; a third was in Ṣafāṣīf at ‘Uṣbah and the fourth in the place called

473 AWJ, pp. 30-2.
475 Wafā‘, I, p. 112.
476 AWJ, pp. 23-4; A. Azīz, Abu Bakr-The Caliph, p. 52; see Appendix, map 5.
Muzāḥim. Al-Shāfi‘i mentions a fifth in al-Baṭḥā’, to which Banū Sulaym used to bring their cattle. The markets seem to have been dominated by the Jews, for example, Banū Qaynuqā‘ who were the smiths in Medina and controlled the market for metal goods. Although, al-Naḍir and Qurayẓah were land owners and farmers who certainly could live easily on the products of their lands, they probably traded whatever was left over with both fellow townsmen and bedouins in the vicinity. It seems that all produce in Medina and surrounding its area were brought to these market to be sold. Such produce were dates, grains food and even some firewood, which was brought by the Bedouins. Not only these local produce were sold in these markets, but also other foreign goods such as wool, fur, perfumes or even slaves. Jewellery were also found in this market, especially in the market of Banū Qaynuqā‘.

The area of Medina is bordered by Uḥud in the North, the wadi al-Qanāt in the East, Qubā in the South and Dhū al-Ḥulayfah in the West. These points also define the limits of the sacred territory, the haram of the town.

It is worth mentioning that, most business transactions were conducted by measurements of capacity (mikyāl) rather then weight in

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479 Umm, I, p. 177; Wafā’, I, p. 544.
480 AWJ, p. 27.
481 Wafā’, I, pp. 539-552.
482 Ibid., p. 23; AWJ, p. 15.
Medina. However, since there was contact with foreigners and foreign currencies, gold and silver coins were available in Medina besides the barter and cubic measure systems.\textsuperscript{483} This is mentioned by Ibn Shabbah\textsuperscript{484} who cites a report of Ibn 'Umar\textsuperscript{485} that he (Ibn 'Umar) used to sell camels, sometime for \textit{dinārs} and sometime for \textit{dirhams} in the market.\textsuperscript{486} Perhaps, the people of Medina sent caravans to several places in the north, especially to trade in foodstuffs.\textsuperscript{487} They also engaged in money-lending activity with interest to foreign businessmen.\textsuperscript{488}

It seems that forms of monopoly and \textit{ribā} were (a common) phenomena in the Medinan economy. There was also the most fraudulent practice of meeting the Bedouins outside the town and buying up their goods and then selling them in the town for much greater prices. Through these practices some of the Medinans became rich, while the exploitative nature of monopolies and usurious interest created a poorer class of people. Some even lost their freedom as a result of being unable to meet the debts incurred through the operation of \textit{ribā}.\textsuperscript{489} It is reported

\textsuperscript{483} al-Bukhārī, \textit{Ṣāhiḥ}, III, p. 68.

\textsuperscript{484} He is Abū Zayd 'Umar b Shabbah al-Numayrī al-Bāṣrī. He was born in 173 A.H. and passed away in 262 A.H.

\textsuperscript{485} He is one of the most prominent personalities of the first generation of Muslims and authorities most frequently quoted for Traditions. He was born before the \textit{hijrah}, at an unspecified date. He embraced Islam with his father and emigrated to Medina some time before him. The Prophet sent him back when he presented himself to fight at Badr and Uḥud due to his minor age. Ibn 'Umar passed away of septicaemia in 73 A.H. well over 80 years of age. \textit{EI}\textsuperscript{2}, I, pp. 53-4.

\textsuperscript{486} Shabbah, I, p. 306.


\textsuperscript{488} \textit{Mufassal}, VII, pp. 311 - 12.

\textsuperscript{489} al-Bukhārī, \textit{Ṣāhiḥ}, III, p. 59.
that Uḥayḥah b al-Julāḥ⁴⁹⁰ one of the leader of ‘ Aws levied ribā on his tribesmen. This resulted in him acquiring substantial wealth.⁴⁹¹ The Jews in Medina seemed to have a very important position as money-lenders at exorbitant rates of interest, i.e., ribā.⁴⁹²

Economic and political problems faced by the Prophet in the early period of his arrival in Medina

Although the Prophet’s immediate concern when he arrived in Medina might have been for the economic and political status of the emigrants, he would also have been aware of, and concerned with, the economic problems of those of the Medinans who lacked status in Medina and had become poor. These people would have been agricultural

⁴⁹⁰ He is Uḥayḥah b al-Julāḥ b Huraysh b Ḥujajabī b Kal‘ah b ‘Awf b ‘Amr b ‘Awf b Mālik b al-Aws. He married Salmā bint ‘Umar who bore for him ‘Amr b Uḥayḥah. After him she married Hāshim b ‘Abd Manāf. She bore for him ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib (great-grand father of the Prophet). He was a mukhdāram (designation of such contemporaries of the Prophet, especially of poets, whose life span bridges the time of paganism and that of Islam), who was a very famous personality in the jāhiliyyah period and he died some years before the advent of the Prophet. One of his son Muḥammad b ‘Uqbah b al-Julāḥ who was one of those who were called Muḥammad during jāhiliyyah and he wised that he was the supposed Prophet but he died in jāhiliyyah. But the son of Muḥammad, Mundhir b Muḥammad became Muslim and took part in the battle of Badr and became a martyr in Bi‘r al-Ma‘ūnah. al-Iṣaabah, I, pp. 23-4.
⁴⁹² AWJ, p.31.
labourers, or tenants charged exorbitant rents, or families reduced to poverty, and sometimes to slavery, by *ribā*.

At the very early point after his arrival, the Prophet began to apply himself to the problems of the emigrants. His first concern was for their political status. When Arab tribes were in alliance (*hilf*), a visiting tribesman would be regarded as a *halīf* and given protection. This clearly did not correspond to the situation in which the emigrants found themselves, for they had deserted their tribe of Quraysh in Mecca. Another means of protection was that of *jiwār* or neighbourly protection.\(^{493}\) It meant that, an individual within the tribe, usually of some status, granted protection to another person and the tribe honoured that protection. It was a means by which the Prophet, himself, had been able to stay in Mecca towards the end of his period there. However, there were too many emigrants for this policy to operate and the institution tended to be short term and restrictive. Finally, there was the system of *wala‘*. This has been discussed earlier.\(^{494}\) It was used mainly for freed slaves and definitely made the protected person an inferior.

The position of the Prophet was different from that of the rest of the emigrants. He not only had the pledge of the *Anṣār* made at ‘Aqabah to defend him but also he was accepted by the two Arab tribal groupings of Aws and Khazraj as an arbitrator. In order to give status to the emigrants, the Prophet introduced a system of brotherhood. Under this


\(^{494}\) See pp. 104-8.
system, individual members of the Ansār were brothered with individual emigrants.\textsuperscript{495} Each promised to protect and sustain the other and at first, each had rights of inheritance in the case of the death of the other. This provided some degree of protection and brought the Muslims of Medina and Mecca together as one ummah. The effect of this brotherhood was the cause for the steady increase in the numbers of Muslims in Medina Muslim ummah.

This brothering was effective from an Islamic point of view but Medina was not yet a Muslim town. Through the constitution of Medina, which the Prophet made with the approval of the rest of the Medinan groups, the emigrants were accepted as an independent clan in Medina. As Serjeant\textsuperscript{496} has pointed out, the Constitution was probably a collection of documents and parts of it may have been deleted later. However, the clause that the emigrants were responsible for their blood-wit and the like clearly shows that they were accepted in Medina as an independent group.

It is by no means certain how the emigrants made their living during their first year in Medina. Since the emigrants were mostly traders in Mecca, they were obviously ill-adapted to agriculture and could not take it up as their profession. Even if they could have worked in agriculture, which was not the case, there was also little scope for them, because, the Medinans themselves were engaged in this activity.

\textsuperscript{495} Sirah, I, pp. 303-5.

Perhaps the majority of emigrants lacked the means to make a decent living. This idea is supported by the Qurʾān in surah 2 verse 273 - 274,

"((mā tunfiqūna) what you contribute) is for those in need (fuqaraʾ), who, in God's cause are restricted (from travel), and cannot move about in the land, seeking (for trade or work): The ignorant man thinks, because of their modesty, that they are free from want. Thou shalt know them by their (unfailing) mark; They beg not importunately from all and sundry. And whatever of good ye give, be assured God knoweth it well. Those who (in charity) spend of their goods by night and by day, in secret and in public, have their reward with their Lord: On them shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve."

As seen from our analysis of faqīr and miskin in Chapter 1. A faqīr is only used to describe the poor in Medina and seems always to refer to the poor Muslims, and more particularly to the emigrants. In this verse of early Medinan revelation, the term497 fuqaraʾ clearly refers to the emigrants, who are "restricted from travel" by virtue of their economic situation, as a result and their limited ability to move about due to the enmity of Quraysh and their allies.498 According to many of the commentators this verse refers to the predicament of the emigrants, who were unable to trade in the markets and could not go further afield.499 Although, they did not beg, their clothes indicated their poverty.500 While the Anṣār were urged to make contribution (nafaqah) to relieve the plight of the emigrants.

497 Bell, I, p. 40.
498 Qurṭubī, III, p. 341.
499 Tafsir, V, p. 593.
500 Ibid., p. 597.
However, not all emigrants were regarded as a poor. Some of them were rich people in Meccan society, such as Abū Bakr, 'Uthmān b 'Affān,501 ‘Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b ‘Awf and a few others.

In the pre-Islamic period, Abū Bakr was considered a wealthy man, even though he came from an inferior clan. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b ‘Awf, Ṭalḥah502 and others were said to have become Muslims through his influence.503 According to Ibn Hishām, when he migrated to Medina, Abū Bakr brought all of his wealth which is said to be worth 5,000 dirhams or 6,000 dirhams.504 With that money the land of the Prophet’s

501 He is ‘Uthmān b ‘Affān b Ābī al-‘Āṣ b Umayyah b ‘Abd Shams b ‘Abd Manāf al-Qurashi known as Abū ‘Amr and Abū ‘Abd Allāh. His kunniyah was Dhū al-Nūrayn. He was also called as Abū Laylā. He was the third caliph. His mother was Arwā bint Kurayz b Rabī’ah b Ḥabib b ‘Abd Shams. He was the earliest convert and he took part in the two migration: Abyssinia and Medina. He married 2 daughters of the Prophet one after the other: Ruqayyah and Umm Kulthūm. According to Ibn ‘Abd Barr, he was born 6 years after Abraham’s invasion of Mecca. He was among those who emigrated to Abyssinia and of those whom the Prophet promised the Paradise and also among the ahl al-shūrā. He was assassinated in the 12 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 35 A.H. Tahdhib, VII, pp. 139-42.

502 He is Ṭalḥah b (‘Ubayd Allāh b ‘Uthmān b ‘Amr b Ka’b b Sa’d b Taym b Murrah, his kunniyah, Abū Muḥammad). He was one of the earliest convert and a companion of the Prophet. One of whom the Prophet promised Paradise. He was the one who shielded the Prophet from the attack during the unfortunate battle of Uḥud. He is also one of the great Traditionists. But due to his involvement in the anti-'Ali campaign he has lost the affection and admiration of some segment of the Muslim populace. He died in the battle of Camel in 36 A.H. El1, VIII, pp. 640-1.

503 Sirah, I, pp. 164-5; Muluk, II, p. 317.
504 Sirah, I, p. 293.
mosque was purchased and the rest of it was said to have been utilized in the settlement of the emigrants.\footnote{505}

After the migration, ‘Abd al-Rahmān b ‘Awf was brothered with Sa‘īd b al-Rabi‘ of the Banū al-Ḥārith, by the Prophet. It has been said that he (‘Abd al-Rahmān b ‘Awf) declined to take a share in the wealth of his brother, instead asked the Anṣār to show him the way to the market, in order to trade. It was reported that he went for trading in the market of Banū Qaynuqā‘.\footnote{507} On the first day of his trading, he returned with a profit in the form of dried yoghurt and butter.\footnote{508}

This appears to indicate that, soon after their arrival in Medina, some of the emigrants engaged in trade and business in the markets around Medina. As Watt says: "It appears that the emigrants, especially the wealthier among them, were engaged in various trade".\footnote{509} However, opportunity in the markets in Medina were limited, since the traders there were all established in their tradings and they would naturally not wish to encourage competition from any other person. This was particularly the case in markets run by the Jews. To overcome this, it seems that the Prophet attempted to establish a market (exclusively) for the emigrants.

\footnote{506} Muḥabbār, p. 72. He is Sa‘īd b al-Rabi‘ al-Ḥarshi al-‘Āmri. He was called Abū Zayd al-Harawi al-Baṣrī. He died in 211 A.H. Tahdhib, IV, p. 27. 
\footnote{508} al-Bukhārī, Sahih, trans. by Dr. Muḥsin Khan, IV, p. 81 - 3. 
\footnote{509} Watt, pp. 250-1.
There are several reports which seem authentic from Ibn Shabbah and Ibn Zubâlah which give an account of this. This was another reason for the enmity which arose between the Prophet and Ka‘b b al-Ashraf. Ibn Shabbah reports:

"The Prophet pitched a tent in the Baqi‘ al-Zubayr and said: This is your market. Then Ka‘b b al-Ashraf came up, entered inside and cut the ropes. The Prophet then said: Indeed, I shall move it into a place which will be more grievous for him than this place. And he moved into the place of the 'market of Medina'. Then he said: This is your market. Do not set up sections in it, and do not impose taxes for it."  

The Prophet first selected Baqi‘ al-Zubayr, but Ka‘b Ibn Ashraf objected. This objection obviously was one of the reasons for the clash between the Prophet and Ka‘b. Kister suggests that this clash indicated that Ka‘b considered the establishment of the new market as a competition to the existing one of Banû Qaynuqâ‘. 

A report from Ibn Shabbah from ‘Atâ‘ b Yasâr says that:

510 Wafa‘, I, p. 540. Ka‘b b al-Ashraf was a Medinan opponent of the Prophet. He was killed by Muḥammad b Maslamah and several others including his foster-brother in 3 or 4 A.H. EJ, IV, p. 583.
512 Wafa‘, I, p. 540; Kister, the Market of the Prophet, p. 274.
513 Kister, the Market of the Prophet, p. 276.
514 He is ‘Atâ‘ b Yasâr al-Hilâlî, popularly known as Abû Muḥammad al-Madâni al-Qâsh. He was born in 19 A.H. He was also the mawlâ of Maymûnah (the wife of the Prophet). He is the brother of Sulaymân, ‘Abd Mâlik and ‘Abd Allâh b Yasâr. According to al-Wâqidi, he died in the year 103 or 104 A.H. at the age of 94.
"When the Prophet decided to establish a market in Medina, he came to the market of Banū Qaynuqā‘, and he stamped his foot and said: 'this is your market, let there be no restrictions (on people trading in it) and let no taxes be imposed'"515

There is another report on the authority of Ibn Asīd516 that one man came to the Prophet and proposed a new market place. The Prophet visited and stamped his foot on it and said: "this is your market, it might not be diminished nor might a tax be imposed"517

Finally, Ibn Zubālah reported from ‘Abbās b Sahl518 that the Prophet asked Banū Sā‘idah to give him their cemetry, and, with their consent, he made a market there. It soon developed to such an extent that it satisfied the needs of the rapidly developing Medina. This early market extended from the house of Ibn Abī Dhi‘b519 up to the house of Zayd Ibn Thābit,520 where there was the market called al-Baṭḥā’.521

Whereas Ibn Sa‘d says that he passed away in 103 A.H. at the age of 84 at Iskandariyyah. Wafâyāt, II, p. 399; Tahdhib, VII, pp. 217-8.

515 Shabbah, I, p. 304.
516 Unable to identify.
517 Wafā‘, I, p. 540.
518 He is ‘Abbās b Sahl b Sa‘d al-Sā‘idi. Born in the reign of ‘Umar and it is said that at the time of the death of ‘Uthmān, he was 15 years of age. He is considered as one of the authentic Traditionists by Nisā‘i. He passed away in Medina during the reign of al-Wālīd b ‘Abd al-Malik, i.e., approximately in the year 120 A.H. Cf. Tahdhib, V, pp. 118-9.
520 Wafā‘, I, p. 540; He is Zayd b Thābit b al-Ḍahḥāk b Zayd b Lawdhān b ‘Amr b ‘Abd Manāf (or ‘Awf) b Ghanm b Mālik b al-Najjār al-Anṣārī al-Khazraji. He
whole market including al-Baṭḥā’ seems to have became known as Baqī‘ al-Khayl.522

It seems that, in order to facilitate the Muslims ability to trade in this market, the Prophet established it as charitable endowment.523 Therefore, the pious caliph ‘Umar b ‘Abd al-‘Azīz524 is reported to have forbidden the levying of any fees in the market, on the ground that it was a charitable endowment (sūq sadaqah).525 The idea of sūq sadaqah may indicate that the Prophet tried to adopt the practice of the market at Ukāz where taxes were not imposed.526

It is noticeable that the Qur’ān still emphasized the prohibition of fraud and cheating by using false weights,527 and measures528 and selling

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was one of the companions of the Prophet, in the compilation of the Qur’ān. He died in 45 A.H. EI1, VIII, pp. 1194-5.

521 Wafā’, I, p. 540.
522 Shabbah, I, pp. 306.
523 Ibid., I, p. 304; Wafā’, I, p. 540.
524 He is ‘Umar b ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b Marwān b al-Ḥakam, known as Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ashajj. The Umayyad Caliph. He was born in Medina in the year 63 A.H. Through his mother he was a descendant of ‘Umar I. Her name was Umm ‘Āṣim bint ‘Umar b al-Khaṭṭāb. ‘Umar b ‘Abd al-‘Azīz married his cousin, Fatimah bint ‘Abd al-Malik. He was appointed as governor of the Hijāz by al-Walid I in Safar 99 A.H. where he settled. He passed away in Rajab 101 A.H at the age of 39 years and 6 months and was buried in Dayr Sim‘ān (Ḥims, Syria). Wafayāt, II, p. 539; V, p. 220; VI, pp. 287 & 301; EI1, VI, pp. 977-8.
525 Wafā’, I, p. 540.
528 al-Qur’ān, 6:152.
To ensure that this was prevented, the Prophet inspected the practice of the merchants in the Medinan market.\footnote{Qurtubi, XIV, p. 248.}

In order to ensure that the Muslim market run well, the Prophet himself used to check the goods. It was reported by Ibn Zubālah that, one day the Prophet went to the market and he saw the grain which had been packed to be sold. Then, it was revealed to him "put your hand in it (the foodstuffs)"). He inserted his hand in the sack and found that there were bad grains at the bottom of the sack. After realizing that the man was concealing defects and cheating, the Prophet said that "Surely, whoever deceives, in business transactions, is not (or does not behave like) one of us.\footnote{al-Šaḥīḥ, I, p. 45.} The following Tradition indicates that traders have to be fair in measuring and weighing goods.

"O Muhājirūn (emigrants)! There are five things which may befall on you and I pray to God that you may escape from them: Moral decay never openly shows itself among a people but they suffer from disease such as their fathers have never known; they do not use light weights and measures but they are smitten by famine and the injustice of rulers..."\footnote{Sirah, IV, p. 205.}

On the Prophet's arrival at Medina, his camel came to a halt in the settlement of Banū al-Najjār.\footnote{The fact that the Prophet had a great-grandmother in the household of al-Najjār, Salmā bint 'Amr, could have been the justification for his decision to live among them.} The house belonged to Abū Ayyūb al-
Anṣārī, with whom he stayed for seven months, first occupying the ground floor, but later, at his host’s insistence, moved upstairs while his own house was being built. He had decided to build his own private chambers, with a special place for worship as well as giving instructions as soon as he arrived in Medina. With the money provided by Abū Bakr, he bought a plot of land belonging to two orphans. This land had previously been used for drying dates, and was covered with palm-trees, thorny bushes and tombs. To clear the land, the palm-trees were cut down and bones from burials were moved elsewhere. The Prophet himself took part in the actual construction work, along with volunteers from both the emigrants and the Anṣār. In particular, this provided work for many of the emigrants, who were without the opportunities for work in Medina. The Prophet encouraged them to work, amongst these emigrants was ‘Ammār b Yāsir. Among those who participated in the building was a skilled workman from Ḥadramawt, who was left in charge of mixing the mud, which was dug at a place called Baqi‘ al-Khabkhabah.

Thus, the building constructed was primarily residential. As such its structure was very simple. It merely consisted of a courtyard

534 He is Abū Ayyūb Khālid b Zayd al-Anṣārī, standard bearer of the Prophet, died of dysentery under the walls of Constantinople during the siege of the city by the Arabs in 52 A.H. Ṭabaqāt, III, p. 484.

535 Wafā’, I, p. 188 ; Unuf, IV, p. 236 ; Al-Bidayah wa ‘l-Nihayah, III, pp. 201-2.


537 Sirah, I, p. 297 ; EI², VI, pp. 645-6.


539 Watt, pp. 199 & 305.
with walls around it. Hasan Ibn Thābit gives some account of this building which leaves no doubt that, this early building constructed by the Prophet, seven months after his arrival in Medina, was regarded as a *masjid* during his own lifetime.\textsuperscript{540}

In the construction of the mosque, the Prophet thought of his poor Companions, thus long colonnades in the Mosque, known as *suffah*, were reserved for Muslim refugees. They had to migrate empty-handed, and thus, when they had reached Medina, they needed financial support. *Suffah* itself means a vestibule of a house or of a building for shade and shelter which was open in front with a long roof or ceiling.\textsuperscript{541} It was situated on the northern side of the mosque of the Prophet.\textsuperscript{542}

Since the *suffah* was built as a shelter for the homeless companions, many poor people used to live in the *suffah*, tents and huts were erected in the mosque, used for example by converted and liberated prisoners, another by the Banū Ghifār, in whose tent Sa‘d b Mu‘ādh\textsuperscript{543} died of his wounds.\textsuperscript{544} Al-Samhūdī quotes Ibn Ḥajar’s view that the *suffah* was a shaded area at the end of the Prophet’s mosque which


\textsuperscript{542} \textit{EI}\textsuperscript{2}, pp. 645-6.

\textsuperscript{543} He is Sa‘d b Mu‘ādh b al-Nu‘mān b Imru’ al-Qays b Zayd b ‘Abd al-Ashhal al-Anṣārī al-Awsī. Popularly known as Abū ‘Amr. He was the chief of Banū al-Ashhal in Medina. He died of wound which he gained during the battle of Khandaq in 5 A.H. \textit{EI}\textsuperscript{1}, VII, p. 30; \textit{Tahdhib}, III, pp. 481-2.

\textsuperscript{544} \textit{EI}\textsuperscript{2}, pp. 645-6.
provided a shelter for the refugees, who were homeless and had no families. In support of this, a narration from Abū Nu‘aym says that this ṣuffah was provided for the ḍu‘afā‘ of the Muslims.\textsuperscript{545} Thus the purpose of the building of the ṣuffah was to lodge fuqarā‘ among the companions. The people who lived there were called ahl al-ṣuffah, or the ašhāb al-ṣuffah (people of the bench). Al-Qurtubî cites al-Bukhārî’s\textsuperscript{546} description of the ahl al-ṣuffah as having no work and wealth. They were not engaged in trade nor did they have work on the land. Sometimes they were described as the guests of Islam.\textsuperscript{547} Their numbers varied, sometimes a few and sometimes many.\textsuperscript{548} However, according to al-Qurtubî, the number of early emigrants were only a hundred men.\textsuperscript{549} Among them there stands out ‘Ammār, Salmān,\textsuperscript{550} Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī\textsuperscript{551}, Abū Hurayrah and other Companions who transmitted a number of Traditions.

\textsuperscript{545} Wafā’, I, p. 421.

\textsuperscript{546} He is Muḥammad b Ismā‘îl b Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ju‘fī al-Bukhārī. He was born in 194 A.H at al-Bukhārā. He began to study Tradition at the age of eleven. And at the age of sixteen, he made the pilgrimage and attended the lectures of the most famous teachers of Tradition in Mecca and Medina. He died at Baṣrah in 256 A.H. \textit{EI}, I, pp. 783-4 ; Wafayāt, IV, pp. 188-91.

\textsuperscript{547} Qurtubî, VIII, p. 108.

\textsuperscript{548} Lane, p. 1694 ; Wafā’, I, p. 421.

\textsuperscript{549} Qurtubî, XVIII, p. 20 ; ‘Umar al-Shuhrawardî, ‘Awārif al-Ma‘ārif, (Cairo, 1971), p. 16.

\textsuperscript{550} He is a companion of the Prophet. The date of his death has been placed in between 35 and 36 A.H. \textit{EI}, VII, pp. 116-7.

\textsuperscript{551} He is Jundub b Junādah al-Rabadhi. He was a companion of the Prophet and one of the best Traditionists of Islam. He died in al-Rabadha, a neighbourhood of Medina, in the year 32 A.H. \textit{EI}, I, p. 83.
It was reported that these people did not have enough food. There are several Traditions which mention these conditions. Therefore, the Prophet himself felt responsible for providing food for the growing number of impoverished refugees, who lived at his very door. It was seldom that those who lived in these dwellings adjoining the mosque could ever have enough to eat. The Prophet used to say: "The food of one is enough for two, the food of two is enough for four, and the food of four is enough for eight." A Tradition from Ṭalḥah b ‘Amr al-Naḍrī shows that, the people of suffah only used to eat dates when their stomachs become painful as a result of hunger. They complained to the Prophet. As a result, the Prophet gave a sermon asking the wealthier Muslims to provide some food for the people of suffah.

The Prophet himself apparently invited some poor followers to share his meal, but this probably happened only occasionally. He also used to send them some portion from his table and others followed his example. If the Prophet received any gift or hadiyah, he would share that gift with them. On the other hand, if there was a ṣadaqah, the Prophet used to give it all to them. A Tradition from Abū Hurayrah

553 Unable to identify him, possibly belongs to the tribe of al-Naḍir.
555 The difference between the Šadaqah and Hadiyyah is that Šadaqah is given because the need of the person to whom it is given is taken into consideration, while Hadiyyah is given for honour and respect. Therefore, the latter is more conducive to friendship and love. See Nāṣīf, al-Tāj al-Jāmi‘ li ’l-Uṣūl Fi Aḥādīth al-Rasūl, (Cairo, 1975), II, p. 33 & V, p. 180.
shows that these people (ahl al-suffah) had no proper clothes, but only enough for them to cover themselves (‘awrat).\textsuperscript{557} As well as the institution of brotherhood, the Prophet also urged the wealthier Ansār to hang a bunch of dates in the mosque which could provide some sustenance for the masākīn.\textsuperscript{558} Besides, there are verses which urge the wealthier Muslims to help his brothers. Verses 2:267 and 25:67 are suggested to have been revealed to encourage the Ansār to help the poor emigrants, especially ahl al-suffah.\textsuperscript{559}

Al-Barrā’ b ‘Āzīb\textsuperscript{560} reported that the verse (2:267)\textsuperscript{561} was revealed to encourage the Ansār to contribute the best quality dates after harvesting. As already mentioned that, they would hang dates in the Prophet’s mosque for the benefit of the fuqarā’ muhājirīn. However, there was a man who intentionally mixed up the second rate dates in

\textsuperscript{557} Wafā’, I, p. 422.
\textsuperscript{558} Ibid., p. 425.
\textsuperscript{559} Tafsīr, III, pp. 80-1.
\textsuperscript{560} He is al-Barrā’ b ‘Āzīb b al-Ḥārith b ‘Adī b Jashm b Mujdi’ah b Ḥarīthah b al-Ḥārith b ‘Amr b Mālik b al-Awsi al-Ansāri al-Awsi, known as Abū ‘Ammārah. He was one of those who were not included in the Badr expedition due to his tender age. It is said that he took part in 14-15 expeditions along with the Prophet and has travelled with the Prophet about 18 journeys. He conquered Ray in the year 24 A.H. He took part in the battle of Tustar along with Abū Musā al-‘Ash’ārī and also took part, along with ‘Ali, in the battles of Jamāl and Siffin and in the killing of the Khawārijītes. He died in the house of Mu‘āḥ b Zubayr in Kufah in the year 72 A.H. al-Iṣābah, I, p. 142.

\textsuperscript{561} "O ye who believe! Give of the good things which ye have (honourably) earned, and of the fruits of the earth which We have produced for you, and do not even aim at getting anything which is bad, in order that out of it ye may give away something, when ye yourself would not receive it except with closed eye...."
order to make it more. Therefore this verse was revealed to stop the practice.\textsuperscript{562} The calls for contributions were made throughout the Prophet's time in Medina. They were made to deal with the different economic problems which arose. For the moment our concern is for the early period, when the emigrants first arrived in Medina.

Sūrah 25:67\textsuperscript{563} however, emphasises that this contribution (\textit{anfīqū}) should not be too extravagant. Ibn ‘Abbās comments that the Believers should not be wasteful in his contribution, and also not withhold God's right (command).\textsuperscript{564} According to Yazīd b Abū Ḥabīb,\textsuperscript{565} this verse refers to those who had no good clothes to wear and did not eat good food. They only needed clothes to cover their bodies (\textit{ʻawrat}), and to protect them from the heat and the cold, while the food they needed was to prevent them from starving and to enable them to obey God.\textsuperscript{566} This interpretation is supported by Ibn Zayd who describes the predicament of the poor Muslims in much the same way as Yazīd b Abū Ḥabīb.\textsuperscript{567}

Al-Qurṭubi gives several opinions. The first meaning of this verse is whoever contributes (for his own esteem) and not for God's purpose

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{562} \textit{Tafsir}, III, p. 83.
\item \textsuperscript{563} "Those who, when they spend, are not extravagant and not niggardly, but hold a just (balance) between those (extremes)"
\item \textsuperscript{564} \textit{Tafsir}, XIX, p. 37.
\item \textsuperscript{565} He is Suwayd b al-Azdi. Both father and son were the \textit{mawlā} of Abū Rajā‘ al-Miṣrī. He died in the year 128 A.H. at the age of 75. According to Ibn Lahi‘ah, he was born in 53 A.H. \textit{Tahdhib}, XI, pp. 318-9.
\item \textsuperscript{566} \textit{Tafsir}, XIX, pp. 38-9; Qurṭubi, XIII, p. 73.
\item \textsuperscript{567} Qurṭubi, XIII, p. 73.
\end{itemize}
was extravagant, while whoever withholds his wealth and did not obey God is considered as niggardly. However, whoever contributes his wealth in obedience to God is regarded as moderate. The second meaning is that whoever contributes (anfaq) 1000 which he can afford is not called extravagant, but, whoever contributes a dirham which he cannot afford is extravagant and whoever withholds what he could afford is niggardly.568

In more specific terms, ahl al-ṣuffah can be described as the fuqarā' par excellence of the emigrants, who could also be termed fuqarā' as noted above. They were called ahl al-ṣuffah because they did not have a permanent place to stay.569 They lived in the Prophet's mosque as a temporary settlement. Once they had a job or a house, they would leave the ṣuffah.

The need for contributions to be made to support some of the Muslims, particularly the poorer emigrants is emphasised by Sūrah 2 verse 177. In this verse, the word zakāh is mentioned, but it is an early Medinan revelation and does not refer to zakāh as the institutional practice which it later became. Thus it should be merely understood as a contribution freely given. In fact, Bell suggests that the verse has been amended to incorporate the word zakāh.570 The verse reads:

568 Ibid., pp. 72-3.
569 Tafsir, XIV, p. 309.
570 Bell, I, p. 24; Although al-Qurṭubi gives some opinions to this verse, he is inclined to support that, it refers to a free contribution. Qurṭubi, II, pp. 241-2.
"... righteous is he who believeth in Allah and the Last Day and the Angels and the Scripture and the Prophets and giveth his wealth (atā al-māl) for love of Him, to kinsfolk (dhū al-qurbā) and orphans and the needy (masākin) and the wayfarer (ibn al-sabīl) and those who ask (sā’ilūn) and to set slaves free and observerth proper worship and giveth contributions (zakāh) ...

This verse lists some of the principal needs of the community in this early phase of its development in Medina. Although the commentators normally designate the term dhū al-qurbā as referring to the Prophet's family,571 they do not give any specific indication as to which "relative", the term here refers to. It seems likely that, as there is no mention of giving to the Prophet in this verse, that dhū al-qurbā does not refer to the Prophet's family here but to the relatives of Muslims. In other words Muslims are being encouraged to support their poorer relatives. Orphans are also mentioned, but this is merely an Islamic reinforcement of proper human conduct. The poor are mentioned by the term masākin, a general word for "poor people" that was used in Mecca and is not specifically Islamic, though here clearly the poor Muslims are of primary concern.572 Commentators have generally regarded "the wayfarer" (ibn al-sabīl) as travellers and have tended to emphasise the pre-Islamic practice of diya'ah.573 From the previous discussion in Chapter 1, we have followed Bell's suggestion that, in the Qur'ān the reference is made to Muslim emigrants, who travelled later than the first

572 Refer to the discussion in Chapter 1.
573 Qurṭūbī, II, p. 241; IX, p. 64; XIV, p. 35.
Muhājirīn to Medina, and had no way of returning. They are people who have suffered by adhering to the Muslim community.574 "Those who ask" refer to beggars,575 and who may or may not be Muslims.

This call for charitable support is repeated in another early Medinan verse.

"They will ask thee (for) what they should contribute say: "The good which you have contributed (anfaqtum) is for parents and relatives (aqrabīn), orphans, the poor (masākīn) and the wayfarers (ibn al-sabil) ..."576

Again the first emphasis is on charitable giving to such people as one’s family and orphans. The poor, who must include the poor Muslim both emigrants and Anṣār should also be the objects of voluntary contributions. Finally, following Bell’s above interpretation, there should be concern for the wayfarers, (i.e.: the new Muslim emigrants).577

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574 Bell, I, p. 24.
575 Tafsīr, II, p. 347.
577 Bell, I, p. 24.
Ribā and its prohibition.578

It is probable that charitable donations were not enough to sustain the Muslims in those early difficult days in Medina. The Prophet himself seems to have taken loans from people in Medina, perhaps even from the Jews. Even at the first time of his death, it was reported that the Prophet’s armour was being held by a Jew as a surety (rahn) against a loan; in this case the loan was in food.579 It is possible that some of the Muslims incurred debts on a ribā basis with Medinans, both Arab and Jewish.

It is probably in this context that the Qur’ān begins to denounce usury. The first attack on ribā is probably in 30:39

"That which ye lay out for increase through the property of (other) people, (ribā li yarbū) will have no increase (yarbū) with God ..."

Bell has dated this verse as an early Medinan one and it was before the fixation of zakāh as an institution.580 Here the giving of charity is shown to be favoured by God while ribā has no favour with Him.

In verse 4:161

"That they took (ribā) usury, though they were forbidden; and that they devoured men’s substance wrongfully; we have

578 See pp. 98-103 & 126-7.
579 Shawkānī, V, p. 194.
580 Cf. chapter zakāh.
prepared for those among them who reject faith a grievous punishment",
the fact that the Jews were forbidden to take ribā was noted and they were threatened with punishment in the hereafter for doing so. This probably refers to the period around the time of Badr when the Prophet was engaged in controversy with the Jews.

The denunciation of usury is more generally made in verse 2:275:

"Those who devour usury (ribā) will not stand except as stands one whom the evil one by his touch hath driven to madness. That is because they say: "Trade is like usury (ribā)", but God hath permitted trade and forbidden usury (ribā). Those who after receiving direction from their Lord, desist, shall be pardoned for the past; their case is for God (to judge); but those who repeat (the offence) are companions of the fire: they will abide therein (for ever)".

In this verse, it is clear that, the prohibition of usury does not only apply to the Jews but to all people. However, the verse is still an early Medinan one and the Prophet did not have the power to make this prohibition effective to those who did not accept Islam.

The demand for all to cease practising usury is made more strongly in 2:278:

"O ye who believe! Fear God, and give up what remains of your demand for usury (ribā), if ye are indeed believers".

Perhaps, this verse was revealed after Badr and the expulsion of the Banū Qaynuqā' 582 and became a law in Medina. Verse 2:282 outlines the procedures to be followed in contracting a debt. 583 How effective the change in loan procedure was at that time is uncertain. In verse 3:130;

"O Ye who believe! Devour not usury (ribā), doubled and multiplied; but fear God; that ye may (really) prosper", the taking of excessive interest through usury is again condemned. This verse was revealed, according to Bell, between the battle of Uḥud and the expulsion of the Banū al-Naḍir. It has the implication that usury was still being practised in Medina.

582 Cf. pp. 175-82.
583 "O ye who believe! When ye deal with each other, in transactions involving future obligations in a fixed period of time. Reduce them to writing let a scribe write down faithfully as between the parties: Let not the scribe refuse to write: As God has taught him, so let him write. Let him who incurs the liability dictate, but let him fear His Lord God, and not diminish aught of what he owes: if the party liable is mentally deficient, or weak, or unable himself to dictate, let his guardian dictate faithfully. And get two witnesses, out of your own men, and if there are not two men, then a man and two women, such as ye choose, for witnesses, so that if one of them errs, the other can remind her. The witnesses should not refuse when they are called on (for evidence). Disdain not to reduce to writing (your contract) for a future period, whether it be small or big: it is juster in the sight of God, more suitable as evidence, and more convenient to prevent doubts among yourselves but if it be a transaction which ye carry out on the spot among yourselves, there is no blame on you if ye reduce it not to writing. But take witnesses whenever ye make a commercial contact; and let neither scribe nor witness suffer harm. If ye do (such harm), it would be wickedness in you. So fear God; for it is God that teaches you. And God is well acquainted with all things".
It was only in the Prophet's farewell speech in Mecca, that the prohibition of usury throughout Arabia was made;

"... He who has a pledge let him return it to him who entrusted him with it, all usury is abolished, but you have your capital. Wrong not and you shall not be wronged. God has decreed that there is to be no usury and the usury of 'Abbās b 'Abd al-Muţţalib is abolished, all of it. All blood shed in the pagan period is to be left unavenged...."\[584\]

The first raid

In addition to the establishment of a market in Medina, the Prophet tried to find another way to alleviate poverty among the early emigrants. The policy which he adopted to help provide some economic help to the Muslims was that of raids.

It seems that it was not until the mosque was built, that the Prophet considered it necessary to divert the emigrants' attention to other activities. Perhaps, this indicates that most of those who could not trade in the markets were engaged in the building of the mosque. After the completion of the mosque, it seems that he was able to transfer his attentions and some of the emigrants' energies towards his relationship with Mecca and some of the tribes in the adjacent territories. He began to send out a series of expeditions.

\[584\] *Sirah*, II, p. 390; Ibn Isĥaql, p. 651.
Some of these expeditions did not bear any fruit and some provided a large amount of booty to be divided up among the Muslims. The booty taken from these expeditions was regarded as a part of the method which the Prophet followed in Medina in the alleviation of poverty.

During the twelve months between the first expedition and the battle of Badr, eight expeditions had taken place. The two leading authorities, Ibn Hishām and al-Wāqidi are agreed on the expeditions but differ slightly on their order and dates.

According to al-Wāqidi, the first expedition was the expedition of Ḥamzah b 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib in Ramaḍān, 7 months after the migration. There were only 30 participants in this expedition who proceeded to Sayf al-Baḥr. According to Ibn Hishām, all of them were emigrants and there was no Anṣār involved. It seems that the motive was to threaten the Qurayshi caravans on their route. The Qurayshi caravan, which consisted of 300 Meccan Quraysh mounted on camels under the leadership of Abū Jahl, came from Syria to Mecca. It was much too strong for the small raiding party to attack but the threat was made clear to the Meccans.

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585 The prophet's uncle. Ḥamzah was described as a valiant soldier. This quality won him the title of 'lion of God and His Prophet'. He was killed at the battle of Uhud, at the age of 57-9. EI1, III, pp. 254-5.
586 Ibn Ishāq makes this the first but Ibn Hishām concedes that there is some disagreement about this and even suggests that the first two raids took place at the same time. Sirah, I, pp. 360-362.
587 Maghāzī, p. 10; Muluk, II, pp. 402 & 404.
588 Sirah, I, p. 362; Unuf, IV, p. 56.
589 Maghāzī, p. 9.
The exemption of *Ansār* is revealed in a report from Ibn al-Musayyib and ‘Abd al-Rahmān b Sa‘īd b Yarbū‘⁵⁹⁰ and ‘Abd al-Rahmān b ‘Iyāsh⁵⁹¹ who maintained that the Prophet did not send any *Ansār* for the early expeditions until he himself participated in the battle of Badr.⁵⁹² Or perhaps, more likely, when he himself led an expedition, as will be seen later in the discussion.

The second expedition was led by ‘Ubaydah b al-Ḥarīth.⁵⁹³ He was sent in Shawwāl 8 months after the migration to the place called Rābigh, which was situated ten miles away from al-Juḥfah. ‘Ubaydah led 60 men. Sa‘d b Abī Waqqās⁵⁹⁴ reports that all of the participants were from

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⁵⁹² *Maghāzi*, pp. 9-10.

⁵⁹³ Ibn Hishām says that al-Ḥarīth. *Sirah*, I, p. 360. He is ‘Ubaydah b al-Ḥarīth b al-Muṭṭalib b ‘Abd Maḥāf al-Qurashi al-Muṭṭalibī. He was one of the early converts. He was one of the leaders of Banū ‘Abd Maḥāf at that time together with al-‘Abbās and his brothers. They were closely connected with the Prophet in Mecca. Then he migrated and took part in Badr. He was a prominent personality alongwith Ḥamzah, ‘Utbah b Rabi‘ah and al-Walid. He participated in the battle of Badr and wounded thereof. He died afterwards at Ṣafrah’. *al-Isābah*, II, p. 449.

⁵⁹⁴ He was an Arab general. His father was Mālik b Wuhayb b ‘Abd Maḥāf b Zuhrah b Kilāb b Murrah. Sa‘d became a Muslim at the age of seventeen. He was one of the oldest companions of the Prophet. He died in 50 or 55 A.H. at the age of 70. He is said to have left a vast wealth behind him. *EI*, VII, pp. 29-30.
Quraysh. This refers to the emigrants. Ibn Hishām quotes Ibn Ishaq and insists that all of them were emigrants. Although it is alleged by both al-Waqidi and Ibn Hishām that, they were riding camels, clearly what is meant is that, the sixty men were sharing in the riding of camels. At this stage, the emigrants certainly did not have sufficient camels for each man to ride one of his own. This is made clear by the methods used in the subsequent early raids. In addition, we are also informed that the raiders had insufficient arrows. The Qurayshi caravan consisted of 200 men, who were under Abū Sufyān b Ḥarb’s leadership. There was no fighting, because, again Quraysh were too numerous and too well-armed for the raiding party. However, it is reported, that in this expedition, Sa‘d b Abi Waqqāṣ was the one who shot an arrow, and this is considered as the first arrow shot in Islam.

The third expedition was under the leadership of Sa‘d b Abi Waqqāṣ. The troop was sent to al-Kharrār in Dhū al-Qa‘dah, 9 months after the migration. Al-Kharrār was in al-Juḥfah and near Khum. There were only 20 or 21 men in this expedition, all of them walking. It is said that, they walked at night time until dawn and rested during the day-time. This journey took 5 days. Al-Waqidi did not mentioned whether the men were emigrants or Anṣār. However, it is

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595 Maghāzi, p. 10.
596 Sirah, I, p. 360; Unuf, IV, p. 52.
597 Maghāzi, p. 10.
598 Ibid., pp. 10-11; Muluk, II, p. 404.
599 Some authorities say that this expedition took place after the expedition of Hamzah, but Ibn Ishaq says that this was the fifth expedition. Sirah, I, p. 365.
600 Maghāzi, p. 11.
very likely, as already mentioned, that all of them were emigrants. Ibn Hishām specified that only 8 emigrants participated in this expedition, not 20 or 21 as al-Wāqīḍī mentioned. This expedition again achieved nothing but a demonstration of the Muslim presence in Medina and their determination.

The fourth expedition was led by the Prophet in Ṣafar, after 12 months of the migration, to al-Abwā' In this ghazwah which the Prophet led. Al-Abwā' is 20 miles between al-Juḥfah and Medina. They remained there for fifteen nights. Ibn Hishām named this expeditions as ghazwah Waddān. It appears that on this occasion, the raid was not part of the policy of harassing Quraysh. It was an attempt to extend the influence of the Prophet and the Muslims in the area around Medina. The Prophet made a treaty of friendship with the Banū Ḏamrah b Bakr b ‘Abd Manāt b Kīnānah. Perhaps, this was the reason why the Prophet went on this expedition. The fact that the Prophet was now making treaties indicates the extension of his influence and the influence of Islam both within Medina and beyond it. Neither of the principal authorities indicate the number of Ansār who took part in this

602 *Sirah*, I, p. 365; *Unuf*, IV, p. 61.
603 Since the Rabī‘ al-Awwal (the month of the Prophet arrival in Medina) is counted as the first month, therefore, Ṣafar should be the twelfth month, and not eleventh as al-Wāqīḍī claims.
605 *Maghāzi*, pp. 11-12.
606 *Sirah*, I, p. 360.
expedition, but, if the Prophet himself was leading it and if its purpose was to make a treaty, then it is likely that a number of Anṣār might have taken part.

After 13 months of migration, in Rabī’ al-Awwal, according to Ibn Isḥāq, the Prophet led an expedition to Buwāṭ which is near Juḥfah.608 Al-Wāqidi does not mention that the Prophet led this expedition. While Ibn Hishām gives no detail information about the raid, al-Wāqidi tells us that the purpose was to attack a caravan of Quraysh. It was a large caravan under the leadership of Umayyah b Khalaf with 100 men of Quraysh and 2500 camels.609 Had the Prophet intended to attack this caravan, he would, probably, have taken a substantial force with him. Neither Ibn Hishām nor al-Wāqidi give any indication of numbers. However, al-Ṭabari, citing al-Wāqidi, mentions two hundred Muslims in the expedition. This must have included Anṣār as well as emigrants. If that number is correct, this was the first attempt to use real force against the Meccans. However, Quraysh seemed to have managed to avoid them and they returned to Medina empty-handed.610

The sixth expedition, which took place in Rabī’ al-Awwal 13 months after the emigration is particularly interesting. This expedition shows that the Prophet and the emigrants were defending Medinan

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608 Maghāzi, p. 12; Sirah, I, p. 364.
609 Maghāzi, p. 12; Sirah, I, p. 364.
610 Maghāzi, p. 12; Sirah, I, p. 364.
interests. Kurz b Jābir al-Fihrī,⁶¹¹ had raided the herds of Medina. The Prophet and a band of emigrants, pursued them.⁶¹² They reached the place called Safawān, but failed to catch up with Jābir and returned to Medina. This is also known as the expedition of Badr al-Ūlā.⁶¹³

After 16 months in Medina, in Jamād al-Ākhīr, a seventh expedition took place under the Prophet's leadership.⁶¹⁴ This expedition was known as Dhū al-‘Ushayrah. Dhū al-‘Ushayrah was situated between Mecca and Medina. It is claimed that the purpose of the expedition was to intercept a Meccan caravan, either going to or coming from Syria.⁶¹⁵ According to al-Wāqīḍī, the Prophet went out with 150 of his Companions and another version suggests that the number was two hundred.⁶¹⁶ Neither Ibn Hishām nor al-Wāqīḍī specify whether the emigrants or Anṣār were the participants or not. However, al-Ṭabarī suggests that only emigrants participated in this troop under the Prophet's command.⁶¹⁷ However, the numbers, if correct, suggest that there must have been some Anṣār in it. It seems likely that except in the case of the expedition of Safawān whenever the Prophet himself led the troop, the participants were from both emigrants and Anṣār. If the

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⁶¹¹ He is Kurz b Jābir b Hasl b Lāhiba b Ḥābiba b ‘Amrab b Sufyān b Muḥārib Ibn Fihr al-Qurayshī al-Fihrī. He was one of the leaders of the Meccan Pagan before he become a Muslim. *al-Iṣābah*, III, pp. 290-1.


⁶¹⁴ *Maghāzi*, p. 12; *Muluk*, II, p. 408.


⁶¹⁶ *Maghāzi*, p. 12.

⁶¹⁷ *Muluk*, II, p. 408.
purpose was to intercept a Meccan caravan, and the numbers may indicate that it was, the Meccans again managed to escape. However, the fact that the Prophet went on to make a treaty of friendship with Banū Mudlij and their confederates from the Banū Ḍamrah,\textsuperscript{618} indicates that, there was at least a dual purpose in the expedition. This would also suggest the presence of Anšār.

The eighth expedition was the expedition to Nakhlah\textsuperscript{619} which took place in Rajab after 17 months of migration. ‘Abd Allāh b Jaḥsh\textsuperscript{620} was chosen to lead the expedition. This troop was sent out with sealed orders, and that letter could only be opened after two days of travel. That letter commanded the troop to march until Nakhlah which is a little to the north east of and a long way from Medina. It was on the caravan route to al-Ṭā’if.\textsuperscript{621} When this troop arrived at Nakhlah, they encountered a Qurashi caravan with only a few men accompanying it, and attacked them. It is reported that this caravan brought some raisins, food and khamr.\textsuperscript{622} They fought and took captives and booty. This seems to be the first booty taken from the expedition, and the goods together with the two captives were brought before the Prophet. However, they had to attack the caravan during the sacred month of Rajab, and one of the Muslims had even shaved his head as if he had performed ‘umrah. This

\textsuperscript{618} Sirah, I, p. 362 ; Muluk, II, pp. 405-6.

\textsuperscript{619} Nakhlah is situated between Mecca and Ṭā’if.

\textsuperscript{620} One of the first follower and nephew of the Prophet. ‘Abd Allāh belonged to those that had emigrated to Abyssinia and later came back to Medina. He took part in the battle of Badr and Uḥud and met his death in the latter. EI\textsuperscript{I}, I, p. 23.

\textsuperscript{621} See appendix, map no. 2.

\textsuperscript{622} Maghāzi, pp. 14-16 ; Muluk, II, p. 411.
led to some disputes later in Medina due to the fact that it took place in the sacred month of Rajab. These were laid to rest by a revelation justifying the attack.623

Although, there were several reports concerning the number of participants, eight, twelve or eighteen, al-Wāqidi and Ibn Hishām agree that the number of participants were only eight emigrants, and no Anṣār participated in it.624

The fact, that, Nakhlah was very close to Mecca and well away from Medina, indicates that the Prophet needed to gain some success from these raids. It is noticeable that the Meccan caravans which passed Medina had substantial numbers of guards who could only be attacked if there was a strong force of Muslims. This required the co-operation and participation of the Anṣār. A small raiding party of emigrants had little hope of success. In the raids where substantial numbers of Muslims took part, including almost certainly the Anṣār, the Prophet had always been in command. However, he did not have the time to concentrate his energy on such enterprises. Therefore, it was necessary to attack the Meccans in an area where they were not expecting an attack and where their caravans would be only lightly guarded. As a result, the raid was a success and much needed booty was brought back to Medina.

The fact that the orders, containing the destination to which the raiders were to go, were sealed indicates the clear possibility that there

623 al-Qurʾān, 3:217 & 191
624 Maghāzī, pp. 17-18; Sirah, I, p. 367; Shabbah, II, p. 472.
were Meccan agents in Medina who gave the Meccans prior notice of Muslim plans, so they could either increase the party or change the route. This may well account for the lack of Muslim success until Nakhlah. Another reason for the unsuccessful expeditions may have been lack of equipment, both animals for transport and arms. This would further underline the Prophet's call for contributions from those Muslims, particularly the Anṣār, who had sufficient money to help finance these campaigns. When the Qurʾān calls on Muslims to contribute their wealth in the cause of God (anfīqū fī sabīl Allāh), Ṣ26 clearly it is referring to more practical considerations than the normal giving of charity to the poor. In the early period of the Prophet's stay in Medina, i.e. till the time of Badr, the only real need for Muslim contributions, other than support for the poor, was to arm and provide means of transport for the emigrants, in particular, so that they could participate effectively in campaigns the Prophet was conducting against Mecca. This, of course, served two purposes, providing means to combat Meccan power and giving the emigrants the opportunity to provide some means of self-sufficiency through booty. The Prophet's share of this booty would, in turn, provide him with further means to alleviate the distress of poor Muslims.

In fact, al-Ṭabari reports that according to Ibn ʿAbbās, the words fī sabīl Allāh in the passage quoted specifically refer to jihād. Ṣ26 Al-Qurṭubi gives a similar interpretation, citing al-Tirmidhi. Ṣ27

625 al-Qurʾān, 2:195.
626 Ṣafsīr, II, p. 201.
The words *anfaqū fī sabīl Allāh* are repeated on several occasions in the Qurʾān, many of them are later than the early period in Mecca and indicate the constant need for support for campaigns, to defend Islam and combat the Meccans. Again in sūrah 2:261-2, those Muslims who contributed to the cause of God (*alladhīna yunfīqū amwālāhum fī sabīl Allāh*) are, promised rewards. This verse, probably, also, belongs to that early period.

The leader of the expedition to Nakhlah, ‘Abd Allah b Jaḥsh, had allocated a fifth of the booty to the Prophet, presumably following the pre-Islamic practice of giving a quarter or a fifth of the booty to the tribal leader, and he divided up the rest among himself and his companions. Al-Ṭabarānī makes it quite clear, and he seems to be quoting Ibn Ishāq, that the revelation which made it a duty for Muslims to allocate a fifth of the booty to the Prophet had not yet been revealed. As a result of the concern about the fact that the Muslim raiders had fought and killed in the month of Rajab, the Prophet felt obliged to withdraw from receiving any of the booty and impounded the caravan until a revelation confirmed that the raid was approved.

While there was still some concern about the raid at Nakhlah, the substantial booty which was brought back remained undivided.

628 *Sirah*, I, p. 367.
629 *EI* II, p. 1005.
However, when a revelation exonerated the raiders from any blame for using violence against the Meccans in the sacred month, the two prisoners whom the raiders brought back to Medina were ransomed by the Prophet and the booty was divided. It seems that the amount of forty ṣiqiyāh each was specified for the redemption, one ṣiqiyāh being equal to forty dirhams. Therefore, forty ṣiqiyāh realised 1600 dirhams for each person.632 If the Prophet took the fifth that ‘Abd Allāh b Juḥsh had set aside for him, he, presumably was still following pre-Islamic practice.

Badr and the distribution of booty

Shortly afterwards, the Muslims’ attention was turned to another Meccan caravan which was on its way back from Syria, under the leadership of Abū Sufyān. This caravan consisted of money and merchandise, however it was guarded by seventy horseman.633

The Prophet summoned the Muslims, both the emigrants and the Anṣār. He urged them to participate against the Qurayshi caravan with the hope that God will give it to them as booty. As a result, a number of Muslims, probably most of the emigrants and some of the Anṣār went out in answer to his urging, some eagerly and some reluctantly. Those who were reluctant, believed that the Prophet and this troop would be unable

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632 Malik, Muwaṭṭā’, I, p. 188; Sirah, p. 47; Maghāzi, p. 17.

633 Sirah, I, p. 369; According to Ibn Ishāq, he says that the caravan was guarded by thirty or forty men, this may be interpreted by some historians as being seventy of them. Unuf, V, pp. 81-2; Muluk, II, p. 421.
to take any booty. However, the presence of the booty from Nakhlah in Medina may have given them some incentive. As we have already noticed, the Prophet seems to have followed his usual tactics of using a combined force of emigrants and *Anṣār* against the heavily-armed Meccan caravans which had to pass in the vicinity of Medina. It seems possible that the wealthier *Anṣār* provided the daily provisions in addition to supporting some of the participants, particularly the emigrants, in terms of transportation and weapons. It was important for the Prophet to involve the *Anṣār* in such expeditions, not only because he needed them to attack the heavily-armed Qurashi-caravans but also because he must have wanted to involve Medina in his policy against Mecca. The Medinans had only promised in the treaty of ‘Aqabah to protect the Prophet while he was in Medina. If they took part in expeditions outside Medina against the Quraysh, they would be willingly extending that policy. The success of Nakhlah, and the revelation justifying it, may have influenced some of the *Anṣār* in their willingness to attack the caravan. They may have believed that, the booty would alleviate their poverty in Medina. From what the Prophet said, it seems to reveal that the purpose of this expedition was to gain a substantial amount of wealth. The Prophet clearly hoped that this would alleviate the poverty amongst the Muslims, especially the early emigrants, who were increasing in Medina.

According to al-Ṭabari, the Prophet led three hundred and ten Muslims, while other report says three hundred and thirteen Muslims.  

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634 Sirah, I, p. 369; Unuf, V, p. 82.
635 Muluk, II, p. 431.
According to al-Waqidi, the Muslim participants were three hundred and five, while eight of them were left behind for specific reasons.\textsuperscript{636} There were only seventy seven men from emigrants which was probably most of them, while the rest, about two hundred and thirty six, were from the \textit{Anṣār}.\textsuperscript{637} According to Ibn Ishaq, there were only 70 camels.\textsuperscript{638} Probably most of these were provided by the \textit{Anṣār}. To get to their destination, the Muslims had to take turns in riding them. Each camel was mounted by three or four people in turn, while the rest of them walked.\textsuperscript{639} It was also reported that the Muslims only possessed two or three horses, which belonged to Marthad b al-Ghanawi,\textsuperscript{640} Miqdād b 'Amr al-Bahrānī\textsuperscript{641} and al-Zubayr b al-'Awwām.\textsuperscript{642} This lack of camels

\textsuperscript{636} 3 from Emigrants and 5 from \textit{Anṣār} were given shares as participants. (See discussion later) This was because although they were unable to attend the expedition, they made a great effort for this expedition. They were 'Uthmān b 'Affān who was left to nurse his wife Ruqayyah, the Prophet's daughter, who was sick. While another two Emigrants, Ṭalḥah b 'Ubayd Allah and Sa'id b Zayd b 'Amir b Nufayl acting as spies investigating the caravan of Quraysh. Of the five \textit{Anṣār} 'Āṣim b 'Adī al-‘Ajlānī was made deputy over the people of al-‘Āliyah; al-Ḥāṭib al-‘Umari was sent back from al-Rawḥā during the course of their expedition to the Banū 'Amr b 'Awf; Khawwāt b Jubayr and al-Ḥarīth b Ṣimmah, broke their legs, were sent back from al-Rawḥā to Medina. \textit{Maghāzi}, I, pp. 23, 19-20, 100-5; Qurṭubi, VIII, pp. 15, 19-20; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, \textit{al-Istī‘āb}, I, pp. 110-1, 113 & 179; \textit{Ṭabaqāt}, II, p. 12; \textit{Imtā‘}, I, p. 95.


\textsuperscript{639} \textit{Maghāzi}, I, pp. 23-4; \textit{Unuf}, V, p. 89.

\textsuperscript{640} He is Marthad b Ābi Marthad al-Ghanawi. He and his father Kunāz took part in the battle of Badr. He attained martyrdom during the battle of al-Raji' in the year 3 A.H. \textit{al-Isābah}, III, p. 398.

\textsuperscript{641} \textit{Maghāzi}, I, p. 27; Ibn al-Qayyim, \textit{Zād al-Ma‘ād}, II, p. 85. Full name of Miqdād is al-Miqdād b al-Aswad al-Kindi Ibn 'Umar b Tha'labah b Mālik b Rabī'ah b 'Āmir b Maṭrūd al-Nahrānī al-Ḥadrāmī. He was popularly known as Ibn al-
and horses underlines the poorly-equipped state in which the Muslims, both emigrants and Ansār, were in.

Abū Sufyān, on his way towards the area of Medina, with this valuable Qurashi caravan, learnt that the Muslims were preparing to attack the caravan. According to Ibn Ishāq and al-Waqīdī,643 he learned this from people who had left Medina. However, as already mentioned, such information seems to have come to the Meccans fairly easily and they might have had spies in Medina. As is well known, he managed to avoid being attacked and brought the caravan safely to Mecca by taking a different route. However, before this, he had sent word to Mecca that he needed more forces to defend the caravan.644 This again emphasises that he was aware that the size of the Muslim force was much bigger than usual. When he arrived in Mecca, he advised the Meccans, who had set out to defend the caravan and had, in fact, missed it, that he had returned safely and they need no longer be concerned. Some were in favour of

Aswad and his kunniyah was Abū Amr of Abū Sa’d. He was one of the early converts. He married Ḍabā’ah bint Zubayr b ‘Abd Muṭṭalib, the daughter of the Prophet’s paternal uncle. He migrated twice and took part in the battle of Badr. He was the first Muslim to use horse in the fight in the way of God. He passed away in the reign of ‘Uthmān (33 A.H.) at the age of 70 years. al-Isābah, III, pp. 454-5.

642 Sirah, I, p. 407. Al-Zubayr b al-‘Awwām, a cousin and companion of the Prophet and one of the earliest converts to Islam. He is also a nephew of Khadijah bint Kuwaylid (the Prophet’s first wife). Died in the battle of the Camel (656 A.D.) at the age of 60-67. EI 1, VIII, pp. 1235-6.

643 Magḥāzī, I, p. 28 ; Sirah, I, pp. 369-40.

returning but the Meccans had sent out a very strong force and the leader Abū Jahl was determined to defeat the Muslims. In order to undermine those who preferred to return to Mecca, he reminded them of the blood-vengeance that they should take for the killing of one of their member in the raid made by the Muslims at Nakhlah.\(^{645}\) This argument won the day.

The result of the battle was a great Muslim victory, is well known. The Qur’ān emphasises the miraculous nature of the battle in its description of angels fighting alongside the Muslims to defeat the Meccan polytheists.\(^{646}\) When the battle was over, 70 Meccans were captured and the booty was taken from the Meccan camp which included camels, camp utensils and other implements (matā‘), leather and clothes.\(^{647}\)

It seems that before the Battle of Badr, the Prophet had promised particular rewards to individuals who managed to kill someone or took a prisoner.\(^{648}\)

It had been part of the customary law of Arabia that the leader of a tribe, which had successfully conducted a raid where from booty had been gained, should take a fourth or a fifth of the booty in addition to the


\(^{646}\) al-Qur’ān 8:9.

\(^{647}\) *Maghāzi*, I, pp. 100-1.

\(^{648}\) *Tafsīr*, IX, p. 171-2 & 177 ; Qurṭubi, VII, pp. 363-4 ; Rāzī, IV, p. 347.
which was the portion the chief of a tribe chose for himself like a horse, a special sword or a female prisoner after taking the fourth.\textsuperscript{650} The fourth (or the fifth) was partly for the chief's own use and also partly to perform certain functions on behalf of the tribe, such as looking after the poor and giving hospitality.\textsuperscript{651}

Immediately after the victory of Badr, there was a dispute about the booty. According to al-Wāqidi, three groups of participants began to argue over it. The first group had guarded the Prophet during the battle and had, therefore, acquired no booty at all. Another group had paid particular attention to taking prisoners and plundering them, while the third group had concentrated on the general booty. It seems that the latter two groups wanted to keep the booty that they had taken but those who had guarded the Prophet felt that they were entitled to a share.\textsuperscript{652} According to Ibn 'Abbās, disputes amongst the participants were also compounded by the fact that, as mentioned earlier, the Prophet had promised that whoever did a certain action would have a certain reward.\textsuperscript{653} It seem that, as a result of these disputes, at this juncture, sūrah 8:1 was revealed:

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\textsuperscript{650} Lane, p. 1704.

\textsuperscript{651} Līsān, VII, p. 373; Qurṭubi, XVIII, p. 16; Watt, p. 232; al-İṣfahānī, \textit{al-Ağhānī}, XVI, p. 50.

\textsuperscript{652} Maghāzī, I, p. 98; \textit{Unuf}, V, pp. 150-1; Zamakhsharı, I, p. 365.

"They ask thee concerning (things taken as) spoils of war (anfāl). Say: 'Such spoils are at the disposal of God and the Apostle: so fear God, and keep straight the relations between yourselves: Obey God and His Apostle, if ye do believe'.654

The word used for booty is anfāl (singular nafl). It is the only time that the word is used for booty in the Qur’ān. When used of booty, the word still contains much of its basic meaning of "an addition to the thing to which one is entitled by right". In the modern world, it would be known as Bonus. However, Mujāhid chose to interpret anfāl as meaning the khums itself, which the Prophet was told by God was at his and God's disposal to give to whom the Prophet wished.655 This conjecture emphasises the unusual use of anfāl as booty. Clearly if anfāl does mean booty in this verse, then on this occasion the Prophet is being allowed to distribute the booty as he wished, without reference to any pre-Islamic practice. However, the verse may be simply a statement about the ultimate authority of God over worldly affairs and His delegation of this authority to His Prophet. On the other hand, it may be a more particular one for the occasion giving the Prophet the right to distribute the booty in whatever way and to whomsoever he wished.

A report from ‘Ubādah b al-Ṣāmit shows that, after this verse was revealed, the Prophet asked them to return everything which they had taken so that he could redistribute it, dividing it equally, after taking his

654 This is suggested by Bell, with the authority of Ibn Ishāq to have been revealed immediately after Badr when there was a dispute among the Muslims over the distribution of the booty. Bell, I, p. 159; Strah, II, pp. 2-5.
655 Tafsīr, XII, p. 365.
share, between the Muslims who had been present. He did this on their way back to Medina at a place called Sayar. According to al-Waqidi, the wali (presumably the Prophet) divided the booty so that the amount each received was either a camel and equipment and furnishing or two camels and leather. There were 317 shares which were distributed between 313 men. Eight of the men had not participated in its actual battle but were considered to be entitled to booty. There were two Muslim horsemen present at the battle of Badr. Each of them received two shares. It has not been possible to discover whether the Prophet was instituting a new practice as far as horseman were concerned, or carrying on a pre-Islamic practice. However, it is in line with his policy on the exemption of horses from zakāh, to provide incentives for Muslims to acquire horses. They may well be the first manifestation of that policy. However, Ibn Ishāq seems to indicate elsewhere that the division of booty, that a horse received two shares and its rider one was not introduced until the defeat of the Banū Qurayzah. However, there were already 36 horses participating in that campaign, a significant increase from the number at Badr. As we shall see in our later discussion, it may well be another form of general distribution which took place after the defeat of Banū Qurayzah.

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656 Maghāzī, I, p. 98; Sirah, II, p. 2; Tafsīr, IX, pp. 172-3; Qurṭubī, VII, pp. 360-1; Unuf, V, p. 209.
657 Maghāzī, I, p. 100; Mabsūt, X, p. 17. Sayar is a mountain path of al-Ṣafrā‘.
659 Cf. note no.727.
661 Cf. pp. 199-204.
There were numerous Traditions regarding the share of horses used in the battle. Thus, the dispute amongst jurists began with these Traditions. In one of the Tradition it is stated that the Prophet gave two shares for a horse. Based on the Tradition wherein the Prophet is said to have allowed two shares for a horse this seems to encourage the use of horse in the way of God entailing more expenses.

Al-Shāfī‘i maintains that a horse-rider should be given three shares, two for the horse and one for himself. He cites a Tradition form Ibn ‘Umar to strengthen his argument.662 Al-Awzā‘ī663 and al-Thawrī664 give a similar opinion as like al-Shāfī‘i.665

On the other hand, according to one of al-Shaybāni’s666 view that the horse-rider should be given only two shares; one for the mount and one for himself.667 However, as regards the above Traditions, Abū Yūṣuf668 and Muḥammad b al-Ḥasan al-Shaybāni hold that the horse-

662 Umm, IV, p. 69 ; al-Qaṣṭalānī, Irshād al-Sārī, V, p. 76-7 ; al-Ṣaḥīḥ, III, p. 146 ; Da‘ūd, III, p. 101.
665 Umm, VII, p. 306 ; al-Ṭabarī, Ikhtilāf, p. 80.
666 He is Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b al-Ḥasan b Farqad, mawlā of the Banū Shaybān, a Ḥanafi jurist. He was born at Wāṣīt in 132 A.H. EI¹, VII, pp. 271-2.
668 He is Abū Yūṣuf Ya‘qūb b Ibrāhīm b Ḥabīb b Khunays b Sa‘d b Ḥabtah al-Anṣārī. His mother was Ḥabtah bint Mālik from Banū ‘Amr b ‘Awf. He was one
rider should be given three shares, two for the mount and one for himself. To strengthen his view, al-Shaybānī relates the practice of the Caliph ‘Umar b al-Khaṭṭāb.⁶⁶⁹

Mālik also considers that the horse-rider also gained three shares from the booty taken.⁶⁷⁰ According to Ibn ‘Abbās, the Prophet divided the spoils of the battle of Badr as two shares for the cavalry men and one share for infantry men.⁶⁷¹ Not only that, this distribution was also applied in the battle of Ḥunayn.⁶⁷² Yahyā Ibn Ādām⁶⁷³ maintains that the horse gets two shares, and its owner one share, and he who had a horse was allowed two shares for the horse and one share for himself.⁶⁷⁴

Another Tradition from Yahyā b ‘Abbād b ‘Abd Allāh b al-Zubayr⁶⁷⁵ from his grandfather, that the Prophet gave four shares to al-

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of the ahl al-Kufah, a Ḥanafite juristconsult. He was born in 113 A.H. and died in 182 A.H. El¹, I, p. 114 ; Wafayūt, VI, pp. 378-90.

⁶⁶⁹ Siyar, p. 107 ; Abū Yūsuf, Kitāb Al-Kharāj, pp. 21-22 ; Umm, VII, p. 306 ; al-Ṭabari, Ikhtilāf, p. 81.

⁶⁷⁰ Mālik, Muwatta’ (recension of al-Suyūṭi), p. 367 ; Mālik, al-

⁶⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 32-3.

⁶⁷² Abū Yūsuf, Kitāb al-Kharāj, trans. by A. Ben Shemesh, III, p. 52 ;

⁶⁷³ He is a jurist, born in 140 A.H.; died in 203 A.H. El¹, VIII, p. 1150.


Zubayr on the year of Khaybar; a share for al-Zubayr (probably as a fighter), a share for his mother, Ṣafiyyah bint ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and two shares for his horse.677

However Abū Ḥanifah opines that the horse-rider only be given a share for himself and one for his horse.678

As far as the Prophet's share of the booty was concerned, he exercised the pre-Islamic tribal leader's right of taking the ṣafi before the distribution of the remainder of the booty. He chose a sword belonged to Munabbih b al-Ḥajjāj and a camel belonged to Abū Jahl.679

All the authorities are agreed that, sūrah 8 verse 41 was revealed after the battle of Badr:

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676 She is Ṣafiyyah bint ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b Ḥāshim al-Qurashiyah al-Hāshimiyyah, Prophet's paternal aunt. She is the mother of al-Zubayr b al-‘Awwām. She is the blood-sister of Ḥamzah. Her mother was Hālah bint Wahb, maternal aunt of the Prophet. Al-Ḥārith b Ḥarb b Umayyah was her first husband, after the death of her husband, she married to al-‘Awwām b Khuwaylid b Asad b ‘Abd al-‘Uzza. She gave birth to his sons, al-Zubayr and al-Sā‘ib. She became a Muslim and passed away during the reign of ‘Umar. She migrated along with her son, al-Zubayr to Medina and in the battle of Khandaq she played a very heroic act by single-handedly beat off a Jew who tried to cross the Trench. She was the first woman who killed a mushriq. al-Islābah, IV, pp. 348-9.

677 al-Nasā‘i, Sunan, VI, p. 190; Umm, IV, p. 69; Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad, III, p. 18.

678 Siyar, p. 108; Mabsūt, X, p. 44.

"And know that out of all the booty that ye may acquire (in war) (ghanimum), a fifth share is assigned to God, - and to the Apostle, and to near relatives, orphans, the needy (masākin), and the wayfarer,-..."

The only dispute is the exact timing of the verse, whether it came immediately after the battle of Badr and therefore applied to the booty gained at Badr,⁶⁸⁰ or whether it was revealed a little later and applied to the rest of the booty in later campaigns. However, had the Prophet followed the pre-Islamic practice, after this battle, he would have taken either a quarter or a fifth of the booty. As he seems to have exercised the pre-Islamic right of the șafī for the leader, it seems probable that he might have also taken the pre-Islamic leader's share of the booty. However, as Badr was a special victory with great implications for Islam in general and the status of Muslims in Medina in particular, he might have waived that right too.

The importance of surah 8 verse 41, is not that it gives Islamic sanction to the practice of the pre-Islamic Arabs, taking the lowest amount of the khums for the leadership. Rather, it is that it clearly defines what this khums is and how should it be spent. There are six specific headings, to whom the khums should be distributed: God, the Prophet, his relatives (dhū qurbā), orphans, the poor (masākin) and the wayfarer (ibn sabīl). The first three of these are in some ways

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⁶⁸⁰ According to Rodwell, this surah (8) relates mainly to the battle of Badr. The victory in surah 8:41 refers to on the day of the battle of Badr. See Rodwell M, The Koran, (London, 1929), p. 378. Therefore, the first institution of khums seems to have been established just after the battle of Badr and not after the expulsion of Banū Qaynuqā‘, as Watt' claims.

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interrelated. Thus, God's share will be administered by the Prophet for the achievement of God's will, the spread and consolidation of Islam. This purpose will also involve some of the share which goes to the Prophet himself. The exegetes are agreed that the term relatives (dhū qurbā) here refers to the Prophet's relatives.\(^{681}\) The fact that the Prophet is also coupled with his family indicates that some of this will be spent on the upkeep and maintenance of the Prophet and his family. In fact, later authorities coupled God's share with the Prophet's so that God's purpose and the Prophet's are assumed to be one and the same.\(^{682}\) The other three headings have already occurred in previous Qur'ānic passages encouraging Muslims to make charitable contributions to "orphans, the poor (masākin), and the wayfarer". It seems now that the Prophet, through the khums, and as we shall see later, through other financial institutions, has taken more of the responsibility on himself, to look after orphans, the poor (particularly the poor Muslim) and the later emigrants. This is in accordance with how we have interpreted \textit{ibn al-sabil}, following the interpretation of Bell. This, of course, does not mean that the Muslims are not encouraged to be charitable towards these groups. However, it does not indicate a movement towards a general responsibility of the Executive (the leader) of the emerging Islamic State to look after their welfare.

\(^{681}\) There is a report from Jubayr b Muṭʿim that the relatives in the verse were the Prophet's \textit{dhū qurbā} who shared the fifth of the \textit{khums}. He said: The Prophet used to allot the portion of the relatives to the Banū Ḥāshim and Banū al-Muṭṭalib. Abū Yūsuf, \textit{Kitāb al-Kharāj}, p. 11; Nasif, \textit{al-Tāj al-Jāmiʿ li al-Uṣūl}, IV, p. 379; Ibn al-Qayyim, \textit{Zād al-Maʿād}, II, p. 220; \textit{Umm}, IV, p. 71; Kathir, II, p. 312.

\(^{682}\) \textit{Mughni}, VI, pp. 406-7.
There was some disagreement in the *hadith* as to how the *khums* was to be divided up. The first view is that the *khums* was divided into five portions as reported by Ibn ‘Umar and Ibn ‘Abbās. They maintain that the first fifth is for God and His Apostle, the second fifth is for the Prophet’s relatives, the third fifth is for the orphans, the fourth fifth is for the *masākīn* and the last fifth is for the wayfarer.

The second view maintains that, it is divided into four portions as narrated by Ibn ‘Abbās in the following *hadith*:

"The *khums* taken is divided into four shares. One-quarter for God and His Apostle and the apostle’s own relatives. The second quarter is for the orphans, and the other quarter for the *miskin* and the last quarter for the wayfarers".

The actual Traditions may reflect different procedures by the Prophet on different occasions. It seems more likely that the Prophet generally set aside as much as possible for God’s purpose, i.e., the emerging Islamic State, and spent the rest on looking after himself, his family, orphans, the poor and the new emigrants. Thus, we see that at the Battle of Badr, the Prophet gave some of his share of the booty to three slaves, who took part in the battle but, by virtue of their status, were not entitled to have a share of the booty.

685 They were, a slave of Ḥātib b Abī Balṭa‘ah, a slave of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b ‘Awf and a slave boy of Sa‘d b Mu‘ādh. *Maghāzī*, I, p. 105; *Imtā‘*, I, p. 95.
It has been maintained by some Western authorities,686 that the practice of taking the *khums* ended with the death of the Prophet. It would be surprising if this source of income for the state abruptly ceased after the death of the Prophet. In fact, there is considerable evidence, particularly from jurists that it continued to be levied. The jurists were very concerned to identify what should happen to the portions allocated to God and His Apostle and to the Apostle’s relatives. Clearly the dispute is about what should happen in Islamic terms rather than what did actually happen. It was in the interests of the relatives of the Prophet to claim a continuation of their share of the *khums*. However, according to Abū Yusuf, the Caliphs Abū Bakr, ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān reserved the *khums* for the three last categories, i.e., the orphans, the poor and *ibn al-sabil*.687 He also suggests that ‘Ali, despite pressure from his family, continued this practice. This is the general view of the Ḥanafī school of law. The jurists are in general agreement that the share of the Prophet’s family ceases and Abū Yusuf reports of the practice where the share for God and his Prophet were used for horses and arms. There is also a strongly held argument that this portion should go to the Caliph to be used for the benefit of the Muslims.688 While the historical evidence is slight, it seems very probable that, in the early days of the Caliphate, this is what actually had happened.

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687 This must now be understood as referring to travellers and the Islamic jurists have written at length on when a traveller becomes eligible for support from the *bāyāt al-māl*. See also Jaṣṣāṣ, III, p. 77.

As far as the Meccan prisoners were concerned, the Prophet held discussions about them with his Companions. In the end, Abū Bakr's advice was followed, and they were ransomed in order to bring more money to the Muslims and thus strengthen them. There is some controversy as to the actual amount for which each prisoner was redeemed. Reports vary between 1,000 and 4,000 dirhams. But most of them suggest the larger amount.689 However, whatever the actual amount was, a considerable sum of money came into the treasury of the Prophet and the Muslims.

The expulsion of the Banū Qaynuqā‘ and the first distribution of fay‘

After the battle of Badr (Ramadān 2 A.H.), the Prophet and the Muslim returned to Medina. Immediately afterwards some kind of dispute developed between the Muslims and the Jewish tribe of Qaynuqā‘. The Prophet, probably to emphasise the divine support for his prophethood shown to him by the success of Badr, is reported to have assembled the Banū Qaynuqā‘ in the market and called upon them to accept his prophethood. They ridiculed him and suggested that they could defeat the Muslims. Their arrogance seems to have been compounded by an incident in their market where a Muslim woman was shamefully humiliated. A fight between the Muslims and the Jews who

were present, broke out and a member of Banū Qaynuqā' was killed. This prompted the tribe as a whole to seek vengeance and they also revoked the treaty which they had made with the Messenger of God. This certainly refers to the Constitution of Medina.

It is unclear why the Prophet chose to address the Banū Qaynuqā'. Perhaps, it was because of their market being in constant use by the Muslims, and they were the only Jews who were in constant contact with the Muslims at this stage. Therefore, they were probably the Jews who were more clearly seen by the Muslims as opponents of the Prophet's prophethood. Now, Badr had given the Prophet an opportunity to demonstrate God's support for his prophethood and the Muslims; it had given him the opportunity to confront these Jews with the miracle of Badr. Their scornful rejection of this and their deliberate humiliation of a Muslim woman, immediately followed, after the killing of one of them, by their revocation of the Constitution of Medina, gave the Prophet the opportunity to attack them and thereby seize control of a vitally important market.

The Muslims attacked the Banū Qaynuqā' and after a siege of fourteen days, they surrendered. However, 'Abd Allāh b Ubayy, the

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690 Sirah, II, pp. 52-3 ; Athir, II, p. 107 ; Dā'ūd, III, pp. 211-2 ; AWJ, pp. 105-6.

691 Tafsir, X, p. 27 ; Muluk, I, p. 479 ; Qurṭūbī, VIII, p. 31 ; AWJ, pp. 106-7.

692 He is 'Abd Allāh b Ubayy also called Ibn Salūl after his mother. He is the chief of the Khazrajite. Before the coming of Prophet to Medina, he was the common chief of Aws and Khazraj. He is regarded as the leader of hypocrites by the Muslims
leader of Khazraj and a prominent hypocrite (munāfiq) managed to obtain better terms for them than they had expected. They were allowed to leave Medina but had to leave behind their weapons and the tools of their trade; many of them were goldsmiths. These were divided up among the Muslim participants in the attack after the Prophet had taken the khums, the qaft and his own share. A problem that appears to be unanswered by the sources is what happened to the houses and the market place of the Banū Qaynuqāʾ? The sources state categorically that the Banū Qaynuqāʾ were town-dwellers and had no land. Clearly this indicates that they had no agricultural land. This meant that the Prophet was not faced with the major problem of what to do when agricultural land was left behind by a defeated and expelled people - a matter which was of considerable interest to the jurists and which will be discussed later. However, the Banū Qaynuqāʾ must have left behind such things as houses within the area of Medina which they had inhabited. The sources are silent on what had happened to these. The answer to this problem may lie in sūrah 59:7-8, which states:

"What God has given (as fay' - literally 'afā'a) to His Apostle from the people of the township, belongs to God, to His Apostle, and to kindred and orphans, the needy and the wayfarer; In order that it may not (merely) make a circuit

Scholars. He died after returning from the Muslim expedition to Tabūk (9 A.H.). It is said that the Prophet had prayed over his tomb and paid him every honour due to an eminent ally. EI I, I, p. 32.  
693 Ibid., II, pp. 645-6.  
694 Muluk, I, p. 479.  
695 Ibid.
between the wealthy among you, so take what the Apostle assigns to you, and deny yourselves that which he withholds from you. And fear God; for God is strict in punishment."

"(Some part is due) to the indigent (fuqarā’) Muhājirs, those who were expelled from their homes and their property, while seeking grace from God and (His) Good Pleasure, and aiding God and His Apostle: such are indeed the sincere ones."

All the commentators have regarded that this surah was revealed in regard to the Jewish tribe of Banū al-Naḍīr, and certainly most of it does concern them. However, Bell has convincingly argued that some of the verses, including verse 7, were probably revealed with regard to the Banū Qaynuqā‘ and the text was later filled out with further revelations at the time of the expulsion of Banū al-Naḍīr.696 Bell does not concern himself very much with the significance of the use of the term afā‘a. He says:

"'afā‘a, from the root f-y-‘, which properly means "to return"; fay’ was used in later times to denote the capital in land which belonged to the Muslim community; properly "that which returns", viz. capital. 'afā‘a therefore, "to make capital", "to give as capital"".697

For this word to have any significance when used in this context, it must mean not merely booty but property on which there could be "a return" earned for the Muslims.698 It should be noted that the word afā‘ only occurs three times in the Qur’ān. The first two occur in surah 59.

697 Commentary, II, p. 365.
698 Lane, p. 2468.
One is the verse under discussion and the other is in the verse immediately preceding it:

"What God has bestowed on His Apostle (and taken away) from them - for this ye made no expedition with either cavalry or camelry: But God gives power to His Apostle over any He pleases: and God Has power over all things".699

All commentators, including Bell, are agreed that this refers to the booty left behind by the Banū al-Naḍīr. Thus, these two verses could both agree with the interpretation that َِّْ in a later verse refers to immovable property. However, the third instance presents some problems for this interpretation. It reads:

"O Prophet! We have made lawful to thee thy wives to whom thou hast paid their dowers; and those whom thy right hand possesses out of the prisoners of war whom God has assigned (َِّْ) to thee (as spoils of war) ..."700

This clearly refers to captive women whom the Prophet was allowed to marry.701 However, Bell suggests that the words could refer

700 al-Qur‘ān, 33:50.
701 Tafsir, XXII, p. 20; Kathir, III, p. 499. They mention that the following women, as coming under the terms of the revelation, ِّْ (taken from Khaybar -7 A.H.) and Juwayriyah taken from Banū Muṣṭaliq (6 A.H.) who was given freedom by the Prophet and it was regarded as the dowry. Rayhanah bint ‘Amr b Khunāfah (from Banū Qurayzah) and Mayeriah al-Qibṭiyah a gift, were regarded as the Prophet’s slaves. Only Rayhanah seems to have been acquired by the Prophet at this time. See ِّْ, pp. 413-4; Tabaqat, VIII, p. 86; Dā‘ūd, III, p. 210; Strah, II, p. 173; Muluk, II, p. 610; Unuf, VI, pp. 295 & 405.
to the women of Banū Qurayzah.702 Interestingly Ibn Ishāq703 refers to the division of booty, after the defeat of the Banū Qurayzah, as the first division of fay' to occur in Islam. As it has been repeatedly stated by all historians, including Ibn Ishāq, that since booty has been distributed according to fixed shares in other expeditions,704 fay' must have a special meaning. If we take sūrah 33:49 above, where the women whom the Prophet has acquired as spoils of war, are referred to as as minmā afā'a Allāh 'alayk, in conjunction with Ibn Ishāq's statement that the division of fay' took place for the first time after the defeat of the Banū Qurayzah, it seems necessary to understand fay' in both these contexts as women. Therefore, it seems that in the Qur'ān the verb mā afā'a, in other words fay', seems to refer to two forms of property from which there may be a return, i.e. immovable property and women. Thus, whereas sūrah 33:49 refers to women, it would seem very likely that mā afā'a in verses 59:7-8 refers in particular to the market place and other immovable property of the Banū Qaynuqā' which could be used to earn an income for the Muslims as represented by the Prophet. It is possible that we have our first reference to fay', immovable property gained from an opponent which is used for earning income for the Muslims. Verse 7 repeats the same categories for this income as for the khums: "for God, His Apostle, kindred (dhū qurbā), orphans, needy (masākīn) and the ibn al-sabil", or "later emigrants". The verse then goes on to deny the wealthy any rights with regard to ownership and income from

702 Commentary, II, p. 103; EI2, V, p. 436; Rodwell suggests that the first slave who the Prophet took to wife was Rayḥānah, at the conquest of the Banū Qurayzah. Rodwell, The Koran, p. 439.
703 Sirah, II, p. 173.
704 Unuf, VI, p. 294; Muluk, II, 591.
this *fay*’. It gives the Prophet power to allocate parts of it to various Muslims. This probably refers to the abandoned houses of Banū Qaynuqā’. We have already noted that the *Muhājirin*, both some of the early and the later ones were in need of residential accommodation. Verse 8 clearly shows that these were the people who were to be the main recipients, for it says:

"(Some part is due) to the indigent *Muhājirs* (*fuqārā’ al-Muhājirin*), those who were expelled from their homes and their property, while seeking Grace from God and (His) Good Pleasure, and aiding God and His Apostle: such are indeed the sincere ones."

As has already been noted *faqīr* is used only in the Medinan revelations and refers to the Muslims, and in particular, to the *Muhājirin*. In this verse the two words are coupled so that there could be no doubt about who was to receive the vacant houses of the Banū Qaynuqā’.

It seems very likely that Muslim emigrants were allocated such residences, and certainly the Muslims, in particular, the emigrants, took over the market that had been occupied by the Banū Qaynuqā’. This allocation of property probably took place under the direction of the Prophet and was outside the distribution of the booty, which consisted mainly of weapons, tools and the goods which had been left behind.

In a very short time after having had to rely on charity and contributions form the *Anṣār*, the Muslim financial situation had been greatly improved. Residences had become available for some of the *Muhājirin*, a market in Medina was now completely under their domination, and booty from Nakhlah, Badr and the Banū Qaynuqā’ had
been distributed among the participants. In addition, the Prophet had acquired the fifth of the booty of Nakhlah and the Banū Qaynuqā‘ and perhaps Badr, to use for the benefit of the Muslims.

Continuation of raids as an instrument of economic policy

The historians agree that there were five expeditions between the battles of Badr and Uḥud in addition to the attack on Banū Qaynuqā‘, which has already been dealt with. However, there is some disagreement as to the exact order and dates when these expeditions took place. It is proposed here to follow the order given by Ibn Isḥāq705 and supplement this with information from al-Wāqidi and al-Ṭabarī. Our concern here is to examine the income that these campaigns gained for the Muslims and their economic effect on Medina, in particular, and Arabia in general.

According to Ibn Isḥāq, 7 days after returning from the battle of Badr, the Prophet led another expedition to Banū Sulaym in al-Kudr.706 Kudr is the Banū Sulaym's watering place to the East of Medina, and the

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705 In referring to Ibn Isḥāq, we have the report of the Sirāh of Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī. Ibn Hishām has relied heavily on Ibn Isḥāq. In fact, this work is practically a recension of Ibn Isḥāq’s Sirāh with comments by Ibn Hishām. Guillaume, in his translation of Ibn Isḥāq’s Sirāh has separated Ibn Isḥāq’s work from Ibn Hishām’s notes which he provides at the end of the book. He also adds quotations from Ibn Isḥāq from al-Ṭabarī which have not been included in Ibn Hishām’s recension.

706 Unuf, V, p. 388. al-Wāqidi maintains that this expedition took place in Muḥarram 3 A.H. Maghāzi, p. 182.
Prophet stayed there for only 3 nights and returned to Medina without any fighting. However al-Wāqīḍī places this raid somewhat later and maintains that 23 months after the migration, the Prophet led the expedition to al-Kudr. He also asserts that the Muslims succeeded in seizing the livestock and driving them back to Medina. According to a report from Abū Arwā al-Dawsī, the livestock consisted of 500 camels. The Prophet took his fifth and distribute the four fifths to the Muslims. In this report it is stated that it is the Muslims who should be understood as the participants. Al-Ṭabarī confirms that some livestock were gained in this raid. Al-Wāqīḍī reports that there were 200 Muslim participants. Prior to Badr, only two expeditions had had such numbers. This would strengthen the view of the increasing popularity of Islam among the Medinans and would suggest that booty or rather livestock was one of the aims of the expedition.

Then, according to Ibn Iṣḥāq, there followed the expedition of al-Sawiq in Dhū al-Ḥijjah. As far as this expedition is concerned, the historians report that after their defeat at Badr, Abū Sufyān led 200 horsemen of Quraysh towards Medina to give some show of Meccan resolution after their defeat at Badr. This expedition was known as the expedition of al-Sawiq (barley-meal). It took place in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 22

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707 It is difficult to know his real name nor his origin. However he took part in the battle of Qarqarah al-Kurd. It is said that he died in the last days of the Caliphate of Muʿāwiyyah and he was a supporter of ʿUthmān. *al-Isābah*, IV, p. 5.

708 *Maghāzī*, I, p. 182.

709 Ibn Hishām mentioned that the number of Meccan participants were 100 men only. Cf. *Sirah*, II, p. 55; In this regard al-Wāqīḍī only mentioned that the Meccan Quraysh were represented by 40 horsemen. *Maghāzī*, I, p. 181.
months after the emigration had taken place. Abū Sufyān and his troops took the Najd route and stopped by the upper part of a watercourse which led to a mountain called Thayb [Tayt] about one post-distance from Medina.\textsuperscript{710} The Meccans killed one of the Anṣār and his ally at al-‘Urayd\textsuperscript{711} and burnt some young palm-trees. Then having made their demonstration, they returned to Mecca. However, the Prophet raised a force of 200 Muslims, both emigrants and Anṣār and gave chase to them.\textsuperscript{712} They went as far as Qarqarat al-Kudr,\textsuperscript{713} and although they failed to catch the Quraysh, they managed to collect some booty. This was because the Quraysh were throwing down sacks of barley-meal in order to lighten themselves, this being the main part of their provision.\textsuperscript{714} Thus, the Muslims made the Meccan demonstration of strength ineffective and even managed to gain some food supplies out of the expedition. Again, a force of 200 Muslims suggests that groups of Anṣār were now taking an active role in military duties alongside the emigrants.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{710} \textit{Muluk}, I, p. 484.
\item \textsuperscript{711} al-‘Urayd is a wadi in Medina. \textit{Wafā'}, II, p. 344.
\item \textsuperscript{712} Neither Ibn Ishāq nor al-Wāqidi mentioned the number of Muslims participants. \textit{Maghāzī}, I, p. 182; \textit{Sirah}, II, p. 55. However al-Ṭabari cites al-Wāqidi’s report in his history book, relating to the numbers of Muslims participants. \textit{Muluk}, I, p. 485.
\item \textsuperscript{713} This place is about eight post-distance form Medina. Ibn Ishāq, p. 361; \textit{Unuf}, V, p. 404.
\item \textsuperscript{714} \textit{Muluk}, I, pp. 483-5. Al-Wāqidi named this expedition after this incident. \textit{Maghāzī}, I, p. 181.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Al-Waqidi maintains that 25 months after the migration, the Prophet raided Najd, making for the (tribe of) Ghaṭafān.\textsuperscript{715} This expedition was also known as Dhū Amarr. Neither Ibn Ishaq nor al-Ṭabari mention the number of Muslims participants. However al-Waqidi reports that the Prophet led 450 Muslims, and some had their horses.\textsuperscript{716} The large number again emphasises the growing strength of Islam in Medina. However, despite the considerable number, the Muslims did not gain any booty and did not meet any fighting, but the conversion of Jabbār b Tha‘labah was achieved at a place called Dhū al-Quṣṣah.\textsuperscript{717} A further raid was made in Rabi‘ al-Ākhīr with 300 Muslims. The purpose seems to have been to harass the Quraysh, and the Muslims went as far as the mine of Bahrān in the neighbourhood of al-Fur‘.\textsuperscript{718} However, there was no fighting and the Prophet returned to Medina.\textsuperscript{719}

Al-Waqidi asserts that in Jumādā al-Ākhīr (3 A.H.), the Prophet chose Zayd b Ḥarīthah to lead the expedition to al-Qaradah. Al-Qaradah is a watering place or a well in Najd.\textsuperscript{720} The original purpose of the mission was to intercept the caravan of Quraysh. At this time the Quraysh caravan was being led by Abū Suflān b Ḥarb to Syria. Being afraid of attack, the Quraysh changed their normal route. However, the Prophet gained information that the caravan contained a substantial

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\item \textsuperscript{715} Magḥāzī, I, p. 193; Sirah, II, pp. 55-6.
\item \textsuperscript{716} Magḥāzī, I, p. 194.
\item \textsuperscript{717} A place between Medina and Najd. Wafā‘, II, p. 362; Muluk, I, p. 487.
\item \textsuperscript{718} al-Furu‘ is a village near Medina. Sirah, II, p. 56; Ibn Ishaq, p. 362.
\item \textsuperscript{719} Muluk, I, p. 487.
\item \textsuperscript{720} Sirah, II, 58; Ibn Ishaq, p. 364.
\end{itemize}
amount of wealth and silver vessels which belonged to Ṣafwān b Umayyah, and that this caravan would follow another route. Only a hundred Muslims participated in this raid, but as the Prophet had gained information about the contents and wealth of the caravan, he probably also knew how many guards were there. Zayd b Ḥārithah succeeded in capturing the caravan with its goods although he failed to capture the men. He brought the caravan and its goods to the Prophet. 721 According to al-Wāqidi, the Prophet took his fifth and distributed the four fifths among the participants. Al-Wāqidi also reports that the khums (fifth) at this time was 20,000 (dirhams). 722 This is the first major success by the Muslims in seizing a Qurashi caravan. It is clear, now, that the Muslims had sources of information about Qurashi caravans to Syria. They also had the ability to intercept them, no matter what changes the Qurashi made in their plans. Meccan trade with Syria now faced a paralysis.

Repercussions from the defeat at Uḥud

The precarious situation for Meccan trade added impetus for the Quraysh to avenge the defeat at Badr. This culminated in the Battle of Uḥud in the month of Shawwāl, 32 months after the emigration. Without going into the details of the Battle of Uḥud, significant details emerge from the description of the forces involved. The Qurashi investment in the campaign is demonstrated by the size of their force: there were three thousand men including two hundred cavalry and seven hundred men

722 Maghāzi, I, p. 198.
wearing coats of mail. The Prophet had been able to increase the size of
the defending Muslim army to a thousand, but the Medinan leader and
foremost of the hypocrites, ‘Abd Allāh b Ubayy b Salūl, withdrew with
three hundred of his followers. However, only one hundred of the
Muslims were wearing coats of mail. Despite the increase in the size of
the forces, the Muslims were still only able to muster two horses.723 This
indicates that the concessions in zakāh on horses, which is referred to in
the section of zakāh,724 if introduced by this time, had not yet borne any
fruit. Nor for that matter had the extra booty for the horse produced any
results yet.

The defeat at Uhud, although not catastrophic, presented the
Prophet with numerous problems of morale and of the economy. In
order to restore, to some extent, the morale of the Muslims, the Prophet
called upon the Muslims to go in pursuit of the enemy and announced that
nobody was to join the force except those who had been present at the
battle on the preceding day.725 This expedition was merely to boost the
morale of the Muslims and to lower the morale of the enemy; by going
out in pursuit of them, the Prophet wanted to give them the impression
that his strength was unimpaired, and that the Muslims' casualties had not
weakened their ability to engage in fighting. The Prophet went as far as
Ḥamrā’ al-Asad, eight miles from Medina. He stayed there on Monday,
Tuesday and Wednesday, and then returned to Medina.726

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723 Muluk, II, pp. 504-5.
724 Cf. p. 244.
725 Sirah, II, pp. 89-90; Ibn Ishāq, p. 389.
726 Ibid., p. 90; Ibn Ishāq, p. 390; Muluk, II, pp. 534-5.
The death of considerable numbers of Muslims, at least 74,\(^{727}\) meant a considerable problem for the Muslims in terms of orphans and widows. Bell supports Nöldeke-Schwally's suggestion that the verse (4:2-7) belonged to a time shortly after Uhud.\(^{728}\) These verses call in the strongest term for Muslims to look after orphans. They also encourage them by implication to look after the women widowed by the Battle of Uhud by marrying them. It is probably for this reason that the Qur'ān allows men to marry up to four wives (4:3). Also the fact that women are voluntarily allowed to forgo their dowries (4:4) may possibly be seen as an inducement for the Muslims survivors of Uhud to take on the care of the widowed women and their orphans, for they would probably not have been in the position to give proper dowries. This right of women to forgo the dowry provided a solution to a serious problem.

The defeat of Muslims at Uhud had serious implications for the Prophet's economic policies. The Muslims had suffered a great agricultural disaster, because the Quraysh had arrived ten days before the grain was to be harvested, which gave them the opportunity to use it as fodder for their horses.\(^{729}\) There was a need for some economic

\(^{727}\) According to al-Waqidi, 70 of them were Ansār. However there is some disagreement about the number of Emigrant's martyr, either 4 or 5. Mujāhid maintains four from the Emigrants, while another report maintains there were 5. Magḥāzī, I, pp. 300-3; Ibn Iṣḥāq suggests that the total numbers of Muslims martyred including both the Emigrants and the Ansār was 65 men. And he maintains that only 4 were Emigrants. Sirah, II, pp. 107-8; Ibn Iṣḥāq, p. 401-3.

\(^{728}\) Bell, I, p. 69; Commentary, I, p. 107.

\(^{729}\) Magḥāzī, p. 444; Watt, pp. 38-9.
successes to encourage the waverers, to thwart the hypocrites and to strengthen the believers. It is certain that, from the historical literatures, the Jews, as a group, did not participate in the battle of Uhud. Wensinck suggests that the Prophet's attitude towards them had been determined once and for all. They had to be neutralized because they were an obstacle towards the establishment of the theocracy. The behaviour of the Jews on this occasion was probably a welcome reason for the Prophet for his action against Banū al-Naḍīr. Furthermore, the defeat had taught him that the unity of Medina had to be strengthened and the best means towards this end was the elimination of hostile elements. The hypocrites (who were in Medina) could not be attacked because they were, at least nominally, Muslims and part of the Anṣār.730

However, it should be noted, that despite the general failure of the Jews to support the Prophet at Uhud, there is a report of at least one Jew who took part. It is recorded that at the Battle of Uhud (2 A.H.) a Medinan Jew, Mukhayriq,731 made a will before he joined the field that if he was slain in the battle, all his possessions were for Muḥammad to use even as God should show him. He was killed in the battle. Thereafter a large portion of the alms distributed in Medina came from the rich palm

730 AWJ, p. 116.
731 Mukhayriq is said to have been a learned Jewish priest and a leader of the Banū Qaynuqā', who 'recognised Muḥammad by his marks, and identified him as the promised Prophet'. But the love of his own religion prevailed, so that he did not openly join Islam. On the day of Uhud, he went forth with the Muslim and was killed. Muir, p. 535.
groves that the Prophet inherited from Mukhayriq. The Prophet called him "the best of the Jews".\textsuperscript{732}

Some four months after the Battle, as a result of an incident at Bi‘r al-Ma‘ūnah and the killing by Muslims of two men who had already been given protection, though the Muslims had not known this, the Prophet was required to pay blood-money.\textsuperscript{733} He wanted the Banū al-Naḍīr to make a contribution to this. While agreeing to the proposal, they were alleged to have conspired to kill the Prophet. This story indicates the tension that already existed between the Jews of the Banū al-Naḍīr and the Prophet. The plot to kill the Prophet was used as a reason for demanding that the Banū al-Naḍīr vacate their land.

After being besieged for 15 days, they made peace with the Prophet on the basis that the Prophet would not shed their blood and that they would leave property, taking whatever valuables they were able to carry.\textsuperscript{734}

On account of the departure of such a powerful clan as al-Naḍīr, great advantages accrued to the Prophet. They provided some solution of the economic situation, particularly of emigrants. Extensive land became vacant which was distributed among the emigrants.\textsuperscript{735} As far as

\textsuperscript{732} Martin Lings, \textit{Muhammad}, p. 192; Muir, p. 535.

\textsuperscript{733} The incident at Bi‘r al-Ma‘ūnah involved Banū ‘Āmir, who were confederates of Banū al-Naḍīr. For full account see \textit{Muluk}, II, pp. 550-1; Watt, pp. 31-3.

\textsuperscript{734} \textit{Maghāzi}, pp. 373-4.

\textsuperscript{735} AWJ, p. 121.
the property is concerned, it was treated as *fay*, as stated in surah 59:6-7,\(^{736}\) where it clearly mentions that, these possessions should be used for the purposes mentioned in the verse,\(^{737}\) in particular to the *fuqarā' al-muhājirīn* who have been driven from their home.\(^{738}\) Although, it has been suggested that surah 59 verses 7 and 8 may have been revealed earlier and concern the property of the Banū Qaynuqā‘, clearly they would also seem to apply to the property of the Banū al-Naḍīr. However, later verses in the surah clearly do so. Thus, the emigrants were to receive something from what the Banū al-Naḍīr had left, all of which seemed to form part of the public treasury.\(^{739}\)

Even though surah 59:8 specified the *fuqarā' al-muhājirīn* as the recipients of *fay*, the Prophet knew that the assistance of the Helpers afforded but a precarious means of subsistence. Thus, after evacuating the land of Banū al-Naḍīr, as stated in 59:2, he accordingly assembled the principal men from the *Anṣār*, and asked them whether they had any objection to his distributing among their poor brethren, who had followed him from Mecca, the goods left behind by the Jews. With one voice they answered: "Give to our brothers the goods of the Jews; assign

\(^{736}\) Cf. pp. 176-8. Although Bell suggests that these verses were laid down for the Banū Qaynuqā‘’s affairs, this deliverance was altered and extended after the expulsion of Banū al-Naḍīr, and a different disposition of the spoil was made, Bell suggests that verse 7 in which regard to the destination of the spoil being discarded. Bell, II, p. 568.

\(^{737}\) Cf. pp. 177-8.

\(^{738}\) al- Qur‘ān, 59:8 ; Qurṭubi, XVIII, p. 11.

to them even a portion of ours: We willingly consent." 740 Upon this the Prophet divided the property among the first emigrants and two Anṣār who were claimed to be extremely poor, and the remainder was for the prophet’s use. 741 These two Anṣār were Sahl b Ḥunayf (d. 38 A.H) 742 and Abū Dujānah Simāk. 743 However, al-Wāqīdī through narration from Ibn Wahb from Mālik says that the Prophet gave to three Anṣār, i.e. al-Ḥārith b al-Ṣimmāḥ 744 besides the other two mentioned above. 745 This was the first palm grove which the Prophet had divided among the earliest emigrants. Al-Wāqīdī reports that Abū Bakr was given Bi’r Ḥijr, ‘Umar b al-Khaṭṭāb was given Bi’r Jarm, ‘Abd al-Rahmān b ‘Awf was given Su’ālah (it was the property of Sulaym), 746 Ṣuḥayb b Sinān was

741 Kathir, IV, p. 331; Athir, II, p. 133; Maghāzi, p. 379.
742 His full name is Sahl b Ḥunayf b Wāhib b al-‘Akīm b Tha‘labah b al-Ḥarth b Majda‘ah b ‘Amr b Ḥabish b ‘Awf b ‘Amr b ‘Awf b Mālik b Aws al-Anṣārī al-Awsi. He was popularly known as Abū Sa‘īd or Abū ‘Abd Allāh. He died at Kufah. al-Isbāhah, II, p. 87.
744 He is al-Ḥārith b al-Ṣimmah Ibn Amr b ‘Atik b ‘Āmir b Mālik b al-Najjār. He is the father of Abī Jahim. It is said that he was martyred in the Bi’r al-Ma‘‘ūnah. The Prophet made brother with Ṣuḥayb b Sinān. Ibid., I, p. 281.
745 Qurṭubi, XVIII, p. 11; Rāzī, VIII, p. 129.
given al-Ḍarrāṭah and al-Buwaylah⁷⁴⁶ was given to al-Zubayr b al-
‘Awwām and Abū Salamah b ‘Abd al-Asad.⁷⁴⁷

As regards the Prophet's personal property from the land of Banū al-Naḍīr, he used the income to provide for his family for a year and with the remainder which was not consumed, he bought horses and arms.⁷⁴⁸

By giving some part to the early emigrants, the Prophet made them independent and also relieved the burden on the Anṣār. The first emigrants' economic position had become considerably improved. The Anṣār also helped them in the cultivation of the land. Therefore, the situation between the two groups became better. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Zayd Ibn Aslam⁷⁴⁹ related that the Prophet had told the Muslims of Medina:

"Your brothers (the emigrants) have left their homes, their properties and families and come out to you". They said: "We are willing to give them one half of our property." The Prophet asked: "You may do something else." They asked: "What is it?" He said: "They are people who do not know how to

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⁷⁴⁶ This fief was a piece of land planted with palm-trees. Cf. Futūḥ, p. 34; Origin, p. 38.

⁷⁴⁷ Maghāzi, p. 379. This property was regarded as fief. Abū Salamah was the first husband of Hind (the Prophet's wife who was called as Umm Salamah).

⁷⁴⁸ Rāzi, VIII, p. 129; Futūḥ, p. 33; Origin, p. 34; Dā’ūd, III, pp. 194-5.

⁷⁴⁹ He is ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b Zayd b Aslam al-‘Adawi. He is considered weak in Ḥadīth transmission due to his poor memory. He died in 182 A.H. Tahdhib, VI, pp. 177-9.
work (cultivate land), you do the work and share the crops with them". They said: "O Prophet of God".750

Imām Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī and Muslim quote Anas Ibn Mālik as saying:

"After the spoil of Banū al-Naḍīr, the Prophet returned to the people that which they had donated (to the emigrants) from their date-palms and other properties".751

According to a Tradition from Mālik Ibn Aws Ibn al-Ḥadathān752 that ‘Umar b al-Khaṭṭāb told him that the Prophet had three special shares which he appropriated for himself; namely, the possessions of the Banū al-Naḍīr, Khaybar and Fadak. The possessions of the Banū al-Naḍīr he reserved for use in case of misfortunes that might befall him. Those of Fadak were reserved for the wayfarers. Those of Khaybar he divided into three portions, two of which he divided among the Muslims and the third he reserved for his and his family's expenses, distributing what was left after the expenses to the fuqarā al-muhājirīn.753

750 Kathir, IV, p. 338.
752 He is Mālik b Aws b al-Ḥadathān b ‘Awf al-Nasri known as Abū Sa‘īd. He died in 92 A.H. at the age of 94 years. He was among the first batch of the tābi‘īn except that he became a Muslim lately. al-İṣābah, III, p. 339.

194
Struggle between Mecca and Medina and the Meccan failure at al-Khandaq

From the period between Uḥud and Khandaq, the Quraysh attempted to gain support from the nomadic tribes to the east and north of Medina. Their propaganda was designed to indicate that the prophet and the Muslims in Medina were weak. In order to undermine this propaganda, the Prophet sent out an expedition and he seems to have been moderately successful in stopping some tribes from joining Quraysh. For instances 35 months after the emigration, the raid to Qaṭān was sent. There were 150 men. In this raid, the Muslims managed to gain 7 camels as a booty.\(^{754}\) The Prophet's aim was to demonstrate his strength, and it seems that, despite Uḥud, he managed to increase the forces at his own disposal. This was displayed in the battle of Badr al-Maw‘id (Sha‘bān 4 A.H.). As the historians mentioned, before Abū Sufyān left the field of the Battle of Uḥud, he had made a promise to meet the Muslims next year at Badr.\(^{755}\) To fulfil this promise the Prophet mustered a force of 1500 men and 10 horses\(^{756}\) to go to Badr al-Maw‘id (Sha‘bān 4 A.H.). This was the largest force which the Prophet had, so far, collected. Interestingly enough, the number of horses, although still small, shows an appreciable increase. Perhaps the exemption from zakāh\(^{757}\) and the

\(^{754}\) Maghāzī, p. 345.

\(^{755}\) Ibid., p. 384.


\(^{757}\) Cf. p. 244.
extra booty for the horses 758 was beginning to have some effect. Also it
should be remembered that the Prophet had spent some of the wealth
available to him, after the expulsion of the Banū al-Naḍir, on horses and
arms. Abū Sufyān commanded 2000 men and 50 horses.759 The forces
were, thus, much more equally matched than on previous occasions.
Perhaps as a result, no fighting took place.

Another aspect of the Prophet's policy was to weaken Mecca by
preventing the movement of caravans to and from Syria. The Prophet
realised that the tribes along this route should be neutralised and at the
same time he had to increase the number of tribes in alliances with him so
as give strength to his group.

In the month of Rabī‘ al-Awwal, 49 months after the emigration,
the Prophet himself led a campaign to Dūmat al-Jandal in the North with
1000 men which resulted in gaining some booty. Even though there was
no fighting, the Muslim force gained booty in the form of a herd of
camels.760 Despite Uḥud, Muslim strength was clearly increasing. It
seems that whenever the expedition to the north took place, it was
rewarded by booty.761

Later in Sha‘bān 5 A.H., the Prophet mustered 3,000 men to go on
a campaign towards Banū al-Muṣṭalliq. The forces included 30 horses;

759 Maghāzi, p. 388.
760 Ibid., pp. 402-3.
761 Watt, p. 116
20 belonged to the *Anṣār* and 10 belonged to the emigrants. According to al-Wāqidi, at this time the Prophet had 2 horses.\(^{762}\) The vast increase in forces and the substantial improvement in the number of horses taking part clearly indicates the increasing strength of the Prophet in Medina and the success of the incentives towards using horses for military campaigns. It is said that more hypocrites took part than ever before. Their presence underlines the growth in military power of the Prophet. All historians maintain that as a result of this campaign the Muslims gained the largest amount of booty so far. In this campaign, the Prophet took men, women and children as prisoners (*sabā*), and the livestock and sheep were taken as booty.\(^{763}\) To show that this was a great booty gained, Ibn Mas‘ūd b Hunaydah\(^{764}\) reported that he was given a herd of camels and a flock of sheep. The Prophet also released many slaves.\(^{765}\)

At the battle of Trench (Shawwāl 5 A.H.), the Muslim forces again numbered 3,000 men including 30 horses. However, the Qurashi alliance numbered 10,000 men including 300 horses.\(^{766}\) It was reported that while they were in the vicinity of Medina, Ḥuyayy b Akḥtab,\(^{767}\) one of the leaders of the Banū al-Nаḍīr who had settled in Khaybar, persuaded Qurayzah to break the treaty with the Prophet.\(^{768}\)


\(^{764}\) Unable to identify.

\(^{765}\) *Maghāzī*, pp. 410-1.


\(^{767}\) Unable to identify him in detail.

\(^{768}\) AWJ, p. 124.
Nonetheless, only a little fighting took place between this two armies, finally after 20 days of siege, the besiegers retreated. The Prophet offered Banū Ghaţafān a third of the produce from the dates of Medina on the condition that they would go back with their followers.769 Although the horses were exempted from zakāh, there is no increase in the number from that involved in the expedition to Banū Muṣṭallīq. Perhaps, the fact that there were only 2 months between the two campaigns might explain this.

The allies were frustrated by the trench which prevented them from attacking the Muslims. As a result their alliance collapsed and they withdrew and the Muslims achieved a considerable success. Perhaps, this campaign of Quraysh is the beginning of the end of Qurashi aggression against the Muslims.770

769 Banū Ghaţafān form a leading tribe in the alliances, which included Fazārah, Ashja‘ and Murrah. However, some authority says, this was not a definite peace and it was not signed. It was merely a peace negotiation. However, when the Prophet wanted to carry it out, he asked Sa‘d b Mu‘ādh and Sa‘d b ‘Ubādah for their advice. In strong terms Sa‘d b Mu‘ādh rejected this peace agreement, he did not want other people [Banū Ghaţafān] having even a single date. In protesting against this suggestion, the other Sa‘d erased what was written. Cf. Sirāh, II, 161; Ibn Ishāq, p. 454; Unuf, VI, pp. 271 & 315; Maghāzi, pp. 477-8.

770 This was reported in the Prophet’s saying that: "The Quraysh would not attack us after this year, but we will attack them". Cf. Unuf, VI, p. 305.
The economic consequences of the defeat of Banū Qurayẓah

The costs of the campaign to the Muslims might have been considerable. The Prophet seems to have managed to gain information that the Quraysh and their allies were going to attack and had thereby had all the grain harvested before their arrival. This was probably another reason for the rapid collapse of the alliance, because there would have been no fodder for their horses. However, many of the Medinan fortresses and homes were outside the protection of the trench. There are reports of discord within the Muslims ranks over fear for the property which had been left unguarded. Muʿattib b Qushayr771 of the Banū ‘Amr b ‘Awf complained of being exposed to danger while Aws b Qayẓi772 of Banū Ḥarīthah complained that his clan’s property was exposed to the enemy.773 Although we do not seem to have any actual reports of any destruction of these by the allies, it is inevitable that, in their frustration, they would wreak havoc on any farms, groves and homes which were not protected by the trench. It seems very likely that

771 Unable to identify.

772 He is Aws b Qayẓi (Qibṭi - according to al-Iṣābah), ‘Amr b Zayd b Jusham b Ḥarīthah b al-Ḥarīth al-Aws al-Anṣārī al-Awṣ. It is said that he took part in the battle of Uḥud along with his son ‘Abd Allāh and ‘Arābah but he was hypocrites. And Ibn Ishaq mentions that he is a Medinan Jews known for his staunch unbeliever. It is said that verse 33:10 is revealed in respect of Aws and Jabbār b Ṣakhr of the Khazraj tribe. He married Thubaytah bint Rabī’ b ‘Amr b ‘Adi b Zayd b Jusham b Ḥarīthah and she gave birth to his 2 sons, ‘Abd Allāh and ‘Arabah and a daughter called Kibāthah. His wife took oath of allegiance to the Prophet and became a Muslim. Cf. al-Iṣābah, I, p. 87; Tabaqāt, VIII, p. 328.

the property and groves of many of the Anṣār were seriously damaged. If the Banū Ghaṭafān did receive the dates promised to them, and there is some dispute in the sources about this, then that would have added further distress to the Medinan economy.

After the withdrawal of the Meccan alliance, the Muslims turned their attention to the Banū Qurayzah. Although they had not given active support to the alliance during the campaign, they had represented a constant threat to the Muslims. They had not taken any defensive role against the alliance and were thus, also, in breach of the terms of the Constitution of Medina. Also it was clear to all that they were in contact with the alliance and wanted it to succeed. Furthermore, their property, if they were dealt with as the threat they represented, would have become available to the Muslims and it would have more than compensated the Muslims' losses, which had arisen out of the siege. Thus, there were both strategic and economic reason for the Muslims settling their score with the Banū Qurayzah.

Ibn Isḥāq and al-Waqidl put the siege of Medina and the annihilation of Qurayzah in the eleventh month of the year 5 A.H. (Dhū al-Qa‘dah).\textsuperscript{774} In the raid against Banū Qurayzah, the Muslims had 36 horses, where the Prophet himself had had 3 horses.\textsuperscript{775} This increasing numbers of horses implied that the Prophet's policy by giving 2 shares to horses participated in the raid was working. The Muslims put the Banū Qurayzah under siege for 15 nights until they were sore pressed and God

\textsuperscript{774} Maghāzī, pp. 496-7 ; AWJ, pp. 126-7.

\textsuperscript{775} Maghāzī, p. 497.
cast terror into their hearts.\textsuperscript{776} The dying Sa‘d declared that their men should be killed, their property divided (presumably as spoil) and the women and children enslaved.\textsuperscript{777}

It is interesting to note that the Prophet distributed the palm-groves of Banū Qurayzah among the different clans of the Anṣār.\textsuperscript{778} A table follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>al-Aws</th>
<th>al-Khazraj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1- Banū ‘Abd al-Ashhal</td>
<td>3- Banū al-Najjār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banū Zafar</td>
<td>Banū Māzin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banū Ḥārithah</td>
<td>Banū Mālik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banū Mu‘āwiyah</td>
<td>Dhubyān\textsuperscript{779} (Dinar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Adi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- Banū ‘Amr b ‘Awf and the rest of al-Aws</td>
<td>4- Banū Salīmah</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Banū Zurayq</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Banū Bal-Ḥārith b</td>
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<td></td>
<td>al-Khazraj</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{776} Ibid., pp. 496-7.

\textsuperscript{777} Sirah, II, pp. 170-1; Ibn Ishaq, p. 464; Maghāzī, pp. 511-2; AWJ, pp. 124-5.

\textsuperscript{778} Maghāzī, pp. 521-4.

\textsuperscript{779} I cannot trace this clan in a group of al-Khazraj. Perhaps it is misprinted in al-Wāqidi. Since the rest of those mentioned belong to al-Khazraj, it seems possible that it refers to Banū Dinār rather than to Banū Dhubyān who are listed as one of its clan.
It will be seen from the map of Medina\textsuperscript{780} that in the first group the land of all four clans of Aws was probably exposed to attack and destruction by the allies as it was not protected by the trench. The fact that one of these clans, Banū al-Ḥārithah, is the clan of Aws b Qayzī who complained of his clan's property being exposed to the enemy seems to confirm the likelihood of this being the case. Similarly, the land of Banū ‘Amr b ‘A wf was probably ruined by the allies march to approach Medina from the North. In the case of Banū ‘Amr b ‘A wf, it seems that Mu‘attib’s complaints, referred to earlier, strengthen the view that, their lands were exposed to danger. As for the third group, the sources tell us that their land was near the mosque, but the mosque is not definitely identified as the Prophet's mosque. If the reference is to the mosque at Qubā, then their land would also probably have been exposed to the allies. Otherwise, they may have been given land, as their existing land, close to the Prophet's mosque, which was not as productive. As for the fourth group, Banū Salimah, their land was probably exposed to attack as the allies marched northwards. Banū Zurayq’s and Banū Bal-Ḥārith might also have been attacked as they were some distance south of the main city.

However, it is also suggested in the sources that the Prophet took the fifth from this land, but there is some confusion on this point.\textsuperscript{781}

\textsuperscript{780} See appendix, map 4.
\textsuperscript{781} Maghāzi, pp. 521-4.
It is not clear what the actual process of dealing with the captive women and children was. Some statements by al-Wāqīḍī suggest that they were divided among the Muslims, while other statements suggest that they were sold to the Muslims and others. It may well be that they were actually excluded from the division of the booty, as the palm-groves seem to have been. They would then have been sold to the Muslims and anyone else who wished to buy them. There are reports of other Jews and even polytheists buying some of them. For example, the Jew, Abū al-Shaḥm, who was attached to Banū Zafar and was a merchant and a money lender, bought some of the women and children of Banū Qurayzah. According to another report, the numbers of captives were 1000 women and children. If they had been sold in this way, and the evidence tends towards this, then the money would have gone straight into the Prophet's treasury and would probably have been subjected to the same expenditure requirement as the khums.

In the forts of Qurayzah, the Muslims found 1500 swords, 300 coats of mail, 1000 arrows and 1500 of shields and some of livestocks and also land. The Prophet divided these moveable booty among the Muslims who had taken part, after he took his safī from the booty.

With the defeat of Qurayzah, Medina had become an entity to be reckoned with. It seems probable that, the economic position of the

782 Watt, p. 216.
783 Maghāżī, p. 524.
784 Ibid., p. 510.
785 Cf. p. 164-5.
Muslims was vastly improved, after this conquest. After the conquest of Qurayţah, the Muslims began to participate in a long trading journey, even to Syrian and Yemeni borders where the trading caravan of Quraysh had gone. Thus, it is reported that ‘Uthmān b ‘Affān, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b ‘Awf and Sa‘d b ‘Ubdah786 were with groups of captives to Najd and Syria. From the profit gained, they bought horses and weapons.787 Perhaps, most of the early emigrants were self-sufficient by this time as a result of their shares in the booty. However, the policy of encouraging the Muslims to possess more horses still went on. Some of the extra income for the Islamic state was used to buy more horses and weapons. It is probable that from this time the Prophet was building up his military strength to conquer Mecca.

Raids during the period between the defeat of Banū Qurayţah and the treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyyah

Following the defeat of Qurayţah up to the expedition of al-Ḥudaybiyyah in 6 A.H. [Muḥarram to Dhū al-Qa‘dah 6 A.H.], the Prophet had sent numerous expeditions to various tribes in the north, the south, the east and the west of Medina and Mecca. Although in some of

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786 He is Sa‘d b ‘Ubdah b Dalim b Ḥārithah b Ḥirā. b Khuzaymah b Tha‘labah b Ẓafir b al-Khazraj Ibn Sā‘idah b Ka‘b b al-Khazraj al-Anṣārī. He is a leader of al-Khazraj. His kunniyah was Abū Qays or Abū Thābit. Sa‘d witnessed al-‘Aqabah. He died at Hawran in 15 A.H. al-Īṣābah, II, p. 30.

787 Maghāzī, p. 523; Sirah, II, p. 173; Ibn Ishāq, p. 466; Unuf, VI, pp. 294-5.
these raid, there were only a few participants, it seems possible that the Prophet had despatched horsemen to these tribes.

Later, after 55 months of emigration, in Muḥarram, a raid to al-Qurṭā٧٨٨ was sent. Even though the Muslims numbered only 30 men, again they managed to drive 150 camel and 3000 sheep to Medina. In distributing the booty each camel was regarded as equal to 10 sheep.٧٨٩

In Rabī‘ al-Awwal, 6 A.H., 200 Muslims including 20 horses marched out towards Banū Liḥyān.٧٩٠ The reason for the raid of al-Ghābah was interesting. It should be noted that the Prophet's own flocks of camel, while grazing out north of Medina, were driven off by a party of Ghaṭafān. This is further evidence of the increasing wealth of the Muslims. As a result, in Rabī‘ al-Ākhīr, 6 A.H., the Prophet led an expedition to al-Ghābah.٧٩١ Some reports say that the number of participants were 500 Muslims and some say 700 Muslims.٧٩٢ A report from al-Miqdād b ‘Amr shows that there were 40 horses surrounding the troops during night.٧٩٣ There was a slight fight, and as a result one Muslim and three unbelievers died.٧٩٤

٧٨٨ A place in Banū Bakr in the rest of Arabia, east of Medina and Mecca.
٧٨٩ Maghāzī, pp. 534-5.
٧٩٠ Ibid., p. 536. This is a branch of Hudhayl, situated to the East of Medina and Mecca.
٧٩١ East of Medina and Mecca.
٧٩٢ Maghāzī, p. 546.
٧٩٣ Ibid., pp. 538-9.
٧٩٤ Ibid., p. 549.
In Rabī‘ al-Awwal 6 A.H., the Prophet sent ‘Ukkāshah to lead an expedition to al-Ghamr, with 40 Muslims. Although the sources are silent as regards to the horses involved, this expedition succeeded in gaining booty. At first, they were supposed to get sheep, but in fact they drove 200 camels back to Medina after facing no resistance.

The raid to Banū Tha‘labah (East of Medina and Mecca) and ‘Uwāl was led by Muḥammad b Maslamah. This raid was sent in Rabī‘ al-Ākhīr which included only 10 men. At night time, they were surrounded by 100 men. All of them were killed except Muḥammad b Maslamah who was left wounded. He was found by another Muslim and was brought back to Medina. After knowing the condition, the Prophet had sent Abū ‘Ubaydah b al-Jarrāḥ with 40 men, in Rabī‘ al-Ākhīr 6 A.H. to follow their tracks. Although they failed to get their track, they succeeded in bringing back one of their men (i.e., of Banū Tha‘labah), a flock of sheep and some clothes to Medina. The man became Muslim and the Prophet divided the booty [among the participants] after taking his fifth.

After the Prophet came back from the expedition to al-Ghābah, he received the information that the Qurashi caravan were returning from

795 It is a water place for Bani Asad, approximately 2 night from Fayd. Ibid., p. 550.
796 Ibid., pp. 550-1.
797 He is Abū ‘Ubaydah b al-Jarrāḥ, more properly, ‘Āmir b ‘Abd Allāh b al-Jarrāḥ of the Bal-Ḥārith family. He was amongst the ten whom the Prophet promise the Paradise. He embraced Islam very early. He died in year 18 A.H. at Amwās. EI1, I, p. 112.
798 Maghāzī, pp. 551-2
Syria. Perhaps the Prophet knew how many guards were there, so he sent Zayd b Ḥārithah with 170 mounted to al-'Īṣ in Jumādā al-Ūlā, 6 A.H. This raid managed to get the whole caravan, including its guards and all goods, in terms of silver, which belonged to Ṣafwān b Umayyah.799 Abū al-'Āṣ b al-Rabi'800 was included among the guards. However, he was married to Zaynab,801 the Prophet's daughter, and when he got to Medina, he sought her protection. As a result the Prophet released him, and all the booty from that raid was given back to him.802 This led to Abū al-'Āṣ's conversion to Islam. This magnanimous gesture by the Prophet is clearly made from a position of strength. He is showing to the Meccans that their caravans to Syria are no longer safe but, they got them back as a result of his daughter's ties with one of their member and he is prepared to forgo the booty. In this way he is undermining them and emphasizing the power and magnanimity of Islam.

799 Ibid., p. 553.
800 He is the son-in-law of the Prophet. He married the eldest daughter of the Prophet. For detail see note on Zaynab, below.
801 One of the Prophet's daughters, and she was said to be his eldest child. She was married, before the Prophet's mission, to her maternal cousin Abū al-'Āṣ b al-Rabi'. She was in Tā'if at the time of the Prophet's migration to Medina. Her husband, was still a Pagan and was taken as a prisoner at the battle of Badr. The Prophet released him on the condition that Zaynab should come to Medina. On her way, she was maltreated by al-Ḥabban b al-Aswad and had a fall which caused her a miscarriage. Her husband was again taken as a prisoner during the expedition to al-'Īṣ and freed by his wife's intercession. He become a Muslim in 7 A.H. Zaynab died in Medina in 8 A.H. EI1, VIII, p. 1200.
802 Maghāzi, pp. 553-4.
In Jumādā al-Ākhir, 6 A.H., the Prophet again sent Zayd b Ḥārithah to al-Ṭarf, against the Bani Thaʿlabah. There were only 17 participants. They drove back a herd of camels. At this time, 10 sheep were regarded as equal to a camel. Again in the same month and year Zayd b Ḥārithah was sent to al-Ḥismā (in the North) with 500 men. They met the people of Judhām and managed to collect booty from them. This included 1000 camels, 5000 sheep and hundreds of women and children. However this raid was a blunder and when it became known that the victims were Muslims, everything was returned.

In Shaʿbān 6 A.H., ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b ʿAwf was sent to Dūmat al-Jandal (in the North) with 700 Muslims. The purpose was to call the people to Islam. After spending three days there, their leader al-Asbagh b ʿAmr al-Kalbi submitted to Islam. Then ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b ʿAwf married his daughter, Tumādīr. And he is alleged to collect the jizyah from those who remained as Christians. It seems that this is the first reference to the payment of jizyah in the sources. However, at this stage in the development of Islam, it seems unlikely that the institution of jizyah was established. What seems more probable is that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b ʿAwf was paid a form of itawa by the Christian tribesmen of Dūmat al-Jandal. Itawa is a form of collective tribute known to the Arabs before Islam and could be paid by a weaker tribe to a more

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803 It is 36 miles from Medina. It is situated to the east of Medina and Mecca.
804 Maghāzī, p. 555.
805 Ibid., pp. 557-60.
807 Maghāzī, pp. 560-1; Watt, pp. 114-5.
powerful in order to stop the latter from attacking them.\textsuperscript{808} This payment in the case of the tribesmen of Dūmat al-Jandal was probably one of the payment to the Muslims, as they were not yet sufficiently powerful to ensure its regular payment and, moreover, the distance between Medina and Dūmat al-Jandal would seem to far. Probably the sources refer to it as \textit{jizyah}, because they view it in terms of the later introduction of this tax in Islam. However, this raid does show that the Prophet was trying to extend the influence of Islam into the North of Arabia and the Syrian borders.

In Sha‘bān 6 A.H., the Prophet dispatched ‘Alī b Abi Ṭālib with 100 Muslims to Banū Sa’d in Fadak (in the North). Fadak is a village near Khaybar, approximately 6 nights journey from Medina.\textsuperscript{809} This expedition was reduced to a raid.\textsuperscript{810} As a result, there was a slight fighting and finally ‘Alī managed to capture 500 camels and 1000 sheep. He divided the booty and kept aside the fifth and \textit{sāfī} of the Prophet.\textsuperscript{811}

As the earlier raid to Dūmat al-Jandal had suggested, the Prophet was interested in establishing trade with Syria. It has been reported that ‘Uthmān b ‘Affān and Sa’d b ‘Ubadah had sold some of the slaves from Banū Qurayzhah in Syria. A more significant attempt at trading with Syria is made in Ramaḍān 6 A.H. Then the Prophet sent Zayd b al-

\textsuperscript{808} Frede Løkkegaard, \textit{Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period}, (Copenhagen, 1950), pp. 104-5.

\textsuperscript{809} \textit{Wafā’}, II, p. 255.

\textsuperscript{810} \textit{EI2}, II, p. 725.

\textsuperscript{811} \textit{Maghāzi}, pp. 562-3.
Ḥārithah\textsuperscript{812} off to trade in Syria with some merchandise. The reasons for the Prophet's wish to establish trade with Syria are not stated but it has been suggested that the increasing population in Medina as a result of Islam may have been a factor.\textsuperscript{813} Thus, it would seem that in order to cope with this, the booty and the other economic policies followed by the Prophet were insufficient and he was trying to increase the wealth of the Muslims by trading with Syria. However, on his way, Zayd and the presumably small group of Muslims were attacked by the Banū Fazārah. They thought that they had killed all the Muslims and took the merchandise which the Muslims had intended for Syria. Zayd, however, had not been killed and when he recovered sufficiently from his experience, he returned to Medina. The Prophet sent him back to attack the Banū Fazārah.\textsuperscript{814} However, his guide got them lost and the raid proved unproductive. Thus, this first significant attempt to conduct trade with Syria failed.

The Prophet also decided to keep a watchful eye on Khaybar.\textsuperscript{815} The presence there of the hostile Jews of the Banū al-Naḍir was a continual threat to the Muslims in Medina. So small expeditions were sent there.

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{812} He was brought to Mecca by Ḥakīm b Ḥizām b Khuwaylid, a nephew of Khadijah's, who had bought him in Syria and sold him to her. He was one of the very first converts to Islam. He was about 10 years younger than the Prophet and died in 8 A.H. at the age of 55. \textit{EI}^l, VIII, p. 1194.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{813} Watt, p. 35.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{814} \textit{Maghāţi}, pp. 564-5.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{815} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 566-8.}
\end{footnotes}
Towards the end of the year 6 A.H., the Prophet felt strong enough to attempt to make the pilgrimage. In Dhū al-Qa‘dah, he left Medina with a substantial body of, perhaps, 1600 Muslims,\textsuperscript{816} together with a group of men from the tribe of Aslam. On the way he urged the Bedouin between Medina and Mecca to join him but they refused. From their reported remarks, it seems that they thought that it was only for the purposes of pilgrimage that he had set out.\textsuperscript{817} The sources make clear that the proper preparations for a pilgrimage were made.\textsuperscript{818} It seems clear, therefore, that the Prophet's purpose was to make a pilgrimage. The proper pilgrim garb was put on and seventy camels were taken as sacrificial victims.\textsuperscript{819} It is noticeable that, since an expedition immediately after the battle of Trench, the Prophet had only sent one expedition against the caravans of the Quraysh. On this occasion, he had, as a result of the intervention of Zaynab bint Muḥammad, given back all the booty and prisoners seized. Perhaps, he felt that this demonstration of magnanimity to Quraysh would have influenced them. He may well have been contemplating the possibility of winning them to Islam without having to continue fighting them. This peaceful journey to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage emphasised the importance of Mecca to the religion of Islam. This, too, he may felt would make it easier for the Meccans to accept Islam.

\textsuperscript{816} Some authority says the number were 700. There were number of women attended this march \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 573-4.

\textsuperscript{817} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 573-4.


\textsuperscript{819} \textit{Maghdżi}, p. 574; \textit{Muluk}, II, pp. 685-6.
After the Muslim pilgrims had been surveyed by Khâlid b al-Walid and a troop of 200 Meccan horsemen, the Prophet sent ‘Uthmân b ‘Affân into Mecca to explain the purposes of their journey to Mecca.\footnote{Maghâzi, p. 580} This eventually resulted in negotiations which led to the agreement for a truce of ten years. Despite the Prophet making some concessions to the Meccans in this treaty, he did get their agreement for him and the Muslims to make a pilgrimage in the following year for three days, when they would only be able to carry a restricted amount of arms.\footnote{Sirah, II, p. 216 ; Ibn Isḥāq, 504 ; Maghâzi, pp. 611-2.} However, the Meccans were reluctant to allow the Muslims to make the pilgrimage in that year.

It is possible that the Prophet and the Muslims were actually attempting to go on Greater Pilgrimage or Hadj, although Ibn Isḥāq suggests that it was only an ‘umrah which they were intending to make.\footnote{Maghâzi, pp. 611-2.} This would have brought the Prophet and the Muslims into contact with all the other Arabs who were making the Hadj and would have given the Prophet an excellent platform to preach Islam. This was something the Meccans were not yet ready to accept. They agreed, however, to let him and the Muslims enter Mecca next year to perform an ‘umrah. The Prophet and the Muslims had brought 70 camels to be slaughtered. Twenty of them were taken into Mecca and slaughtered at al-Marwah.\footnote{Maghâzi, p. 615.} The change in the economic fortunes of the Muslims is clearly demonstrated by the number who had come on this aborted
Economic results of campaigns against the Jews around Medina

There was some immediate discontent from some Muslims at the failure to complete the pilgrimage they had set out for. Perhaps, it was as a result of this that a few months after Ḥudaybiyyah, the Prophet attacked the rich Jewish settlement of Khaybar\textsuperscript{824} (7 A.H.),\textsuperscript{825} but allowing only those who took the pledge at the Ḥudaybiyyah to participate. On the one hand, the pact concluded with Quraysh at Ḥudaybiyyah gave him the assurance of not being attacked by them during the expedition; on the other hand, if he conquered Khaybar, he would be able to satisfy with ample booty those of his Companions who had, perhaps, thought they had been going to capture Mecca when they went on the pilgrimage.\textsuperscript{826}

The Muslims' army consisted of 1,600 or 1800 men and 100 horses. Another authority gives the numbers as 1400 men and 200

\textsuperscript{824} It was situated about 95 miles/150km from Medina. \textit{EI}^2, IV, p. 1137.
The number of horses, even if the lowest number of 100 is the actual figure, bears witness to the economic policies pursued by the Prophet in terms of the additional share of the booty and exemption from zakāh. However, the people of Khaybar noticed the coming of Muslim army during the time they went out to their farms. As a result they withdrew to their stronghold. Nearby was the tribe of Ghaṭafān who at first made an effort to support the Jews by marching out but then they withdrew, deciding that it was better to defend their own property than to leave it exposed.

The Muslims overcame the Jews at Khaybar, fighting fort by fort. As they captured each fort, property and captives, particularly women captives fell into their hands. The Prophet had to issue instructions to control some of the Muslims who seemed to be seizing booty of their own accord before any distribution. And strict instructions were given not to have sexual intercourse with pregnant women who were captured and taken as slaves. Finally with surrender of the last two forts, the people of Khaybar were asked by the Prophet and he offered them an agreement which allowed them remain in the oasis on their land and to cultivate it, but in future they were to hand over one-half of the produce to the Muslims.

827 Muluk, II, p. 689 ; Watt, p. 257.
828 Cf. pp. 168-70 & 244.
829 Sirah, II, p. 224 ; Ibn Ishaq, p. 511 ; EI², IV, p. 1139. The Banū Ghaṭafān made their living by agriculture, particularly from date palms.
831 Futūḥ, pp. 36-9 ; Origin, pp. 42-3 ; Muluk, II, p. 690.
It is clear from this practice that the decision taken by the Prophet at Khaybar to leave the land to its cultivators was different from that which he had taken at Medina, where, in the year 4 A.H., he had handed over part of the lands of al-Naḍir to emigrants and reserved a part for himself; in the year 5 A.H., he had divided 4/5 of the lands of Qurayṣah among four clan groups.832

In terms of the distribution of the booty after Khaybar, there was no problem with regard to movable property; all the objects were piled up to be distributed. However the sources are not clear, as far as the land was concerned, on what kind of property was to be divided or in what manner it was to be divided. There are Traditions in which some authority places the land at Khaybar under *ghanīmah*. However, it would be technically incorrect to call it *ghanīmah* and it would seem more appropriate for it to be treated as some kind of *fay*. However there is a report from al-Ḥusayn b al-Aswad833 from Muḥammad b Iṣḥāq who said:

"I once asked Ibn Shihāb about Khaybar and he told me that he was informed that the Prophet captured it by force after a fight, and that it was included among the spoils which God assigned to his Prophet. The Prophet took its fifth and divided the land among the Muslims. Those of its people who surrendered did so on condition that they leave the land; but the Prophet asked them to enter into a treaty, which they did".834

832 *EI*², IV, p. 1140.
834 *Futūḥ*, pp. 46-7.
Al-Waqidi and Ibn Ishāq report that the Prophet gave Khaybar to the people who had been present at al-Ḥudaybiyyah, whether they were absent or present at Khaybar. For instance, those who were absent at Khaybar such as Murayy b Sinān, Ayman b ‘Ubayd, Sibā’ b ‘Urfūṭah al-Ghifārī, were given a share. And those who were left behind in Medina such as Jābir b ‘Abd Allah and others were also given a share. The Prophet did not neglect two men who participated in Ḥudaybiyyah but died before Khaybar. Also shares were given to those who were sick during this campaign, such as, Suwayd b al-Nu‘mān, ‘Abd Allāh b Sa‘d Khaythāmah and a man from Banū Khūṭāmah. It is not clear, whether these statements concern all the gains, i.e. the

836 He is Murayy b Sinān b ‘Ubayd b Tha’labah b ‘Ubayd b al-Abjar, known as Khadrah al-Anṣārī al-Khudrī. Paternal uncle of Ibn Sa‘d. According to al-Waqidi, he witnesses Uhud, Bay‘at al-Ridwan and he was absent at Khaybar. al-Iṣābah, III, p. 405.
837 He is Ayman b ‘Ubayd b Zayd b al-Khazraji. He is the son of Umm Ayman and the uterine brother of Usāmah b Zayd. He was killed in the battle of Ḥunayn. Ṭabaqāt, II, p. 152.
839 He is Suwayd b al-Nu‘mān b Malik b ‘Āmir b Majda‘ah al-Awsi al-Anṣārī al-Madani. He was the one who take allegiance at Bay‘at al-Ridwān. His kunniyah was Abū Ḥātim or Abū ‘Uqbah. Tahdhib, IV, pp. 2801.
840 He is ‘Abd Allāh b Sa‘d b Abi Khaythamah b al-Ḥārith b Malik al-Anṣārī al-Aws. He took part with the Prophet in the battle of Uhud. He met the Prophet at ‘Aqabah (?) along with his father as a (radif) accompany in the journey on a horseback. Ibn Shahin says that he was martyr in the Yamāmah expedition. al-Iṣābah, II, p. 316.
841 Muluk, II, p. 684; Maghāzi, pp. 683-4.
movable booty and the land, or just the movable booty. This procedure of distribution seems to confirm that one motive at least of the expedition against Khaybar was to compensate the men who had been disappointed by the result of Ḥudaybiyyah.

Al-Ṭabarî and al-Waqidi report that at Khaybar, the Prophet himself had 3 horses, Zubayr had a few horses [perhaps more than 3], Khirāsh b al-Ṣīmah, al-Barrā’ Ibn Aws b Khālid b al-Ja‘d b ‘Awf and Abū ‘Amr al-Anṣārī, each had 2 horses. Again in distributing the share of horses, the Prophet only gave share to a maximum of 2 horses.

Exactly what share of the produce of the land was taken by the Prophet is not clear from the sources. There are two major reports both given by Balādhūrī. ‘Amr al-Naqīḍ from Bushayr Ibn Yasār says that the Prophet divided Khaybar into thirty-six shares and each share into a hundred lots. One-half of the shares he reserved for himself

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843 He is al-Barrā’ Ibn Aws b Khālid b al-Ja‘d b ‘Awf b Mabdhul al-Anṣārī. Ibn Shāhīn said that he took part in the battle of Uhud. He was the husband of Khawlāh bint al-Mundhir b Zayd, the foster mother of Ibrāhim, the son of the Prophet. Ibid., p. 142.

844 Muluk, II, p. 688; Maghāzī, pp. 688.

845 Futūḥ, pp. 45-6.

846 Unable to identify.

847 He is Bushayr b Yasār al-Ḥarīthi al-Anṣārī. He was a great jurist, who had met many of the Ṣahābah. Tahdhib, I, p. 472.
to be used in case of accident or what might befall him. and the other half he distributed among the Muslims. According to this, the Prophet's share included al-Shiqq with al-Natāt and whatever was included within them. Among the lands turned into waqf (unalienable legacy to the general Muslim community) were al-Katībah and Sulālim. When the Prophet laid his hands on these possessions, he found that he had not enough ‘āmils (to collect taxes) for the land. He therefore turned it over to the Jews on condition that they use the land and keep only one-half of its produce. This arrangement lasted throughout the life of the Prophet and Abū Bakr. But when ‘Umar was made caliph, and as the money became abundant in the lands of the Muslims, and the Muslims became numerous enough to cultivate the land, ‘Umar expelled the Jews to Syria and divided the property among the Muslims.

The second from Bakr b al-Haytham from al-Zuhri that when the Prophet conquered Khaybar the fifth share of it (reserved for himself) was al-Katībah; as for al-Shiqq, al-Natāt, Sulālim and al-Watīḥ they were given to the Muslims. The Prophet left the land in the hands of the Jews on condition that they give him one-half of the produce. Thus, the part of the produce assigned by God to the Muslims was divided among the Muslims until the time of ‘Umar who divided the land itself among them according to their shares.

848 According to Ibn Ishāq the Prophet distributed al-Katībah which is Wadi Khāṣṣ between his kindred and wives and to other men and women. He gave to his daughter Fāṭimah 200 loads; ‘Ali 100; Usāmah b Zayd 200 and 50 loads of dates; ‘Āishah 200; Abū Bakr 100; ‘Aqil b Abū Ṭalib 140; B Ja‘far 50; Rabī‘ah b al-Ḥārith 100; al-Ṣalt b Makhramah and his two sons 100 ... Cf. Sirah, II, pp. 236-9 ; Ibn Ishāq, pp. 522-3.
Al-Ṭabari reports that the produce of the land of Khaybar was 8000 wasq of dates and 3000 ʂā of grain [barley]. After giving half to the cultivator, the Prophet gained 4000 wasq of dates and 1500 ʂā of grain, in which, half of them were for the Prophet to be distributed to his family and relatives while the remaining half was to be divided among the Muslims.849

It seems that the Prophet was using some of his share in Khaybar as a means of subsistence, giving each one of his wives 80 camels-loads of dates and 20 loads of barley; and to his uncle al-'Abbās b ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib 200 loads ...850 The Prophet also gave as fief to al-Zubayr lands in Khaybar planted with palm-trees and other trees.851

The success of the Prophet at Khaybar had an immediate effect on several tribes, who were enemies until that moment, but embraced Islam and recognised the hegemony of Medina, as the Prophet increased in his power. Another consequence of great importance lay in the economic advantages which the Prophet and the Muslims, both the emigrants and Anṣār, gained from the conquest of the oasis. It also provided the Prophet with an annual income to use for Islam.

After the Prophet came back from Khaybar, he began to put pressure on the Jews at Fadak, which was a little north of Khaybar. He

849 Muluk, II, p. 693; see also Maghāzī, pp. 692-3.
850 Futūḥ, p. 49; Muluk, II, pp. 693-9; Maghāzī, pp. 693-4.
sent Muḥayyisah b Masʿūd\textsuperscript{852} to them to call them to Islam. He informed them what had happened in Khaybar. As a result, their leader agreed to make ṣulḥ with the Prophet in which he agreed to give up one-half of the land and the palm-trees to the Prophet.\textsuperscript{853} Thus, Fadak became the prophet’s property, because it had not been attacked by horse or camel.\textsuperscript{854} The Prophet used to spend the income from it on the wayfarer (\textit{ibn al-sabil}).\textsuperscript{855} Thus it seems that the Prophet was now able to designate his estate at Fadak to meet the increasing costs of upkeeping the many visitors to him as more and more Arabs came to Medina to accept Islam.

The Prophet then turned his attention to the Jewish settlement at Wadi al-Qurā. He invited them to Islam, but they refused and started hostilities. The Muslims defeated them. The Prophet divided all the movable booty to the participants after he had taken a fifth, and left the palm-groves in the hand of its cultivators to cultivate the lands with a similar term as people of Khaybar,\textsuperscript{856} that is half of the produce was to go to the Muslims. The sources are unclear about the actual division and simply say that it was the same as at Khaybar. This must mean, anyway, that a significant amount was at the disposal of the Prophet and the treasury of the Muslims.

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\textsuperscript{852} He is Muḥayyisah b Masʿūd al-Anṣārī al-Awsi. He is the younger brother of Ḥuwaysah b Masʿūd. But he became a Muslim before his brother. \textit{al-Iṣābah}, III, p. 388.

\textsuperscript{853} \textit{Maghāzī}, p. 706; \textit{Sirah}, II, p. 239; Ibn Ishāq, p. 521.

\textsuperscript{854} \textit{Sirah}, II, p. 239; Ibn Ishāq, p. 523.


\textsuperscript{856} \textit{Maghāzī}, pp. 707-11; \textit{Futūh}, p. 47; \textit{Origin}, p. 57.

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As a result of what had happened to the Jewish settlement at Khaybar, Fadak and Wadi al-Qurā, the Jews of Taymā’, eight marāhil North of Medina on the way to Syria,857 decided to make contact with the Prophet and seek an agreement with him before the Muslims took action against them. It was agreed that they should remain in possession of their land and have the full income from it. Both al-Balādhurī858 and al-Wāqidi state that, in return, they agreed to pay jizyah or a poll-tax.859 It is much more likely that a regular fixed tribute occurred on this occasion that was the case in the previously discussed earlier mention of jizyah in connection with Dūmat al-Jandal.860 However, it is still unlikely that the institution of jizyah had taken place yet. What may have actually occurred was the agreement to pay a regular itāwa, a pre-Islamic Arab tribute paid by a weaker tribe to a more powerful tribe in return for not being attacked or some other favour. Later the sources saw that it fitted in to the institution of jizyah and used that term to describe it.

857 <i>Wafā’</i>, II, p. 272.
858 He is Aḥmad b Yahyā b Jābir al-Balādhūrī. He was one of the greatest Arab historians of the third century. Two great historical works by him have survived: <i>Futūḥ al-Buldān</i> and <i>Anṣāb al-Ashrāf</i>. <i>El</i>¹, I, pp. 611-2.
859 <i>Maghāzi</i>, p. 711; <i>Futūḥ</i>, p. 48; Origin, p. 58.
Extension of Islamic influence in Arabia

The Prophet continued to send out a number of raiding parties, most of them fairly small.\textsuperscript{861} Some of these raids were made to keep control of gains already made\textsuperscript{862} or to extend further pressure on tribes that had already been put under pressure. However, one small raid was made in the area just north of Mecca against Hawāzin under ‘Umar b al-Khaṭṭāb. Although no contact was made, this raid indicates that the Prophet was now thinking of extending the influence of Islam, south of Mecca.

In Dhū al-Qa‘dah 7 A.H., the Prophet commanded his Companions to perform the ‘\textit{umrah} to make up for the one, which they had been prevented from making, the year before. He ordered that, no one should be left behind amongst those who went to al-Ḥudaybiyyah, except those who had been killed at Khaybar and those who died since. The total number of Muslims was 2000 men.\textsuperscript{863} They took 100 horses on this journey and they brought 60 camels as sacrificial victims.\textsuperscript{864} The numbers of horses and camels for sacrifice were clear indications to the Meccans of the growing power of the Muslims.

\textsuperscript{861} In Sha‘bān 7 A.H., Abū Bakr was sent to Najd and Bashir b Sa‘d to Banū Murrah. \textit{Maghāzī}, pp. 722-3.

\textsuperscript{862} In Ramadān 7 A.H., Ghilab b ‘Abd Allāh was sent against Banū Tha‘labah and Bashir b Sa‘d to Ghaṭafān. \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 726-8.

\textsuperscript{863} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 731.

\textsuperscript{864} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 732-3.
Following this event, there were a number of smaller expeditions whose main purpose was to expand Islam. However, there was one serious set-back for Islam during this period. The Prophet sent a large expedition of 3,000 men under Zayd b Ḥārithah to Mu‘tah in the North of Arabia on the borders of the Byzantine Empire. To sent such a large raid so far indicates the formation of a policy to expand the influence of Medina and it may also have been something to do with the expansion of Medinan commerce. However, the result was a defeat, Zayd himself was killed. It is interesting to note that the eminent Meccan, Khālid b al-Walid, who had just left Mecca to become a Muslim, was on this raid. This, perhaps, indicates that during the truce with Mecca, the Prophet was going to compete with that city for trade with Syria. It was, in fact, Khālid who was responsible for bringing back the surviving Muslims to Medina.865

In Sha‘bān, 22 months after the Ḥudaybiyyah treaty was made,866 an incident took place between the Banū Khuzā‘ah (the Prophet’s allies) and Banū Bakr (the Quraysh allies), which led to the breaking of the treaty.867 Mecca surrendered and most of the Meccans including Abū Sufyān, accepted Islam.868

After the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet had treated the rich men of Mecca very magnanimously. However, the conquest of Mecca was a

865 Ibid., pp. 756-63; Sirah, II, p.256; Ibn Ishāq, p. 536.
866 Maghāzī, p. 783.
868 Maghāzī, p. 818; Futūh, p. 51; Origin, pp. 62-3.
conquest in which no booty was taken. Therefore, the Prophet had to sustain an army of 10,000 without any immediate means of supplying them all while many of them were also disappointed for loosing the opportunity for gaining booty. As a result, the Prophet requested loans from the rich men of Mecca, whom he had dealt with so leniently. Ṣafwān b Umayyah lent 50,000 dirhams, ‘Abd Allāh b Abī Rabī‘ah869 40,000 and Ḥuwaytīb b ‘Abd al-‘Uzza870 40,000. So from this loans the Prophet gave 50 dirhams each to those of his supporters who were in needs.871

The Prophet also sent out troops round Mecca inviting men to embrace Islam, after the conquest of Mecca, although he did not command his troops to fight.872 Khalid b al-Walid was sent to Banū Jadhimah (of the Banū Sulaym) as a missionary, with 300 men including emigrants and Anṣār.873 However he killed some of them. According to a report they were killed because a man of Jadhimah named Jaḥdam

869 He is ‘Abd Allāh b Abī Rabī‘ah, son of al-Mughirah b ‘Abd Allah b ‘Umar b Makhzūm. And was popularly called Abā ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. He is the brother of ‘Iyāsh b Abī Rabī‘ah and Abū Jahl, his mother was Asmā‘ bint Mukharribah. His son ‘Umar b Abī Rabī‘ah al-Makhzūmi was the famous Qurayshī poet. He was appointed as governor to al-Janad (in Yemen) by ‘Umar until the latter’s death and passed away during ‘Uthmān reign near Mecca. al-Iṣābah, II, p. 305 ; Wafayāt, III, p. 439 ; Tahdhib, V, p. 208.


871 Watt, p. 67.

872 Maghāzī, p. 875.

873 Ibid.
started the fighting. While according to another, even though at first they intended to fight, later they accepted Islam. 874 Ḥakīm b Ḥakīm b ‘Abbād b Ḥunayf875 further reported that when news of this reached the Prophet, the Prophet sent ‘Alī to Banū Jadhīmah to look into their affairs, abolish the practices of the pagan era, pay the blood-wit and compensate their monetary loss even if it was only a dog’s bowl. ‘Alī still had some money left over after all had been paid and gave them the rest of it on behalf of the Prophet. 876 It was said that the money which ‘Alī brought to the Banū Jadhīmah was given by ‘Abd Allāh b Abī Rabī‘ah, Ṣafwān b Umayyah and Ḥuwayṭib b ‘Abd al-‘Uzza. 877

According to al-Wāqīḍī and other historians, when the news of the conquest of Mecca reached Hawāzīn and Thaqif, they gathered together. Mālik b ‘Awf878 was a leader of Hawāzīn and the leader of Thaqif was Qārir b al-Aswād b Mas‘ūd.879 They collected their men880 and Hawāzīn had brought their cattle, wives and children. Their numbers were

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877 Ibid.
878 He is Mālik b ‘Awf al-Nāṣrī. A contemporary of the Prophet. He traced his descent through Naṣr b Mu‘āwiyyah to the ancestor of powerful Qaysi tribe of Banū Hawāzīn. EI‘V, pp. 207-8.
879 He is Qārir b al-Aswād b Mas‘ūd b Mu‘attib b Mālik b ‘Amr b Sa‘d b ‘Amr b al-Thaqif al-Thaqafi. He is a nephew of ‘Urwah b Mas‘ūd. After the death of his uncle (‘Urwah b Mas‘ūd), Abū al-Malik b ‘Urwah and Qārir b al-Aswād went to the Prophet as a delegation from Thaqif and both of them accepted Islam. al-Iṣābah, III, pp. 219-20.
880 Maghāzī, p. 885.

225
20,000 men included nomadic tribesmen.\textsuperscript{881} On hearing of this gathering, the Prophet sent ‘Abd Allāh b Abū Ḥadrad al-Aslami\textsuperscript{882} to spy on them. And he learned that the Hawāzin had decided to fight the Prophet. While preparing for this raid, the Prophet was told that Ṣafwān b Umayyah had some armour and weapons. So, the Prophet asked him to lend the weapons for the Muslims. Ṣafwān had no objection and he gave the Prophet a hundred coats of mail with sufficient arms and transport to carry them.\textsuperscript{883} The Prophet went out with 2000 Meccans and 10000 Muslims who had gone with him when he conquered Mecca. The Prophet halted at Ḥunayn on Tuesday 10\textsuperscript{th} day of Shawwāl.\textsuperscript{884} After some fighting, the Hawāzin fled and the Prophet had a power over them. The captives of Ḥunayn were brought to the Prophet with their property. There was sufficient booty to give to every man in the Muslim army 4 camels or its equivalent. Mas‘ūd b ‘Amr al-Ghifārī\textsuperscript{885} was made responsible the spoils and the Prophet ordered that the captives and the animals should be brought to al-Jīrānah and be kept in there for distribution.\textsuperscript{886} Not only did the Prophet capture their families and animals but he also entered into an agreement with them. The leader of

\textsuperscript{881} Watt, pp. 71-2.

\textsuperscript{882} He is ‘Abd Allāh b Abī Ḥadrad. (or Salāmah or ‘Ubayd) b ‘Umayr b Abī Salāmah b Sa‘d b Shaybān b al-Ḫārīth b Qays b Hawāzin b Aslam b Afsā al-Aslami. And popularly called as Abū Muḥammad. He passed away in 71 A.H at the age of 81 years. \textit{al-Isābah}, II, pp. 294-6.


\textsuperscript{884} \textit{Sirah}, II, p. 290 ; Ibn Ishāq, pp. 567-8 ; \textit{Maghāzi}, p. 889.

\textsuperscript{885} He is Mas‘ūd b ‘Amr al-Qārri from al-Qārrah. \textit{al-Isābah}, III, p. 412.

\textsuperscript{886} \textit{Sirah}, II, p. 302 ; Ibn Ishāq, pp. 576 & 593.
Hawāzin, Mālik b ‘Awf, agreed to make peace and accepted Islam. As a result of this he was given 100 camels.⁸⁸⁷

Some of the men of Thaqīf retired from Ḥunayn to Ṭā’if, a town which belonged to their tribe. Ṭā’if was, principally famous for its gardens and its vineyards. Being situated in the mountains, it enjoyed a cool summer and was able to grow the fruits which belong to a temperate climate.⁸⁸⁸

After the Prophet had won the battle of Ḥunayn, he intended to conquer al-Ṭā’if. He proceeded with 400 men and halted outside al-Ṭā’if, after 4 days.⁸⁸⁹ The siege of al-Ṭā’if by the Prophet lasted for 15-20 days, the invasion having begun in Shawwāl 8 A.H.⁸⁹⁰

After withdrawing from Ṭā’if, the Prophet halted at Ji‘rānah on the track leading back to Mecca. Here the immense plunder captured from Hawāzin had been collected. However, the delegation from Hawāzin approaching the Prophet begging for their families which the Muslim had captured. The Prophet accepted their request. The emigrants and the Anṣār immediately replied that their share of the spoils was at the Prophet’s disposal. However, some of the newly converted tribes refused to abandon their share. At this stage, the Prophet intervened, saying "whoever insists on his right to a share of the

⁸⁸⁷ Watt, pp. 71-2
⁸⁸⁸ John Bagot, The Life and Times of Muhammad, p. 325.
⁸⁸⁹ Maghāzi, pp. 922-3.
⁹⁰ Sirah, II, 314; Ibn Isḥāq, p. 589; Futūh, p. 67; Origin, p. 85.
prisoners should release them now and I will compensate him with six camels for every man from the next booty we take". As a result of this promise, all agreed to release the women and children.891

In distributing the livestock, the Prophet had given the largest gift to those whose hearts were to be won over. He gave to the following men 100 camels each: Abū Sufyān b Ḥarb; his son Mu‘āwiyyah; Ḥākīm b Ḥizām; al-Ḥārith b Kaladah brother of Banū ‘Abd al-Dār; al-Ḥārith Ibn Hishām; Suhayl b ‘Amr; Ḥuwaytīb b ‘Abd al-‘Uzza b Abū Qays; al-‘Alā’ b Jāriyah al-Thaqāfī and an ally of Banū Zuhrah; ‘Uyaynah b Ḥiṣn b Ḥudhayfah b Badr; al-Aqra’ b Ḥābis al-Tamimi; Mālik b

892 He was the first Umayyad Caliph. He was born in Mecca in the first decade of the seventh century A.D. He converted to Islam in the year of surrender of Mecca. He was a secretary of the Prophet. EI, VI, pp. 617-21.
894 He is Suhayl b ‘Amr b ‘Abd Shams b ‘Abdūd b Naṣr b Mālik b Ḥasal b ‘Āmir b Lu‘ay al-Qurashi al-‘Āmirī. He was the Qurashi orator. His kunniyah was Abū Yazid. He was one of the mu‘alla fat qulūḥum. According to Abi Khaythamah, he died of plague, in the year 18 A.H. It is said that he died in Yarmuk. Ibid., II, pp. 93-4.
895 He is al-‘Alā’ b Jāriyah al-Thaqāfī, he is the halif of Banū Zuhrah. It is narrated by Ibn ‘Umar that he was one of the recipient of booty of Ḥunayn. Tahdhib, II, p. 497.
896 Unable to identify him.
897 He is al-Aqra’ b Ḥābis b ‘Uqayl b Muḥammad b Sufyān al-Tamimi al-Majāshi’i al-Dārīmi. It is said by Ibn Ishāq that he took part in the battle of Mecca, Ḥunayn and Ta‘if. He is the mu‘alla fat qulūḥum and became good in his Islam. He is called al-Aqra’ because he had a baldhead. He was a noble in Jāhilīyyah and in
‘Awf al-Nasri and Safwan b Umayyah.\textsuperscript{898} Chiefs of Ghaṭafān and Banū Tamīm, was a recent and a doubtful convert, received the same gifts.\textsuperscript{899}

This use of booty to win the hearts of such new converts was an act designed to make Islam more acceptable to a group of people whom the Prophet probably thought would be very helpful in running the rapidly expanding domain of Islam. It is noticeable also that the same group of people whose hearts were to be reconciled are recipients of zakāh.\textsuperscript{900} Clearly, it was very important to Islam that they became firm followers of Islam. The fact that, they received so much booty and were also recipients of zakāh gives us some indication that the immediate financial problems of Islam had been somewhat alleviated and more long-term problems were being addressed. It is noteworthy that, the next major expedition was to Tabūk in the North West of Arabia. Perhaps the Prophet was already thinking of expanding trade and influence with Syria. The member of Quraysh, whose hearts were to be reconciled, would be important people in such a policy because of their contacts with Syria.

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{898} The Prophet also gave to more than 3 people less than 100 camels, and 50 camels to 3 of the people. Cf. Sirah, II, pp. 320-4; Ibn Ishāq, pp. 594-5.

\textsuperscript{899} John Bagot, The Life and Times of Muhammad, p. 328.

\textsuperscript{900} Cf. chapter on zakāh
\end{footnotes}
However, before the expedition to Tabuk, a number of smaller expeditions took place. In these, sometimes, booty was taken, but, in others the main concern seems to be to call the Arabs to Islam.\(^{901}\) In the case of the Jews and the Magians living in Bahrayn, they were offered the alternation of accepting Islam or paying what is described as *jizyah*.\(^ {902}\)

In Rajab 9 A.H., the Prophet ordered his Companions to prepare for raid against the Byzantine empire. It was the time of the year when the heat was oppressive. It was also a time for harvesting the fruit and some wanted to avoid the discomfort of a long desert journey in such hot conditions. So a few Muslims failed to respond to his call.\(^ {903}\) Nonetheless the Prophet sent many people to their own tribe encouraging them to participate in *jihād*. He also ordered them to give *sadaqah* in addition to the normal *zākāh* to help equip the expedition. As a result, many people made substantial contributions. Abū Bakr was the first man who came forward with 4000 *dirhams*, followed by ‘Umar with the same amount of money. Al-‘Abbās b ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Ṭalḥah b ‘Ubayd Allāh, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b ‘Awf provided 200 *ūqiyah*\(^ {904}\) [silver], Sa’d b ‘Ubādah, Muḥammad b Maslamah were also gave some of their wealth. ‘Āsim b ‘Adi\(^ {905}\) brought 70 *wasq* of dates. ‘Uthmān b ‘Affān spent a

\(^{901}\) *Maghāzī*, pp. 981-8.
\(^{902}\) *Futūḥ*, p. 89.
\(^{903}\) *Sirah*, pp. 331-2; Ibn Isḥāq, p. 602.
\(^{904}\) One *ūqiyah* (plural is *awāq*) is equal to forty *dirhams*.
\(^{905}\) He is ‘Āsim b ‘Adi b al-Jadd b al-‘Ajlān b Ḥārithah b Ḍabī‘ah b Ḥaram al-Balavi al-‘Ajlānī. He is the *ḥalīf* of Anṣār. He was the leader of Banū ‘Ajlān and he was the brother of Ma‘ān b ‘Adi who is called Abū ‘Amr and it is said that ‘Āsim b ‘Adi is called as Abū ‘Abd Allāh. According to Ibn Sa’d he died in 45 A.H. at the age of 115. *al-İşıbah*, II, p. 246.
larger sum than any had ever done. It was said that he was equipping 1/3 or the army. Not only the rich but the ordinary men and women also donated whatever they could.906 There were 7 men907 of Anṣār, some from Banū ‘Amr b ‘Awf were said to be among the ahl al-hājah unable to provide themselves with any provision. They wanted to join the Prophet, but they were people without means. Ibn Yāmin b ‘Umayr b Ka‘b al-Naḍrī908 provided them a watering camel and some dates so they could go with the Prophet.909

What is significant about these contributions towards the equipping and financing of the expedition is the amount that some of the emigrants could provide. Thus, showing the transformation of the economic scene from the time of the emigration when they had used up so much of their wealth to support the other emigrants.

The Muslims expedition halted at Tabūk and stayed there for 10 night. During this time, the governor of Aylah, came to Tabūk to pay his respects and concluded an agreement with the Prophet. The sources maintain that the people of Aylah who were Christians and Yuḥanna Ibn Ru‘ba,910 probably their chief agreed to pay a jizyah in return for an

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906 Maghāzī, pp. 990-1.
908 Unable to identify him. Perhaps, he might belong to the tribe of al-Naḍir.
909 Sirah, II, p. 333; Ibn Ishāq, p. 603; Maghāzī, p. 994.
910 Unable to identify him.
undertaking that the people of Aylah would be protected by the Muslims. The Prophet made a condition that, they provide board and lodging to any Muslim who may pass by.\textsuperscript{911} This protection included their caravans and their ships.\textsuperscript{912} The Christian inhabitants of Jarbā’ and Udhrūḥ, some 8 miles north of Aylah, likewise agreed to pay jizyah to ensure their own safety.\textsuperscript{913} They promised to pay 100 dinārs in Rajab every year.\textsuperscript{914}

The people of Maqna (near Aylah) (Banū Ḥabībah) made terms with the Prophet, agreeing to offer one-fourth of what they fish and spin, one-fourth of their horses and coats of mail and one-fourth of their fruits. In return, the Prophet has exempted them from all further jizyah or forced labour.\textsuperscript{915}

\textsuperscript{911} Futūḥ, p. 71; Origin, p. 92.

\textsuperscript{912} Sirah, II, p. 338; Ibn Ishāq, p. 607.

\textsuperscript{913} Udhrūḥ or Adhruḥ was a place between Ma’an and Petra. In the pre-Islamic days it was situated in the Judhām country. It was visited by the Qurashi caravans. Cf. EI\textsuperscript{1}, I, p. 194; Sirah, p. 338; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, Tārikh al-Islām, (Cairo, 1964), I, p. 147; John Bagot, The Life and Times of Muhammad, p. 338.

\textsuperscript{914} According to al-Waqidi, the Prophet took 300 dinārs every year from the people of Aylah. It is also reported that the Prophet collected 100 dinārs every Rajab as the jizyah from the people of Jarbā’ and Udhrūḥ. Cf. Magḥāzī, pp. 1031-2; Futūḥ, pp. 71-2; Origin, pp. 92-3; EI\textsuperscript{1}, I, pp. 194 & 783, ‘Imād al-Dīn Ismā‘il Abī al-Fidā’, al-Mukhtasar fi Akhābār al-Bashar, (Cairo, n.d), I, p. 149.

\textsuperscript{915} Magḥāzī, p. 1032; Futūḥ, pp. 71-2; Origin, pp. 93-4. These places were among numbers of town which enjoyed commercial and military advantages from their situation on the routes between Arabia and Byzantine. Cf. EI\textsuperscript{1}, I, pp. 194 & 783.
Later, in Rajab in the same year the Prophet continued his campaigns in the North of Arabia by sending Khālid b al-Walid with 429 camels against Ukaydir b ‘Abd al-Malik in Dūmat al-Jandal.\footnote{al-Baladhurī says it was in Shawwāl. Cf. 
\textit{Futūh}, p. 97.} The latter was a Christian. Khālid captured him and brought him back to the Prophet.\footnote{\textit{Maghāzī}, pp. 1025-6.} It was agreed that the people of Dūmat al-Jandal should pay 2,000 camels, 800 slaves, 400 coats of mail and 400 lances. While for the future there was to be an annual \textit{jizyah} or poll-tax.\footnote{Watt, p. 115; \textit{Sirah}, II, p. 339; Ibn Isḥāq, p. 608.} According to al-Wāqīdī, the payment was 2000 camels, 800 horses, 400 swords, 400 arrows. \footnote{\textit{Maghāzī}, pp. 1027-30.}

After returning from Tabūk, the Prophet began to receive tribesmen from the surrounding desert who agreed to accept Islam.\footnote{\textit{Sirah}, II, p. 351-4; Ibn Isḥāq, p. 617.} Presumably, the agreement to pay \textit{zakāh} was part of the requirement for those who accepted Islam.

The pilgrimage in that year was led by Abū Bakr but ‘Ali was also sent to announce to the remaining polytheists that this was the last time that they would be allowed to perform the pilgrimage as polytheists.\footnote{\textit{Op. Cit.}, p. 1077.} From thereafter, only Muslims would be allowed to perform it. The fact was that, the Muslims were now so influential, both in terms of power and wealth, that they could dispense with the polytheists at the pilgrimage. If the latter wished to take advantage of the opportunities

for trade which the pilgrimage provided, they would have to become Muslims.

A delegation from Najrān in Yemen came to the Prophet to ask for terms on behalf of the people of Najrān. They agreed to offer two thousand robes - one thousand in Ṣafar and one thousand in Rajab - each one of which should have the value of one ʿuqiyah. Whatever weapons, horses, camels or goods they offered, should be accepted instead of the robes, if they were of the same value. Another condition was made that they provide board and lodging for the Prophet's messengers for a month or less, and that, they should not detain them for more than a month. In the case of war in Yemen, they were bound to offer as loan 30 coats of mail, 30 mares and 30 camels and the Prophet guaranteed to make up for those animals which perish during this campaign. However, if they themselves took part in fighting, there was no need for them to provide that.922 They were also not allowed to change their religion or their rank in it. Presumably this means that, they were not allowed to become pagans or Jews. If is to be expected that if they became Muslims, all the existing conditions would be changed. Further conditions were that, they could not be required to take part in military service and they did not have to pay the tithe (ʿushur).923 The sources do not explain what ʿushur actually were but perhaps this is a reference to additional jizyah.924 The final condition was that they should not practice usury.925

922 Watt, p. 127.
923 Futūḥ, pp. 75-77 ; Origin, pp. 98-9.
924 See chapter jizyah.
925 Futūḥ, pp. 75-7 ; Origin, pp. 98-9.
During the last part of the Prophet's life there were many delegations to the Prophet from different tribes in Arabia who came to accept Islam. The terms seem to have always included the payment of zakāh and collectors were sent to the different tribes. It is interesting to note that in the case of the people of Jurash, the Prophet made a special reserve (ḥimā)\(^\text{926}\) around the town where their horses, riding camels and

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\(^{926}\) ḥimā was a tribal economic structure of private ownership of land. Because the land was a common source of income. Literally, himā denotes "something protected" and "forbidden" to others. Meaning that, a piece of land which is privately used by some and it was forbidden to the other. Cf. EI², III, p. 392; Kitāb al-Amwāl, p. 294; Shawkānī, V, p. 347. In his article, Chelhod opines that himā was a pre-Islamic origin, it developed in the tribal structure and had a religious connotation. Cf. EI², III, p. 392. And it represents a relic of the old collective property. Cf. Løkkegaard, Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period, p. 20. In pre-Islamic epoch, himā was exclusively the property of a tribe. Al-Shāfi‘i informs us that a strong Arab leader, used to erect fences and hedges around the land discovered as far as his barking dog's sound could be heard. Thus, no other tribe could come and share its benefit. This pastured land become a private grazing land only for his tribe. Cf. Umm, III, p. 270. In the early Islamic period, for many reason there was not much opportunity for individual to develop himā. The probability was that, at this stage, himā was used for the benefit of the people and for the protection of the society. Cf. Umm, III, p. 270. There is a Tradition which means "There is no himā except for God and His Messenger". Cf. Kitāb al-Amwāl, p. 294; Muhāmmad Zāhid b al-Ḥasan al-Kawtharī, Tartīb Musnad al-Imām al-Shāfi‘i, (Cairo, 1951), II, p. 132. This Tradition refers to the things which were declared by the Prophet to be common property of the Muslims, like water, fire etc. cannot made a private himā. In addition, himā cannot be made out of the uncultivated and abandoned land. The Prophet founded the himā of Naqi‘ for the benefit of the Muslims. Horses of war were reared on it. Cf. Umm, III, p. 270; Kitāb al-Amwāl, pp. 298 & 300.
ploughing oxen would graze without disturbance. The cattle of any other man which grazed on their pasture could be seized with impunity.927

The Prophet made the farewell pilgrimage before he died. In his sermon to the people he announced that all usury was abolished and all debts that had been incurred in usurious transactions were nullified.928 Before this, it seems that usury had been made unlawful in Medina. Now it became the law for all the people embracing Islam. We have earlier seen as in the case of Najrān, the Prophet extending the prohibition of usury in Arabia.

Just before his death, the Prophet had arranged for a large expedition to head North.929 This clearly indicates his intention of pursuing the policy of influence and trade on the border of Syria.

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927 Sirah, II, p. 380; Ibn Ishāq, p. 642.
928 Ibid., pp. 390 & 651.
929 Ibid., pp. 392 & 652; Maghāzī, pp. 1117-8 & 1122-5.
CHAPTER 4
ZAKÂH

The term zakâh which is usually translated as alms-tax is derived from zakâ-yazkû,930 which means to grow, to increase, to be pure or purified and to purify;931 i.e. a portion of one's substance given in order to purify the rest.932 The verbal noun is zakâ' and the noun is zakâh. According to Ben Shemesh it corresponds exactly to the Hebrew word zakûr.933 The combination of iqâmat al-ṣalâh and itâ al-zakâh is of frequent occurrence in the Qur'ân. These are an essential marks of membership of the community that followed the Prophet or one of the earlier Prophets. In the Qur'ânic verses in which both these terms, ṣalâh and zakâh occur together, the term zakâh should be interpreted as referring to wealth.934 And according to al-Qurtubi, the zakâh in these occurrences meant the compulsory zakâh.935

We have already discussed how the early Muslims in Mecca were encouraged to look after the poorer members of the community. This charitable activity seems to have been exhorted on the Muslims in Mecca without being made a compulsory duty. There is some dispute over

930 Lisân, XIV, pp. 358-9; Râzî, II, p. 273.
931 Râzî, II, p. 273; Lane, pp. 1240-1; Wehr, p. 379.
935 Qurṭubi, II, p. 73.
whether the word zakāh was used to describe this or not. Certainly if we are to accept Ibn Isḥaq’s account of the migration to Abyssinia, it would appear that a form of zakāh was introduced before the emigration to Abyssinia (615 A.D). It was reported that Ja‘far b Abi Ṭālib,936 as the Muslims’ spokesman to the Negus in Abyssinia mentioned the teaching of the Prophet which included ṣalāh, zakāh and fasting.937 However, if Ja‘far actually did mention these things, he was certainly not referring to the proper Islamic institutions of ṣalāh, zakāh and fasting as these were fully elaborated in Medina. Therefore, if zakāh was used in Mecca at this time for alms-giving, it is more of less voluntary, for there were as yet no Muslim institutions or authority to make it compulsory. The only compulsion could be the desire to serve God. Perhaps, the term zakāh which may have been mentioned by Ja‘far in his speech may indicate "to purify themselves from the previous practice which contradicted the teaching of Islam". Or it may also indicate some sort of payment which was encouraged by religion.

936 He was also known as Ja‘far al-Ṭayyār, a cousin of the Prophet. He was an eloquent speaker. He was also most winning in his person, and the Prophet said to him in one occasion: "Thou art like me in looks and in character". Ṭabaqāt, IV, p. 24; He migrated to Abyssinia in the second group. After the Muslims migrated to Abyssinia, the Quraysh sent ‘Abd Allāh b Abi Rabi‘ah and ‘Amr b al-‘Āṣ as their deputation to Negus to take them back to Mecca. However, they failed. Abū al-Rabi‘ Sulaymān Ibn Sālim al-Kalā‘i, Kitāb al-Iktifā‘ fi Maghāzi al-Muṣṭafā wa al-Thalāthah al-Khulaṣa’, (Paris, 1931), I, pp. 358 , 387 & 390; EI1, II, p. 993.

As far as the word "zakāh" is concerned in the Qurʾān, it occurs in thirty-two places,

11 are regarded as Meccan and 21 Medinan.938 Of the 11, two, 18:81 and 19:13,940 use zakāh without a definite article and seem to refer to purity. Bell is inclined to the view that these verses may be genuinely Meccan. Several of these verses941 refer to the Jews or Prophet's being enjoined to encourage the payment of zakāh. Zakāh is usually coupled with salāh in these verses. Of the remaining verses Bell maintains that 41:7942 is possibly Meccan, while the remaining were Medinan. According to Tradition sūrah 23, in which zakāh is referred in verse 4,943 was the last sūrah revealed before the Prophet left Mecca.944 However, Bell feels that it has been revised and the reference

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meccan verses</th>
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<tr>
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<td>98:5</td>
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939 "So we desired that, their Lord would give them in exchange (a son) better in purity (of conduct) and closer in affection"
940 "And pity (for all creatures) as from us, and purity: he was devout".
942 "Those who practise not regular charity, and who even deny the hereafter".
943 "Who are active in deeds of charity".
944 Watt, p. 371.
to zakāh is Medinan, ṣalāh occurs in close approximately. The reason appears to be that the zakāh on wealth was not implemented until in Medina. According to Wensinck, the word zakāh means service, and it was a Jewish custom. This term was applied by the Arabian Jews or by the Prophet exclusively to the giving of alms, and subsequently, to the alms themselves. He also opines that Meccan Islam actually included only one type of service, namely the ṣalāh,945 which was some earlier form of worship.

Generally speaking, it seems that in the Meccan period of revelation, other expressions were used; i.e., it‘ām al-miskīn, ḥadd ‘alā ta‘ām al-miskīn, infāq and ḥaqq ma‘lūm. As regard to sūrah 74:44946 in which the term nut‘im al-miskīn is used, Muir places this sūrah in the second stage of Meccan sūrah, i.e., third or fourth year of the Prophet's career.947 But, Bell places this verse as an early Medinan one.948 It seems certain that the infāq was encouraged in early Meccan time.

At Medina, Islam was exposed to influences which changed its image to such an extent that the Meccan period can only be regarded as

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945 AWJ, p. 83.
946 "Nor were we of those who fed the indigent".
947 The verse means the discouragement of usury and an appeal for contributions; the contribution will be repaid in double. The zakāh seems to be yet not a fixed institution. Commentary, II, p. 397.
948 Bell, II, p. 619.
an introduction to its later development.\textsuperscript{949} Thus in sûrah 5:13, \textit{zakāh} and \textit{ṣalāḥ} were also commanded of the Jews:\textsuperscript{950}

"God did aforetime take a covenant from the children of Israel, and We appointed twelve captains among them. And God said: 'I am with you: if ye (but) establish regular prayers (\textit{ṣalāḥ}), practice regular charity (\textit{zakāh}) ...'"

This verse is said to belong to year 2,\textsuperscript{951} but refers to the practice at the time of Moses. This verse gives a version of the covenant of the children of Israel which they had broken. It is the latest version of the covenant.\textsuperscript{952} Therefore, it seems clear that the practice of \textit{ṣalāḥ} and \textit{zakāh} were attributed to the Jews. At the time of the Prophet, it would appear that Islam considered that it was continuing these practices with some modifications according to the needs of the community.

In many of the earliest Medinan passages where \textit{zakāh} occurs, it refer to the Jews or to disaffected Medinan Arabs, who may be presumed to have been friendly with the Jews.\textsuperscript{953} Watt points out that most of the verses which refer to the \textit{zakāh} in relation to the Jews were revealed between the earliest Medinan period and al-Ḥudaybiyyah. There are six verses which are late revelations,\textsuperscript{954} and seems to refer to an institution that has already been well established.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{949} AWJ, p. 83.
\item \textsuperscript{951} Bell, I, p. 95.
\item \textsuperscript{952} \textit{Commentary}, I, p. 151.
\item \textsuperscript{953} Watt, p. 369.
\item \textsuperscript{954} \textit{al-Qur‘ān}, 9:5, 11, 18, 71 & 72; 33:3; 58:13 & 14.
\end{itemize}
Neither Ibn Hishām nor al-Ṭabari mention about when the zakāh of wealth was introduced in the Medinan society. The stages by which the alms had reached the compulsory tax cannot be precisely traced. Without doubt it began with voluntary contributions which the wealthier members of the community were desired to provide for the support of the poorer members. It was reported that on his arrival at Medina, the Prophet stated the importance of zakāh and infāq in his first speech in Medina, and encouraging them to spend for the sake of God, even in a small amounts.⁹⁵⁵

Al-Ṭabari suggests that the year 1, 2 and 3, appear to be the years in which most shari‘āt were laid down. It is undeniable that the salah was the first Islamic Law laid down. However, the change of Qiblah was made in Medina followed by fasting in the month of Ramaḍān in year 2 A.H. It seems possible that zakāt al-fīṭr was introduced with the purpose of entertaining and feeding the poor on the ‘īd day on breaking the fast. While the zakāh on wealth seems to have been levied after all these injunctions.

In determining when the payment of zakāh was made a requirement, Bell suggests that it was introduced probably towards the end of the year 2 A.H. or beginning of the year 3 A.H.⁹⁵⁶ Most Islamic Jurists also agree that the zakāh on wealth was implemented in 2 A.H..

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⁹⁵⁵ Sirah, I, pp. 300-1.
⁹⁵⁶ Commentary, I, p. 10.
Jurists also agree that zakāh became compulsory in the year of 2 A.H.,\(^{957}\) and was enjoined upon everybody who had the means which are specified by Islamic Law. And verses directing the Muslims to perform it were revealed and repeatedly mentioned.

Clearly if zakāh tax was introduced as compulsory in the year 2 or 3 A.H., there had to be some legislation to indicate on what zakāh was and how much to be levied. We must presume for lack of evidence that zakāh was levied on items of wealth available to the Muslims in Medina. Thus it would be expected that zakāh would be levied on livestock, farm produce and commercial holdings etc. In this connection, the exemption of horses from the imposition of zakāh fits very easily. It has already been noted that the Muslims were short of cavalry and this exemption is probably to encourage Muslims to own horses. Also as the Qurʾān is very specific about the expenditure of the khums, it would be expected that there was also some legislation with regard to the expenditure of zakāh from the time of its institution.

The problem of the introduction of the compulsory payment of zakāh is further compounded by the use of the ʿadaqah in the Qurʾānic text. It occurs 13 times\(^{958}\) in the Qurʾān and all the verses are Medinan. The word ʿadaqah means alms, and is derived from the verb "s-d-q", because the Muslim's alms-giving shows the sincerity of his religion. As a matter of fact, this word is merely a transliteration of the Hebrew

\(^{957}\) Shawkānī, IV, p. 170.


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word, *sadaqah*, which originally meant "honesty".\(^959\) Frequently in the text, the word *sadaqah* is used in its proper meaning; in the sense of voluntary alms-giving.\(^960\) This type of *sadaqah* is defined thus:

"Voluntary *sadaqah* is an act of worship arising from free choice mixed with authority; and if it be not so then it is no voluntary *sadaqah*, for, man makes it obligatory upon himself, just as God makes mercy obligatory upon Himself towards those who repent, and corrects those who do ill in ignorance".\(^961\)

As far as the word *sadaqah* in surah 2 verse 196\(^962\) is concerned, it refers to feeding or giving food to the poor due to breaking of the pilgrimage's rules.\(^963\) Even though paying the atonement is compulsory, the word *sadaqah* here refers to an undefined charitable act, i.e. it is left


\(^961\) *EI*, IV, p. 34.

\(^962\) "And complete the *Hajj* or *'Umrah* in the service of God. But if ye are prevented (from completing it), send an offering for sacrifice, such as ye may find, and do not shave your heads until the offering reaches the place of sacrifice, and if any of you is ill, or has an ailment in his scalp, (necessitating shaving), (he should) in compensation, either fast, or feed the poor, or offer sacrifice (*sadaqah*)..."

\(^963\) According to a report from the Prophet, this verse was revealed because of Ka'ab b 'Ujah who complained to the Prophet about his head. This happened in the year of Hûdaybiyyah as recorded in a Tradition reported by Ka'ab himself as: "I went to the Prophet telling him about my head. The Prophet asked me: 'Is it hurting you?'. 'Certainly yes', I replied. The Prophet again questioned me, 'is it bleeding?' I said, 'no'. As a result, the Prophet said to me: 'You could fast three days if you wish or you could feed six *masâkin* with the amount of three *āsū* of dates, in which every *miskin* will receive half sâ'." Cf. *Tafsîr*, II, p. 230; Shawkâni, V, p. 11; *al-Ṣâhîh*, VIII, p. 118.
to the individual to donate the amount. In later times, the atonement for breaking the pilgrimage rule becomes fixed.964

Sūrah 2:263 refers to the kind words and the covering of faults as being much better than the alms (ṣadaqah), which are followed by injury. There is a report from al-Ḍahḥāk which insists that it is better (for this type of man) to withhold his property rather than to spend it asṣadaqah which is followed by injury.965 Afterwards verse 264 advises a man not to injure the recipients, so that his rewards of givingṣadaqah would not become null and void. This injury may be caused by the attitude of spending so as to be seen by men.966 Althoughṣadaqah here probably means voluntary alms giving, it is possible that it could refer to the zakāh.

Sūrah 2:271 refers to the voluntaryṣadaqah, which is allowed to be disclosed or concealed. However, to conceal the act of voluntaryṣadaqah is more appreciated.967

Verse 276 contrasts the abrogation of usury with the fruitful nature ofṣadaqah. Again this verse could refer either to the voluntary almsgiving or the zakāh. Perhaps it is more likely to refer here to the

964 al-Qurʾān, 2:196; 5:98. The Ḥanafis maintain that thisṣadaqah is halfṣāʾ of wheat which is equal to adirham. The amount paid is according to the rule which had been broken. Ḥanafi says that those who did the following must payṣadaqah. Wahbah, III, p. 267.
965 Tafsir, III, p. 64.
966 Ibid.
967 Ibid., p. 92.

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introduction of compulsory zakâh because it refers to the legal prohibition of usury which is also mentioned in the previous verse.

As regard to sūrah 4:114,968 the reference to sadaqah may be either the voluntary almsgiving or the zakâh.

In sūrah 58 verses 12 and 13,969 the reference to sadaqah is as a special donation to be made to the Prophet by those who wished to speak to him. This compulsory form of tax was later removed.

The remaining verses in which sadaqah occurs, all come from sūrah 9, namely verses, 58, 60, 79, 103 and 104.970 All of them seem to

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968 "In most of their secret talks there is no good; but if one exhorts to a deed of charity (sadaqah) or justice (ma‘rûf) or conciliation between men, (secrecy is permissible): To him who does this, seeking the good pleasure of God, We shall soon give a reward of the highest (value)."

969 "O ye who believe! when ye consult the Apostle in private, spend something in charity (sadaqah) before your private consultation. That will be best for you, and most conducive to purity (of conduct) but if ye find not (the wherewithal), God is oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful".

" Is it that ye are afraid of spending sums in charity (sadaqah) before your private consultation (with him)? If, then, ye do not so, and God forgives you, Then (at least) establish regular prayer; practise regular charity (zakâh); and obey God and His Apostle. And God is well-acquainted with all that ye do".

970 "Among them are men who slander thee in the matter of (the distribution of) the alms (al-sadaqât); if they are given part thereof, they are pleased, but if not, behold! they are indignant!" (9:58)

"Those who slander such of the Believers as give themselves freely to (deeds of) charity (al-sadaqât), as well as such as can find nothing to give, except, the fruits of their labour ..." (9:79)
refer to the compulsory zakāh. The most important of these verses is verse 60:

"Alms (ṣadaqāt) are for the poor (fuqarā’), and the needy (masākin), and those employed to administer the funds (‘āmilin ‘alayhā), for those whose hearts have been (recently) reconciled (to truth) (mu’allafat quālūbihum), for those in bondage (riqāb) and in debt (ghārimin), in the cause of God (fi sabīl Allāh), and for the wayfarer (ibn al-sabīl)...."

This verse is a fairly late revelation. It was probably revealed in its present form in the year 8 A.H. However, this does not mean that there had been no specified recipient of zakāh before this date. Perhaps parts of the verse may have been revealed earlier and its final form took shape later. There are two other verses, which deal with income and its beneficiaries. As already mentioned, 8:41 lists the beneficiaries of the khums. They are: God, His Apostle, kinsmen (dhū al-qurbā), orphans, masākin and ibn al-sabīl. On the other hand, 59:7&8 deal with the beneficiaries of the fay’. The similarity and differences of these three are best illustrated by the following table:

"Of their goods, take alms (ṣadaqah), that so thou mightest purify and sanctify them; and pray on their behalf...." (9:103)

"Know they not that God doth accept repentance from his votaries and receives their gifts of charity (al-ṣadaqāt), ..." (9:104).

971 Noldeke assigned that, certain portions of the early part of this sūrah was revealed at the time preceding the fall of Mecca. However, Bell maintains that these were two proclamations as regards this sūrah. The first is the denunciation of the treaty of Hudaybiyah and the second a proclamation made by the Prophet at the Pilgrimage of the year 8 A.H. See Commentary, I, p. 291.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>KHUMS</strong></th>
<th><strong>FAY'</strong></th>
<th><strong>ZAKĀH (ṢADAQĀT)</strong></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>God and His Apostle</td>
<td>God and His Apostle</td>
<td>(7)  fī sabīl Allāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prophet's family</td>
<td>Prophet's family</td>
<td>..........................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orphans</td>
<td>orphans</td>
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<tr>
<td>masākin</td>
<td>masākin</td>
<td>(2) masākin</td>
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<tr>
<td>ibn al-sabil</td>
<td>ibn al-sabil</td>
<td>(8) ibn al-sabil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuqara' al-muhājirin</td>
<td>........................</td>
<td>(1) fuqara'</td>
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<td>..................................................</td>
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<td>(3) those who administer the fund (‘āmilin ʿalayhā)</td>
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<td>..................................................</td>
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<td>(4) those whose heart have been reconciled (muʿallafat qulūbuhum)</td>
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<td>..................................................</td>
<td>..........................................</td>
<td>(5) those in bondage (riqāb)</td>
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<td>..................................................</td>
<td>..........................................</td>
<td>(6) debtor (ghārimin)</td>
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It will be noticed that the Prophet's family is excluded from zakāh. This indicates that it was felt that the wealth they received from the khums and fay' would be sufficient for them.

The khums and the fay' were used to help orphans but there is no mention of this in zakāh. This may be because orphans are subsumed under masākin and fuqarā'. However, it may be that the frequent moral urgings of the Qur'ān to be just to orphans973 together with their allocation from the khums and fay' was deemed to be sufficient.

As noted from the previous discussions concerning khums,974 the khums omits to mention the fuqarā' as beneficiaries. It appears that the people at this time were not familiar with the term faqīr. It has been suggested that the term came to be used for poor muhājirīn. As noted that the Qur'ān even designates the fuqarā' muhājirīn in the verse which makes them beneficiaries of the fay'. It has also been suggested that the fay' which was exclusively provided for the Prophet in connection with the Banū Qaynuqā' was given to the fuqarā' muhājirīn. It seems likely that there were increasing numbers of fuqarā' muhājirīn in Medina at this time and that they were recipients of zakāh from the time of its introduction. Although the voluntary charity were given to them, it

974 Cf. pp. 170-1. It shows that in the verses which can be identified as Meccan, the term miskīn is almost invariably used for the poor whereas the verses in which the term faqīr occurs are Medinan.
appears that by providing a part of the *fay*, the *fuqara* *muhājirin* were able to have a permanent accommodation in Medina.

Similarly *ibn al-sabil*, who have been identified as newly arriving non-Meccan emigrants, received extra support from the *khums*, *fay* and *zakah*.

*Ghārimin* and *riqāb* occur for the first time with the *zakah*. In the case of *riqāb*, there are several verses encouraging Muslims to pay for the freedom of the Muslim slaves. It was a practice which had even been carried out in the Meccan period. However, these slaves usually had become Muslims were owned by Pagan masters. This situation continued to be applied to the Muslim slaves in Medina who were the subjects of their Pagan masters. Eventually, with the conversion of all the Medinans, the only Muslim slaves left in Medina would have been either those who were born into slavery or slaves who had been captured in war and become Muslims in the course of their slavery. The Qurʾān encourages Muslim owners of Muslim slaves to help these slaves gain their freedom by entering into a written agreement by which the slave could gradually buy his freedom:

"... And if any of your slaves ask for a deed in writing (to enable them to earn their freedom for a certain sum), give them such a deed if ye know any good in them, ye give them something yourselves out of the means which God has given to you ...").

975 al-Qurʾān, 2:187; 58:3.
976 al-Qurʾān, 24:33.
The exegetes are unanimous in maintaining that the *riqāb* referred to is one of the recipients of *zakāh* and also is like a slave who had made an agreement with his master for his freedom (*mukātib*). Thus, expenditure of *zakāh* is being used to help Muslim slaves to buy their freedom.

With regard to *ghārimin* or debtors, it has already been noted that the Qur’ānic sūrah 2:276 contrasts the prohibition of the usury with the paying of the *zakāh* or the *ṣadaqāh*. It may well have been the case that many Muslims were in dire financial strains as debtors to Jewish money lenders, as a result of usury. Even the Prophet’s armour was in the hands of Jewish lenders at the time of his death. The prohibition of usury could not be made general to all the inhabitants of Medina until the Prophet’s authority over Medina was accepted by all. Therefore, it seems likely that from an early time the *zakāh* was used to help the Muslim debtors who were under the tribulation of debts, caused by usury. It, probably, was also used to help those Muslim debtors who had

977 *Miqbās*, II, p. 203; *Tafsir*, II, p. 98; X, pp. 163-4; al-Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ, III, p. 444; al-Sunan al-Kubrā, V, pp. 21-2; Ṭḥkām, I, p. 165. Perhaps, the name *kitābah*, which is derived from *kataba* (to write) comes from the fact that the agreement is fixed in writing. Helmut Gatje, *The Qur’ān and its Exegesis*, pp. 209-12 & 281; Zamakhsharī, I, p. 400; this term means a slave who enters into a contractual arrangement with his master, in accordance with which he buys his freedom.

978 The Prophet needed food supplies, so he bought them on credit from a Jew and left his armour as security. al-Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ, III, p. 161; al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, III, pp. 509-10.
fallen into debt, through no fault of their own. Mālik suggests that it should be used to help such debtors.979

Verses urging people to make contributions in the way of God (fī sabīl Allāh) occur eight times980 in the Qurʾān. Since many of these passages are early Medinan, it seems likely that, the expenditure of zakāh on this purpose would have occurred from the earliest time of its collection. This is further supported by the number of verses that encourage Muslims to strive and make the hijrah fī sabīl Allāh.981 Clearly some kind of expenditure is needed to support the struggle and hijrah fī sabīl Allāh. This expenditure of zakāh in the way of God (fī sabīl Allāh) seems to be the equivalent of the expenditure of khums and fay' for God and the Prophet.

The khums and fay' are not mentioned, with regard to mu‘allafat qulūbuhum.982 The use of this term only occurs in respect of the beneficiaries of zakāh (ṣadaqāt). Bell interprets that, this term implies that some persons of importance were to be conciliated and their adherence confirmed by means of gifts, and it is natural to assume that, this refers to the leading Meccans, who had rather unwillingly accepted Islam at the conquest of the city.983 Watt opines this term is commonly

979 Wahbah, II, pp. 873-4; see also Wasā’il, IV, pp. 145-6; al-Qummi, Tafsir al-Qummi, p. 274.
982 See also Wahbah, II, pp. 883 & 871.
983 Commentary, I, p. 306.
applied to the leading Meccans, either still Pagans or recent converts to Islam, who received 50 or 100 camels from the Prophet during the distribution of the spoils of al-Jī‘rānah. If the term refers to them, it would be possible for the Prophet to distribute the zakāh’s collection to them. From the reports, it seems that, the Prophet distributed from the spoils; i.e., perhaps from the khums or from the whole spoil itself (before it was distributed to the participants) and it was regarded as a gift. Perhaps, it was also used to encourage others to convert to Islam as illustrated by events after the siege of Tā‘if (8 A.H.). The Prophet went back and stopped at al-Jī‘rānah, with a large number of Hawāzin captives. At al-Jī‘rānah, a deputation from Hawāzin came to the Prophet and said that, they had accepted Islam. The Prophet gave some of the ghanīmah of Hawāzin to these people. The Prophet also told them to tell Mālik b ‘Awf, their leader, that if he would come to him as a Muslim, he would have given him back his family and property and also a hundred camels. He accepted this offer and became a Muslim. The Prophet also acted in the same way with the booty from Hunayn. He gave gifts to those whose hearts were to be won over. This matter led to a heated discussion among the Companions, especially the Anṣār.

The fact that, the collectors of zakāh (‘āmilin ‘alayhā) were recipients of some of what they collected emphasises the idea of zakāh as a kind of tax by which the emerging Islamic State not only redistributed

984 Watt, p. 348; Bell, Companion to the Qur’an, p. 107; see also chapter 3, pp. 225-7.
985 Sirah, II, pp. 318-9; Ibn Ishāq, pp. 592-3; see also chapter 3, p. 225.
income (i.e. to the fuqarā’, masākin, ghārimin, ibn al-sabil and riqāb) but also paid for the administration of the state, that is spend in the way of God (fī sabīl Allāh), to reconcile those who have recently become Muslims and finally to pay a wage or salary to those whose task was to collect the tax and administer it according to the Prophet’s instruction. Although, the word muṣaddiq (i.e. collectors of șadaqah) is frequently used in the sources for these people, the Qur’ānic term ‘āmilin implies more than the mere collection of zakāh, such people would be expected to administer this tax for the Prophet. According to al-‘Āmili that the ‘āmilin referred to in the Qur’ān are those who are working and collecting taxes (revenues), accumulating and keeping them until they were given to those who are eligible (to receive them).987 Quoting al-Zuhri, Qatadah and Ibn Zayd, al-Tabarī opines that ‘āmilin are those who are working and collecting taxes from the people and distributed them to those who are eligible. This is the nature of their job, whether they are rich or poor. However the dispute amongst the scholar is regarding the salary of ‘āmilin. In fact, al-Ḍahḥāk and Mujāhid agree that, their salaries are taken from the șadaqah collected, and according to al-Ṭabarī, their salaries are given according to their nature of work.988 A contemporary author also opines that, the ‘āmilin are those who collect zakāh and all matters related to it. This include examining the property, administering the office of zakāh as the bookkeeper,

988 Tafsir, X, pp. 160-1.
accountant as well as distributing the collection to those who are eligible to receive the zakah.\textsuperscript{989}

In the early days of the tax in Medina, it was probable that, there would be no real need for such ‘āmilīn, for the Prophet himself was residing there and was capable of supervising such matters. Therefore, it would be expected that these people were employed when Islam expanded beyond Medina and many tribes embraced Islam and agreed to carry out the two basic requirements of Islam which are constantly emphasised by the Qur’ān and frequently coupled together, that is to perform the \textit{ṣalāḥ} and to pay the zakah.

Ibn Ishāq reports a Tradition about the messengers to Ḥimyar (9 A.H.). The Prophet had received a letter from the King of Ḥimyar as regard to his acceptance of Islam. In his reply, the Prophet sent a letter together with five Companions, they were Mu‘ādh b Jabal\textsuperscript{990} as the leader, ‘Abd Allāh b Zayd,\textsuperscript{991} Mālik b ‘Ubdah,\textsuperscript{992} ‘Uqbah b Namīr\textsuperscript{993}


\textsuperscript{990} He is Mu‘ādh b Jabal b ‘Amr b Aws b ‘Abid b ‘Adi b Ka‘b b Amr b Adi b ‘Ali b Asad b Sāradah b Yazīd b Jashm b ‘Adi b Bābī b Tamīm b Ka‘b b Salamah, known as Abū Abī al-Rahmān al-Anṣārī al-Khazraji. He took part in the battle of Badr when he was 21 years of age. He was one of best youths of the Anṣār. Prophet sent him to Yemen and he returned to Medina during Abū Bakr’s reign. He died in the year 17 A.H. at Tā‘ūn (Syria) at the age of 34 years. \textit{al-Iṣābah}, III, pp. 426-7.

\textsuperscript{991} He is ‘Abd Allāh b Zayd b ‘Āṣim b Ka‘b b ‘Amr b ‘Awf b Mabdhul b ‘Umar b Ghanam b Mālik b al-Najjār al-Anṣārī al-Madani. He was the one who killed Musaylamah al-Kadhkhāb. He was killed in Ḥurrah in Dhū al-Hijjah in the year of 63 A.H. at the age of 70 years. \textit{Tahdhib}, V, p. 223; \textit{Tabaqāt}, VIII, p. 416.
and Mālik b Murrah. The Prophet stated all rules concerning the required amounts for the payment of zakāh in his letter to the King of Ḥimyar. Also during this year (9 A.H.), the Prophet sent some of his Companions to different tribes who had accepted Islam. To ensure that the zakāh was properly administered, the Prophet gave instructions about the rates and amounts to be collected from their wealth.

992 He is Mālik b 'Ubādah b Hamdānī. al-Iṣābah, III, p. 348.
993 He is also known as Ibn Marr. Ibid., II, p. 492.
994 He is Mālik b Murārah (or Murrah or Ibn Muzrad al-Ruhāwi). According to Ibn Kalbi, he is related to Ruhā b Munabbah b Harb b 'Alah b Khālid b Mālik b Bani Sahm b 'Abd Allāh. But some people say that he is from a place called Ruhā in Syria. Ibid., III, pp. 354-5.
995 "... If you do well and obey God and His apostle and perform prayer, and pay alms (zakāh), and God's fifth of booty and the apostle's share and selected part (ṣāfi), and the zakāh which is incumbent on believers from land, namely a tithe of that watered by fountains and rain; of that watered by the bucket a twentieth; for every forty camels a milch camel; for every thirty camels a young male camel; for every five camels a sheep; for every ten camels two sheep; for every forty cows one cow; for every thirty cows a bull calf or a cow calf; for every forty sheep at pasture one sheep. This is what God has laid upon the believers. Anyone who does more it is to his merit. He who fulfils this and bears witness to his Islam and helps the believers against the polytheists he is a believer with a believer's rights and obligations and he has the guarantee of God and His apostle. If a Jew or a Christian becomes a Muslim he is a believer with his rights and obligations. He who holds fast to his religion, Jew or Christian, is not to be turned from it. He must pay the poll-tax - for every adult, male or female, free or slave, one full dinar calculated on the valuation of Ma'āfir (or its value) or its equivalent in clothes. ..." Sirah, II, pp. 380-1; Ibn Iṣḥāq, pp. 643-8; Maghāzi, pp. 1084-5.
997 Muluk, III, p. 147.
998 Dā'ūd, II, pp. 102-3; III, p. 230; Maghāzi, III, p. 973.
Clearly, these men needed some sort of financial support. Since, there was no salary fixed from Medina, the Qur'ān gives special attention to them and specified them as one of the eight who are eligible to receive the zakāh. It is evident that, the Prophet divided the zakāh of Banū Sa‘d between two men; Zibriqān b Badr999 and Qays b ‘Āsim,1000 each of them was in charge of each section. Watt suggests that, thirty five companions were sent out by the Prophet to ensure the zakāh collections done. Seventeen were sent to the South, two to the East and sixteen to the neighbourhood area of Medina.1001

If zakāh was introduced in year 2 A.H., as the jurists agree, it was probable that, some of the beneficiaries in the verse (9:60) were included as statutory recipient. Perhaps, at that early stage, they were similar as the recipients of khums. This full list included in the verse is much later than the introduction of zakāh which includes recipients who emerge after the zakāh’s introduction.

It should be noted that when Arab tribes came over to Islam as a group, during the later stages of Islam, they often regarded the zakāh as similar to the itāwa of the pre-Islamic times. Itāwa was a collective

999 Unable to identify him.
1000 He is Qays b ‘Āsim b Sinān b Khālid b Munqir b ‘Ubayd b Muqā‘is al-Tamimi al-Sa‘dī, known as Abū ‘Ali or Abū Qabīsah or Abū Ṭalḥah al-Munqiri. He was a delegate of the Banū Tamim who met the Prophet and became a Muslim in the year 9 A.H. He was the one who forbade for himself the consumption of intoxicating in the jāhiliyyah and he moved to Baṣrah where he built a house and died there in the year 32 A.H. Tahdhib, VIII, p. 399.
tribute which a powerful Arab tribe would impose on a weaker neighbour. In a more general sense tribute (ithāwa) might also be paid to buy off the attack of a powerful tribes or to solicit the protection against attack from others.\textsuperscript{1002}

\textsuperscript{1002} Frede Løkkegaard, \textit{Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period}, pp. 104-5.
CHAPTER 5
JIZYAH

The word *jizyah*, is of Aramaic origin, but the Muslim jurists treated it as an Arabic word. Al-Māwardī says that, *jizyah* was derived from the infinitive *jaza’*, which means equitable for their infidelity, or because it was paid by them as requital for the protection of the Muslim state. Others suggest that, *jizyah* might have been derived from the verb *ajza’a*, as the payment of the tax that is taken from the free non-Muslim subjects of a Muslim government, whereby they ratify the compact that ensures them protection. It was specifically applied to the Christians and the Jews. It is also said to have been derived from *jazā*, because, it is a compensation in place of the shedding of their blood. The word occurs in the Qur’ānic text in sūrah 9 verse 29:

"Fight those who believe not in God nor the Last Day, nor hold that forbidden which hath been forbidden by God and His Apostle, nor acknowledge the Religion of Truth, (even if they are) of the People of the Book, until they pay the *jizyah* with willing submission and feel themselves subdued".

Jeffery, however, suggests that, the word *jizyah* is used in a technical sense in this verse which is late Medinan. This verse was proclaimed after the battle of Tabūk (9 A.H.), the Prophet’s last military campaign. Bell suggests that the *jizyah* was distinguished from

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1004 Lane, p. 422; Rāzi, IV, p. 421.
1006 Ibid.
the kharāj later. So in this verse the word is probably equivalent to tribute.\textsuperscript{1008}

Although this technical use of the word \textit{jizyah} occurs in the very last period of the Prophet's life in Medina, in the historical narrative of the Prophet's economic policy, it become clear that the Prophet had begun to develop a taxation system to deal with the Jews, and it seems that he then began to apply this policy to the Christians as well. The background to the policy is clearly the pre-Islamic tribute, paid by the weaker tribes to the stronger ones, who in return give them protection. This tribute was known as \textit{itāwa}.\textsuperscript{1009}

It has been noted that when ‘Abd al-Rahmān b ‘Awf made to lead an expedition to Dūmat al-Jandal in 6 A.H., he is alleged to have collected the \textit{jizyah} from the Christians of Dūmat al-Jandal. It has been suggested that this was some form of \textit{itāwa} and it was almost certainly only a one-off payment.

It has also been noted that in 7 A.H. after the Jews of Khaybar, Fadak and Wādī al-Qurā had been defeated and made to accept peace terms by which they worked in their land but paid half the produce to the Muslims, who became the owners of that land, the Jews of Taymā’ sought peace terms with the Prophet. As a result an agreement was made without there being any fight since the Jews of Taymā’ agreed to pay a fixed annual tribute on condition that, they should keep their lands and

\textsuperscript{1008} \textit{Commentary}, I, p. 299.
\textsuperscript{1009} Cf. chapter \textit{zakāh}, p. 259.
enjoy the full income from them. Although both al-Balādhuri and al-Wāqidi describe this as jizyah, it seems likely that the term is being applied to it before it was actually used. However, this seems to be the first precedent for the tax which was to become jizyah.

In the case of the Jews and the Magians in Bahrayn, we have first the indication that the Magians were included in the group of revealed religions which could be practised, provided, they paid taxes to the Islamic authorities. In this case it seems that we have the first example of jizyah being collected as a poll-tax. Al-Balādhuri tells us that every adult had to pay one dinār per year.

Shortly before the proclamation of the Qur’ānic rule about the jizyah, the Prophet seems to have begun to collect the tax from the people of Aylah, Adhruḥ, Jarbā’, Maqna and again Dūmat al-Jandal (9 A.H.).

It seems likely that the treaty of the Prophet with the Christians of Najrān took place in the year 10 A.H., and it (the treaty) came into effect after the proclamation of the Qur’ānic passage about the jizyah. Similar to the previous agreements, it imposed a collective tax (tribute) which had to be paid in kind: two thousand robes, which was paid in two instalments.

1010 Qadir, VI, p. 48.
1011 Futūh, pp. 120-1 & 123.
1012 The people of Najrān agreed to pay two thousand robes - one thousand in Ṣafar and one thousand in Rajab - each one of which should have the value of one ounce (ūqiyyah)... In case the price of the robe delivered should be more than one ounce, the surplus would be taken into consideration; and if it were less, the
This examination of the *jizyah* in the time of the Prophet demonstrates that it was always a collective tax and that it had developed out of the pre-Islamic *itāwa*. In the case of the Jews, the payment of the tax, brought them the right to practise their religion. There is no mention in their sources of their being allowed to take part in military campaigns. However, it seems likely that after the Prophet's experience of them in Medina, that they would not have been allowed to do so. However, in the case of the Christians in Najrān, the agreement allowed them to participate in the campaigns if they wish to do so. It must be supposed that a similar right was granted to the Christians of Baḥrayn and Yemen.

It is noticeable that the only clearly stated occurrence of *jizyah* as a poll-tax is in the case of the Jews and the Magians of Baḥrayn. The reason for it being a poll-tax rather than a collective tax seems to be that it involved small groups of people living among Arabs who had accepted Islam.

The sources do not tell us on what the *jizyah* should be spent. We must presume therefore that this gave greater discretion to the Prophet

deficiency should be made up. And whatever weapons, horses, camels or goods they offered, should be accepted instead of the robes, if they are the same value... Another condition was that they be not allured to change their religion or the rank they hold in it, nor should they be called upon for military service... Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-9.
and it is likely that the policy of "spending in the way of God" (fi sabil Allāh) was his major concern in spending it.
CONCLUSION

Although there are several terms in the Qur’ān which denote the one who is in need, however, particular attention has been given to these terms: faqīr, miskīn, ˈdāʿīf, mustadʿīf and ˈibn al-sabīl. The term miskīn was used in both Meccan and Medinan revelations. It seems to apply to the poor in a general way. However, the term faqīr seems to have only been used in Medinan revelations. The evidence seems to indicate that it was used for the poor among the emigrants. The terms ˈdāʿīf and mustadʿīf are related to both faqīr and miskīn and seem to denote the oppressed people in society. The final term which we have studied, ˈibn al-sabīl, may well have referred to Muslims who came to Medina, but were not from Mecca.

In Mecca, the Prophet was faced with the task of trying to provide assistance for the miskīn and the ˈdāʿīf Muslims. As far as these groups were concerned, it was very difficult for the Prophet, as he did not have any authority in Mecca which he could use to alleviate their sufferings. It was a constant theme of the early Qur’ānic revelation to call upon people to provide for the poor, the weak and the orphans. In this, we see those Muslims like Abū Bakr paying to gain freedom for Muslim slaves, and generally performing acts of charity for the Muslim poor. However, the weakness of the Prophet in Mecca, through his failure to convert the Meccan ashrāf, meant that, he could not provide the ˈdāʿīf members of his small community with protection from persecution. It was probably for this reason that many of them made the emigration to Abyssinia.

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When the Prophet first arrived in Medina, the emigrants were very much dependent on the Ansār. The Prophet brought some equality to the emigrants through the institution of brotherhood, which was to develop into the concept of brotherhood in Islam. Through the constitution of Medina, he also got them recognised as an independent clan in Medina. However, he was still faced with the problem of finding for them the means to live. He did this through encouraging those who were able to trade to do so. He even tried to set up a market, because most of the emigrants were excluded from trading in the Medinan markets which were dominated by the Jews. Nonetheless, he still had to provide for a number of the emigrants by urging more wealthy Muslims, whether emigrants or Ansār to give nafaqah, that is to provide (infāq) for the poorer Muslims. In addition, the Muslims had to borrow from the Medinans and particularly from the Jews. The kind of loans which had to be made were probably on the basis of ribā. Ribā was denounced by the Qur’ān as a bad practice and people were encouraged to give charity instead. Later ribā as practised by both Jews and Arabs was prohibited.

Another policy introduced by the Prophet, that served the dual purpose of providing extra means for the Muslims and harassing the Pagan Meccans, was the encouragement of raids. The first raid to bring any booty was the raid on Nakhlah. However, the other expeditions had clearly inconvenienced the Meccans.
The battle of Badr, an attempt by the Meccans to rid themselves of this irritant to their caravan trade, brought much more booty into the hands of the Muslims. It was about this time that, following the Arab tribal practice, a fifth (khums) of the booty was allocated for the use of the Prophet after he had received the safi, or the special choice from booty allowed to tribal leaders. However, the Qur'ān very specifically laid down what was to be done with this booty. It was to be spent on God, the Prophet, the relatives, the orphans, the poor and ibn al-sabil. The individual division of the remainder of the booty encouraged the possession of horses, which were very much needed in the earlier period in Medina, by giving two additional shares for the horse over and above the share which the rider received.

All of this refers to movable booty. However, the expulsion of the Banū Qaynuqā‘ brought another form of booty, property and houses. This seemed to have been known as fay’. In this case, the houses of the Banū Qaynuqā‘ were probably allocated to indigent emigrants. They certainly took over the market of the Banū Qaynuqā‘.

While this must have brought some alleviation to the problem of the poverty of the emigrants, there was still need for further resources. It is probable that between the battles of Badr and Uhud, zakāh became an obligatory tax on the Muslims. This was a tax on wealth, which probably became more fixed as time passed. Although the Qur'ānic verse outlining the expenditure of zakāh was late, many of the heads of expenditure were probably fixed fairly earlier and were probably, much the same as the heads of expenditure of khums.
The harassment of Meccan caravans was continued after Badr. This, together with the Meccan desire for vengeance for Badr, brought about the battle of Uḥud. Although the Muslims were defeated, they gained some compensation through the booty which was acquired as a result of the expulsion of the Banū al-Naḍir. The *fay*, i.e., property and estates, were mostly given to the emigrants, thus, their situation in Medina was further improved.

It was the Meccan failure at the Trench which signalled the decline of Meccan power. Also this gave the Prophet the opportunity to deal with the last Jewish tribe in Medina, the Banū Qurayzah. Their property was given to the Medinans clans, probably as compensation for losses they had sustained during the siege.

To compensate for the failure to make the pilgrimage to Mecca in the year 6 A.H. as a result of the accord reached with the Meccans, the Prophet turned the Muslims' attention to the troublesome Jews in Khaybar. They were allowed to continue cultivating the land but half of the produce was given to the Prophet and the Muslims. Of this the Prophet kept half for his own uses. Probably these were much the same as those listed in the *khums*. The other half was divided up among individual Muslims. The Jews of Fadak surrendered without fighting. Half of their produce went directly to the Prophet who used it to look after *ibn al-sabil*. But the Jews of Wadi al-Qurā put up resistance and after defeat, probably they might have received the same terms as the Jews of Khaybar.
The last Jewish settlement close to Medina at Taymā', made a peace treaty with the Prophet where they agreed to pay the jizyah, or its equivalent. Whether jizyah was actually introduced at this time or not, it was to become the standard method of treating the Christians and the Jews who agreed not to fight against Islam. In many ways, it resembles itāwa, the pre-Islamic tribute system. During the Prophet's life, it seems to have been mainly a collective tax, rather than a poll-tax. Only in the case of Baḥrayn where groups of Jews, Magians and Christians seemed to have been scattered among the Arabs who had embraced Islam, does it appear to be a poll-tax. The heads of its expenditure are not given in the sources, but it is to be presumed that by this time they covered the same items as the heads of expenditure for zakāh.

With the conquest of Mecca, Arab tribes began to convert to Islam. They now had to pay the zakāh. Therefore there was a great need for collectors (‘āmilin). The Qurʾān includes these as people who could receive some of what they were collecting. Also some of the zakāh was now devoted to winning over those who had embraced Islam reluctantly (muʾallafat qulūbuhum), particularly the Meccans.

Towards the end of his life, the Prophet emphasised the need to turn the Arabs' attention towards the Syrian borders with Arabia. The purpose was probably twofold, to increase trade and to spread Islam.

The very core of the Prophet's economic policy in Medina was his concern for the poor. Again and again the Qurʾān emphasises this
concern. And the heart of the institution of zakāh is the obligation to look after the poor. The whole thrust of the Prophet and the Qur’ān has meant that looking after the poor became a principal duty of the Muslims, a duty that has continued until the present day.
APPENDIX
PRINCIPAL NOMADIC TRIBES IN ARABIA IN THE 7TH CENTURY A.D.

Map 1

Adapted from Abū al-Fidā’, al-Mukhtarāfī Akhōr al-Bashār.
Map 2

THE CARAVAN ROUTES

Adapted from al-Mawdūdī, Taḥfīm al-Qur'ān and Glubb, The life and Times of Muhammad.
Summary of the Campaigns before Badr

Cf. chapter 3

A = Sayf al-Bahr led by Hamzah b Abd al-Muttalib
B = Rabigh led by 'Ubaydah
C = al-Kharrar led by Sa'd b Abi Waqqas
D = al-Abwâ' led by the Prophet
E = Buwāt led by the Prophet
F = Sa'wân led by the Prophet
G = al-'Ushayrah led by the Prophet
H = Nakhlah led by 'Abd Allâh b Jahsh

City of Medina

A

B

C

D

E

F

G

H
Map 3

CAMPAGN OF BADR

Adapted from Glubb, The Life and Times of Muhammad.

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SUMMARY OF THE CAMPAIGNS AFTER BADR
Cf. chapter 3

led by the Prophet
A = Badr al-Maw‘id
B = Banu Musta‘ilq
C = Ḥudaybiyyah
D = Mecca
E = Hawāzīn
F = Ta‘if
G = Kurd
H = Banū Liḥyān
I = Banū Qaṭafān
J = Banū Qaṭafān
K = Ḍumat al-Jandal
L = Khaybar
M = Fadak
N = Taymā
O = Wadi al-Qurā
P = Tabūk

led by the Companions
1 = Zayd b Ḥārithah
2 = Usāmah b Zayd
3 = ‘Alī
4 = ‘Abd al-Rahmān b ‘Awf
5 = Khālid b al-Walīd
MEDINA AT THE BATTLE OF TRENCH

Adapted from al-Sharif, Makkah wa al-Madinah fi al-Jāhiliyyah wa 'Ahd al-Rasūl

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<thead>
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n.b: * the recipients from the property of Banū Qurayzah
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