MECCAN TRADE
AND THE RISE OF ISLAM
CONTENTS

Preface vii

PART I. THE SPICES OF ARABY

Introduction
2 The Classical Spice Trade
3 The "Meccan Trade"

PART II. ARABIA WITHOUT SPICES

What Did the Meccans
Where Were the Meccans Active?
6 What Meccan Trade Was Not
7 What Meccan Trade Have Been
8 The Sanctuary and Meccan Trade 168

APPENDICES

The Sources
10 The Rise of Islam

The Provenance of Classical Cinnamon Calamus
The Etymology of Aloë

Index 271
This book owes its existence to the fact that lecturers in early Islamic history are supposed to know something about Meccan trade even if it does not happen to interest them much. I should thus like to thank the students of Islamic subjects at Oxford for forcing me to get into the subject, and also for gracefully putting up with an exasperated teacher thereafter. If, much effort notwithstanding, the sense of exasperation still shows through in this book, all I can say is that I would not have written it without it. Further, I should like to thank Adrian Brockett, Michael Cook, Gerald Hawting, Martin Hinds, and Fritz Zimmermann for reading and commenting on drafts in various stages of completion. I am also indebted to Professor A. F. L. Beeston for assistance on south Arabian matters, to Professor J. Baines for speedy and helpful replies to Egyptological queries, to F. N. Hepper of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew for his views on a botanical problem, and to Professor M. G. Moring for a reaction to the typescript which gave me ample warning of the potential unpopularity of its contents.
PART I

THE SPICES OF ARABY
INTRODUCTION

Every first-year student knows that Mecca at the time of the Prophet was the centre of a far-flung trading empire, which plays a role of some importance in all orthodox accounts of the rise of Islam. Indeed, the international trade of the Meccans has achieved such fame that not only first-year students, but also professional Islamicists have come to consider documentation to be quite superfluous. Thus Montgomery Watt, whose well-known interpretation of Muhammad’s life centres on the impact of commercial wealth on the social and moral order in Mecca, devotes less than a page of his two-volume work to a discussion of the commerce from which the wealth in question supposedly derived; and with references he dispenses altogether. But what do we actually know about Meccan trade? The groundwork on the subject was done by Lammens, a notoriously unreliable scholar whose name is rarely mentioned in the secondary literature without some expression of caution or disapproval, but whose conclusions would nonetheless appear to have been accepted by Watt. More recently, various aspects of the question have been taken up and richly documented by Kister. Kister’s work is apparently held to corroborate the picture drawn up by Lammens; there is, at least, no appreciable difference between the portraits of Meccan trade presented by Watt on the basis of Lammens, by Shaban on the basis of Kister, and by Donner on the basis of both. But, in fact, neither

1 W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, p. 3.
2 H. Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l’hégire*; id., “La république marchande de la Mecque vers l’an 60 de notre ère”; cf. also id., *La cité arabe de Taif à la veille de l’hégire*. That Lammens is the source behind Watt’s presentation is clear both from considerations of content and from the fact that he is the only authority mentioned there. Lammens is reproved for having been too sure about the details of financial operations in Mecca, but his conclusion that the operations in question were of considerable complexity is accepted (Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, p. 3).
3 See in particular M. J. Kister, “Mecca and Tāḥif (Aspects of Their id., “Some Reports Concerning Mecca from Jāhiliyya to Islam.”
4 M. A. Shaban, *Islamic History, A New Interpretation*, pp. 2 ff; that this presentation is based on the work of Kister is stated at p. 2n. F. M. Donner, “Mecca’s Food Supplies and
SPICES OF ARABY

Lammens nor Kister provides support for the conventional account, the former because his work collapses on inspection of his footnotes, the latter because his impeccable footnotes undermine our basic assumptions concerning the nature of the trade. What follows is evidence to the effect that Meccan trade is nothing if not a problem.

The conventional account of Meccan trade begs one simple question: what commodity or commodities enabled the inhabitants of so unpromising a site to engage in commerce on so large a scale? That the trading empire grew up in an unexpected place is clear, if not always clearly brought out. There have, of course, been commercial centres in Arabia that developed in areas of comparable barrenness, notably Aden. But Aden and other coastal cities of south Arabia all owed their existence to the sea, as Muqaddasī noted, whereas Mecca was an inland town. It did Muhammad's Boycott'; the reader is referred to the works of Lammens and Kister at p. 250.

3 Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Muqaddasī, Descriptio imperii mamlūkī, pp. 85 (Aden), 95 (coastal cities in general). There is something of a parallel to Mecca in pre-Islamic Shabwa, an inland city in a barren environment, which was also a cult centre and a centre of trade.
INTRODUCTION

have a little port, Shu'ayba,6 and the Koran speaks at length about the miraculous navigability of the sea.7 The sources are agreed that the Meccans traded with Ethiopia, and there is even an isolated tradition which asserts that they used to engage in maritime trade with Rûm.8 But the Meccans had no timber9 and no ships;10 they made no use of their port when blockaded by Mûhhammad,11 and neither Shu'ayba nor the sea receives much attention in the tradition.

Centres of caravan trade, on the other hand, have usually been located

(cf. EJ, s.v. Hadramawt [Beeston]). But the rulers of Shabba had the good fortune to control the frankincense-producing areas of Arabia so that they could decree more or less at will where they wished the frankincense to be collected (a point to which I shall return). There was nothing comparable in the vicinity of, or under the control of, Mecca.

6 Not Jâr, as Donner says (“Mecca’s Food Supplies,” p. 254). Jâr was the port of Medina. Shu’ayba being that of Mecca until it was replaced by Jedd in the caliphate of Uthmân (cf. EJ, s.v. Djâr). Djudda: cf. also G. R. Hawting, “The Origin of Jedd and the Problem of Shu’ayba.”

7 Forty times, according to S. Fraenkel, Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im arabischen, p. 241. This is odd, as Barthold points out, for there is no record of Muh elled by sea, or even of having gone close to it, and the descriptions are very vivid (W. W. Barthold, “Der Koran und das Meer”).

8 Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, al-‘Itbl, 1.244, no. 1,410 (first noted by Kister. “Some Reports,” p. 93). Compare the tradition in Sulaymân b. Ahmad al-Tabarînî, al-Mu’jam al-taghîr, i, 113, according to which the Companions of the Prophet used to engage in maritime trade with Syria (also first noted by Kister).

9 When Quraysh rebuilt the Ka’ba shortly before the hijra, the timber for its roof came from a Greek ship which had been wrecked at Shu’ayba (thus Muhhammad b. Abdallah al-Azraqi, Kitâb nakkîr Mukka, pp. 104 f., 107; Muhammad Ibn Sa’d, al-Tabaqat al-kubrâ, i, 145; Yaqit b. Abdallah, Kitâb Mu’jam al-buldân, iii, 301, s.v. Shu’ayba; Ahmad b. ‘Ali Ibn Hajar al-Asqalânî, Kitâb al-sabâ fi tamyiz al-sabâb, i, 141, no. 380, s.v. Bâqûm. The parallel version anachronistically has the ship stranded at Jedd (‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Hishân, Das Leben Musamam’s nach Muhammad Ibn Ithâk, p. 123; Muhammad b. Jarîr al-Tabarî, Ta’rikh al-rasul wa’l mulk, ser. 1, p. 143). A more elaborate version has it that the ship was carrying building material such as wood, marble, and iron for the rebuilding of an Ethiopian church destroyed by the Persians (Isma’il b. ‘Umar Ibn Kathir, al-Bidâya wa’l nihâya, n, 301, citing the Maghâzî of Sa’d b. Yahyâ al-Usmâni, similarly ‘Alî b. al-‘Usayn al-Mas’ûdi, Kitâb murîj al-abdab, iv, 126 f.) Cf. also [M.] Guadacroy-Denumbynes, Le pelerinage à la Mekke, pp. 33 f.

10 The muwajirun who went to Ethiopia traveled in ships belonging to some obviously foreign merchants; Quraysh pursued them, but had to stop on reaching the coast (Tabari, Ta’rikh, ser. 1, pp. 118 f.; Ibn Sa’d, Tabaqat, i, 204).

11 “Avoid the coast and take the Iraq route,” as a Quasâfi advised when the route to Syria was blocked (Muhammad b. ‘Umar al-Wâqidi, Kitâb al-maghabî, i, 197). This point has been made several times before, first probably by Lammens (Mesque, p. 381).
Spices of Arabia

in less hostile environments and within closer proximity to their customers than was Mecca; witness Minaean Dedan, Roman Palmyra, and Ibn Rashid's Hā'il. By way of compensation, Mecca is frequently credited with the advantage of having been located at the crossroads of all the major trade routes in Arabia, or at least with having been a natural halt on the so-called incense route from south Arabia to Syria. But as Bulliet points out, these claims are quite wrong. Mecca is tucked away at the edge of the peninsula: "only by the most tortured map reading can it be described as a natural crossroads between a north-south route and an east-west one." And the fact that it is more or less equidistant from south Arabia and Syria does not suffice to make it a natural halt on the incense route. In the first place, the caravans which travelled along this route stopped at least sixty-five times, mainly because it happened to be located roughly midway. "On a journey of some two months duration the concept of a halfway point as a natural resting place is rather strained." In the second place, barren places do not make natural halts wherever they may be located, and least of all when they are found at a short distance from famously green environments. Why should caravans have made a steep descent to the barren valley of Mecca when they could have stopped at Tā'if? Mecca did, of course, have both a well and a sanctuary.

---

12 This idea goes back to Watt, Muhammad at Mecca, p. 3; Shaban, Islamic History, 1, 6; M. Rodinson, Muhammad, p. 39; P. K. Hitti, Capital Cities of Arab Islam, p. 7; I. (Kawar), "The Arabs in the Peace Treaty of A.D. 361," p. 192.

13 This idea also goes back to Lammens (cf. "République," p. 51, where it is one of the most important halts on this route; Mosque, p. 118, where it is probably such a halt). It was cautiously accepted by B. Lewis, The Arabs in History, p. 34, and wholeheartedly by Hitti, Capital Cities, p. 5.

14 R. W. Bulliet, The Camel and the Wheel, p. 105 and n.40 thereto. Lammens adduced Baladhuri's version of the Hudaybiyya agreement in favour of his view. In this agreement, safety is granted to people on the way to Tā'if or the Yemen, as well as to people travelling (from Mecca) to Medina on their way to Syria and the east (Ahmad b. Yahyā al-Baladhuri, Kitāb futūḥ al-balādūn, p. 36; id., Anṣāb al-asrāf, 1, 351. Other versions of the treaty lack such a clause. cf. Eh, s.v. al-Hudaybiyya and the references given there). This certainly suggests that people might go via Mecca to the Yemen: but it is from Medina, not Mecca, that they are envisaged as going to Syria and Iraq. Mecca, as well.)

15 Bulliet, Camel and the Wheel, p. 105.
ary, but so did Ta’if, which had food supplies, too. In the third place, it would appear that Mecca was not located on the incense route at all. Going from south Arabia to Syria via Mecca would have meant a detour from the natural route, as both Müller and Groom have pointed out; and Groom estimates that the incense route must have bypassed Mecca by some one-hundred miles. Mecca, in other words, was not just distant and barren; it was off the beaten track, as well. “The only reason for Mecca to grow into a great trading center,” according to Bulliet, “was that it was able somehow to force the trade under its control.” It is certainly hard to think of any other. But what trade? What commodity was available in Arabia that could be transported at such a distance, through such an inhospitable environment, and still be sold at a profit large enough to support the growth of a city in a peripheral site bereft of natural resources? In Diocletian’s Rome it was cheaper to ship wheat from Alexandria to Rome at a distance of some 1,250 miles than to transport it fifty miles by land. The distance from Najran to Gaza was roughly 1,250 miles, not counting the detour to Mecca. “A caravan takes a month to go to Syria and a month to return,” as the Meccans objected when Muhammad claimed to have visited Jerusalem by night. Whatever the Meccans sold, their goods must have been rare, much coveted, reasonably light, and exceedingly expensive.

One can read a great many accounts of Meccan trade without being initiated into the secret of what the Meccans traded in, but most Islamists clearly envisage them as selling incense, spices, and other exotic goods. “By the end of the sixth century A.D. they had gained control of most of the trade from the Yemen to Syria—an important route by which the West got Indian luxury goods as well as South Arabian frankincense,” as Watt informs us. Mecca was “a transfer-point in the long-

---


17 Bulliet, Camel and the Wheel, p. 105.


19 See the helpful list of distances, in both miles and days’ journey, in Groom, Frankincense, p. 213.

20 Ibn Hishām, Leβen, p. 264

21 Watt, Muhammad at Mecca, p. 3; similarly id., Muhammad, Prophet and Statesman, p. 1; id., “Kuraysh” in EI.
distance trade network between India, Africa and the Mediterranean," as we are told in the more recent statement by Donner. Similar statements are commonplace in the secondary literature. Incense, spices, slaves, silk, and so forth would indeed fit the bill. The source for all this, however, is Lammens, and on turning to Kister one finds the Meccans engaged in a trade of a considerably humbler kind. The international trade of the Meccans here rests on articles such as leather and clothing, which the Meccans, moreover, advertise as being cheap. There is no incense, nor any other spices, in the work of Kister, and the same is true of that of Sprenger, who likewise identified the chief article of export as leather. Clearly, something is amiss. Did the Meccans really trade in incense, spices, and other luxury goods? If not, could they have founded a commercial empire of international dimensions on the basis of leather goods and clothing? The answer to both questions would appear to be no, and it is for this reason that Meccan trade is a problem.

Why do Islamicists find it so easy to believe that the Meccans traded in incense, spices, and the like? Presumably because Arabia is indelibly associated with this kind of goods in the mind of every educated person. Besides, what other significant articles were available in Arabia for the Meccans to export? Because the classical spice trade of Arabia is so famous, practically every account of Meccan trade tends to be cast in its image; or in other words, Meccan trade tends to be described on the basis of stereotypes. The stereotypes in question may be summarized as follows.

Already in the third millennium B.C. the south Arabians traded in incense, later also in foreign goods; indeed, the very earliest commercial and cultural contacts between the Mediterranean and the lands around

---


18 Kister, "Mecca and Tamīm," *Mad*, iii, 94 f.
the Indian ocean were established via the overland incense route. In any case, there is no doubt that the trade was fully developed by about 900 B.C., when the Queen of Sheba visited Solomon and when the Arabs assuredly controlled the sea route to India; and they certainly supplied Egypt with Indian spices, fabrics, and precious stones about this time. They also supplied ancient Iraq, for Assyrian policy vis-à-vis Arabia was dictated by concern for the security of the incense route, though some are of the opinion that the trade between Babylonia and India only fell into Arab hands on the Achaemenid conquest of Iraq. At all events, they soon offered their customers all the products of India, the Far East, and tropical Africa from Abyssinia to Madagascar. They were a curious people in that they sailed to Africa and India, but transported their goods by caravan on reaching their native shores: this was because their boats, though adequate for long-distance journeys, were too primitive for navigation in the Red Sea and, apparently, also the Persian Gulf. But they were perfectly capable of keeping the Indians out of the Red Sea, and it is because they guarded their commercial monop-

15 H. von Wissmann, Die Munir der Sabäerhauptstadt Maryah, p. 1; R. Le Baron Bouwen, “Ancient Trade Routes in South Arabia,” p. 35. A similar view seems to be implied in G. L. Harding, Archaeology in the Aden Protectorate, p. 5. It is not clear whether the spices which the Queen of Sheba throws at the feet of Solomon in Rathjens, “Welthandelstrassen,” p. 122, are envisaged as both Arabian and Indian. Müller certainly does not commit himself to such a view, though he cautiously accepts her as evidence of the existence of the south Arabian incense trade (Weibrauch, col. 745).
16 W. H. Schoff, tr., The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, p. 3. (References by translator and page are to Schoff’s comments, those by title and paragraph to the translation.)
18 Thus J. Kennedy, “The Early Commerce of Babylon with India,” p. 271.
20 Thus B. Doe, Southern Arabia, p. 50; Rathjens, “Welthandelstrassen,” p. 143, both with reference to the Red Sea only. Kennedy, “Early Commerce,” pp. 248 f., implies that they were equally incapable of navigation in the Persian Gulf. But Doe assumes that the primitive boats of the Gerrheans were good enough for navigation in the Persian Gulf (Southern Arabia, p. 50), and Schoff assumes that those of the south Arabs were good enough for navigation in the Red Sea, 100 (Schoff, Periplus, p. 3), which makes the use of the overland route even odder.
SPICES OF ARABY

only with such jealousy that we are so ill-informed about this early trade.\textsuperscript{31} We can, however, rest assured that all the bustling commerce described by Pliny (d. 79 A.D.) and the Periplus was part of the normal scene in ancient Saba some nine hundred years before.\textsuperscript{32} We can also rest assured that it was part of the normal scene some five hundred years later. The south Arabian hold on the India trade somehow survived the establishment of direct commercial contact between India and the Greco-Roman world, so that when in due course south Arabia declined, the Meccans took over the task of satisfying the enormous Roman demand for luxury goods.\textsuperscript{33} The Meccans used the same overland route; indeed, it was on their control of the old incense route that their commercial predominance in Arabia rested.\textsuperscript{34} And they exported the same goods: Arabian frankincense, East African ivory and gold, Indian spices, Chinese silk, and the like.\textsuperscript{35} It was only on the Arab conquest of the Middle East that this venerable trade came to an end, after a lifespan of some fifteen hundred or twenty-five hundred years.

All this, of course, is somewhat incredible; in what follows I shall devote myself to a demonstration that it is also quite untrue. The south Arabian trade in incense and spices is not nearly as old as is commonly assumed, and the goods in question were not invariably sent north by caravan: the last allusion to the overland route dates from the first (or, as some would have it, early second) century A.D., and the transit trade would appear to have been maritime from the start. Neither the incense

\textsuperscript{31} Schoff, Periplus, pp. 88 f.; E. H. Wannington, The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India, pp. 11, 13. Cf. below, Ch. 2 n 105.

\textsuperscript{32} On the date of the Periplus, see now M. G. Raschke, "New Studies in Roman Commerce with the East," pp. 65 f. with full references to the huge literature on the question. For Saba, see G. W. van Beek, "The Land of Sheba," p. 48; cf. also id., "Frankincense and Myrrh in Ancient South Arabia," p. 146.


\textsuperscript{34} Watt, Muhammad at Mecca, p. 3; Shahid, "Two Qur'\textsuperscript{\textregistered}anic S\textsuperscript{\textregistered}uras," p. 456. Similarly R. Pret, "Les villes de Syrie du sud et les routes commerciales d'Arabie à la fin du vie siècle," pp. 441 f.; R. Simon, "Flours et lliffs, ou commerce sans guerre," p. 222 (though Simon's work is in other respects a refreshing attempt to go beyond hackneyed truths).

\textsuperscript{35} Detailed documentation will be given in Chapter 3; but compare for example Doe, Southern Arabia, p. 52 (with reference to the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.) and Donner, "Mecca's Food Supplies," pp. 250, 254 (with reference to the sixth and early seventh centuries A.D.).
trade nor the transit trade survived long enough for the Meccans to inherit them, and there was no such thing as a Meccan trade in incense, spices, and foreign luxury goods. At least, the Islamic tradition is quite unaware that the Meccans are supposed to have handled this type of goods, and the Greeks to whom they are supposed to have sold them had never even heard of Mecca. Meccan trade there was, if we trust the Islamic tradition. But the trade described in this tradition bears little resemblance to that known from Lammens, Watt, or their various followers.
THE CLASSICAL SPICE TRADE

The purpose of this chapter is to correct various misconceptions about the classical spice trade that have influenced the standard account of Meccan trade; and two of its findings (the collapse of the incense trade, the foreign penetration of Arabia) are of direct relevance to the subject of this book. The reader without interest in the classical background can go straight to part II, provided that he or she is willing to refer back to the pages singled out as relevant in the notes to parts II and III.

The spices of Araby were spices in the classical sense of the word—that is, they composed a much wider category than they do today. They included incense, or substances that gave off a nice smell on being burnt; perfumes, ointments, and other sweet-smelling substances with which one dabbed, smeared, or sprinkled oneself or one’s clothes; things that one put into food or drink to improve their taste, prolong their life, or to endow them with medicinal or magical properties; and they also included antidotes. It is thanks to this usage that the spices of the Meccans turn out to be incense in Rodinso, but perfume in Margoliouth, whereas Watt’s “Indian luxury goods” presumably mean condiments.

In what follows I shall likewise use “spices” without qualifications to mean any one or all three of these categories, distinguishing where necessary. We may begin by considering the trade in “spices” native to Arabia.

The spices of Arabia were primarily incense products, and the two most important ones were frankincense and myrrh. Frankincense (Greek li

1 J. I. Miller, The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire, p. 2.
3 What follows is based on Müller, Weibrauch; Groom, Frankincense. Cf. also van Beek,
CLASSICAL SPICE TRADE

Banos, libanòtor; Latin t(h)us; Arabic lubān) is a gum resin, or more precisely an oleo-gum-resin, exuded by various species of the genus Boswellia Roxb., of the family of Burseraceae, on incision of the bark.† The genus is native to Arabia, Socotra, East Africa, and India. Only two species of the genus, however, produce "true frankincense," the commodity so highly esteemed in the ancient world. These two species are B. carteri Birdw. and B. sacra Flück (previously lumped together under the former designation).‡ and these are native only to south Arabia and East Africa. It was thus the products of south Arabian and East African trees that were coveted by Egyptians, Jews, Greeks, Romans, and Persians alike; in due course they came to be coveted even by the Indians and the Chinese. Frankincense was burnt in honour of the gods, at funerals, and in private homes. It was also used as a medicine, a spice (in our sense of the word), and, on a small scale, as an ingredient in perfume.

Myrrh (Greek myrrha, smymalē; Latin myrr(b)a; Arabic murr) is also an oleo-gum-resin. It is exuded by various species of Commiphora Jau Balsamodendron Kunth.), Burseraceae, the same family as that to which frankincense belongs. The common myrrh tree is C. myrrha (Nees) Engl., but there are also other species in Arabia, where their habitat is considerably wider than that of frankincense, and many more in Somalia. Other species are found in India, where they yield a substance known as bdellium, to which I shall come back. Myrrh was used as an incense, or as an ingredient therein, but its most important role was in the manufacture of ointments, perfumes, and medicines. It was also used in embalming.

When did the trade in south Arabian incense and myrrh begin? This question can be disposed of briefly here, since it has recently been dealt with by Groom, whose conclusions may be accepted with slight modi

"Frankincense and Myrrh in Ancient South Arabia; id., "Frankincense and Myrrh." H. Ogino, "Frankincense and Myrrh of Ancient South Arabia."

† Gums are distinguished from resins by their ability to dissolve in or absorb water. Resins are soluble in alcohol, ether, and other solvents, but not in water. Gum-resins are a mixture of the two. Oleo-gum-resins contain an essential oil, as well (F. N. Howes, Vegetable Gums and Resins, pp. 3, 85, 89, 149).

SPICES OF ARABY

fications. The answer would seem to be not earlier than the seventh century B.C., for reasons that may be summarized as follows.

It may well be that the ancient Egyptians imported myrrh and frankincense from Punt as early as the third millennium B.C., and Punt may well have been the name of not only the African, but also the Arabian side of the Red Sea. It is, however, most unlikely that the ancient Egyptians sailed beyond Bāb al-Mandāb, let alone all the way to Zufār, the only or major frankincense producing region of Arabia; and the association of Punt with ivory, ebony, giraffes, grass huts, and the like certainly suggests that the Egyptians obtained their aromatics in East Africa. From an Arabian point of view, the ancient Egyptian evidence can thus be dismissed.

Thereafter there is no evidence until the Queen of Sheba, who presented Solomon with spices of an unidentified kind about 900 B.C. This queen does not, however, prove that a trade in South Arabian spices already existed, because she is most plausibly seen as a north Arabian ruler. In the first place, the Sabaeans are a north Arabian people in the Assyrian records, as well as in some Biblical and classical accounts; and the traditional explanation that these Sabaeans were a trading colony from the south is implausible in view of the fact that they appear as a warlike people in the Assyrian records and as raiders who carry off Job’s flocks in the Bible. In the second place, queens are well attested for north Arabian tribes in the Assyrian records, whereas none is attested for south Arabia at any time; indeed, there is no independent evidence for monarchic institutions at all in south Arabia as early as 900 B.C. In the third place, the unidentified spices that the Queen of Sheba presented to Solomon could just as well have come from north Arabia as

* Groom dates the beginning of the trade to the sixth century B.C., which must be about a century too late (Frankincense, ch. 2).

7 Cf. Müller, Wehrauch, cols. 739 ff.


9 The first to argue this was Philby, though his work was not published till long after his death (H. St. John Philby, The Queen of Sheba, ch. 1). The same conclusion was reached by A. K. Irvine, “The Arabs and Ethiopians,” p. 290, and, independently of Irvine, by Groom, Frankincense, ch. 3 (the most detailed discussion).


from the south. Numerous incense products and other aromatics were available in north Arabia, Palestine, and elsewhere. It was such local products, not south Arabian imports, which the Ishmaelites of Gilead sold in Egypt, and there is nothing in the Biblical account to suggest that those with which the Queen of Sheba regaled her host came from any further afield. The Biblical record thus takes us no further back than the seventh century B.C., the date generally accepted by Biblical scholars for the Israelite adoption of the use of frankincense and other incense products in the cult.

As regards the Assyrian records, they frequently mention spices among the commodities paid by various Arabian rulers as tribute to the Assyrian kings in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. But these would again appear to have been north Arabian products, for frankincense is not attested in Mesopotamia until several centuries later and the commonly mentioned murru was a local plant, not an imported resin. There is nothing in the Assyrian evidence to suggest a date earlier than the seventh century B.C. for the beginning of the trade.

13 For the spices of the Ishmaelites of Gilead, see Genesis 37:25, and below ch. 3, no. 4 (on lift, mistranslated as 'myrrh' in the authorized version) and no. 10 (on ṭāl, "balm"). Apart from these two commodities they carried ḫḳōt, 'spicery,' which has been identified as the gum of Astragalus gummosus Labill., a Palestinian shrub (cf. H. N. Moldenke and A. L. Moldenke, Plan of the Bible, pp. 51 f.). Just as the Queen of Sheba presents Solomon with spices in the Bible, so a king of Sheba, clearly a northerner, pays tribute in spices (and precious stones) in the Assyrian records (cf. Rosmarin, "Aribi und Arabien," p. 14). Bulte’s proposed link between the spread of camel domestication and the incense trade is weakened by his assumption that spices sold by Arabs necessarily came from the south (Camel and the Wheel, pp. 67, 78).


15 The relevant passages are translated by Rosmarin, "Aribi und Arabien," pp. 8 ff., 14 ff.

16 Frankincense is first mentioned in a medical recipe dating from the late Babylonian period, that is, not long before the Persian conquest, and Herodotus is the first to mention its use as an incense there (Müller, Weihrauch, col. 742). Murru is frequently mentioned, but not in connection with the tribute payments of the Arabs. Its physical appearance was well known; it had seeds and was used, among other things, in tanning. In principle the "myrrh-scented oil" known to the Assyrians could have been a south Arabian product, but since it figures among the gifts sent by Tushratta of Mitanni (and never in an Arabian context), this is in fact most unlikely to have been the case: 'myrrh-scented' is a misleading translation (cf. The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute, s.v. murru. Judging from this dictionary, the spices mentioned by name in connection with the tribute payments of the Arabs have not been identified).
That leaves us with the archaeological evidence. Of such there is not much, and what there is does not suggest an earlier date, either. The south Arabian clay stamp found at Bethel certainly does not prove that the trade already existed by the ninth century B.C., partly because there is a case for the view that it only came to Bethel in modern times, and partly because, even if this is not the case, the stamp itself is completely undatable. The south Arabian potsherds that have been found at 'Aqaba are now said to date from the sixth century B.C.; the south Arabian

16 Cf. G. W. van Beek and A. Jamme, "An Inscribed South Arabian Clay Stamp from Bethel"; A. Jamme and G. W. van Beek, "The South Arabian Clay Stamp from Bethel Again." In the first article the authors announced the discovery of a south Arabian clay stamp at Bethel; in the second they informed their readers that they had found an exact replica of this stamp in the form of a squeeze in the Glaser collection. They concluded that they had found two stamps made by the same workman; this, in their view, would suffice to explain why the two stamps had even been broken in the same place. Yadin, however, concluded that the stamp from which the squeeze in the Glaser collection had been made (and which had since disappeared) was the very stamp that had turned up at Bethel (Y. Yadin, "An Inscribed South-Arabian Clay Stamp from Bethel?"). Two rejoinders were written (G. W. van Beek and A. Jamme, "The Authenticity of the Bethel Stamp Seal"); J. L. Kelso, "A Reply to Yadin's Article on the Finding of the Bethel Stamp"), and there has been one attempt to prove that the two stamps, though similar, are not completely identical (P. Boneschi, "L'antique inscription sud-aramée d'un supposed cachet provenant de Beyt ethl (Bethel)."") But it must be conceded that the coincidence is odd, and a hypothesis has since been proposed concerning how the Glaser stamp could have come to be buried at Bethel (B. L. Cleveland, "More on the South Arabian Clay Stamp Found at Bethel.").

17 It was found in undatable debris outside the city wall; or more precisely, the debris ranged from the iron age to the Byzantine period (Jamme and van Beek, "Clay Stamp from Bethel Again," p. 16). It was dated to the ninth century B.C. on the ground that it must have been connected with the incense trade, which in turn must have been connected with the temple at Bethel; this temple only existed from 92 to 72 B.C., and it is conjectured that it imported most of its frankincense in the earlier part of this period (the authors take no account of the fact that the Israelites are not supposed to have made ritual use of incense at this stage). The date of the stamp thus rests on the assumption that the incense trade already existed in the ninth century B.C., a fact that does not prevent the authors from adducing the stamp as proof of this assumption (cf. van Beek and Jamme, "Clay Stamp from Bethel," p. 16). Paleography is also invoked in favour of this date, but not convincingly (cf. Boneschi, "L'antique inscription," pp. 162 f., and the following note).

18 Cf. N. Glueck, "The First Campaign at Tell el-Kheleifeh," p. 16 (discovery insitu of a large broken jar inscribed with two letters of a south Arabian script, dated to the eighth century B.C. on the basis of stratigraphy); G. Ryckmans, "Un fragment de jarre avec caractères minéens de Tell El-Kheleyefeh" (date accepted, script identified as Minaean); N. Glueck, "Tell el-Kheleifeh Inscriptions," pp. 236 f. (Ryckmans reported to have
CLASSICAL SPICE TRADE

tripod that may have been found in Iraq only dates from the sixth to fourth centuries B.C.; and the same is true of other finds suggestive of trade between south Arabia and Mesopotamia. In short, the belief that the incense trade between south Arabia and the Fertile Crescent is of immense antiquity does not have much evidence in its favour.

By the seventh century B.C., however, the trade must have begun. This is clear partly from the Biblical record and partly from the fact that both frankincense and myrrh were known under their Semitic names even in distant Greece by about 600 B.C., when they are attested in the poetry of Sappho. The archaeological evidence sets in about the sixth century B.C., as has been seen, and the trade becomes increasingly attested thereafter. The trade may thus be said to be of a venerable age even if it is not as old as civilisation itself.

How were the incense products transported? It is a plausible contention that the earliest trade was by land. But leaving aside the obvious point that maritime expeditions to Punt on the part of the ancient Egyptians do not testify to the existence of an overland route, as has in all seriousness been argued, the fact that the earliest trade was by land in no way changed the date to the sixth century B.C.; another ostracophon, possibly Minaean, dating from the seventh or sixth century B.C. discovered); id., The Other Side of the Jordan, pp. 128, 132 (sixth century date accepted, though the script resembles that of inscriptions dated to the fourth century B.C.); W. F. Albright, "The Chaldean Inscription in Proto-Arabic Script," pp. 43 f. (Glueck's eighth-century date not queried, but the script possibly proto-Dedanite, under no circumstances Minaean); Müller, Wehrauch, col. 745 (it is probably Sabacan). Cf. also P. Boneschi, "Les monogrammes sud-arabes de la grande jarre de Tell El-Djezheb (Ezion Geber)" (where the jar still dates from the eighth or seventh century B.C.).


11 See the passages adduced by Müller, Wehrauch, col. 708.

12 The Biblical passages mentioning frankincense are listed by Mollende and Mollende, Plants of the Bible, pp. 26 f.; it is common in the Prophets, from about 600 B.C. onward. In the fifth century B.C. it was used by the Jews of Elephantine (A. Cowley, ed. and tr., Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C., 1205, 30:23; 31:21; 33:13). On the Greek side it is attested in the poetry of Pindar (f. c. 490 B.C.) and Melanippeides (f. c. 450 B.C.), and of course in Herodotus (f. c. 450) (cf. H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, s.v. libanos).

means that all Arabian aromatics continued to be transported largely or wholly in this fashion until the very end of the trade; as will be seen, the evidence suggests the contrary.

We do not hear anything about the overland route until the Hellenistic period. According to Hieronymus of Cardia (historian of the period 323-272 B.C.), who is cited by Diodorus Siculus, a fair number of Nabataeans were "acquainted to bring down to the sea [the Mediterranean] frankincense and myrrh and the most valuable kinds of spices, which they procure from those who convey them from what is called Arabia Eudaemon." Given the date of this statement, the goods in question were presumably conveyed to the Nabataeans by the overland route, though the text does not explicitly say so. A more explicit account is given by Eratosthenes (c. 275-194 B.C.), who is cited by Strabo. According to him, frankincense, myrrh, and other Arabian aromatics from the Hadramawt and Qataban were bartered to merchants who took seventy days to get from Ailana (that is, Ayla) to Mina, whereas the Gabaioi, whoever they may have been, got to the Hadramawt in forty days. The overland route is alluded to again by Artemidorus (about 100 B.C.), who is also cited by Strabo and who, after an account of the lazy and easygoing life of the (southern) Sabaeans, tells us that "those who live close to one another receive in continuous succession the loads of aromatics and deliver them to their neighbours, as far as Syria and Mesopotamia"; in the course of so doing they are supposed to have become so drowsy, thanks to the sweet odours, that they had to inhale various other substances in order to stay awake. A more matter-of-fact account is given by Juba (c. 50 B.C.-19 A.D.), who is cited by Pliny. All frankincense, according to him, had to go to Sobota, that is, Shabwa, the Hadrami capital: "the king has made it a capital offense for camels so laden

---

16 Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca Historica, xix, 94: 5. On his source, see J. Hornblower, Hieronymus of Cardia. If this had been a statement by Diodorus himself, one would have taken it to mean that the Nabataeans received their goods as the northern end of the Red Sea and conveyed them from there to the Mediterranean.
17 For an attractive solution to this problem, see A. F. L. Beeston, "Some Observations on Greek and Latin Data Relating to South Arabia," pp. 7 ff.; cf. id., "Pliny's Gebianitae."
18 Strabo, Geography, xvi, 4.4.
19 Ibid., xvi, 4.19. As noted by Groom, Frankincense, p. 243 n29, this does not appear to go back to Agatharchides.
to turn aside from the high road.” From Shabwa it could only be sent on by the Gebbanitae, whose capital was Thomna, that is, the site known inscriptionally as Ṭimm, the capital of Qatabān.19 From here the caravans proceeded to Gaza, the journey being divided into sixty-five stages with halts for camels. Taxes were paid to the Ḥadramātī kings in Shabwa and to the Qatabānī kings in Thomna, but a host of priests, secretaries, guards, and attendants also had to have their cut, so that the expenses reached 688 denarii per camel even before Roman import duties were paid.20 Pliny alludes to the overland route again in a passage on inland towns to which the south Arabians “bring down their perfumes for export,” and he also knew that frankincense was transported through Minacan territory “along one narrow track.”21 In the Periplus, too, we are informed that “all the frankincense produced in the country [the Ḥadramawt] is brought by camels to that place [Shabwa] to be stored,” presumably for transport overland.22 But this is the sum total of our literary evidence on the overland route.

The evidence is noteworthy in two respects. First, it mentions only Arabian goods, primarily Ḥadramātī frankincense: no Indian spices, Chinese silk, or East African ivory are being transported by caravan to Syria here (unless one wishes to read them into Hieronymus’ unidentified spices). Second, there is no mention of the overland route after Pliny and/or the Periplus (depending on one’s views on the date of the latter). The overland route, in short, would appear to have been of restricted use in terms of both products carried and period of time.

I shall come back to the absence of foreign imports from the overland route in the next section. As regards the Arabian goods carried, Eratosthenes identifies them as coming from the Ḥadramawt and Qatabān (Khatramōtis, Kittabania). They similarly come from the Ḥadramawt and Qatabān (Sohbotha, Thomna) in Juba. The Periplus only mentions the Ḥadramawt, possibly because this state had by then absorbed its Qatabānī neighbour.23 At all events, the Sabaeans (here and in what fol-

---

19 Cf. El, s.v. Katabān (Beeston). The Gebbanitae are unlikely to have been Qatabānīs (cf. Beeston, “Pliny’s Gebbanitae”), but Pliny, or his source, clearly took them to be rulers of the Qatabānī capital.
20 Pliny, Natural History, xii. 63 ff.
21 Ibid., vi. 154; xii. 54.
22 Periplus, 517.
23 Cf. W. F. Albright, “The Chronology of Ancient South Arabia in the Light of the
SPICES OF ARABY

... those of the southern kind) are only mentioned in connection with Artemidorus' drowsy caravaners and Pliny's list of inland towns to which aromatics were sent for export. Further, the goods carried are frankincense, myrrh, and other aromatics in Hieronymus and Eratosthenes, but only frankincense in Pliny and the Periplus; and the latter two sources explicitly inform us that the route via Shahwa was fixed by the Hadramī kings. What this suggests is that the overland route was always associated particularly with the Hadramawt (with or without its Qatabānī neighbour), not with the Sabaeans; and this makes sense, given that the Hadramawt was the only source of Arabian frankincense, or at least the only one of any importance, thanks to its control of Zufār. The Hadramī kings were free to favor any route they wished, and by the time of Pliny and the Periplus it would seem that Hadramī frankincense (and apparently Hadramī frankincense alone) came north by caravan for the simple reason that the rulers of the Hadramawt decreed that this be so.

First Campaign of Excavation in Qatabān,” pp. 9 f. (Qatabān fell about 50 B.C.: Müller, Weitbrauch, col. 726 (about A.D. 25). A much later date is proposed by J. Pirenne, Lerroyaume sud-arabe de Qataban et sa datation (A.D. 250); and according to Beeston, all one can say for sure is that Qataban ceases to be mentioned in the inscriptions by the fourth century A.D. (Ep., 50. Kataban).)

... For the view that the frankincense-bearing area of ancient Arabia was the same as today, that is, Zufār, see van Beek, “Frankincense and Myrrh,” p. 72; id., “Frankincense and Myrrh in Ancient South Arabia,” pp. 441 f. id., “Ancient Frankincense-Producing Areas.” According to Groom, Frankincense, pp. 1 ff., and J. Pirenne, “The Incense Port of Moscha (Khor Rori) in Dhufar,” pp. 91 ff. it grew considerably further to the west in the past than it does today, and both have a good case. But Groom leaves the preeminence of Zufār unshaken, and neither claims that it grew extensively to the west of the Hadramawt.

... Pace Müller and Groom. Müller conjectures that it was the Minaeans who kept the overland route going, the destruction of their kingdom in the first century B.C. being the cause of its decline (Weitbrauch, col. 725). But this explanation does not account for the strong interest displayed in it by the Hadramī kings, or for the continued use of the route into the first century A.D. (although this can be queried, as will be seen). Groom, on the other hand, suggests that the overland route survived because the harvest cycle was such that the incense trade and the India trade could not be combined (Frankincense, pp. 143 ff.). That they could not be combined may well be true; but on the one hand, one would have expected the incense trade to have become maritime even before the Greeks began to sail to India; and on the other hand, the Greeks were quite willing to sail to south Arabia for the purchase of incense alone after the India trade had gone (cf. below, 749). This explanation is thus also unsatisfactory.
CLASSICAL SPICE TRADE

Why should they have favoured the overland route? As will be seen, the south Arabians were already capable of sailing in the Red Sea in the second century B.C., and for purposes of taxation the Ḥadramī kings could just as well have decreed that all frankincense must go through coastal枣ufār. The sea route may well have been hazardous, but then the overland trek from south Arabia to Syria was not easy, either. Caravan journeys in Arabia were arduous undertakings even in much later times, as every pilgrim knew, and the pirates with which the Red Sea was frequently infested always had their terrestrial counterparts. Sailing from枣ufār, the Ḥadramī port) to Berenice took only thirty days, whereas it took the caravaneers sixty-five, seventy, or, according to an alternative interpretation, 120 to 130 days to get from Shabwa to Syria. And the heart of every merchant must have bled at the expenditure of 688 denarii per camel on travel costs alone. In short, the overland route would seem to have owed its survival to the interests of kings rather than those of merchants. And if the Ḥadramī rulers enforced the use of the overland route, it was presumably because they were inland rulers allied to inland tribes, and because they did not want their goods to pass through straits controlled by their Sabaean rivals.

But the point is that by the second century B.C. their Sabaean rivals had discovered a rival source of frankincense. According to Agathar-

31 Cf. Yaqūt, Buhdān, iii, 577, s.v. Zafār: "they gather it and carry it to Zafār, where the ruler takes his share. They cannot carry it elsewhere under any circumstances, and if he hears of someone who has carried it to some other town, he kills him."
32 "And strangely to say, of these innumerable tribes an equal part are engaged in trade or live by brigandage" (Pliny, NaturalHistory, vi, 162). It is not impossible that the overland route was sometimes safer than the sea route; but in view of the duration and cost of the overland route, it seems unlikely that merchants would choose whichever happened to be the more secure at the time (as suggested by Van Beek, "Frankincense and Myrrh in Ancient South Arabia," p. 148). The existence of pirates in the Red Sea is attested in both Pliny (NaturalHistory, vi, 101) and the Periplus (§ 20), but both passages also show that pirates did not dissuade merchants from sailing, though they did make them take the precaution of manning their ships with archers, as described in Pliny.
33 Pliny, NaturalHistory, vi, 104. Qn’ is modern Ḥisr al-Ghurāb, or more precisely a site on the isthmus connecting Ḥisn al-Ghurāb with the mainland (cf. A.F.L. Beeston, review of W. B. Huntingford, p. 356).
chides (c. 130 B.C.), the Sabaeans made use of rafts and leather boats for the transport of their goods; and though he does not say from where to where, Artemidorus (c. 100 B.C.) took him to mean "from Ethiopia to Arabia." In Ethiopia (both in the modern sense and that of East Africa in general) large quantities of frankincense and myrrh were to be found, as the ancient Egyptians would appear to have discovered; and Artemidorus thus also knew the Sabaeans to be trading in aromatics of "both the local kind and that from Ethiopia." By the first century A.D., African frankincense was as least as important as the Arabian variety, while African myrrh had already acquired priority. By the sixth century, African frankincense was the only variety a merchant such as Cosmas saw fit to mention. It still dominates the market today. In short, the Sabaeans' discovery drastically undermined the monopoly of the Hadrami suppliers.

The Sabaeans did not, of course, hand over their frankincense to the Hadrami for transport overland via Shabwa. The question is whether they sent it by land at all. Artemidorus' drowsy caravaneers certainly suggest that they did, as does Pliny's list of inland towns to which aromatics were sent, if less conclusively; and Agatharchides' statement


20 Artemidorus in Strabo, Geography, xvi, 4, 19.

21 Persius, §§ 12 (also translated in Groom, Frankincense, pp. 138 ff.); Dioscorides, De Materia Medica, 1, 64 = J. Goodyer, tr., The Greek Herbal of Dioscorides, ed. R. T. Gunther, 1, 77.

22 Cosmas Indicopleustes, Topographie chrétienne, n. 49; cf. n. 64. Groom, Frankincense, p. 135 (roughly two-thirds of the frankincense handled by Aden in 1875 came from Somali ports); Müller, Weiburch, col. 730 (in 1972 about three-fifths of the world demand was met by Ethiopia).

23 As Groom unthinkingly assumes (Frankincense, p. 147).

24 Cf. above, n. 17, 30. Artemidorus' caravaneers are mentioned in the middle of an account of the Sabaeans. Pliny is talking of the south Arabian at large, but he also says that it is the Sabaeans who are the best known of all Arabian tribes "because of their frankincense." R. Doe suggests that "Saba did not officially participate in the aromatics trade" ("The W'PB Formula and the Incense Trade," p. 41), but the Sabaeans are associated
that they made use of rafts and leather boats presumably means no more than what Artemidorus took it to mean, that is, between Africa and Arabia. But Agatharchides also tells us that the Mineans, Gereans, and others would unload their cargoes at an island opposite the Nabataean coast; or at least, this is what he appears to be saying. In other words, Agatharchides suggests that though the Sabaean themselves may have confined their maritime activities to crossings of the Red Sea, their distributors in the north had already taken to maritime transport by the second century B.C. By the first century B.C., at any rate, there is no

with the incense trade time and again in the classical sources (cf. Muller, Weibracht, cols. 71, 725); conceivably, the absence of the *wad* formula could be invoked in favour of the view that they did not trade much by land.

45 Artemidorus in Strabo, Geography, xvi, 4:19. Cf. also ibid., xvi, 4:4, where Eratosthenes mentions islands in the Red Sea that were used for the transport of merchandise "from one continent to the other."

46 Agatharchides, § 87; also cited by Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca, iii, 42:5; and by Artemidorus in Strabo, Geography, xvi, 4:18. We are told that near the island of Phoecae (corrupted to "a place called Nessa" in Photius' excerpt) there is a promontory that extends to Petra and Palestine, and that the Mineans, Gereans, and others bring down their cargoes to this (island or Palestine). The most natural reading of *eis gar touth* (in Diodorus; *eis bōn* in Photius and Artemidorus) is that it refers to the island, partly because it is the island, not Palestine, that Agatharchides wishes to give information about, and partly because he is not sure that his information is correct; he would hardly have found it necessary to add "as they say" (hōs logar, in both Photius and Diodorus) if he had been talking about the arrival of caravans in Palestine. Moreover, both *portion* (load, especially that of a ship) and *katagō* (go down, especially to the coast, from sea to land, or to bring a ship into harbour) suggest that the transport was maritime. In Woelk's translation this interpretation is explicit, and Muller reads the passage similarly (Weibracht, col. 730, but the cargoes are here unloaded at the promontory, which is grammatically impossible, the promontory being neuter). The island in question was probably Tiran (Woelk, Agatharchides, p. 79). 47 As distributors of Hadrami frankincense, the Gereans had to some extent taken to maritime transport in the Persian Gulf, too, a bout this time. They probably collected their frankincense by land (whatever route they may have taken), but on their return to Gerrha they would transport it by raft to Babylon and sail up the Euphrates (Aristobulus in Strabo, Geography, xvi, 3:3, where the apparent contradiction is easily resolved along these lines). As regards the Mineans, Rhodokanakis would have it that a Minean who shipped myrrh and calamus to Egypt is attested in the Gizeh inscription of 264 B.C. (N. Rhodokanakis, "Die Sarkophaginschrift von Gizeh"). But as Beeston points out, Rhodokanakis' rendering of the inscription makes a most implausible text for a sarcophagus. The linen cloth of the crucial line was either "of his key," that is, of his mummy wrapping, or else "for his 9y," that is, for his ship in the sense of funerary bar e; either way the inscription fails to mention a ship on which the deceased transported his aromatics to Egypt (A.F.L.
longer any doubt that maritime transport had come to be the norm. Thus Strabo informs us that Arabian aromatics were unloaded at Leukē Kōmē, a Nahataean port and emporium to which, he says, camel traders could travel from Petra and back in perfect safety and ease, though “at the present time” they were more often unloaded at Myus Hormus on the Egyptian side of the Red Sea; either way, it was only from these ports that the goods were transported overland, he it to Alexandria, Rhinocolura, or elsewhere. Strabo, an associate of Aelius Gallus, knew of the overland route from his literary sources, but of its existence in his own time he seems to be quite unaware. By the first century A.D., Greek and Roman traders were collecting their own aromatics in Muza, a Yemeni port which, according to Pliny, was visited exclusively by merchants specializing in such aromatics, not by those on their way to India. And about the same time (if we accept the traditional date of the Periplus) they had also come to import frankincense and myrrh directly from East African ports. In short, by the first century A.D. the Yemeni incense trade had come to be wholly maritime. Indeed, the Nabataeans may have been driven to piracy by circumstances related to this very fact.

It is hard to believe that the overland route survived this competition for long. In fact, it is arguable that the Ḥadramī incense trade had also


Strabo, Geography, xvi, 4:23 f. (in connection with the expedition of Aelius Gallus). Strabo’s statement is too circumstantial and too obviously based on contemporary rather than literary information for it to be rejected, as it is by Groom (Frankincense, pp. 207 ff.; Groom did not notice the passage in Agatharchides cited above, n46, nor apparently the passage by Pliny cited in the following note).

Pliny, Natural History, vi, 104.

Periplus, §§7 ff.

Cf. G. W. Bowersock, Roman Arabia, p. 27. The new traffic by sea was not in itself contrary to Nabataean interests as long as the goods were unloaded at Leukē Kōmē; it was the Nabataeans who would transport them from there to Gaza via Petra. But as seen already, Strabo explicitly states that goods were more commonly unloaded at the Egyptian side of the Red Sea in his days; and the Periplus confirms that Leukē Kōmē had lost importance by the first century A.D. (above, n48; below, n53). Bowersock may thus well be right that it was the new maritime trade which caused the decline of the Petra-Gaza road (if it did decline then, cf. the literature cited by Bowersock, ibid.). He may also be right that this is what drove the Nabataeans to piracy; though the fact that Diodorus’s account probably goes back to Agatharchides makes the phenomenon a little too early for comfort.
come to be maritime by the first century A.D., though this cannot be proved. Pliny, after all, derived his information on the overland route from Juba, who derived his from literary sources, in his turn—a chain that takes us well back into the first century B.C. And the allusion to this route in the *Periplus* could easily have been cribbed from an earlier merchants’ guide. It is certainly not very consistent to tell us first that all frankincense must go via Shabwa and next that frankincense was also exported from Cane, the Hadrami port, unless we are to take it that the exports from Cane were destined for Ommana and India alone. But this is not of major importance in the present context. What matters here is that there is no reference to the overland route in the classical literature after (Juba in) Pliny and the *Periplus*, a work composed about 50 A.D., according to some, in the early second century according to others, and in the third century according to a few. And by the end of the third century A.D. the Hadrami kings who enforced the use of this route had lost their autonomy to the Sabaeans.

There is nothing to suggest that the trade ever ceased to be maritime thereafter. Trajan (98–117) linked Clyisma (Qulzum) to the Nile by canal and built roads between Aela (Ayla), Petra, Bostra, and Damascus, and these two ports definitively ousted Berenice and Leuke Kome. Qulzum and Ayla appear as centres of Red Sea shipping in the Islamic tradition, too. In the Yemen, Muza was eclipsed by Aden, the famous Eudaemon Arabia which, according to a controversial statement in the

---

51 *Periplus*, §§ 17 f.; cf. § 36, where Ommana (probably on the Arabian side of the Gulf, cf. Beesoon, review of Huntingford, p. 357, and possibly identifiable with Suhar, cf. Müller, Weinrauch, col. 728) receives frankincense from Cane, and § 39, where frankincense is exported to Barbaricon in India, presumably from Cane. Groom harmonizes by assuming that frankincense could only be exported by sea by special permission (*Frankincense*, p. 153).

54 Cf. Raschke, “New Studies,” p. 661. (But the well-known idea that he used the work of a Uranus who flourished in the first century B.C. is refuted at pp. 837 f.).


56 G. F. Ilourani, *Arab Swafarong in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*, p. 34. Leuke Kôme was still of minor importance in the days of the *Periplus* (cf. § 19, where it is a market town for small vessels sent there from Arabia).

57 The Byzantine ship that was stranded at Shu‘ayba was on its way from Qulzum to Ethiopia, according to Mas‘udi (cf. above, ch. 119). When Ayla surrendered to the Prophet, its inhabitants, including the Yemenis who were there, were granted freedom to travel by sea (below, p. 44).
SPICES OF ARABY

*Periplus*, had been destroyed by "Caesar," but which had regained its former importance by the fourth century A.D. The termini thus changed in the later empire, but not the mode of transport itself. It is not clear why some scholars believe the overland route to have continued into the fourth century A.D., or even later, or why Islamicists generally assume it to have retained its importance until the time of Mecca's rise to commercial prominence, or to have recovered it by then. Insofar as the Islamic tradition remembers anything about the pre-Islamic incense trade, it remembers it as sea-borne.

The incense trade that the Islamic tradition remembers as sea-borne was undoubtedly a trade conducted primarily with the non-Roman world. Thus Persia is still on the list of importers of African frankincense in Cosmas, who wrote in the sixth century A.D.; China is known to have imported both Arabian and African frankincense, partly via India and partly directly, until at least the thirteenth century A.D.; and India has continued to import it until today. In the Greco-Roman world,

---

57 *Periplus*, ed. H. Frisk, §26 (Schloß emends "Caesar" to "Charibael"); discussed by Pi- renne, *Qatabân*, pp. 180 f. Cf. Philostorgius, *Kirchengeschichte*, III, 4 = E. Walford, tr., *The Ecclesiastical History of Philostorgius*, pp. 444 f., where Constantius asks for permission to build churches for the Romans who come to south Arabia by sea; one was built at Adanê, where everybody coming from the Roman empire lands in order to trade. (I do not know on what authority it is claimed that Aden later lost its importance to the Red Sea ports of Ahwáb and Ghulásíq: Ep., t.s. 'Adan.).

58 See Groom, *Frankincense*, pp. 153, 162 (until the collapse of the Greco-Roman empire in the fourth century A.D.); Le Baron Bowen, "Ancient Trade Routes," p. 35 (implies much the same); Doe, *Southern Arabia*, p. 30 (until shortly before the rise of Islam); cf. also van Beek, "Frankincense and Myrrh in Ancient South Arabia," p. 148, where the evidence shows that both land and sea routes were used in all periods. According to Irvine, "The Arabs and Ethiopians," p. 301, by contrast, the overland route had already declined on the advent of the Christian era; similarly J. Ryckmans, *L'institution monarchique en Arabie méridionale avant l'islam*, p. 331.

59 The Hadrami *port of Shihr* traded in frankincense (*kundur*) and myrrh in pre-Islamic times (Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Marzūqī, *Kitāb al-a'nīna wa'l-almkina*, II, 163 f.). Aden was tuthe by the Persian Ahmād and *tab* was carried from there to other regions (Ahmad b. Abī Ya'aqūb al-Abī 'āqūbī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, 314). It is, however, likely that the *tab* from Aden was manufactured perfume rather than raw materials, cf. below, ch. 4, p. 95.

CLASSICAL SPICE TRADE

however, Arabian aromatics soon lost the importance which they had enjoyed in the days of Pliny.

There is general agreement that the Roman market failed to survive Christianization, though the spread of Christianity does not in itself suffice to explain the decline of the trade. The early Christians certainly condemned incense-burning as idolatrous; but they soon adopted the use of incense for a variety of purposes themselves, and by the fifth or sixth century, incense-burning had come to be part of the Christian cult. In terms of Christian doctrine, the market could thus have picked up again at the very time of Meceaa's rise to commercial prominence. Yet it did not. The point is that Christianity had contributed, along with numerous other factors, to an irreversible change of life style in the Greco-Roman world. The classical incense trade had thrived on ostentatious behaviour by men and gods alike, a behavioural pattern that was alien to the Christians. The Christian God came to terms with incense, but in principle he continued to have no need of it, and he scarcely consumed 1,000 talents a year after the fashion of Bel.

Similarly, frankincense was burnt at the funeral of Justinian, but the quantity burnt was hardly greater than the annual production of Arabia, as was that which Nero saw fit to burn at the funeral of Poppaea. As the grandiose squandering of incense products by the Greco-Roman elite, imitated by whoever could afford it, came to an end, frankincense ceased to be the classical equivalent of wine and cigarettes, the indispensable luxuries of everyday life. The use of incense is attested for both the eastern Roman empire and the West right into the Middle Ages in connection with funerals.

---

41 Thus G. Hourani, "Did Roman Commercial Competition Ruin South Arabia?" pp. 294 f.; R. Le Baron Bowen, "Irrigation in Ancient Qataban (Beihan)," p. 85; Bulliet, Camel and the Wheel, p. 104; Groom, Frankincense, p. 162; Müller, Weibrauch, col. 746 (there is, however, no evidence that the demand had decreased in Persia, as Müller seems to imply).


43 "It is not that the Lord hath need at all of incense" (W. Riedel and W. E. Crum, eds. and trs., The Canons of Athanasius of Alexandria, p. 58 = 68, where the burning of incense [bukbur] is part of the cult). If the attribution of this work to Athanasius, a fourth-century patriarch, were genuine, this would be one of the first attestations of incense-burning as an element in Christian worship; but the attribution is undoubtedly false. For Bel, see Herodotus, History, 1, 183.

44 Müller, Weibrauch, col. 764 (Corippus); Pliny, Natural History, xi, 83.

45 Cf. Müller, Weibrauch, col. 733, on daily purchases of frankincense.
processions, and rituals of various kinds. Yet by the sixth century, a merchant such as Cosmas no longer knew or saw fit to mention that the Byzantines imported the commodity. Some clearly must have been imported for the uses mentioned, as well as for the manufacture of medicines, and frankincense still figures (together with myrrh) in the tenth-century Book of the Eparch. But the quantity imported is unlikely to have been large, and in the period of relevance to us it would seem to have come largely or wholly from East Africa. Cosmas apparently did not even know that frankincense was produced in south Arabia; at least it is only as an East African product that he mentions it. Zacharias Rhetor, his contemporary, also thought of it as Ethiopian. And the land that had invariably conjured up incense and spices to classical authors from Herodotus to Lucian merely suggested tribal politics, missionary activities, and Christian martyrs to authors such as Philostorgious, Pro-

66 Cf. Atchley, Use of Incense, part II. Incense (bismi) was burnt at reliquaries of saints, on feast days, and in connection with healing in Christian Mesopotamia (cf. A. Palmer, "Sources for the Early History of Qartmin Abbey with Special Reference to the Period A.D. 400-800," passim). The burning of incense after meals is also well attested for the post-classical period (cf. L. Y. Rahman, "Palestinian Incense Burners of the Sixth to Eighth Centuries C.E.," p. 122, for the Jewish evidence; below, ch. 4, n. 35, for attestation of the same custom in pre-Islamic Arabia; M. Aga-Oglu, "About a Type of Islamic Incense Burner," p. 18, for the same custom under the 'Abbasids).

67 Cosmas, Topographie, II, 49 (frankincense comes from East Africa and is exported from there to south Arabia, Persia, and India).


69 J. Nicole, tr., Le livre du préfet, (reprinted together with the Greek text, Freshfield's English translation, and other works in The Book of the Eparch), x, 1.

70 The church used a variety of incense products and references to incense-burning are not necessarily references to the use of frankincense (see Atchley, Use of Incense, p. 272 n., on the Copts; compare also the absence of myrrh and frankincense from the ingredients attested for the eighth-century monastery of Corbie in F. Kennett, History of Perfume, p. 91).

71 See above, n. 67; this point was also noted by Müller, Weistrauch, col. 729, and by S. Smith, "Events in Arabia in the 6th Century A.D.," p. 426. Zacharias Rhetor, Historia Ecclesiastica, II, 206 = 139. In the Book of the Eparch, where myrrh and frankincense are mentioned together with musk, nard, cinnamon, and other sweet-smelling things, we are told that all these products are imported from the land of the Chaldees, Trebizond, and elsewhere (Nicole, Livre, x, 7), so presumably the Byzantines had come to depend on Muslim middlemen by then.

28
CLASSICAL SPICE TRADE

copius, and the majority of Syriac churchmen. Sixth-century Corpus thought of incense as Sabaean; Jacob of Sarug (d. 521) found it appropriate to compare the faith of the Yemeni Christians with the sweet smell of the spices, incense, and aromatics sent “from your region here to us”; and Jacob of Edessa (d. 768) identified Saba as the homeland of myrrh, frankincense, and other spices associated with Arabia in antiquity. But such resonances of the past are fairly rare in the texts, and to those devoid of classical learning, Arab traders conjured up the very opposite of pleasant smells. “Normally the Ishmaelites only carry hides and naphtha,” a third-century rabbi observed, surprised by the association of Ishmaelites and aromatics in Genesis 37:15; it was by way of exception that God let Joseph be saved by people with sacks full of sweet-smelling things. Long before the rise of Mecca to commercial prominence, Arabian frankincense and related products had ceased to be of economic consequence in the Greco-Roman world.

To summarize, the Yemeni incense trade had become wholly maritime by the first century A.D., and the Hadrami incense trade must have followed suit shortly thereafter. By the third century A.D., the Greco-Roman market had begun to collapse, never to recover. By the time of Mecca’s rise to prominence, there was no overland incense trade for Quraysh to take over, and no Roman market for them to exploit.

71 Philostorgius, *Kirchengeschichte*, iii, 4, has nothing to say about Arabian incense products, though he mentions both cinnamon and cassia in connection with Ethiopia (iii, 6).

72 Procopius, *History of the Wars*, books 1 through 10, especially 1, 19. Cf. A. Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites*, and I. Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najran*. We are told that one martyr was buried in linen and aromatics (Shahid, *Martyrs*, p. x = 48), but there is no sense in these works that we are in incense land.


74 S. Krauss, “Talmudische Nachrichten über Arabinen,” pp. 335 f., with other attestations of Arabs as traders in camel hides and evil-smelling pine tar (γατράν). (Lammens also knew of a pre-Islamic trade in γατράν, misrepresented as an aromatic, but the passages to which he refers relate to the period of 'Abd al-Malik; cf. Lammens, *Ṭāf*, pp. 225 f.; id., *Le berceau de l'Islam*, p. 92.)
We may now turn to the role of the Arabs in the eastern trade, and once more we may start with the beginnings. Did the Arabs have maritime contacts with India long before such contacts were established between India and the rest of the western world (including Mesopotamia)? As will be seen, there is no reliable evidence in favour of this view.

Regular commercial contacts by sea between India and the western world are not attested until the first century A.D., and this is scarcely surprising. Where the Mediterranean world was united by a sea, India and the Near East were separated by one. The coasts on the way were barren, uninhabited, difficult of access due to coral reefs, rocks, and mountain chains, lacking in natural harbours, and generally devoid of timber. Exceptional patches notwithstanding, it was not a coastline that encouraged cabotage, the leisurely trundling from port to port that soon gave the inhabitants of the Mediterranean the feeling of being frogs around a pond.75 "The sea is vast and great," as Mesopotamian soldiers told a Chinese ambassador in 97 A.D., "...it is for this reason that those who go to sea take with them a supply of three years' provisions. There is something in the sea which is apt to make a man homesick, and several have thus lost their lives."76 Regular contacts thus depended on the ability to cross the ocean at mid-sea, a feat that reduced the duration of the journey to some two months, or even less. This was possible by the time of the Chinese ambassador, who was duly informed that if the winds were good, the journey would be short. But it had only become possible thanks to deliberate experiments and explorations, and the breakthrough owed much to expertise acquired in the Mediterranean. Briefly, the history of these experiments may be summarized as follows.

Contacts between Mesopotamia and India (Harappa) are attested for the third millennium B.C., and in view of the fact that there was Babylonian navigation in the Persian Gulf at the time, these contacts may have been maritime. But if they were, they were not kept up, and subsequently even navigation in the Persian Gulf would appear to have con-

75 M. A. Cook, "Economic Developments," p. 221
76 F. Hirth, China and the Roman Orient, p. 39; cited in Hourani, Seafaring, p. 16.
CLASSICAL SPICE TRADE

tractcd. In the Assyrian period the inhabitants of the Persian Gulf demonstrated some capacity for navigation in local waters in the course of a revolt against Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.); but inasmuch as Sennacherib reacted by importing Mediterranean sailors for both the construction and the navigation of the ships he needed to suppress the rebels, little maritime expertise would seem to have been available in Mesopotamia. Some scholars place the inception (or resumption) of maritime contacts between Mesopotamia and India in the neo-Babylonian period (626-539 B.C.); but though maritime activities are certainly attested for this period, the evidence for maritime contacts with India at this time is spurious, be it archaeological, philological, or other. Under the

78 Hourani, Seafaring, p. 10.
80 Listed by Hourani, Seafaring, p. 100.
81 Thus we are told that logs of Indian teak have been found in the temple of the moon god at Muqayr and in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar at Birs Nimrud, both dating from the sixth century B.C., and logs could hardly have been transported by land. James E. R. Mallowan, Intercourse between India and the Western World from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Rome, p. 3; cf. R. K. Mookerji, Indian Shipping, pp. 60 ff. But Taylor, who discovered the logs at Muqayr, merely reported that they were “apparently teak,” and the logs have since disappeared. The beam at Birs Nimrud, on the other hand, was identified as Indian teak, “a kind of teak,” by Rassam, who thought that Taylor’s logs were probably the same. But the only reason given by Rassam for this identification is that Indian teak does not rot so fast as that from Lebanon (Kennedy, “Early Commerce,” pp. 266 ff. and the notes thereto, with reference to E. J. Taylor, “Notes on the Ruins of Muqayr,” p. 264, and a letter from H. Rassam).
82 Thus Kennedy infers the existence of an early sea trade from his belief that rice and peacocks were known to the Greeks under their Indian names in the fifth century B.C., and that peacocks and sandalwood were similarly known in Palestine at the time of the compilers of the Kings and Chronicles (who credited Solomon with having imported something usually identified as such), cf. Kennedy, “Early Commerce,” pp. 268 f. But Sophocles (c. 460 B.C.) does not mention rice, only a nārīndiś ātrās which his glossator took to be made of rice (cf. Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon, s.v.). Aristophanes (c. 430 B.C.) does mention peacocks; but whatever the origin of these peacocks, they were not known by an Indian name. Greek tātos is not derived from Tamil ātēr or tātēr via Persian tāsīs (a false etymology adopted even by Liddell and Scott), for the Pahlavi word was *frānēmūr (H. W. Bailey, Zoroastrian Problems in the Nineteenth Century, p. 15). Persian tāsīs is simply a transcription of the Arabic word tāsīs and the Arabic word in its turn is simply a transcription of Greek tōs, presumably via Aramaic or Syriac (cf. M. Jastrow, A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature, 1,
SPICES OF ARABY

Achaemenids and Alexander, however, Mediterranean sailors once more came to be employed in eastern waters, and it was then that things began to happen. Both Darius and Alexander sent Greeks to explore the Indus; Alexander employed Phoenicians for the development of shipping in the Persian Gulf; and he also sent a fleet down the Gulf with orders to circumnavigate Arabia, which it failed to do, though a fleet despatched by Darius from Egypt had succeeded in reaching the Gulf. Herodotus has it that Darius "subdued the Indians and made regular use of this sea"; an early Jataka story, sometimes dated to about 400 B.C., refers to merchants sailing to Bāveru, presumably Babylon, for the sale of peacocks; and there is some evidence for ships coasting from India to the straits of Hormuz in the Hellenistic period. But it is not until the first century A.D. that there is good attestation for regular contacts between India and the ports on the Persian Gulf.

As regards the Red Sea, it is now generally agreed that the Punt of the ancient Egyptians was located no further away than the Somali coast opposite Arabia, for all that it may have included the Arabian side as

523; R. Payne Smith, *Theouros Syriacus*, i. col. 1444. For the sandalwood and peacocks supposedly imported by Solomon, see below, n89.

* Thus Kennedy adduces the *sutra of Baudhāyana*, which prohibits travel by sea, while admitting that the Brahmans of the north habitually engage in this and other reprehensible practices. As evidence of early Indian sea trade with the West ("Early Commerce," p. 269; similarly Mookerji, *Indian Shipping*, pp. 41 f.). But though the *sutra* is pre-Christian, it does not necessarily date from the seventh century B.C., and there is no indication of where the reprehensible sea journeys went. The first evidence of contact with the West in the Indian tradition is the *Bāveru Jātaka* (below, n83), dated by Kennedy to about 400 B.C.; cf. the sober discussion in A. L. Basham, *"Notes on Seafaring in Ancient India,"* pp. 60 ff., 67 f.


56 Cf. the story of the Chinese ambassador (above, n76). When Trajan came to Charax on the Persian Gulf in 116 A.D., he saw a ship leave for India (Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, xxvii, 29). And by then both Apollogos (Uthal) and Omman (Sithār?, cf. above, n53) were in regular commercial contact with Barygaza in northern India (*Peanus*, §8 §35 f.).
well. Solomon, who enrolled Phoenician help for his maritime enterprises, may have found his gold in 'Asir, but the view that his fleets reached India is unconvincing. The first attestation of sailing beyond Bab al-Mandab comes from the seventh century B.C., when Neko, the Egyptian king, despatched a Phoenician fleet with orders to circumnavigate Africa, which it claimed to have done, though Herodotus did not believe it. Later, Darius displayed considerable interest in the Red Sea route to the Persian Gulf and beyond. But the Ptolemics concentrated

See the survey in Müller, Weibrauch, cols. 739 ff.

As argued by H. von Wissmann, "Ophir und Ḥawila"; cf. also G. Ryckmans, "Ophir," where the various possibilities are discussed with further references.

There are three relevant passages. We are told that the navy of Hiram brought gold, 'almugqim trees, and precious stones to Solomon from Ophir (1 Kings 10:11), that Solomon had a navy of Tarshish together with Hiram, which brought in gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks every three years (1 Kings 10:22), and that Solomon's ships went to Tarshish together with Hiram's servants, bringing back gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks (II Chronicles 9:8). Proponents of the view that Solomon reached India treat the Ophir and Tarshish fleets as identical, adduce the Septuagint, which renders Ophir as Zophera (that is, Supara in India), and explain the Hebrew words for ape, ivory, and peacock as loanwords from Sanskrit and Tamil. But the two fleets were not necessarily identical, their joint association with Hiram notwithstanding, and the goods brought from Ophir are not suggestive of India: gold and precious stones were not exclusively Indian commodities, and 'almugqim trees could be anything, though scarcely sandalwood (a fragrant wood), given that Solomon made pillars of them (1 Kings 10:21). The fact that the Septuagint renders Ophir as Zophera merely proves that Supara had come to be known by the time the translation was made.

The goods brought in by the Tarshish fleet are certainly more suggestive of India. But for one thing, the sailors ought to have returned with loanwords from either Sanskrit or Tamil, not both. For another, the loanwords ought to have been exclusive to Hebrew. Yet Hebrew qoph, supposedly borrowed from Sanskrit kapı, "monkey," is also found in ancient Egyptian as qaf, qaf, qf, in Akkadian as qepu, and in Greek as kapo; it may even be attested in Sumerian (cf. Oppenheim, "Seafaring Merchants," p. 121). There were, after all, monkeys in Egypt, North Africa, Spain, and possibly elsewhere. Similarly, senhabhām, "ivory," is supposed to be related to Sanskrit ibha. But if so, we also have to suppose that the ancient Egyptians borrowed their word for elephants and ivory ('bq) from Sanskrit (as does Rawlinson, India and the Western World, p. 13), and the idea that the ancient Egyptians sailed to India to learn the word for an animal found in East Africa is clearly absurd. As for tukklyym, "peacocks," supposedly derived from a supposed Tamil word such as tōk or tōtē, it is not clear that they were peacocks at all.

Herodotus, Historiae, iv. 42.

 Cf. Posener, Première domination, pp. 180 ff.
their efforts on the African side of the Red Sea, their main interest being elephants, and there is no evidence for Greeks sailing to India, or for that matter Indians to Egypt, under the Ptolemies until about 120 B.C.91 About this time, however, the Greeks began to coast to India,92 and soon thereafter (though how soon is disputed), they worked out how to make use of the monsoons for mid-sea crossings, a feat traditionally credited to a certain Hippalus.93 Of Ptolemaic coins in India there are few or none, but by the first century A.D. both coins and literary evidence show the maritime trade between India and the Greco-Roman world to have acquired major importance.94

What, then, is the evidence for contacts between Arabia and India before this date? The Indian tradition has nothing to say on the subject.95 With regard to the possibility of Arabs sailing to India, the claim that the Sabaeans had founded colonies in India before or by the Hellenistic period rests on a misunderstanding of Agatharchides.96 It may well be

91 It was about 120 B.C. that Eudoxus of Cyzicus coasted to India, guided by an Indian who had been picked up wildly off course in the Red Sea as the sole survivor of his crew (Poseidonius in Strabo, Geography, ii, 3:4). The story implies that nobody had sailed from Egypt to India or the other way round, before. It is true that an Indian is said to have given thanks for a safe journey in Pan's temple at Edfu in the third or second century B.C., but the date of the inscription is uncertain, and the man may not have been an Indian at all. Sophon Indos is an emendation of an otherwise meaningless word (Tamm, Greeks in Bactria, p. 370; H. Kortenbeutel, Der ägyptische Süd- und Osthandel in der Politik der Ptolemäer und römischen Kaiser, pp. 40 ff.).

92 Cf. Periplus, § 57.

93 The stages and dates of this discovery are discussed by Tamm, Greeks in Bactria, pp. 366 ff.; Warmington, Commerce, pp. 43 ff.; Raschke, “New Studies,” pp. 660 ff. Hippalus is the name of a wind in Pliny (Natural History, vi, 100), his first appearance as a person being in the Periplus, § 57.


95 Cf. Basham, “Notes.” There is plenty of conjecture, but no further evidence in the uncritical work by Mookerji, Indian Shipping.

96 Cf. J. W. McGredle, tr., The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea, p. 86n, according to whom Agatharchides mentions a city, probably Aden, whence “the Sabaeans sent out colonies or factories into India, and where the fleets from Persis, Carmania and the Indus arrived.” But Agatharchides mentions no city in the passage referred to, only islands ( ναυον de eudamones, not eudamôn Araba), and he says nothing about colonists going from there: “in these islands it is possible to see merchant vessels at anchor. Most come from the place where Alexander established anchorage on the Indus river. A considerable number of colonists, not fleets, come from Persia, Carmania and all around” (Agatharchides, § 103, translated by Hutchinson in Groom, Frankincense, p. 71). The reference is
possible to sail to India in leather boats and rafts, the only type of vessels attested for the Arabs in the Hellenistic period, but one can hardly found a regular trade on such means of transport, and Arabs sailing to India are first mentioned in the *Periplus*, that is, (probably) in the first century A.D. As regards the possibility of Indians sailing to Arabia, the Islamic tradition states that the Indians of Socotra were there when the Greeks arrived in the time of Alexander. But, in fact, the Greeks do not seem to have come to Socotra until the first century B.C. By then there were clearly Indians there, but how long they had been there we do not know: the Sanskrit name of the island offers no clue to the date of their arrival. The first evidence for commercial contacts between India and usually taken to be to Socotra. McGrindle’s claim was repeated by E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Propheten Muhammad*, II, 10, and more recently by Doc. *Southern Arabia*, p. 55.

10 Periplus, §§ 27, 54, cf. § 57. For a typical example of the way in which these passages get handled, see van Beek, "Frankineense and Myrrh in Ancien South Arabia," p. 146: "while none of these references specifically states that these contacts originated in early times, the picture as a whole is one of highly developed Arab merchant fleets and well established commercial relations which probably have a long tradition behind them."

100 *Maš‘ūdi, Murāj*, III, 56; Yaqūt, *Buldin*, III, 101, s.v. *Suqūṭrā*. According to Cosmas (*Topographia*, III, 65), they were sent there by the *Ptolemics*. If so, it must have been toward the end of the Ptolemaic period that they were sent, for Agatharchides (d. about 130 B.C.) did not know of a Greek presence there. As far as he was concerned, it was colonized by merchants who camemainly from "the place where Alexander established anchorage on the Indus river," though some also came from "Persia, Carmania and all around" (§ 103, cited above, n97). For Agatharchides, then, the colonists were Indians and Persians. But the Greeks could well have arrived in the first century B.C., and they were certainly there by the time of the *Periplus* (§ 30).

101 For the first attestation of the Indian presence, see the preceding note. (The Indian who was picked up off course in the Red Sea about 120 B.C. had perhaps also been on his way to Socotra, cf. above, n92). As for the name of the island, Greek Dioscoridēs (*Dioscorida*) and Arabic Suqūṭrā are believed both to be corruptions of Sanskrit *Dvīpa Sukhātāra* or *Sukhātāra Dvīpa*. "Blessed Isle" (cf. Basham, "Notes." p. 63; id., *Be Wonders That was India*, p. 230n; compare above, n97, where Agatharchides speaks of Socotra [and other

35
SPICES OF ARABY

Arabia is Agatharchides’ statement that the Gerrheans and Sabaeans acted as “the warehouse for everything in Asia and Europe which goes under the name of distinction” in Ptolemaic Syria, that is, between 301 and 188 B.C., together with the statement in the Periplus that Eudacmon Arabia, the Sabean port, served as an entrepôt for goods from India and Egypt before the establishment of direct maritime contacts between these two countries, that is, before 120 B.C. at the earliest, the first century A.D. at the latest. It is clear from these statements that the Arabs played a role in the eastern trade as early as the third century B.C., but there is no direct evidence for such a role before this time.

There is, however, one important piece of indirect evidence (in addition to some that carries no weight whatever). Long before the Hellenistic period the Arabs traded in cinnamon and cassia (an inferior form of cinnamon), and these products are generally assumed to have come from India, or even further east. If so, the Arabs must have had contacts with India (or the Far East) by the seventh century B.C., and it is with reference to the cinnamon trade that an early date for their contacts with India is generally advocated. The trouble with this argument is that nobody in the classical world held cinnamon and cassia to be Indian or Far Eastern products. The consensus was first that they came from Ara-

---

103 Agatharchides, § 103, Periplus, § 16.
104 Such as the flourishing conditions of the Minoans and Sabaeans in the first millennium B.C., or their later nautical activities (cf. Hourani, Seafaring, p. 11). There is no archaeological evidence, though some have thought otherwise, cf. Raschke, “New Studies,” p. 654 (Raschke’s work is a superb attack on fanciful notions and regurgitated truths on the classical side of the fence).
105 Van Beck, “Frankincense and Myrrh,” p. 80 (where cinnamon from Ceylon is imported as early as the fifteenth century B.C.); Dee, Southern Arabia, p. 55; cf. W. Tarn and G. T. Griffiths, Hellenistic Civilization, p. 244 (where the Arabian associations of cinnamon are identified as the only evidence for Arab trade with India as late as the third century B.C.). The same argument is implied, if not always spelled out, in the works cited in the following note.
CLASSICAL SPICE TRADE

bia, and later that they came from East Africa. It is for this reason that the Arabs are invariably said in the secondary literature to have hidden the true origin of their spices, enveloping their trade in such a shroud of mystery that no evidence of their contact with India remains. But this explanation is unsatisfactory, for reasons which I have set out in detail in Appendix I and which may be summarized as follows. First, the Greeks continued to assert that cinnamon and cassia came from East Africa until at least the sixth century A.D., that is, they stuck to their delusion long after the Arabs had ceased to act as middlemen in the trade. Second, the ancient Egyptians would seem to have suffered from the same delusion: the idea of cinnamon and cassia as East African products was thus current before the Arabs can possibly have begun to act as middlemen. Third, classical descriptions of the plants involved conclusively establish both that the plants in question belonged to a genus quite different from that of *Cinnamomum*, and that they belonged to the area in which the sources place them. Finally, Muslim authors confirm that East African cinnamon was different from that imported from China. In other words, the cinnamon and cassia known to antiquity were products native to Arabia and East Africa, on a par with the frankincense and myrrh with which they are associated in the earliest attestations; they were not the products known under these names today. The same is true of calamus, another product that has been misidentified as an eastern spice, with the same implications for the question of Arab contacts with India (though in this case the implications do not seem to have been noticed). The evidence on calamus is to be found in Appendix 2. If the conclusions reached in the appendices are accepted (and they have been reached by many others before), there is no reason to credit the Arabs with contacts with India until the third century B.C., when the direct evidence begins.

We may now turn to the question of whether the overland route was ever used for the transport of Indian and other eastern goods from south Arabia to Syria and Egypt. If it is granted that cinnamon and cassia were

local products, there is no evidence to suggest that it was. As has been seen, the classical accounts of the overland route describe it as used for the transport of Arabian aromatics alone; all fail to mention foreign spices. On the transit trade we have only the two testimonia which, in their turn, fail to mention the overland route. Thus Agatharchides merely says that no people seems to be wealthier than the Sabaeans and Gerrheans, who act as the warehouse for (or "profit from") everything from Asia and Europe of distinction, and who have made Ptolemy's Syria rich in gold, procuring markets for the Phoenicians (or the Phoenicians procuring markets for them). A wildly exaggerated account of their wealth follows, but there is no reference to modes of transport.¹⁰⁶

As regards the Sabaeans, however, the Periplus passage offers some illumination. According to this, the Sabæan port of Eudaemon Arabia (usually identified as Aden) "was called Eudaemon, because in the early days of the city when the voyage was not yet made from India and Egypt, and when they did not yet dare sail from Egypt to the ports across this ocean, but all came together at this place, it received the cargoes (phortous) from both countries, just as Alexandria now receives the things brought from both abroad and from Egypt."¹⁰⁷ The natural reading of this passage is that sailors from India and Egypt used to converge at Aden, whereas nowadays the maritime commerce between India and Egypt is direct. This agrees with Strabo's observation that in the past not twenty Greek or Roman ships dared go beyond Bab al-Mandab, whereas nowadays whole fleets leave for India.¹⁰⁸ In both passages the contrast is between sailing to south Arabia and sailing all the way to India, not between a maritime and an overland route. Given the date of the Periplus, we cannot, of course, be sure that the eastern trade of south Arabia was wholly maritime as early as the period referred to by Agatharchides. But if it was not maritime from the start, it clearly soon became so.

That leaves us with the Gerrheans, who also participated in this

¹⁰⁶ Agatharchides, § 102. For the various translations to which one might have recourse, see above, n39. There seems to be general agreement that Hourani’s rendering of this passage (Seafaring, p. 21) is inaccurate.

¹⁰⁷ Periplus, § 26. The translation is Schöff’s. The alternative rendering by Huntingford, Periplus, does not alter the meaning.

trade, according to Agatharchides. Unlike the Sabacans, they probably did not have independent access to Indian goods. The ships that coasted from India to the Persian Gulf in the Hellenistic period seem to have put in at Hormuz, not at Gerrha, which was not much of a port; and when the Gerrheans bought their freedom from Antiochus in 205 B.C., their tribute consisted of myrrh, frankincense, and silver, not of Indian spices or other foreign commodities. That they sailed to India themselves is unlikely, given that the only shipping attested for them was by raft. In all likelihood, then, they bought their spices at Hormuz, where the cargoes from India were unloaded for transhipment, or at Charax at the head of the Gulf, where they were unloaded again, or at Selucia on the Tigris, where the overland and maritime routes from India converged. They distributed their goods not only in Mesopotamia, but also (if Agatharchides is right) in Syria. They may have done so by transporting them across the desert to Syria, using the route on which Palmyra was later to flourish; but in fact they also seem to have bought aromatics (including Indian ones?) in south Arabia for sale in Syria, for Agatharchides enumerates them among the people who unloaded their aromatics at the island opposite the Nabataean coast. Either way, their goods only travelled by land from the Gulf or the Nabataean coast, not all the way from south Arabia to Syria.

Who, then, did make use of the overland route from south Arabia for the transport of eastern goods before the establishment of direct maritime contacts between India and the west? Insofar as we can tell, nobody did, or nobody did for long.  

110 Cf. above, n47.
111 Above, n46. This passage suggests that the Gerrheans operated not only from Gerrha, but also quite independently of it. (This differs from Beeston, “Some Observations,” p. 7, who sees them as carrying the aromatics in question, identified as Indian products, across the peninsula from the Gulf, if they unloaded the aromatics on an island in the Red Sea, this interpretation is impossible.) Tarn’s question of how the Gerrheans withstood the competition of Hormuz is beside the point in that the Gerrheans were distributors, not importers, that is, there was no competition between them and Hormuz at all.
112 *Pace* Raschke, “New Studies,” p. 657. Raschke does not distinguish between Arabian and foreign goods, but the Ptolemaic official stationed at Gaza with the title of *bo epistilhansotikes* was clearly concerned largely or wholly with Arabian spices. It is quite pos
What was the subsequent development? From the first century A.D., not only the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, but also the Greeks and the Romans sailed directly to India, and soon also to Ceylon. The numismatic evidence indicates the trade to have been at its liveliest in the first two centuries A.D. By the end of the third century A.D., it had declined, and though it was partially revived in the fourth, it petered out thereafter. There is some literary evidence for Greek traders in the East relating to the fourth and (possibly) fifth centuries, and Cosmas was not the only Greek to visit Ceylon in the sixth. But even so, it is clear that direct contacts had become infrequent. By the sixth century, it was the Ethiopians who conducted most of the eastern trade of the Byzantines, India and Ethiopia becoming increasingly confused in the sources. The last

sible that the aromatics mentioned by Agatharchides in the passage discussed in the preceding note included foreign spices, but then the mode of transport envisaged seems to be maritime.

113 R. E. M. Wheeler, "Roman Contact with India, Pakistan and Afghanistan," pp. 371 ff. According to Miller, there is numismatic evidence for trade with the Greco-Roman world in Ceylon until the fifth century, in south India until the sixth (Spice Trade, pp. 159, 218). But Miller gives no reference, and the most recent work on the subject disagrees (Raschke, "New Studies," p. 1068, n. 744).

114 In the mid-fourth century, Frumentius was captured by Ethiopians on his return from India. He converted them and became the first bishop of Axum (Rufinus of Aquileia, Historia Ecclesiastica, 1, 9, in J. P. Migne, Patrologia Graeco-Latina, xxii, cols. 478 ff). A certain scholasticus from Thebes set out for Ceylon about the same time (though a fifth-century date has also been advocated). He was captured somewhere in the east and remained captive for six years (J. Desanges, D’Aixoum à l’Assam, aux ports de la Chine: le voyage du ‘scholasticus de Thèbes’ [entre 360 et 500 après J.-C.]). The story of the scholasticus was told by Palladius about 420 (though the authorship of this letter has also been queried). Palladius himself set out for India, accompanied by Moses, bishop of Adulis, but he only managed to reach its outskirts. This has been taken to mean that he got no further than the outskirts of Ethiopia (thus most recently B. Berg, "The Letter of Palladius to India," pp. 7 f.; cf. also Desanges, "D’Aixoum à Assam," p. 628n).

115 He had heard of another Greek who had been there some thirty-five years before himself (Topographie, xi. 17). Compare also A. Scher and others, eds. and trs., "Histoire Nestorienne" in Patrologia Orientalis, vu. 160 f., where a ship returning from India with a precious cargo belonging to Greek traders is pillaged by Persian marzubans in the reign of Khusraw I (531-578); whether the ship was manned by Greeks or Ethiopians is not, however, stated.

reference to ships returning from India before the Arab conquest dates from about 570, but whether it was from India or Ethiopia that they returned one cannot tell. What does all this mean to us?

The significance of the subsequent development is threefold. First, the Arabs lost their role in the eastern trade, initially to the Greeks and subsequently to the Ethiopians. Naturally, they did not altogether cease to matter in this trade. In the Syrian desert, Palmyra thrived on the transport of exotic goods from the Persian Gulf to Syria; even the Islamic tradition remembers the existence of this route. And in south Arabia, Greek ships continued to call at a number of ports for servicing and provisioning. There were Arabs in Alexandria in the first century A.D., as well as in India, and later also in Ceylon. And in the sixth century, when it was uncommon for the Greeks to make the round trip to the east themselves, the south Arabian may conceivably have participated in the transport of eastern goods from Ceylon to Aden together with the Ethiopians, though this is pure conjecture. Even so, the Arabs were never to regain the predominance that the Gerrheans and Sabaeans had enjoyed in the exchange of goods between India and the Mediterranean world in the Hellenistic period, or rather not until they conquered the Middle East; and it is hard to believe that south Arabia did not suffer from the change. Quite apart from its loss of predominance, such commercial roles as remained were increasingly taken over by ports on the African side of the Red Sea. Greek travellers to India invariably called at one or more ports on the African side, but it was possible to sail directly from the Horn of Africa to Ceylon, cutting out south Arabia altogether. Both African myrrh and frankincense had eclipsed the Arabian varieties long before, and the same is true of African cin-

---

11 C. Milani, ed. and tr., *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini*, pp. 212 f. 257 (40:2)

118 Thus the story of the downfall of Zabuia (Zenobia) takes it for granted that caravans loaded with perfumes, luxury goods, and merchandise of all sorts used to cross the Syrian desert (Philby, *Queen of Sheba*, pp. 88, 103).

119 Warminster, *Commercium*, p. 76; *Periplus*, §§ 32, 54, cf. § 57; the Sabean merchants mentioned by Fa hien in Ceylon in 414 are usually taken to be Sabaeans (J. Legge, tr., *An Account by the Chinese Monk Fa-hien of His Travels in India and Ceylon* (A.D. 399-414), p. 104).

120 Of Arab navigation we hear nothing at all" (Hourani, *Seafaring*, p. 40, with reference to this century). Cf. Hourani, "Did Roman Commercial Competition Ruin South Arabia?" (where the answer is no).

121 Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria*, p. 368.
namon and cassia. The south Arabian role in the exchange of goods between Byzantium and the east is conjectural, but that of the Ethiopians is well attested; and Adulis was certainly far better known as an emporium to the Greeks than was Aden.

All this helps to explain why south Arabia was in due course to fall under the political domination of the Ethiopians, first in the fourth century and next in 525 (to adopt the traditional dates). But the point to note is that the commercial decline of south Arabia had begun long before the Ethiopian conquests. The fact that south Arabia lost its autonomy does not mean that there was a commercial role for the Meccans to inherit: here, as in the case of the incense trade, Islamicists envisage them as taking over something which had in fact long ceased to exist. And one is astonished to learn that by about 600 A.D., Mecca had acquired "something like a monopoly of the trade between the Indian Ocean and East Africa on the one hand and the Mediterranean on the other."

How, one wonders, did a minor tribe of a minor city in the desert manage to clear the seas of Ethiopians, taking over even the trade between Ethiopia itself and the Byzantine world? The Ethiopians, who flourished on the eastern and African trade with Byzantium, would have found the claim more than a little surprising.

The second point of significance to us is that if the overland route had not been used for the transport of eastern goods even in the Hellenistic period, a fortiori it was not going to be used now. Cosmas informs us that eastern goods were commonly sent from Ceylon to Aden and Adulis, evidently for transport to the north. It is not usually assumed that those which arrived at Adulis were sent on by caravan, and there is no reason to think that those which arrived at Aden were destined for this form of transport, either. The journey through the desert would have lasted two, three, or even four times as long as that from Ceylon to Arabia itself. The idea that the overland route suddenly acquired, or, as

---

112 Cf. Appendix 1.
113 Cf. Hourani, Seafaring, pp. 42 ff. And note that just as it was with a bishop of Adulis that Palladius had set out for India (above, n. 114), so it was with people of Adulis that Cosmas' predecessor in Ceylon had set out for the east (above, n. 115). It was also in Adulis that Abrahah's Byzantine master was conducting his maritime trade (below, n. 114).
114 Ryckmans, Institution monarcbiques, pp. 305 ff., 310 ff.
115 EI', s.v. Kuraysh (Watt); similarly Gibb, Islam, p. 17; Rodinson, Mohammed, p. 40. The italics are mine.
116 Cosmas, Topographie, xi, 15.
most would have it, resumed importance in the trade between India and
the west in the centuries before the rise of Islam goes back to Lammenes,
who claimed that on the one hand the wars between Byzantium and Per­
sia disrupted the route from the Persian Gulf to Syria, and on the other
hand people in antiquity disliked sailing, being afraid, in Lammenes' ter­
minology, of "liquid roads." If so, what other route was available?
This argument has been widely repeated in the secondary literature,
with such substitutes for the fear of liquid roads as one can find. There
is complete agreement that the Red Sea route was "apparently not much
used," be it because it "remained outside Byzantine control," or be­
cause "Egypt too was in a state of disorder and no longer offered an al­
ternative route through . . . the Red Sea," or because of factors
which, as one scholar notes, are "not easily documented." But in what
sense was the Red Sea route apparently not much used? Shipping in the
Red Sea was important enough for the Byzantines to maintain a custom­
house at Iotaba, as we are told with reference to 473 A.D., when the is­
land was seized by an Arab adventurer. Some time before 500 the By­
zantines recaptured Iotaba, thus giving "Roman merchants once again
the opportunity to inhabit the island and to fetch cargoes from the In­
dians (sc. Ethiopians?) and bring in the tribute appointed by the em­
peror." Of Abraha (fl. c. 540) we are told by Procopius that he began

18 Watt, Muhammad at Mecca, p. 12. Watt refers his reader to Hourani's work, but gives
no reason for his own position.
20 Lewis, Arabs in History, p. 33.
22 A. A. Vasiliev, "Notes on Some Episodes Concerning the Relations between the Ar­
abs and the Byzantine Empire from the Fourth to the Sixth Century," p. 313. The adven­
turer, Amorcesos = Imr' al-Qays, was not a Persian, as stated in the text, but an Arab
who had previously been under Persian suzerainty, as stated in the note. Even so, the mere
fact that he was called Imr' al-Qays scarcely suffices to make it probable that he was a
descendant of the king of that name, as Smith, "Events in Arabia," p. 444, would have it.
The island of Iotaba is generally identified as Tiran, the same island (probably) as that at
which Mineans and others used to unload their goods.
23 Theophanes, Chronographia, anno mundi 5900; the translation is that of S. Smith,
"Events in Arabia," p. 443 (but this statement does not testify to state-supported mer­
chants: all Theophanes is saying is that the merchants could trade again and the state get
its custom duties).
his career as a slave “of a Roman citizen who was engaged in the business of shipping in the city of Adulis in Ethiopia,” an activity in which, as Cosmas says, “we do trade, we merchants from Alexandria and Aela.”  

There were Byzantine traders in the Yemen at the time of Dhī Nuwās, and Yemeni traders in Aela at the time of its surrender to Muhammad. Yemeni and local inhabitants alike were granted freedom to travel by both land and sea. Greek ships returning from India (sc. Ethiopia?) to Aela are mentioned about 570 A.D. And both Byzantine and Ethiopian shipping in the Red Sea are attested in the Islamic tradition.

The fact of the matter is that, just as there is no evidence for Indian goods travelling along this route in the centuries before the rise of Islam. The only reason why the overland route is believed to have mattered in the transit trade is that we need an explanation for the commercial success of Mecca: “much trade, however, still passed

111 Procopius Wars, i. 20, 4 (and note that Procopius gives a long account of navigation in the Red Sea, discussed by Smith, “Events in Arabia,” pp. 428 f.; Cosmas, Topographia, i. 56; cf. 56 (Menas another Egyptian merchant there). Note also the description of Ayla as a port from which one goes to India in Theodoretus, “In Divini Jeremiæ Prophetiam Interpretationem,” in J. P. Migne, Patrologia Graeca-Latina, LXXI, col. 735.
112 Malalas, Chronographia, p. 433; Theophanes, Chronographia, anno mundi 6035; Pseudo-Dionysius in N. Pigulewskaja, Byzans auf der Wegz. nach Indien, pp. 324 f.
113 Ibn Hisham, Leben, p. 902. The treaty is reproduced elsewhere, too.
114 Cf. above, 311-7. The ships are described as returning with aromatics to Abila / Abela / Ahele, a place in Arabia near Sinai.
115 The ships belonging to unidentified merchants, which carried the Muḥājirūn to Ethiopia, were presumably either Ethiopian or Byzantine (cf. above, ch. 19). The Muḥājirūn returned in ships provided by the Najāshī (Ibn Hisham, Leben, pp. 781-783, cf. p. 233; Tabari, Taʿrīkh, 1.1, 215; Ibn Saʿd, Tabaqat, i. 208), and Ethiopian ships are mentioned elsewhere, too; Tabari, Taʿrīkh, ser. 1, p. 1570. A Byzantine ship stranded at Shuʿayba (cf. the references given above, ch. 189). It was a trading ship according to Ibn Ishāq (it belonged to a man min tujjār al-Rūm), Azraqi (all the passengers were allowed to sell their goods in Mecca), and Ibn Ḥajar (Baqūm, an important passenger, was a Rūmī trading with [Bab] al-Mandab). According to others, the ship was carrying building materials for a church in Ethiopia, an elaboration of the idea that the timber from the ship was used for the rebuilding of the Kaʿba, and many identify Baqūm as a carpenter, even when the ship is a trading ship (Ibn Ishāq the carpenter resides in Mecca and is a Copt like Baqūm, a name usually, though not invariably, taken to reproduce “Pachomius,” see Havtvej, “Origin of Jedda,” p. 319). But trading ships otherwise, it is clearly envisaged in most versions as going from the northern end of the Red Sea (Quzum according to Masʿūdi) to somewhere in Ethiopia.
up the west coast route," as Watt observes, "if we may judge from the continued prosperity of Mecca." Just as there was no south Arabian India trade, so there was no overland spice route for the Meccans to take over.

The third point of significance to us is that the opening up of direct maritime relations between India and the western world made Arabia vulnerable to imperialism. Arabia was now encircled by routes over which the empires were liable sooner or later to attempt to establish direct control. No such attempts were made by the Parthians or their Roman contemporaries: it was rumours of south Arabian wealth, not concern for the passage to India, which prompted Augustus' despatch of Aelius Gallus. But as the loosely knit empires of the first two centuries A.D. gave way to the Sasanid and Byzantine super powers, Near Eastern politics came to be increasingly polarized, and even commercial rivalry now came to be invested with a political and ideological fervour that was felt all the way from the Syrian desert to Ceylon. In the Syrian desert the caravan cities of the past disappeared for good. Palmyra fell after its spectacular revolt in 273, Hatra some time before 363; and the states that replaced them, Ghassân and Hîrâ, were political buffers designed to cope with border tension rather than with trade. Meanwhile, the merchants en route to India turned missionaries. A Roman traveller captured on his return from India converted the Ethiopians to Christianity in the fourth century A.D.; a Yemeni merchant who frequented both Constanti­nople and Hîrâ is reputed to have spread Christianity among the Yemenis in the fifth century A.D.; Syrian traders proselytized for Christianity in pre-Islamic Medina; and Persian traders spread Nestorian Christianity all the way from Arabia to India, Ceylon, and beyond. Even in Ceylon, Byzantine and Persian traders would argue the

139 Watt, Muhammad at Mecca, p. 13.
140 Strabo, Geography, xvi, 4.22 (Augustus expected "either to deal with wealthy friends or to master wealthy enemies").
141 For the date, see E1, s.v. al-Fladr.
142 See above, n.14.
144 See below, ch. 6, n.35.
145 There was a church of Persian Nestorians in Socotra in the sixth century, as well as in Calliana, Male, and Ceylon (Cosmas, Topographie, III, 65). Ahraham of Kashkar and Bar Sahde. Nestorian monks of the sixth and seventh centuries, both went to India on business.
merits of their respective sovereigns, egged on by imperial effigies on coins that earlier merchants had taken to symbolize no more than money. In the second century B.C., Agatharchides had been of the opinion that if the south Arabians "had not had their dwellings at such a distance... foreign administrators would soon have become the masters of such a prize." By the third century A.D., the Arabs were no longer credited with fabulous wealth, nor were their dwellings located at such a distance, and their coasts had acquired much too much strategic importance to be left alone.

By far the most concerted attempt to bring Arabia under control was made by the Sasanids. Ardashir I (226-241) subjected the Gulf even before his formal accession, founded numerous cities on both sides, and turned the Azd of Oman into sailors. Shapur I (241-272) formally incorporated Oman into his domains. Shapur II (309-379) made a punitive expedition to Arabia that took him through Bahrayn, Hajar, and the Yamama to the vicinity of Yathrib, and up through the Syrian desert. And at some unidentified stage the Sasanids crossed into the Najd, presumably for purposes of tribal control, discovered silver there, and proceeded to settle a colony and engage in building activities of which there may be archaeological remains. The Persian Gulf was overwhelm-

(A. Mingana, "The Early Spread of Christianity in India," p. 455). There are Christian Pahlavi inscriptions in India from the seventh or eighth century onwards (A. C. Burnell, "On Some Pahlavi Inscriptions in South India"). The Nestorians may, in fact, have reached both China and Southeast Asia by sea before the fall of the Sasanids (see B. L. Colless, "Persian Merchants and Missionaries in Medieval Malaya").

"Cosmas, Topographie, xi, 17 ff.

"Agatharchides, § 102.


Hasan b. Ahmad al-Hamdani, Si'sat ilmiyat al-'arab, 1. 149; id., Kitab al-jawharatayn, p. 143 = 142; the passage has also been translated by D. M. Dunlop, "Sources of Gold and Silver according to al-Hamdani," p. 40: Shamam is a large village in the Najd formerly inhabited by a thousand thousands of Magians (thousands in the Si'sat), who had two fire-temples; it had a silver and copper mine, but is now in ruins. Cf. H. St. J. B. Philby, The Heart of Arabia, ii, 84.
ingly Christian from the Tigris to Oman, and there was a church of Nesterian Christians in Socotra. But there was also a diaspora of Zoroastrians in the Gulf, as well as in Najd, and apparently even some Zoroastrian converts. There would seem to have been a sizable Indian colony in southern Iraq, and there were also Indian pirates in the Gulf.

The Byzantines responded to all this mainly through the agency of the Ethiopians. As early as the fourth century A.D., as mentioned before, the Ethiopians had invaded south Arabia, presumably with a view to establishing control of both sides of the straits. In the sixth century, Justinian encouraged the Ethiopians to buy silk for him, while at the same time he encouraged the Himyarites to make war on the Persians.

---

15 Trimingham, Christianity among the Arabs, pp. 279 ff.; cf. also pp. 278 f., on Christianity in the Yamama. See above, n 145.

16 Baladhbiri, Futubi, pp. 78, 80 f., 85 (Bahrayn); Tahari, Tarikh, ser. 1, p. 1,686 (Oman); above, n 150 (Najd).


It is well known that Muslim sources speak of the head of the Persian Gulf as ard al-Hind, "the land of India / the Indians" (cf. the references given by J. C. Wilkinson, "Arab-Persian Land Relationships in Late Sassanid Oman," p. 41), an expression that is usually taken to mean no more than that this was a place with close relations with India. But non-Muslim sources speak about the same area as "the land of the Indians" or "India" in what appears to be a completely literal vein. Bethendâwî is enumerated as on a par with Beth I. Zayê, Beth Tayyaye, and so forth in O. Braun, tr., Ausgewählte Akten persischer Märtirer, p. 275, and it is a place between Damascus and Fars in S. Brock, "A Syriac Life of J. of Dailam," p. 166. In Malalas, Chronographia, p. 434, and 435, an Arab phylarch withdraws from Palestine to ta Indika, where he meets Mundhir, the chief of the Persian Saracens. And Sebeos speaks of Indians bordering on the great desert, enumerating India as a place near Asoresan (Sebeos [attrib.], Històire d'Hérolclus, pp. 110, 148 f.). The implication is that there was a substantial Indian population there, though there is not much sign of one after the Muslim conquest.

17 Cf. Tahari, Tarikh, ser. 1, p. 2,023 (the ruler of farj al-Hind, that is, the head of the Persian Gulf, used to fight against the Arabs by land and against the Indians by sea; C. J. Lyall, ed. and tr., The Majaddalmah, no. 311, 9: Lukayz, a branch of 'Abd al-Qaya, held the coast, but flee "if there should come danger from India's threatening mien"). In Marco Polo's time the centre of Indian piracy in this area was Socotra (Basham, "Notes on Seafaring," p. 63).

18 Cf. above, n 124.

And when the Ethiopians invaded south Arabia again in or about 525, it was undoubtedly with Byzantine backing. The Persians reacted, reluctantly at first, by conquering the Yemen for themselves. Here, too, they found silver and proceeded to settle a colony. They also opened up an overland route, apparently, for the transport of silver from south and central Arabia to Iraq.

By about 570, the Sāsānids thus had military colonies in Bahrain, Oman, and the Yemen, as well as commercial colonies in both the Yemen and the Najd. With the exception of Shihr, the successor of classical Canc in the Hadramawt, they controlled all the major Arabian ports, that is Aden, Ṣuhār, and Dābābā; and it was to Dābābā in Oman.

As the Islamic tradition claims (cf. Nöldeke, Geschichte, pp. 189 ff.).


Hamdānī, Jawbaratayn, pp. 143, 145, 147 = 142, 144, 146; Dunlop, “Sources of Gold and Silver,” pp. 41 ff. Hamdānī gives the names of several of the families who made up the “Persians of the Mine” at al-Radārād, and who survived into the Islamic period. As for the route, it is known as tartīq al-Radārād. It is described in detail in Yusuf b. Yūbīb Ibn al-Mujāwir, Ḫisāʾīt al-Rāsīd b. Shāhūn, n. 214 ff. Both Hamdānī and Ibn al-Mujāwir have it run from the Yemen to Basra, but presumably it went to Ctesiphon via Hira in pre-Islamic times (cf. below, n. 67). One might have questioned its Sāsānīd origins if the first Persian governor of the Yemen had not dispatched his tribute (including silver) by caravan (cf. below, ch. 4 n. 7).

Bahrain was ruled by a marzubān who resided at Hajar and by Mundhir b. Sāwā (or Sāwī), an Arab client king of Tanīm (though he is sometimes described as an ‘Abdī), cf. Baladhurī, Futūḥ, p. 78; W. Caskel, Ḫambarat an-nasab, die genealogische Werk des Ḫusain Ibn Mubāmmad al-Kalbī, ii, s.v. al Mundir b. Sāwī. In the days of Khusraw I both wine and prostitutes were imported for the colonists at Hajar (Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh, ser. 1, p. 986). Bahrain was still part of mamlakat al-furs at the time of the Prophet (Baladhurī, loc. cit.). Cf. also R. N. Frye, “Bahrain under the Sasanians.”

Oman, too, was ruled by a Persian governor in collaboration with an Arab client king, Julandāh b. al-Mustakīr (frequently Mustaṣīr) al-ʿAzādī and his descendants, and the Persians used Oman as a place of exile (Wilkinson, “Arab Persian Land Relationships,” p. 41; cf. also A. Ahl Fazzāh, “The Political Situation in Eastern Arabia at the Advent of Islam,” pp. 54 ff.; Caskel, Ḫambarat, ii, s.v. Ḫulandāh b. al-Mustakīr [sic]).

In the Yemen a Persian governor ruled in collaboration with a Ḫimārīyī poppet king, Sayf b. Dhi Ḫazīn, who had been enthroned on the conquest. The governor arrived with some 1,800 troops, later reinforced with another 4,000, and the Yemen was also used as a dumping ground for unwanted elements: a large part of the original troops were prisoners (Nöldeke, Geschichte, pp. 233 ff.; cf. El., s.v. Ḫabābā, ii).

See above, nn. 150, 161.

Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, Kīṣāb al-muḥabbarat, pp. 265 ff.; cf. the parallel version in Yaʿqūbī, Taʾrīkh, 313 ff. Ṣuhār and Dābābā were both tithed by the Julandāh client king of Oman, whereas Aden was tithed by the Ḫabābā, the Persian colonists there.
we are told, that the merchants of "Sind, Hind, China, East, and West" would come.164 Even Arabic poetry remembers something of the eastern trade in the Gulf.165 The settlements of the Persians were protected by a string of client kings and other protégés, whose influence stretched from Hira through central and eastern Arabia to the Yemen,166 and who serviced the silver route, the only overland route of importance to anyone outside Arabia at the time.167 And though in principle their authority stopped short of the Hijaz,168 the Persians would seem to have made their impact felt even there. Thus Shapur, as mentioned already, is said to have campaigned in the vicinity of Yathrib, and both Yathrib and Tihamah (presumably including Mecca) are said to have had a Persian governor at some stage.169 There is even supposed to have been Manichae-
SPICES OF ARABY

ism and/or Mazdakism (zandaqa) in Mecca. Indeed, some of the votive offerings found by Quraysh in the Zamzam are supposed to have been placed there by Persian kings. Only in the Ḥadramawt would it appear that the Persians failed to make their presence felt.

Where in all this, one wonders, is there room for the commercial and political supremacy of Mecca against the background of which Muḥammad is usually said to have enacted his career? What trade in Arabian spices was left for the Meccans to take over? What trade in eastern products could they possibly have wrested from Persians, Ethiopians, and Greeks? Where in an Arabia so “confined between Persia and Rome,” as Qatāda put it, was there room for the creation of a far-flung “Meccan commonwealth”? It does not make sense. I shall begin by demonstrating, item by item, that the Qurashi trade in incense, spices, and related luxury goods is a fiction.

pointed (but not, of course, from Zāra, which is simply a different reading). This is also a period in which there was Persian collaboration with Jews.

179 The Meccans picked it up from the Christians (ibn) of Hīra (Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, Kitāb al manāmog, p. 488; id., Mubāṭhur, p. 161, where the reference might be to Manichaeism), or it was imposed on the Arabs at the order of Kavādhi himself (Kister, “Hīra,” p. 145, where the reference is evidently to Mazdakism).

180 'Abd al Rahmān b. 'Abdallāḥ al-Suhavī, Kitāb al ṭad al-‘unaf, 1, 47; cf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Pèlerinage, p. 73.

181 Qatāda in explanation of “remember when you were few and abased” (Qurʾān, 8:26), cited by Kister, “Hīra,” p. 143.
"MECCAN SPICE TRADE"

Arabian Spices

The number of Arabian spices imported by the Greco-Roman world at the height of the trade was surprisingly large, yet by the sixth century hardly any remained on the market. Six of them had gone out of fashion, disappeared altogether, or come to be supplied from within the Greco-Roman world (frankincense, myrrh, cancamum, tarum, ladanum, sweet rush). Two may well have continued to be imported, but if so, undoubtedly by sea (aloë, cinnabar). Another two were now obtained exclusively from East Africa (cinnamon, cassia, calamus). Two products believed by modern scholars to have been exported by the Arabs probably never entered the trade (Arabian as opposed to Judean balsam, senna). One is of problematic identity, and another two cannot be identified at all (bdellium, cardamomum, comacum). Not one is associated with Meccan trade in the sources. Readers who are willing to take this on trust can proceed to the next chapter. For those who are not, I shall deal with the spices in the above order.

1. Frankincense

As has been seen already, frankincense had ceased to be of economic consequence in the Greco-Roman world long before the rise of Mecca. In fact, it would seem to have gone out of fashion even in Arabia itself, insofar as it had ever been popular there.¹ There are no references to the use of frankincense in pre-Islamic or early Islamic poetry.² The incense

¹ "Frankincense is no more of Arabia Felix, and yet the perfume is sovereign in the esteem of all Arabsians. The most is brought now in the pilgrimage from the Malay Islands to Mecca" (C. M. Doughty, Travels in Arabia Deserta, i, 137). It has been suggested that even in antiquity the Arabs preferred foreign aromatics to their own (W. W. Müller, "Notes on the Use of Frankincense in South Arabia," p. 126), and the dearth of references to frankincense in the pre-Islamic inscriptions (discussed ibid.) is certainly striking.

² No examples are adduced in the Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache, s.vv. lubān and kundur, or in Müller's Weibrauch, a superbly well-documented work. The Lisān only adduces one passage in which lubān could be taken to mean frankincense; the reference is
which was burnt at the pre-Islamic Ka’ba and other sanctuaries could have been lubān, but it is not identified as such, and there is nothing to suggest that the product was highly esteemed after the conquests. Muslim geographers knew it as a product native (according to some, exclusive) to south Arabia; some knew it from the Bible and druggists, herbalists, and doctors knew it from the classical tradition.7 But references to the sale and use of lubān (or kundur) are rare.8 As regards the Meeneans, to a tree rather than its product, and the tree in question is explained as a anatobur, “stone pine” (Muhammad b. Mukarrim Ibn Manṣūr, Litān al-ʿarab, xvii, 260, s.v. Ibn on Imr al-Qaṣṣ labaʾ ṣawqun ka-suḥāq fī-l-lubānī and variants). The other attestations of lubān adduced there do not refer to frankincense, but it in the sense of tree or resin, and the same is true of those collected by the Poetry Concordance of the Hebrew University (I am grateful to Professor M. J. Kister and Z. Cohen for letting me have them). The luba added by J. H. Mördtmann and D. H. Müller, Subäische Denkmäler, p. 82, is not frankincense, but storax (Müller, “Notes on the Use,” p. 126; Jacob, Beduinenleben, p. 15), a foreign product imported by the Arabs even in the days of Pliny (Natural History, xii, 81).

7 Cf. Azraqi, Makka, pp. 105 f.; Ibn Hishām, Leben, i, 430.

8 Wāqīdī, Maḥāzībī, m. 972 (ibh, gold and silver were deposited in the cave of Allāt, the Thaqafi idol).

It is one of the four things which Ḥāmid is said to have believed exclusive to south Arabia (Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dinawāri, The Book of Plants, Part of the Monograph Section, no. 377: ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muhammad al-Thaʿlabī, The Lata’il al maʿārifī, p. 123). It grew in the mountains of Shīr ‘Umrān, not on the coast (Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dinawāri, Le dictionnaire botanique (de ses djs), no. 971, cf. also no. 979). It came from Shīr and Mahra territory, and it was exported via Oman and Aden (Muqaddasi, Description, pp. 87, 97n, 98. V. Miersky (tr.), Hudūd al-Ḥaṭum, p. 148), and it was a well known Arabian export (‘Amr b. Bahār al-Jāḥiṣ (attrib.), Kitāb al-tabāṣur bi-l-ṭijāra, p. 35 = C. Pellat, tr., “Gāhıziana, i. Le Kitāb al-tabāṣur bi-l-ṭijāra attribuée Gāhız,” 915. Pellat’s explanation of kundur in the glossary, p. 163, should be ignored). For further references, see Wörterbuch, s.vv. lubān, kundur.

9 Tabari, Taʾrikh, ser. 1, pp. 729, 740 (Jesus was presented with gold, murr, and lubān).

The bulk of the references in the Wörterbuch, s.vv. lubān and kundur, are to such sources, many of which are also cited in Muller, Weibrauch, passim.

Theophil Hishām’s feeble-minded mother chewed kundur and made figures (tamāṭīt) of it (Tabari, Taʾrikh, ser. 2, p. 1466; compare Müller, “Notes on the Use,” pp. 130 f., on frankincense as chewing gum for women and children today). The Ismāʿīlī missionaries would travel in the guise of itinerant traders carrying pepper, aromatic plants, spindles, mirrors, frankincense, and the like (W. Ivanow, „Ismaili Traditions Concerning the Rise of the Fatimids, pp. 158 f.; and note that here too it is the sort of thing that women and children like). An Antiochenese who used to sell lubān appears in Muhammad b. Tahir Ibn al-Qaysaraṭī, Kitāb-al-anābal-mutta fāqa, p. 131. And frankincense is also an article of commerce in the Geniza documents (S. D. Goitein, A Mediterranean Society, i, 154).
one Qurashi could be turned into a dealer in frankincense by recourse to textual emendation of a variant, but this seems to be the best that one can do for the theory that the Meccans exported frankincense to the Greco-Roman world.

The belief that the Meccans traded in frankincense rests on a methodology akin to the invocation of ghosts. Lammens invented it by crediting the Meccans with the trade described by Pliny, the Periplus and other classical sources, and later Islamicists have followed suit; Rodinson refers to Pliny in a discussion of Qurashi trade; Donner adduces the Periplus as a source on south Arabian incense production in the time of Muḥammad; and Spuler regards the fact that Pliny's incense route probably bypassed Mecca, though not Medina, as evidence that not only Mecca, but above all Medina thrived on the export of frankincense on the eve of Islam. But although it is undoubtedly important to use early non-Muslim sources for our reconstruction of the rise of Islam, it does appear extreme to use those which were written half a millennium or so before the event.

2. Myrrh

The history of myrrh is similar to that of frankincense. Once an exclusively Arabian product, it had come to be imported as much or more from East Africa by the time of the Periplus. Unlike frankincense, though, it was not condemned by the Christians, Jesus himself having been embalmed with it, and it continued to be used for this purpose in the period of interest to us. Even so, it seems to have lost importance

---

9 According to the fatuous list of "professions of the astrāf" in Ibn Qutayba, Maʿārif, p. 249, Abū Tālib used to sell perfume, or perhaps al-burr. In the parallel version given by Ahmad b. ‘Umar Ibn Rusta, Kitāb al-dabāq al-naf‘a, p. 215, he sold perfume, or maybe laban. Laban could be emended to lubān on the ground that it goes better with perfume; but it is, of course, more easily explained as a misreading of al-burr.

10 Lammens, Meque, pp. 296 ff.; Rodinson, Islam et capitalisme, pp. 46, 260; Donner, "Mecca's Food Supplies," p. 253; B. Spuler, review of Müller, Weibrauch, p. 339 (I am grateful to Dr. F. W. Zimmermann for drawing my attention to this review). Note also how Birkeland adduces Strabo and Pliny in elidation of the Meccan trade supposedly reflected in the Qurʾān (H. Birkeland, The Lord Guideb. Studies on Primitive Islam, p. 122).

SPICES OF ARABY

in the Greco-Roman world, though not in India and China. Cosmas does not mention it, and attestations in Arabic literature are rare. The medieval lexicographers knew it as a medicine comparable to bitter aloe, with which some held it to be identical.

3. Cancamum and tarum

Cancamum and tarum have been identified by classicists as gum benjamin and aloe-wood, respectively, both products of the Far East. In fact, however, as south Arabianisists have long been aware, both were derived from trees native to south Arabia and East Africa.

According to Dioscorides, kankamon was the resin of an Arabian tree resembling myrrh. According to Pliny and the Periplus, it came from East Africa; Pliny adds that it was imported together with tarum, a word that does not occur elsewhere. Muslim authors disagree among themselves regarding the exact relationship between kamkâm and darw (or dirw), identifying now the one and now the other as a tree, a resin, or some other product of a tree. In modern south Arabia daru is a tree and

funerals, but rather that they used Arabian aromatics, including myrrh, in embalming. Atchley adduces numerous examples from both the Greek and the Latin world (Use of Incense, pp. 104 ff.). Jesus is wound in linen cloth with myrrh and aloe "as the manner of the Jews is to bury" in John 19:39.

Cf. B. Lauffer, Sino Iranica, pp. 46ff. (I am grateful to Prof. S. Shaked for reminding me of this work).

Myrrh was known to Mucaddasi, Hamdâni, and Nuwayri (all three adduced in A. Grohmann, Südaranien als Wirtschaftsgebiet, 1, 150 f.). Taibâri knew that Jesus had been presented with not only frankincense, but also myrrh (above, n6). And the Wörterbuch will no doubt have numerous references to the medical and herbalist literature when in due course it reaches mîm; but this information will be derived largely from the classical tradition.

E. W. Lane, An Arabic-English Lexicon, s.v. murr. The confusion seems to go back to Dinawari, cf. his Dictionnaire botanique, no. 1,011.

Miller, Spice Trade, pp. 36, 38 f., 66, 108 f. Rackam similarly renders them as gum benjamin and aloe-wood in his translation of Pliny. The source behind the confusion is presumably Ibn Sinâ (cf. Grohmann, Südaranien, 1, 114 f.).

Cf. Mordtmann and Müller, Denkmäler, pp. 81 ff.

Dioscorides, Materia Medica, 1, 24/25.

Pliny, Natural History xi, 98; Periplus, §8 (kankamon, translated as "Indian copal" by Schoff).

Cf. Grohmann, Südaranien, 1, 114 f.; and the references given in Wörterbuch, s.v. "kamkâm."
kamkām its resin, and this agrees with the information in Dinawari. But both the bark(?) and the resin of this tree must have been used as incense products in antiquity, for kmkm and drw are attested together on Sabaeo incense bowls, and it was clearly incense products of some kind that Pliny knew as cancamum and tarum. Dioscorides explicitly states that kunkammon was used as a perfume, and drw, moreover, is the same word as Hebrew șrî, “balm” (of Gilead). Darw is generally identified as Pistacia lentiscus, L., the word designating both the tree and its bark. P. lentiscus is the mastic tree, which has also been proposed in connection with Hebrew șrî and kamkām was the resin of this tree. Varieties of P. lentiscus are, in fact, attested for both south Arabia and former British Somaliland. The products were still exported from south Arabia in medieval Muslim times, but they were evidently never of much importance in the Greco-Roman world.

11 Groom, Frankincense, p. 142; Dinawari, Monograph Section, nos. 380 f., 816; id., Dictionnaire, nos. 648, 968.
12 Mordtmann and Müller, Denkmäler, p. 81 (Prickaux, no. 1). Qdris is also attested without kmkm on such bowls. cf. ibid.; Grohm. Sûdarabien, t. 116; G. Ryckmans, “Inscriptions sub-arabes (troisième série),” pp. 176 f.
13 Dioscorides, Materia Medica, t. 24/23; Mordtmann and Müller, Denkmäler, p. 83.
14 Thus Leuw in Ahû Hanîfâ al-Dinawari, The Book of Plants (alîph to 2a'), glossary, p. 43; Grohm. Sûdarabien, 1, 14, 19; Groom, Frankincense, p. 142. (Darw also means sage, cf. Leuw, loc. cit.)
15 See below, no. 16. Grohm. Sûdarabien, t. 115. According to the Wörterbuch, s.v. kamkām, it is the resin of the terebinth, that is, P. terebinthus, the turpentine tree that has also been proposed in identification of the Hebrew balm; but here for once the Wörterbuch must be wrong. It is true that P. terebinthus is said to grow in south Arabia and to yield a resin similar to frankincense (thus Grohm. Sûdarabien, t. 114, but Dinawari, Monograph Section, no. 866, had not been able to confirm that it grew in Arabia at all). But the name of the terebinth is butm, not darw or qdrw, the only alternative name being habbat al-khadrat; and Dinawari explicitly states that the butm resembles the darw without being identical with it (loc. cit.). In antiquity, terebinth resin came from Syria (Theophrastus, Plants, IX. 22 and poawm), or from Syria, Judea, Arabia Petraea, Cyprus, and elsewhere, but not from the Yemen (Dioscorides, Materia Medica, t. 71/94; cf. also Moldenke and Moldenke, Plants of the Bible, p. 178).
16 Howes, Vegetable Gums and Resins, p. 138. It is common throughout the Mediterranean. For a picture, see W. Walker, All the Plants of the Bible, p. 129 (not a scholarly work).
17 Jawhari in Mordtmann and Müller, Denkmäler, p. 83; Yâqût, Buďûn, iii, 470, s.v. Darwa. Muhammad h. Ahmad al-Khwârizmi, Kitâb mafâtîh al’îlâm, p. 172 (all reproducing the same passage).
Ladanum is an oleo-resin exuded by several species of the rock-rose *Cistus*, *L.*., Cistaeceae, which is still used in perfumery. Herodotus believed that it was only produced in south Arabia, where it owed its production to the grazing habits of goats (an idea which is by no means as silly as it sounds). In Pliny’s time it was held by some to be the exclusive product of the Nabataeans, who similarly combed it from the beards of their goats. But the rock-rose is common throughout the Mediterranean and its hinterland. It was probably a product of the rock-rose which the Ishmaelites from Gilead sold under the name of *lēt* in Egypt and which the Assyrians received as tribute from the west under the name of *lādinnu*; and the production of ladanum soon ceased to be an Arabian monopoly, if it ever was one. By the first century A.D., Cypriot, Libyan, and other ladanum competed with the Arabian variety, which was no longer so highly esteemed. In modern times the production has centred on Crete. Neither the *Periplus* nor Cosmas mentions ladanum, and in Arabia itself it would also appear to have lost importance. Herodotus explicitly says that *ladenon* is an Arabic word (or at least an Arabic pronunciation, as against his own *ladijnan*). and *ldh* is attested on south Arabian incense bowls. But Dinawari believed *lādhin* not to be an Ara

---

19 Herodotus, *History*, iii. 112. Nowadays ladanum is collected by drawing a bunch of leather thongs or woven material over the bushes, a method attested already in Dioscorides (*Materia Medica*, 1, 97/128). But it is said still to be collected from the beards of goats who have browsed among these bushes in some places (Howes, *Vegetables Gums and Resins*, p. 158; Sigismund, *Aromata*, p. 31; Moldenke and Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible*, p. 77).
20 Pliny, *Natural History*, xii. 73.
21 It is one of the shrubs that were formerly subdominants in the woodland of the Mediterranean and that now survive in the maquis (N. Polunin, *Introduction to Plant Geography*, p. 355).
23 Assyrian Dictionary, s.v.
26 Herodotus, *History*, iii. 112; Grohmann, *Südarabien*, i. 116, 118.
hian product at all; and what other Muslim authors have to say about lädhin or lädin is derived from the classical tradition.36

5. Sweet Rush

Readers of Miller’s *Spice Trade* may be surprised to find sweet rush listed as an Arabian rather than an Indian spice, but for this there is full justification.37 Sweet rush (Greek *skhoiinos euōdes*, Latin *juncus odoratus*, Arabic *idhkibr*)38 is generally identified as a species of *Cymbopogon*, Spreng. (= *Andropogon*, L.) of the family of Gramineae or grasses. Most species of *Cymbopogon* are aromatic, and the classical authors would seem to have known more than one variety; but what one might call “true sweet rush” is held to have been *C. schoenanthus*, (L.) Spreng., a plant currently in danger of extinction by reclassification as *C. olivieri*, (Boiss.) Bor.39 Now pace Miller, both *C. schoenanthus* (and/or *olivieri*) and other species of *Cymbopogon* are common in the Middle East,40 and *C. schoenanthus* still grows

36 Dinawari, *Dictionnaire*, no. 977, where lädhin is identified as the product of *marzan jāb* (marjoram), which does not grow wild *bi-ard al’arab*, though it does elsewhere; *Wörterbuch*, s.v. lädhin; Grohmann, *Südarabien*, 1, 188 n.

37 Cf. Miller, *Spice Trade*, pp. 94 ff. Miller’s book is thoroughly unreliable in both botanical and other respects; it is hard not to agree with the verdict of Raschke, “New Studies,” p. 650.

38 For the equivalence of these terms, see Löw, *Pflanzennamen*, p. 168; id., *Flora der Juden*, 1, 694 ff.

39 Uphof, *Dictionary*, s.v.; similarly Miller, *Spice Trade*, p. 94. Bor began by reclassifying the *C. schoenanthus* of India, Afghanistan, and Iraq as *C. olivieri* (Boiss.) Bor; the true *C. schoenanthus*, he held, was attested only for Arabia, Jordan, Egypt, and North Africa, though it was likely also to turn up in Iraq (N. L. Bor in K. H. Rechinger, *Flora of Lowland Iraq*, p. 39; id., *Gramineae* [= C. Townsend, E. Guest, and A. al-Rawi, eds., *Flora of Iraq*, 1x], pp. 552 f.). It was duly discovered there by A. al-Rawi, *Wild Plants of Iraq with Their Distribution*, p. 39; similarly id. and H. J. Chakravarty, *Medicinal Plants of Iraq*, p. 34. But since Bor still regarded it as awaiting discovery in Iraq in his publication of 1968, this can presumably be discounted. By 1970 Bor had eliminated the species from Iran, as well (N. L. Bor, *Gramineae* [= K. H. Rechinger, ed., *Flora Iranica*, no. 70], pp. 541 ff.). Maybe he would wish also to eliminate it from Arabia (cf. below, n 41) and North Africa (cf. P. Quezel and S. Santa, *Nouvelle Flore de l’Algérie*, 1, 86; P. Ozenda, *Floresu Sabarai*, p. 157), thus reducing it to a ideal type. But it does not make much difference in the present context: reclassification notwithstanding, the plant continues to be known locally as *idhkibr* (adhkibr in North Africa) and to yield an essential oil.

40 It had a distribution from Morocco to Sind before reclassification (N. L. Bor, *The Grasses of Burma, Ceylon, India and Pakistan*, p. 131; compare also Uphof, *Dictionary*, s.v. *Cymbopogon schoenanthus*).
widely in Arabia. Its English name is camel grass, not ginger grass, and there is no evidence that the Greeks and Romans ever imported it from India. The classical authors identify sweet rush as Lebanese, Syrian, Nabataean, Arabian, Babylonian, African, and Libyan. Naturally, they could be referring to local species which had to be supplemented with foreign imports, or to locally manufactured ointments made from an imported commodity, while the absence of sweet rush from the extant tariffs could be taken to mean that it was imported duty-free. But why make all these assumptions? There is not a single explicit or implicit statement to the effect that the commodity came from further east than Iraq; and the Arab lexicographers who identified *idhkbir* as a well-known plant used, among other things, for the roofing of houses and the manufacture of perfume evidently did not have an Indian plant in mind. Sweet rush is a plant that Quraysh could well have exported. It grows in the vicinity of Mecca, and indeed in the *haram* itself, this being one of the plants which the Prophet allowed to be cut there. The reason why he allowed it to be cut, however, is that the Meccans needed

---


42 Theophrastus, *Plants*, ix, 7: 1 (from a marsh beyond the Lebanon); Pliny, *Natural History*, xi, 114 (the same) and xxii, 120 (from Nabataea, Babylonia and Africa); Dioscorides, *Materia Medica*, i, 17/16 (from Nabataea, Arabia, Libya, the Arabian type beings sometimes known as Babylonian); Dioscorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca*, ii, 49; *Arabia Felix*). Ginger grass is *C. martim*, not *chéneanthus*, cf. A. F. Hill, *Economic Botany*, p. 529.

43 Cf. Miller, *Spice Trade*, p. 96. Miller notes its cheapness, but not its absence from the tariffs.

44 The fact that Pliny concludes his discussion of sweet rush with the remark “now we leave the countries facing the ocean to return to those which encircle our own sea” (*Natural History*, xi, 107) has no bearing on the question, as Miller would have it (*Spice Trade*, p. 96), since sweet rush has been discussed by way of digression. It is precisely in this passage that Pliny describes sweet rush as growing in the Lebanon, some seventeen miles from the Mediterranean.

45 Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. (there is, of course, no question of deriving “the *ixkbirof* Arab-traders” from Greek *skhoinoi*, as Miller suggests [*Spice Trade*, p. 95]).
it for the thatching of their houses, for the graves of their dead, and for unspecified use by smiths and goldsmiths.\textsuperscript{47} not that they wanted to sell it in Syria; and the one occasion on which we see a Qurashi load his camels with \textit{idhkbir} (in Medina after the \textit{hijra}), the customers were local goldsmiths.\textsuperscript{48} Elsewhere we learn that \textit{idhkbir} would be exchanged for \textit{hamd} in Mecca, \textit{hamd} being plants much liked by camels.\textsuperscript{49} The idea that Quraysh were suppliers of \textit{idhkbir} to the perfume manufacturers of Alexandria is quite alien to the sources.

6. \textit{Aloe \textit{}} (medicine)

Greek \textit{aloē} is the name of two quite different products, a bitter medicine and a fragrant wood—a source of much confusion. Bitter aloe, or aloes (the latter an English plural, not a Greek or Latin form) is the inspissated juice of several species of \textit{Aloe}, L., Liliaceae. Classical Muslim authors were familiar only or mainly with the species that is native to Socotra, \textit{A. perryi} Baker.\textsuperscript{50} This plant has tall serrated leaves that resemble "the sheathes of knives," and from which the Socotrans extract a juice containing aloin, a purgative. The juice is left to dry in leather bags and subsequently sold as a medicine known in classical Arabic as \textit{ṣubir} (or \textit{ṣabr, šubarā}).\textsuperscript{51} It is still a recognized source of aloin in modern pharmacy, though it has been eclipsed by rival products from South Africa, Zanzibar, and Curaçao.\textsuperscript{52}

Bitter aloe does not appear ever to have been transported overland together with frankincense. Theophrastus does not mention it, though he was well informed about frankincense and myrrh, and it was never to be


\textsuperscript{48} Muslim b. Ḥajjāj, \textit{al-Saḥīḥ}, \textit{xu.}, \textit{143} ff. (\textit{kitaḥ al-ṣahiba}, nos. 1–3), where 'Ali wants to sell \textit{idhkbir} in order to pay for his wedding feast.

\textsuperscript{49} Aghâni, \textit{xu.}, \textit{13}.


\textsuperscript{51} Dinawari, \textit{Monograph Section}, no. \textit{390}; \textit{id.}, \textit{Dictionnaire}, no. \textit{611}; Lane, \textit{Lexicon}, s.v. \textit{ṣubir} (citing Dinawari). For a picture of the plant (though of a slightly different species), see Walker, \textit{All the Plants.}, p. 17.

\textsuperscript{52} The \textit{British Pharmaceutical Codex}, pp. \textit{89} ff. The collection of \textit{aloē} in Socotra was reported to be haphazard in the late nineteenth century, and much supposedly Socotran aloe is believed to have come from East Africa (Grohmann, \textit{Südarabien}, \textit{1}, \textit{164}; \textit{Codex}, p. \textit{91}).
identified as “Sabaean.” It is first attested in John 19:39 in connection with the burial of Jesus, and next in Celsus (f.i. about 20 A.D.). It reappears soon thereafter in Dioscorides. In the *Periplus* it is explicitly said to be exported from Cane, the *Hadrami* port; according to Marzūqī, it was purchased in pre-Islamic times at *qabr Hūd* near Shīhr in the *Hadramawt* by traders who arrived by both sea and land; and several centuries later Muqaddasi described the trade as maritime. Given that Marzūqī is talking about trade in Arabia itself, it may thus be assumed that the export trade was always maritime.

7. Cinnabar

Like aloe, cinnabar (Greek *kinnabari*, Latin *cinnabaris*) is the name of two quite different substances. Both have been used as a red dye, but one is mineral and the other vegetable. Mineral cinnabar is mercuric sulphide, which yields the colour known as vermilion, and with which we are not concerned here. Vegetable cinnabar (or “dragon’s blood”) is a resin obtained from various plants, notably *Dracaena* (spp.), Liliaceae, which has been used both as a dye and as a medicine. Pliny asserts that the two were confused even by doctors in his own time, with unfortunate results for patients.

According to the *Periplus*, vegetable cinnabar was produced in *Socotra*. The plant referred to is *D. cinnabari* Balf., which is endemic in Socotra and which still produced some vegetable cinnabar in the nine-

---

55 Compare also a late author such as Jacob of Edessa, *Hexameron*, pp. 138 f. = 139 f., where incense is said to come from the region of the Sabaean, whereas no comparable claim is made for aloes (known to Jacob under both its Greek and its Arabic name).

56 Celsus, *De Medicina*, i, 3: 26, where it is recommended as a purgative. It is mentioned again *ibid.* v, i: 20: 2, vi: 6: 5 f. and 24; vii: 7: 26, frequently together with myrrh. For the translator, there is nothing to indicate that the aloes of these passages should be understood as aloe-wood or, in other words, a substance different from that mentioned in the first passage; cf. appendix 3.

57 Dioscorides, *Materia Medica*, iii, 22/25; *Periplus*, § 28 (mistaken for aloe-wood in Haringford’s translation, see the glossary at p. 132); Marzūqī, *Azmina*, ii, 164; Muqaddasi, *Descriptio*, p. 97. Incidentally, both Masʿūdī and Yṣīq have it that it was for the sake of the Greeks that the Sabaean settled in Socotra (see above, ch. 2 n. 100).

58 Cf. Liddel and Scott, *Lexicon*, s.v. *kinnabari*; Howes, *Vegetable Gums and Resins*, pp. 139 f. Vegetable cinnabar has also been used in the varnishing of violins.


60
“MECCAN SPICE TRADE”

ten century.\(^6\) The Indian colonists in Socotra would seem to have participated in the industry, for Socotran cinnabar is labelled “Indian” in both classical and Muslim sources, and the Arabic name of the substance, *dam al-akbawayn* or “the blood of the two brothers,” sounds like a reference to an Indian story about the origins of cinnabar which was also known to classical authors such as Pliny.\(^6\) At all events, there is nothing to suggest that it came north by land together with frankincense. Presumably it was marketed in the same way as aloe, that is, via Cane to Ommana and from there to the head of the Persian Gulf for transport overland to Syria.\(^6\) There is, at all events, no reference to Greeks buying cinnabar in Socotra and Cane themselves.\(^6\) But however it may have been marketed, the product is never associated with Meccan trade.

8. Cinnamon and Cassia

These two products have been relegated to Appendix 1. Here it suffices to say that they ceased to be associated with Arabia in the first century A.D., and that they were still imported from East Africa in the time of Cosmas.

9. Calamus

For the identification of calamus as a Middle Eastern rather than an Indian plant, the reader is referred to Appendix 2. It was still imported by the Byzantines in the sixth century A.D., but they imported it from East Africa.\(^6\)

---

\(^6\) The *Periplus* only mentions tortoise shells among the goods that ships returning from India would pick up at Socotra (§ 3).
Africa, not from Arabia, and it is never mentioned in connection with Meccan trade.

10. Balsam

In the Old Testament, one hears of a balm (ṣīrā) which Ishmaelites from Gilead in Transjordan sold in Egypt, and which Jacob's sons likewise brought with them to Egypt. Jeremiah knew this "balm of Gilead" as a medicinal substance.63

In Greek and Latin works, and later also in Arabic sources, one hears of a famous balsam tree (Greek (opo)balsamon, Latin (opo)balsamum; Arabic ḏalasān), which once grew exclusively in two royal gardens in Judaea,64 but which had also been planted elsewhere in Syria by Pliny's time, and which had been transplanted to Egypt by the time of Dioscorides.65 It is possible, through not very likely, that it still grew in Syria in the nineteenth century A.D., in Egypt, however, it survived down to 1615.66 It yielded an extremely expensive perfume,67 which was used by the Monophysites as an ingredient in their Myron until the thirteenth century A.D., and which was also appreciated by Muslims on festive occasions; occasionally, it even passed into the hands of Christians in the

64 Theophrastus, Plants, ix, 6: 1; Pliny, Natural History, xiii, 11; Strabo, Geography, xvi 2: 41; Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, ix, 7; xiv, 54; xv, 96, id., The Jewish War, i, 138; iv, 490; Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca, xi, 48: 9; Sigismond, Aromata, pp. 15 ff.
65 "It is now cultivated by the treasury authorities and was never more plentiful" (Pliny, Natural History, xxi, 113). Dioscorides, Materia Medica, i, 19 (in the note VI). According to Sigismond, Aromata, p. 15, it was transplanted to Egypt under Vespasian.
66 Cf. Laufer, Sino-Iranica, pp. 420, 432. Laufer's evidence for Syria is a Chinese report that does not seem to be confirmed by any local source. According to Jacob of Edessa and Moses Bar Kepha, balsam was Egyptian (Jacob of Edessa, Hexameron, p. 138 = 115; cf. also A. Vööbus, Syrische Kanonensammlungen, ii, 114 n; W. Ströthmann, ed. and tr., Moses Bar Kepha, Myron Weibe, p. 57 = 53). It was exclusively Egyptian, according to Jābīz (Tiǰāra, p. 32 = §13, cf. p. 35 = §15) and several authors cited by Birūnī (Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Birūnī, al-Birūnī's Book on Pharmacy and Materia Medica, pp. 93 f.; = 73 ff.) and Abd al-Latīf al-Baghdādī, as well as in the view of 'Abd al-Latīf himself (Kitāb al-ṣada wa'l ishar, translated as The Eastern Key, pp. 40 ff.). Both Birūnī and 'Abd al-Latīf knew that it had once grown in Syria, but only on the basis of classical sources.
67 Cf. Theophrastus, Plants, ix, 7: 3; Pliny, Natural History, xiii, 111, 123; Ibn Samajūn in 'Abd al-Latīf, Key, p. 44 = 45 (presumably copied from Dioscorides. cited below, n 70).
West. The resin also served as a medicine, again extremely expensive.

In Arabia there is a species of Commiphora which is known in Arabic as bashām. Its habitat extends from south Arabia to Mecca, and it also grows in Somalia. In Greek this tree was also known as balsamon. It yields a gum of no great value.

The relationship between these three products has been a source of much confusion. In fact they had little or nothing to do with each other.

That the Biblical balm cannot have been a product of the Arabian Commiphora is now generally agreed. The Ishmaelites in question came from Gilead, not from Mecca, and other Biblical passages make it clear that their balm was native to Palestine. Modern identifications of the plant or plants in question vary, but they do not usually include species of Commiphora.

The relationship between Judean balsam and Arabian bashām is more

---

66 S. Brock, "Jacob of Edessa’s Discourse on the Myron," p. 20; M. M. Ahsan, Social Life under the Abbasids, p. 288; Egyptian balsam appears in the sixth-century Liber Pontificalis (Atchley, Use of Incense, p. 141).

67 Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca, II, 48; 95 Strabo, Geography, xvi, 2: 41; Dioscorides, Materia Medica, t, 19/18 (worth twice its weight in silver); Laufer, Sino Iranica, p. 429 (worth its weight in gold). It also figures as a medicine in Celsus, De Medicina, and Budge, Book of Medicine, indices (the Syriac word here is not balsam, but qafṣāmā).


69 Balsamum grew along the Sabaean coast, according to Agatharchides, §97; Strabo, Geography, xvi, 4: 19; Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca, xii, 6.

70 Thus Arabian bashām has been labelled Commiphora (or Amyris) opobalsamum, as if it were this tree which grew in Judah, and Hort duly renders balsamum as “Meccan balm” in his translation of Theophrastus. The Arabian tree has also been labelled Commiphora (or Amyris) gileadensis, as if it were the product of this tree that the Ishmaelites from Gilead sold in Egypt, as well as Balsamodendron gileadense, a label that conflates all three plants (cf. Moldenke and Moldenke, Plants of the Bible, p. 841; Groom, Frankincense, p. 116).

71 It was one of the “best fruits in the land” (Genesis 43:11) and one of the commodities sold by Judah and the land of Israel to Tyre (Ezekiel 27:17). It is usually identified as the product of Balanites aegyptiaca (…) Delile, an evergreen shrub, or Pistacia lentiscus, the mast tree, or Pistacia terebinthus, the turpentine tree (Moldenke and Moldenke, Plants of the Bible, pp. 55, 84, 177 f.; Hopper in Groom, Frankincense, p. 249 n20; for pictures of the plants proposed, see Walker, All the Plants, pp. 29, 19, 21). But there are also some who take the Biblical passages to refer to a variety of products.
problematic. They certainly cannot have been identical. The sources are agreed that Judean balsam only grew in Judea, later also in Syria and Egypt, and that it only existed in a cultivated state. The cultivated plant was smaller than the Arabian and Somali trees; it needed diligent watering, and its resin was quite unlike that of Arabian and Somali basbām. It was extremely sweet in taste, whereas that of the Arabian tree is said to be acid, that of the Somali tree bitter. It was exuded in tiny droplets, and though the Arabian tree has also been said not to flow freely, more recent reports are to the contrary. It was an extremely costly perfume, whereas the volatile oil of the Arabian tree is reported to evaporate quickly, leaving an insipid gum. Muslim authors, moreover, confirm that balasān and basbām were two quite different plants.

It is, however, possible that the Judean plant was a cultivated version of the Arabian tree. This was the opinion of Josephus and later also of 'Abd al-Latīf. There certainly cannot be much doubt that Greek balasmon (transliterated into Arabic as balasān) is a transcription of a Semitic, presumably Phoenician, word derived from the same root as Arabic basbām. And long cultivation could presumably account for most of the differences between the two. Nevertheless, completely different botanical identifications have also been proposed.

---

75 See above, nn. 64-66; Theophrastus, Plants, ix, 6: 4 ("balsam is said not to grow wild anywhere").
76 Compare Pliny, Natural History, xii, 112 ff (refuting Theophrastus, Plants, ix, 6: 1).
77 Pliny, Natural History, xii, 116 ff.; cf. 'Abd al-Latīf, Key, pp. 44, 45 (on Judean and Egyptian balsam); Schweinfurt in Löw, Florader Juden, 1, 300 (on the Arabian tree); Groom, Frankincense, p. 17.
78 Groom, Frankincense, p. 127.
79 Birūnī discussed balasān without referring to basbām at all, whereas 'Abd al-Latīf al-Baghdādi, who described the balasān of Egypt on the basis of personal observation, explicitly noted that it differed from Arabian basbām (Birūnī, Pharmacy and Materia Medica, pp. 43 f. = 73 ff.; 'Abd al-Latīf, Key, p. 44 = 45).
80 Josephus, Antiquities, vtt. 174: the Judean plant has been grown from (seedlings of the Arabian tree) presented by the Queen of Sheba to Solomon; 'Abd al-Latīf, Key, p. 44 = 45.
82 Compare Pliny, Natural History, xii, 12: 7, on induced changes in the cultivated plant
83 Cf. Hepper in Groom, Frankincense, pp. 19, 250 n33.
The point that matters to us is that even if we accept that Judean balsam was a cultivated version of the Arabian tree, it was only the cultivated version that had any value in the classical world. Classical authors knew of the existence of Arabian ḏabśām, yet made no reference to imports of it, and it is hard to see why they should have credited an inferior sap. Early Muslim authors, moreover, do not associate ḏabśām with resin at all. Dinawari knew its leaves as an ingredient in hair dyes, whereas the Meccans knew its branches as a source of toothpicks (or rather tooth-sticks)." And ʿAbd al-Latif was under the impression that Arabian ḏabśām yields no resin at all. In fact, the modern Arabs and Somalis rarely bother to collect it, except, occasionally, for use as a chewing gum. The view that the commercial importance of balsam in Arabia was comparable with that of frankincense and myrrh is thus unjustifiable.

In this particular case, then, no trade had ever existed. The Meccans did, however, create one after the rise of Islam. The Meccan balsam tree enjoyed a vogue in the medieval Muslim world, presumably as a source of resin. It was, at all events, the resin of Arabian ḏabśām which circulated in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries under the name of "balsam of Mecca." But the popularity of Meccan balsam clearly owed more to the prestige of Mecca than to the intrinsic merits of the product, for it has been reported by modern authors to have a bitter taste and to have smelled "in no way enchantingly."
Senna is the dried leaflets of *Cassia* (spp.), Leguminosae. In modern pharmacy, in which they are used as an ingredient in laxatives, the recognized species are *C. acutifolia* Delile and *C. angustifolia* Vahl, but numerous other species endowed with both medicinal and other properties exist. The genus *Cassia* has nothing to do with the cassia of classical literature, which was a form of cinnamon.

"Senna" is a Europeanized version of Arabic *sana*, Egypt and East Africa being the source of the so-called "Alexandrian senna," one of the better known commercial brands. There is, however, also senna in Arabia, where both *C. angustifolia* and other species grow wild, and senna is attested for the *baram* area in early Islam. By the tenth century, "Meccan senna" was famous in the Muslim world, and it is still used in modern pharmacy as a substitute for better varieties. Lammens accordingly puts senna on the list of Meccan exports. But his references merely go to show that senna leaves were used in the Hijāz, and presumably elsewhere, in early Muslim times. Their medicinal properties were known, and they were used together with henna as an ingredient in dyes, while the branches were a source of toothpicks. There are no references to exports, and the commodity was not known on the Greek-Roman side. As in the case of "Meccan balsam," the trade only developed after the rise of Islam.

---


9 They are treated as identical in Walker, *All the Plants*, p. 48.


91 Muqaddasi, *Descriptio*, p. 98; cf. Dinawari, *Dictionnairebotanique*, no. 543; Löw, *Pflanzenzamen*, p. 384; *British Pharmaceutical Codex*, p. 945. This is not, of course, to say that the senna which goes under this name necessarily comes from Mecca.

92 Lammens, *Mesque*, p. 244.

93 Dinawari, *Dictionnairebotanique*, no. 543 (also cited in Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. sanā); Balādhuri, *Futūb*, p. 45.

94 C. Martius, *Versuch einer Monographie der Sonnblätter* pp. 34 ff. It was from the Muslims that knowledge of the medicine passed to Byzantium and western Europe.
11. Bdellium

Bdellium is described in the classical literature as a gummy substance which was used in perfumery, pharmacy, and the manufacture of incense, and which was obtained from a tree native to northwest India, Persia, and Arabia. It is assumed to have been identical with the substance known in Akkadian as *budullu* and in Biblical Hebrew as *br'd̈olah*. Jewish and Syriac lexicographers equated Greek *bdellion* with Arabic *muqil*, thus identifying it as the resin of a tree usually labelled *Commiphora mukul* Engl. This tree is indeed native to India, Iran, and Arabia, and that it was the source of classical bdellium seems to be unanimously accepted. Nonetheless, this can only be partly right. Pliny described bdellium as scented, and according to Dioscorides, it was "of a very sweet smell in burning." But *C. mukul* is reported to yield a resin that smells badly in general or especially on being heated. That it has been used medicinally is well known, but it can hardly have been this product which went into the manufacture of incense and perfumes in the classical world.

The source of sweet-smelling bdellium is thus problematic. It was imported from Bactria and Media, according to Pliny, and from Barygaza in northwest India, according to the *Periplus*, which also informs us that

---

7 Pliny, *Natural History*, xiii. 35 f.; Dioscorides, *Materia Medica*, i. 67/80; *Periplus*, §§ 37, 48 f. (*bdella*).

8 Cf. Assyrian *Dictionary*, s.v. *budulhu* (where the word is assumed to be an Aramaic borrowing into neo-Babylonian). B. Meisner, "Br'd̈olah," pp. 270 f.


11 Above, n97.

12 Groom, *Frankincense*, p. 124; W. A. Talbot, *The Trees, Shrubs and Woody Climbers of the Bombay Presidency*, p. 69 (where the genus is still labelled *Balsamodendron* Kunth, rather than *Commiphora* Jacq.). It is true that Dinawari described the resin of this tree as sweet-smelling (*Dictionnaire*, no. 1, 438). But the Persians were to call it "the smell of Jews" (*bū-yi jāḥīdatān*, cf. Biruni, *Pharmacy and Materia Medica*, p. 350 = 307), so it would seem that Dinawari was wrong.

13 Groom, *Frankincense*, p. 124: the Arabs and the Persians have used it as a fumigation in the cure of hemorrhoids and other complaints.
it grew on the southeastern coast of Iran. But there are only two species of Commiphora (indeed of Burseraceae) in Iran, *C. mukul* and *C. pubescens* Stocks.; and where the resin of *C. mukul* is said to smell badly, that of *C. pubescens* is described as an inodorous and tasteless gum. Neither species can thus have been the source of scented bdellium. Maybe there were more species of Commiphora in Iran in the past than there are today. If so, it is hard to say whether the tree in question also grew in Arabia, as Pliny claims. But the problem is not of major importance to us, inasmuch as he makes no mention of imports from there.

Medicinal bdellium, on the other hand, may well have been the resin of *C. mukul*, as the lexicographical equation of bdellion and muqil implies. Dioscorides, who wrote on the medicinal substance, explicitly says that it was the resin of an Arabian tree, and the Septuagint's refusal to translate *bdolah* by bdellion could be taken to mean that the substance was unpleasant: *bdolah*, as the rabbis insisted, had nothing to do with the "bdellion of the druggists." Dioscorides' claim that medicinal bdellium was of "a very sweet smell in burning" would thus seem to arise

---

194 Above, n97.


196 Thus the Phoenician traders who accompanied Alexander's army found plenty of myrrh trees to tap in Gedrosia (Arrian, *Anabasis*, vi, 22:4). Groom takes the resin to have been bdellium rather than genuine myrrh (*Frankincense*, pp. 115 f.); but if it resembled myrrh, it can hardly have been resin of the two species of *Commiphora* attested for modern Iran. Sigismund's conjecture [Aromata, pp. 19 f.] that some of the bdellum which reached the classical world was in fact gum benjamin, a Far Eastern product, does not solve the problem, as most bdellum was clearly a product native to Iran and northwest India.)

197 Nor from East Africa, where several species of *Commiphora* yield scented bdellium (cf. Uphof, *Dictionary*, s. v. *Commiphora abyssinica*, *C. africana, C. erythraea*, *C. hildebrandtii*, and *C. katala*). The biblical *bdolah* is frequently assumed to have been the product of these trees (Meisner, "B'dolah", pp. 278 f.; Moldenke and Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible*, pp. 81 f.); but if they contributed to the Roman market, they did so under the name of myrrh (cf. Groom, *Frankincense*, pp. 123 f.).

from confusion with the bdellium of the perfumers and incense manufacturers. But it is odd that two such apparently different products came to be known by the same name, and that the distinction between the two was not explicitly made.

At all events, we may accept that there was an Arabian trade in the product. In Muslim sources, however, *muql* is not commonly mentioned, and it is not associated with Meccan trade. It is true that we hear of a product known as *muql* that was exported from Dhūl-Marwa north of Medina in medieval times, but this *muql* was the fruit of the doum palm, not the resin of a *Commiphora*. A contemptuous reference to the pre-Islamic Meccans describes them as mere traders who derived inviolability from their sanctuary and who would decorate themselves with *muql* on leaving it so as to make themselves recognizable to potential

---

109 Dioscorides knew several kinds of bdellium, and the variety which smelled sweet in burning is described as transparent, like Pliny's, whereas that which came from India and Petra was dark.

111 It was known to Dinawari, who correctly identifies medicinal *muql* as a resin resembling frankincense (*Dictionnaire*, no. 1058); and it figures in the pharmacological literature, where it tends to be confused with the fruit of the doum palm (*cf.* Birūnī, *Pharmacy and Materia Medica*, pp. 350 f. = 307 f.; W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia Medica im Ferdowsi al-Hikma des Tabari*, pp. 483 f.; Grohmann, *Südostasien*, 1. 155; below, n 112). Muqaddasi, *Descriptio*, p. 83. The text has Marwa for Dhūl-Marwa.

112 Pace A. al-Wohaibī, *The Northern Hijaz in the Writings of the Arab Geographers*, 880 1150, pp. 159 f., and Grenou, *Frankincense*, p. 124; cf. Dinawari, *Dictionnaire*, no. 1058 (medicinal *muql* is the resin of a tree resembling frankincense, but *muql* is also the fruit of *dawm*, a tree like the dark palm); id., *Plantes*, no. 376 (on the palm tree, *cf.* also *ibid.*, nos. 29, 53, 73, 261, 308 f.); Ibn al-Mujawir, *Descriptio*, 1. 54; Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, 1. 61 (where it figures among the ten trees producing fruit with pits [mera] which Adam brought with him from Paradise). *Dawm* is the Theban palm (*cf.* Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v.); or *Hyphaene Thébétique*, s. v. (*cf.* Uphoff, *Dictionary*, s. v., where the information given about the tree is somewhat unsatisfactory, apparently due to confusion between this tree and *Hyphaene coriacea*). It was described by classical authors (*cf.* F. Woening, *Die Pflanzen im alten Ägypten*, p. 315). The use of the word *muql* for both the resin and the fruit produced endless confusion. Thus Birūnī, who correctly states that *muql* (in the sense of resin) was known as *gugul* in India, also cites authorities stating that *muql* is the fruit of *dawm*, as if the same substance were involved, with the result that *muql makki* becomes a fruit of *dawm* imported from India! (*Pharmacy and Materia Medica*, pp. 350 f. = 307 f.). And Abū'l-Khayr reciprocates by identifying *muql makki* as the resin of *dawm*, Mecca being supposedly the one place where a resin could be obtained from this palm tree (*Low, Florader Juden*, 1. 304, *cf.* the further confusion *ibid.*, p. 365).
SPICES OF ARABY

attackers. For all we know, they may also have used the leaves of this tree for the manufacture of mats, spears, and camel sacks. But that still leaves the question of what the camel sacks contained.

13. Cardamomum

Classical authors knew of two spices which resembled each other and which were known as *amomum* and *cardamomum*: of these two, *cardamomum* was to be found in Arabia. The spices in question have been identified as different forms of cardamom. Thus *amomum* is supposed to have been the product of *Amomum subulatum* Roxb., Zingiberaceae, which yields the so-called "Nepal cardamom," whereas *cardamomum* is said to have been the product of *Elettaria cardamomum* Maton, Zingiberaceae, which yields the cardamom familiar to us. Both plants are native to India, but other species are found further east, and Miller would like some of the Greco-Roman imports to have come from Southeast Asia. Neither plant, however, can have had anything to do with the product we know as cardamom today.

In the first place, the plants had a distribution quite different from that of cardamom. According to Theophrastus, they came from Media, though some held them to come from India. According to Pliny, *amomum* was an Indian vine or other bush that grew in Armenia, Pontus, and Media, whereas *cardamomum* grew in both Media and Arabia. Dioscorides and others say much the same. Miller takes this to mean that *amomum* came by the overland route from India, whereas *cardamomum* came by sea via Arabia. But it is hard to believe that the sources would identify a plant as native to the Pontus or Armenia simply because consignments of products derived from it might pass through there, and they would scarcely have been able to describe its physical appearance if this were the case. The commodities are not mentioned by the *Periplus*

---

13 Jahiz, *Tria Opuscula*, p. 63. I shall come back to this claim in ch. 8.
18 Theophrastus, *Plants*, 19, 7; Pliny, *Natural History*, xii, 48 ff.; Dioscorides, *Materia Medica*, 1, 65 and 15/14; Miller, *Spice Trade*, p. 68 (on the poetic evidence); 69, 73.
or Cosmas, presumably because they were not purchased in India or Ceylon at all.

In the second place, the products did not look like modern cardamom. Modern cardamom is in the form of seed capsules, usually light brown, containing dark brown seeds resembling peppercorns. Pliny's *amomum* consisted of leaves "gently pressed together into bundles," the best kind being that "with leaves like those of the pomegranate and devoid of wrinkles, coloured red," and adulteration was "with leaves of the pomegranate and liquid gum to make the leaves stick together and form a cluster like a bunch of grapes." One certainly could not adulterate cardamom these days by gumming together leaves of any kind. As for *cardamomum*, it was the product of a similar shrub, the seeds of which were oblong; and here too it must have been the leaves rather than the seeds that were sold, for we are told that the best kind was "very green and oily." We may thus take it that *amomum* and *cardamomum* were plants that grew where the sources say they grew, including, as far as *cardamomum* is concerned, Arabia. What they were is another matter, and given that they have not been identified, it is hard to trace their fate on the Muslim side. Quraysh are not, of course, said to have traded in *babb al-bān*, cardamom; nor are they said to have traded in anything resembling the leaves described by Pliny.

### 1.4. *Comacum*

According to Theophrastus, *kōmakōn* came from Arabia. It was a fruit, or else there was a fruit called *kōmakōn* and a *kōmakōn* that was something else; at all events, it was used as a perfume in the choicest unguents. According to Pliny, *comacum* was a juice squeezed out of a nut which, though reminiscent of cinnamon and almost as agreeable, was extremely cheap. It was produced in Syria. On the basis of this information, Miller identifies the spice as nutmeg, the product of *Myristica fragrans* Houttuyn, Myristicaceae, and other species native to India and Southeast Asia. If so, everything can be anything. Whatever *kōmakōn* may have

---

111 Pliny, *Natural History*, xi, 48 f.; it is not clear from Dioscorides that the product was made of leaves, though it is obvious here, too, that it had nothing to do with seed capsules (cf. *Materia Medica*, 1, 15/14: pale red or pale green, soft to touch and full of veins in the wood).

112 Pliny, *Natural History*, xi, 50.

113 Theophrastus, *Hortus*, ix, 7: 2, as the editor points out, the text would seem to be
been, it was clearly a product native to the Near East that did not become sufficiently well known in the classical world for us to identify it.

Indian Spices

Contrary to what is usually imagined, the number of Indian spices associated with Arabia in the classical sources is not large. It has been inflated in the secondary literature by the misidentification of cinnamon, cassia, calamus, and sweetrush as Indian imports. The number reduces to four: nard, costus, aloes-wood, and ginger. The testimonia linking the first three with Arabia are few, their eastern origins being perfectly well known; and as for ginger, it would seem to have grown in Arabia, though the classical world cannot have imported most of its supplies from there. Not one of these spices is associated with Meccan trade. There is, however, one source which claims that Quraysh used to trade, among other things, in pepper, though pepper was never associated with Arabia in antiquity.

15. Nard

Nard or spikenard (Sanskrit nalada, Hebrew נְרָד, Syriac nardin, Greek nardos, Arabic sunbul bindi) is a perennial plant indigenous to the Himalayan region that is now labelled Nardostachys jatamansi D.C. (= Valeriana jatamansi Jones), Valerianaceae. Its rhizomes are covered in hair or spikes resembling the ears of corn (stachys, spica), whence its name nardostakby or spica nardi, spikenard. The rhizomes contain an essential oil that was used in the manufacture of ointments and perfumes in antiquity. The Indians and the Muslims also ascribed medicinal properties to it. By
the first century a.d. it was well known that it came from India, and the Periplus describes it as imported directly from there. In the sixth century, it was imported via Ceylon. It is associated with Arabia mainly in the form of claims, current at the time of Alexander, that it grew wild in that country. As has been pointed out before, the nard in question was probably a species of Cymbopogon, or scented grass, though there is also a species of Cyperus in south Arabia that the Muslims were later to identify as sunbul ḏarabī, "Arabian nard," in contradistinction to the genuine commodity, sunbul hindī. There is no indication that Arabia ever played any role in the nard trade other than that of providing anchorage for India ships. Arabic sunbul is a translation of Greek stakbys, presumably via Syriac, Arabic nardīn being a straight transliteration of Syriac; and what the Muslims have to say about the plant seems to be derived from Dioscorides.19

16. Costum

Costum or costus (Sanskrit kusṭha, Aramaic qusīṭā, Greek kostos, Arabic qusī, kust, qusīt, kusīt, etc.) is a perennial herb, Saussurea lappa G. P. Clarke, Compositae, which grows in Kashmir and which has been used as a source of incense, perfume, and medicine in China, the classical world, and elsewhere. It is first attested in Greek literature in Theophrastus. Pliny was well aware that it was an Indian plant, and accord

at tested in Akkadian lardu. This was proposed by E. Ebeling, "Mittelassyrische Rezepte zur Bereitung von wohlieckenden Salben," p. 137, and others, but the identification has not been endorsed by the Assyrian Dictionary.

13 Pliny, Natural History, xii, 45; Dioscorides, Materia Medica, 1, 76: both knew of other kinds of nard, too. Periplus, §§ 39, 48 f.; 56, 63.

14 Cosmas, Topographia, xi, 15. For Byzantine imports of nard in the tenth century, see above, ch. 2 n 71.

15 Arrian, Anabasis, vii, 20.2; Strabo, Geography xv, 1: 22; cf. ibid., XVI, 4: 25.

16 Miller, Spice Trade, p. 90, with reference to Gedrosian nard; aromatic species of Cymbopogon were also common in Arabia (cf. above, Arabian spices, no. 5). Grohmann, Süde- radien, t., 159.

17 Place Jones, "Asian Trade," p. 4. Originally, moreover, nard would seem to have come via the overland route through Central Asia and Persia (cf. Löw, Pflanzennamen, pp. 368 f.).

18 Cf. Löw, Pflanzennamen, pp. 368 f.; Lane, Lexicon, s.v. sunbul (listed under both ṭabl and ṭubā).

19 Uphof, Dictionary, s.v. Saussurealappa; Löw, Pflanzennamen, pp. 357 f.; Wörterbuch, s.v. kust; Lane, Lexicon, s.v. qust; Miller, Spice Trade, pp. 84 ff.
SPICES OF ARABY

According to the *Periplus* it was imported directly from Barygaza and Barbaricon in northwest India. Cosmas similarly knew that it came from India, though by then it reached the western world via Ceylon.

Only two classical authors associate costus with Arabia. Dioscorides spoke of Arabian, Indian, and Syrian costus, whereas Diodorus Siculus held it to be an Arabian product used not only by Greeks, but also by the Arabs themselves. Dioscorides’ Arabian brand presumably reflects the fact that the product passed through Arabian ports: in medieval times a brand of costus was similarly known as *zafār*. And Diodorus is right that the Arabs used it themselves, even though they did not produce it: *qstu* is attested on south Arabian incense bowls and later also in Prophetic traditions. The Muslims knew it as an Indian product used in fumigation, pharmacy, and perfumery. But they never identify it as a commodity sold by the pre-Islamic Meccans.

17. Aloe-wood

As mentioned already, Greek *aloē* is the name not only of a bitter medicine, but also of a fragrant wood. The wood in question was the heart-wood of *Aquilaria agallocha* Roxb., Thymelaceae, a tree found in India, China, and Malaysia. In English it is sometimes known as “eagle-wood.” Since ancient times it has been chewed as a sweetener of the breath, sprinkled over the body as a powder, mixed in ointments, perfumes, and medicines, and burnt as a fumigant of bodies, clothes, and holy places.

Aloe-wood is said first to be attested in the Old Testament under the name *‘bālīm’* *‘bālōt* (always in the plural), but this identification is uncertain. The first certain attestation in Greek literature comes in Dios-
corides, who calls it *agalokhun* (or *agallokhon*), presumably from Pali *ugala, agula, ukala, or akula* or 'Tamil *akil.* According to Dioscorides, it came from India and Arabia, so some of it must have passed through Arabian ports. In the sixth century it was imported via Ceylon.\(^{150}\)

Aloe-wood, not frankincense, was *the* incense product of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic world, as indeed it would seem to have remained long thereafter.\(^{151}\) It is attested under the names of *yalanjūj* and *kibā'* in pre-Islamic and later poetry.\(^{141}\) *Mijmar,* usually understood as aloe-wood, is said to have been donated to the Ka'ba together with other aromatics in early Islamic times, and it was a spark from a *mijmara,* a censer usually envisaged as containing aloe-wood, that caused one of the conflagrations of the pre-Islamic Ka'ba.\(^{142}\) *Mijmar* was still burnt in the Ka'ba at the time of Ibn al-Zubayr, we are told.\(^{143}\) It had numerous names, *yalanjūj* (*alanjūj, anjūj, najūj*), *kibā', mijmar,* or simply *'īd* or *'īd hindī,* "Indian wood"; and as might be expected, it figures in Ḥadīth.\(^{144}\) Even the mysterious *rand* of pre-Islamic poetry (which is also attested on south Arabian incense bowls) was held by some early Muslim scholars to have been aloe-wood; in fact, there were also some who believed costum to be aloe-wood. All in all, *bakbūr,* the general term for incense, conjured up aloe-wood unless otherwise specified.\(^{145}\)
Aloe-wood was appreciated not only in Arabia and Byzantium, but also in Persia. It was without doubt a product out of which Quraysh could have made a fortune if the Greeks, Persians, and Ethiopians had not learnt to sail. But the sources never credit Quraysh with the sale of aloe-wood, not even for consumption in the Hijaz.

18. Ginger

Ginger (Prakrit singaver, Pali singivera, Greek zingiberi, Aramaic and Syriac zangebil, Arabic zanjabil) is the rhizome of Zingiber officinale Roscoe, Zingiberaceae, a plant now widely cultivated throughout the tropics of the old and new worlds. It is first mentioned in the classical literature in the first century A.D., though it may have been known before. The Greek word is derived from middle Indian, and both Pliny and Dioscorides wrote at a time when direct maritime connections had been established between India and the Greco-Roman world. Yet neither identified the spice as Indian. According to them, it grew in Arabia and East Africa.

Given that the Greeks learnt their word for ginger in India, it is not very satisfactory to explain this information with reference to the Arab propensity for hiding the true origin of their spices. It is by no means implausible that ginger should have been transplanted to Arabia and East Africa, where it is known to have been cultivated in modern times, and where numerous Muslim and European authors writing between the ninth and the sixteenth centuries believed it to be cultivated. Moreover, the ginger Dioscorides knew of was fresh: one

---

145 One of the accounts of the tribute sent by the Persian governor of the Yemen to the Persian king includes ‘ad among the gifts (Aghâni, xvi, 310).
146 Uphof, Dictionary, ss: Zingiber officinale; Lôw, Pflanzennamen, pp. 138 f.; A.S.C. Ross, Ginger, A Loan Word Study; Miller, Spice Trade, pp. 53 ff.
147 It is first attested in Celsius, De Medicina, v. 23: 3, but the antidote in question was composed about 80 B.C. (cf. Miller, Spice Trade, p. 5).
148 Ross, Ginger, p. 19: the etymologies of Miller, Spice Trade, p. 56, can be discarded. Pliny, Natural History, xii, 28; Dioscorides, Materia Medica, ii, 160/190.
149 Asdocs Warmington, Comment. p. 184.
150 Cf. the Chinese habit of carrying ginger plants in pots on their ships, adduced by Miller, Spice Trade, p. 54. Others presumably did the same. Watt and Breyer-Brandwijk, Medicinal and Poisonous Plants, p. 4063 (East Africa); Miller, Spice Trade, p. 1086 (Ethiopia); Ross, Ginger, p. 41 (Ethiopia and Arabia).
151 Ross, Ginger, pp. 40ff. The Muslim statements come from Dinawari, Ibn al-Mujâ-
should choose roots without rottenness, he said, adding that because they rotted so fast, they were sometimes preserved. The claims of Pliny and Dioscorides may thus be accepted at face value.\textsuperscript{153}

But this is not to say, of course, that the classical world imported most of its ginger from Arabia and East Africa. The etymology of \textit{zingiberi} makes this extremely unlikely, and by the second century A.D. it was well known that ginger was available in India and Ceylon.\textsuperscript{154} We may take it that the spice was imported primarily from India and Ceylon, but that some (notably the fresh variety) also came from Arabia and East Africa. There is, however, no suggestion in the Muslim sources that the Meccans traded in this spice, for all that the word \textit{zanjabil} occurs in the \textit{Qur'an}.\textsuperscript{155}

19. Pepper

It is well known that the classical trade between India and the Greco-Roman world was a trade above all in pepper (\textit{Piper longum}, L., Pipera-ceae, and \textit{P. nigrum}, L., of the same family).\textsuperscript{156} In the sixth century, pepper was exported from India via Ceylon to Aden and Adulis,\textsuperscript{157} and there is no indication in the Greek sources that the Arabs played any role in this trade other than that of providing anchorage for ships in Aden.\textsuperscript{158} Nor is there in the Islamic tradition at large. A Shi'ite comment on
SPICES OF ARABY

the Qur'an, composed about the mid-tenth century, nonetheless claims that Quraysh made a living carrying "leather, clothes, pepper, and other things which arrived by sea" from Mecca to Syria. Apparently we are to take it that Indian spices unloaded at Aden were shipped to Shu'ayba for transport overland from there, a most peculiar idea. That Quraysh carried the Hijazi leather and clothing to Syria is an idea familiar from the so-called ilaj traditions to which I shall come back on several occasions, and it is clearly these traditions which lie behind Qummi's account. How he came to add pepper and other overseas goods is not clear, and one could, if one wished, claim that Quraysh traded in spices on the basis of this one tradition. But in so doing, one would be pitching a single and late tradition against the literature at large.

As has been seen already, the products of East Africa included frankincense, myrrh, cancamum, tarum, cinnamon, cassia, calamus, and ginger. That the Meccans played no role in the marketing of these goods (insofar as the Greco-Roman world continued to import them) need not be repeated. The Meccans have, however, also been credited with the export of East African ivory, gold, and slaves; and this belief is worth refuting.

20. Ivory

"Apart from gold-dust, Africa supplied, above all, ivory and slaves," we are informed by Lammens, with a strong intimation that Africa supplied these articles for re-export to the north. What Lammens implies others take as facts: the Meccan caravans, we are told, went north "bearing spices, ivory, and gold." But elsewhere Lammens is of the opinion that it was in return for their exports that the Meccans bought "the rich merchandise of India, Persia, and Africa," as well as Syrian grain and oil; or, in other words, ivory would here seem to be something the Mecc-

158 Abūl-Ḥasan ʿAli b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummi, Taḥfūr, ii. 444. I owe my knowledge of this passage to M. A. Cook.

159 Lammens, Mecca, p. 308.

It is a reasonable conjecture that some East African ivory was imported by the Yemen as early as ancient times, and that the Yemenis passed on some of this ivory to other Arabs, including, in due course, the Meccans; and naturally there is ivory in Prophetic hadith.164 But it is not a reasonable assumption that first the south Arabians and next the Meccans should have imported ivory for export to the north by caravan.165 Why should heavy tusks have been shipped to Arabia for transport through the desert? It is for good reason that all our evidence is squarely against this idea. The Mediterranean world had imported its ivory directly from East Africa (insofar as it did not get it from India) since the days of the Ptolemies, who had penetrated East Africa precisely because they wanted elephants—primarily, but not exclusively, for warfare.166 And as regards the sixth century, we are told by Cosmas that East African tusks were exported “by boat” to Byzantium, Persia, south Arabia, and even India (by then apparently short of tusks).167 Naturally, caravans loaded with ivory are not attested in the Islamic tradition.

162 Lammens, “République marchande,” p. 47.
163 Lammens’ evidence is instructive of his method of work. In Meeke, p. 204f, he adduces Pliny, Natural History, vi. 173, which describes a trading centre in East Africa to which ivory and other things were brought some 500 years before the rise of Mecca; T. Noldeke, Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, p. 46, which merely states in general terms that the Meccans traded with the Ethiopians, from whom they brought slaves and other goods; and Fraenkel, Fremdwörter, p. 177, where it is conjectured that the king of Hira bought Ethiopian ivory and slaves, as well as leather, in Arabia. The first reference is to the wrong period and the third to the wrong place, whereas that which mentions Mecca fails to mention ivory. The references in “République marchande,” p. 47n, similarly fail to mention ivory, most of them being to caravans carrying foodstuffs to various places, chiefly Medina.
164 Cf. Wensinck and others, Concordance, s.v. ‘āj.
165 For the view that even the south Arabians exported ivory by land, see Rodinson, Mohammed, p. 20.
166 Kortenbeutel, Osthandel, passim; cf. also M. P. Charlesworth, Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire, pp. 38, 64. The relevant texts have been conveniently assembled and translated in Huntingford, Periplus, appendix 5.
167 Cosmas, Topographie, xi. 23.
Spices of Araby

21. Gold

Lammens is, of course, right that East Africa supplied gold, but Pliny and Cosmas are agreed that it supplied it to the Ethiopians, and Lammens is the only authority for the view that the Ethiopians passed it on to the Meccans. This does not rule out the possibility that the Meccans exported gold mined in Arabia itself, a possibility to which I shall come back in the next chapter.

22. Slaves

It is a well-known fact that the pre-Islamic Arabs, including the Meccans, had slaves, some of whom were "Ethiopians," that is, natives of East Africa. There is, however, nothing to indicate that the centre of distribution for such slaves in Arabia was Mecca rather than the Yemen, and even less to suggest that the Meccans exported them to the north. The Byzantines got their East African slaves directly from East Africa, insofar as they imported them at all. I shall come back to

---

165 Pliny, *Natural History*, vi, 173; Cosmas, *Topography*, II, 50 ff. According to S. Chittick, "East African Trade with the Orient," p. 101, the East African trade in gold did not acquire (international) importance until the fourteenth century or later.

166 Thus Bilāl, Wāshī and Sāliḥ Ṣaqrān were Ethiopian freedmen of various Meccans (Ell, s.v. Bilāl b. Rabāḥ; Ibn Ḥishām, *Leben*, p. 556: Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 40). The mother of 'Antara, the poet, was likewise an Ethiopian, as were those of other "ravens of the Arabs" (*Aghān*, viii, 237, 249. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Rabī’ā, a Meccan, had a large number of Ethiopian slaves who practised all sorts of crafts (ibid., 1, 65), and Ibn Ḥabīb saw fit to compile a whole list of abnā’ al-Ḥabashīyyāt in Mecca and elsewhere (*Muḥāḥbar*, pp. 306 ff.).

167 Thus Meccan, to the best of my knowledge, is explicitly said to have purchased Ethiopian slaves in Ethiopia. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Rabī’ā, the owner of numerous Ethiopian slaves mentioned in the preceding note, had presumably bought his in the Yemen; that, at least, is where he is said to have traded (*Aghān*, 1, 64). Similarly, it was from the Sarāt rather than directly from Ethiopia that Bilāl came to Mecca (Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 232: alternatively, he was born into slavery in Mecca, cf. *EP*, s.v.); and several other Ethiopian slaves seem to have come to Mecca from the same area (cf. below, ch. 5 no. 6). Of one black slave girl we are told that she was purchased at Ḥubāša, a market located in Tiḥāma (Yā-qūt, *Buldān*, II, 192 f., s.v., but the story in question identifies it with the market of B. Qaynuqā’ in Yathrib). Of black slaves purchased by visitors to Mecca there is no mention.

168 Cosmas, *Topography*, II, 64 ("most of the slaves who arrive to us come from these people, and even today one finds some in the hands of merchants there"). It is well known that slavery contracted in the later empire, not just in the west, but also in the east.
the (remote) possibility that the Meccans exported Arab slaves in the next chapter.

OTHER LUXURY GOODS

23. Silk

It is well known that in antiquity the Mediterranean world was dependent on Persia for its supply of silk, which in the sixth century reached the west partly via Central Asia and partly by sea via Ceylon. In 524-525 Justinian tried to break the Persian monopoly on the trade by encouraging the Ethiopians to buy silk directly from the Indians, not in Ceylon, as is usually assumed, but in some port adjacent to Persia, possibly Dabā, the port on which traders from India, China, east, and west are said to have converged. The attempt was a failure because the Persians always got there first and were in the habit of buying the entire cargoes. Some thirty years later, the Byzantines succeeded in setting up a silk industry of their own by means of silkworms smuggled, probably, from Central Asia. This did not make them self-sufficient at once, and Justin II (565-578) once more tried to circumvent the Persians, this time by negotiating with the Turks.

Against this background, one is surprised to learn from Lammens and others that one reason why the Meccans did so well is that they exported silk to the Byzantines, a view that has gained such currency that even the ancient south Arabians have been credited with an overland trade in silk. There does not appear to be any evidence in favour of Lammens’

172 Procopius, Wars, 1, 20, 9 ff. Procopius explicitly says that the Persians got there first because they inhabited the adjoining country, a claim which rules out Ceylon. For Dabā, see above, ch. 2, pp. 48 ff. It does not in any way follow that the Ethiopians were not interested in the eastern trade, as argued by Smith, “Events in Arabia,” p. 463.


176 Thus Robinson, Mohammed, p. 10; Doe, Southern Arabia, p. 52; There is not, to my
view. The Islamic tradition associates the Yemen with textiles, and there is no reason to doubt the existence of a textile industry there. But what the Yemen produced was fine cotton, not silk. Some silk was probably available in the Yemen, too, and silk is occasionally attested in the Hijaz. Thus, leaving aside Prophetic traditions for and against its use, the Ka'ba is sometimes said to have been covered in silk at various times before the rise of Islam. But the fact that silk may have circulated in the Hijaz does not mean that the Meccans exported it to Byzantium, and it was Byzantine Syria that appeared as a source of silk to the Arabs rather than the other way round. The storytellers who presented Hāshim as having founded the international trade of the Meccans by getting permission from the Byzantine emperor to sell cheap leather goods and clothing in Syria were evidently not aware that Quraysh could have supplied the one commodity that the emperor really wanted; and the Byzantine emperors who tried to get silk through Ethiopians and Turks might have been surprised to learn that they were approaching the wrong barbarians. Given that the Byzantine evidence on the silk trade is perfectly well known, it is extraordinary that the Qurashi trade in this commodity has retained its credibility for so long.

What the sources do assert is that there was a trade in silk between the Yemen and 'Ukāz, the market near 'Ṭā'īf, apparently independently of knowledge, any evidence that the ancient south Arabian sold silk to the Greeks and Romans.

References, in fact, show no more than that. Thus Abū Lahab is described as wearing an 'adānī cloak at Minā (Ibn Hisām, Leben, pp. 282, 815), and Yemeni hulas are mentioned with some frequency in passages relating to the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods (cf., ibid., pp. 2.39, 839; Aghānī, 1:235; al-Balādhurī, Futūh, p. 65 (on the 2,000 hulas paid in tribute by the Christians of Najrān); cf. also Jacob, Beduinenleben, pp. 148, 154; Marzūqī, Azmān, n. 63 f.). J. Baldry, Textilein Yemmen, pp. 7 f. Yemeni cloth and clothes are famous in later works such as Jāhiz, Tiḥāra, pp. 25 f., 35 = 988, 15; Thaʿālibī, Tīhmār, pp. 534, 539; id., Ṭalāʿīf, p. 129.

J. Baldry, Textilien Yemmen, p. 7.

Aṣrī, Makka, p. 174; Thaʿālibī, Ṭalāʿīf, p. 42 (but according to Balādhurī, Futūh, p. 47, it was not covered in silk until the time of Yazid I). 'Ali is also supposed to have given the Prophet a hūla of silk (Ahmad b. Yahyā al-Balādhurī, Ansāb al-ṣabrūf, n. 36 f.) and a late account of the Meccan gifts to the Najāshī has them include a juhbah dībāj ('Ali b. Burhān al-Dīnāl-Ḥalabī, al-Sira al-ḥalabiyah, 1, 322).

Cf. the oracular utterance cited in Aghānī, xxiii, 110.

Kister, “Mocca and Tamim.” p. 1 p. I shall come back to this tradition in greater detail in chapters 5 and 9.
Mecca. We are told that Nu‘mān b. al-Mundhir would send unspecified goods by caravan to 'Ukāz every year and buy Yemeni products, including silk, in return. This is hard to believe. Even if we grant that silk was available in the Yemen in some quantity, it does not make sense that Nu‘mān should have gone to 'Ukāz for the purchase of a commodity that must have been available in even larger quantities, and presumably also better quality, in Iraq. He may have bought Yemeni cloth at 'Ukāz; but the claim that he bought silk as well was already rejected as mistaken by Fraenkel.  

24. Perfume

Many of the commodities dealt with already were used as ingredients in perfume. So were other commodities well known from the Islamic tradition, notably musk and ambergris. Both musk and ambergris appear in one version of the tribute sent by the Persian governor of the Yemen to the Persian emperor, but whether there was a regular trade in these products between the Yemen and Persia is hard to say. The Byzantines also knew of musk, as is clear from Cosmas. Neither product, however, is associated with Meccan trade in the sources.

There remains the question whether the Meccans traded in perfume as a finished product, and for this claim there is good evidence. I shall come back to it in the next chapter, in which I consider all the commodities with which the Meccans are associated, however tenuously, in the Muslim sources. The conclusion of the present chapter is purely negative. Quraysh did not trade in incense, spices, or other foreign luxury goods. To the extent that perfume is a spice, one could, of course, speak of a Qurashi spice trade; but there was no such thing as conventionally understood.

188 Aghānī, xxn, 57.
189 Fraenkel, Fremdwörter, p. 178. No silk is mentioned in Baladhuri’s version of Nu‘mān’s purchases at 'Ukāz, but then his version is brief (Ansāb, i, 100 f.).
190 Aghānī, xvii, 318.
191 Cosmas, Topographie, xi, 15.
PART II

ARABIA WITHOUT SPICES
WHAT DID THE MECCANS EXPORT?

The commodities with which the sources associate Meccan trade share the feature that all are of Arabian origin. Three of those explicitly said to have been exported—silver, gold, perfume—were expensive and would help to explain the rise of Mecca if the export was large-scale. But this it was not. In fact, the Meccans cannot be said to have exported silver or gold at all. The commodity they did export on a large scale, if the tradition can be trusted, was a modest one: leather in various forms. Another three are less well attested, but of a similarly humble kind: clothing, animals, miscellaneous foodstuffs. The rest would appear to have been sold only in Arabia, so far as the Meccans handled them at all: raisins, wine, slaves, and other things.

1. Silver

The sources are agreed that after their defeat at Badr, the Meccans tried to avoid interception at the hands of Muhammad by travelling to Syria via the Iraq route under the guidance of a tribesman native to central or eastern Arabia. The attempt was a failure: Muhammad's men intercepted the caravan at Qarada, a watering place in Najd. The interest of this episode lies in the fact that the caravan in question is said to have carried large quantities of silver, generally said to have been in the care of Sa'wân b. Umayya, though Ibn Isḥāq's account implies that it was being looked after by Abū Sufyān. In connection with this raid, Ibn Isḥāq goes so far as to claim that silver was what the Meccans mostly traded in. Sprenger accepted this claim, though he found it problem-
ARABIA WITHOUT SPICES

atic; Lammens also accepted it, without noticing any problems, but since then the Qurashi silver trade seems to have been forgotten by the secondary literature. It probably should be forgotten. But given that silver is one of the few precious commodities for which there is some evidence in the sources, it is worth examining why.

There is no doubt that Arabia was silver-bearing in the past. In the period of interest to us, silver was mined in Najd and the Yemen, and as mentioned already, the mines were under Persian control. Shamām, the mine in Najd that also yielded copper, was colonized by a thousand or several thousand Zoroastrians, and boasted two fire-temples, while Raḍrāḍ, the Yemeni mine in the territory of Hamdān, was run by the so-called “Persians of the Mine” who had started coming in the Jāḥiliyya and who were still there in the ninth century, when the mine fell into ruin. One account of the caravan which the Persian governor of the Yemen despatched to the Persian emperor duly states that it was loaded with silver ingots. This was hardly the only occasion on which silver travelled to Iraq by land, for Raḍrāḍ was still provisioned by caravan from Iraq in Islamic times, and the caravans presumably carried something back.

None of this, however, does much to explain what role the Meccans may have played in the silver trade. They had no access to silver of their own. There is, at least, no mention of silver mines in the vicinity of Mecca, and they had, in any case, no wood with which to smelt it.

4 Sprenger, Leben, m. 94 and the note there to; Lammens, “République marchande,” pp. 46 f. The only exception seems to be E. R. Wolf, “The Social Organization of Mecca and the Origins of Islam,” p. 333. Wolf was a non-Islamist who depended on Sprenger and Lammens for his information.

5 Silver was part of the tribute paid by various Arab rulers to the Assyrians in the eighth century B.C. (Rosmarin, “Arabii und Arabien,” pp. 8 f.), and Strabo lists it as one of the products native to Arabia which the Nabataeans did not have to import (Geography, xvi, 4:26). Both they and the Gerrheans seem to have been well provided with it. In 312 B.C., the Nabataeans were robbed of large quantities of silver, myrrh, and frankincense (Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca, xix. 95:3), and in 205 B.C. the Gerrheans were forced to pay a huge tribute of silver, myrrh oil (ṣaṅkā), and frankincense (Polybius, History, xiii. 9).

6 Above, ch. 2, nn 150, 160.

7 Tabari, Taʿrikh, 2. p. 384; cf. also Lyall, Muṣaddalīyat, 1. 768 (adv. 6), where the ingots are replaced by ḍāli, vessels.

8 There were silver mines in unknown parts of Arabia, according to Hamdān (Jawaraaya, p. 142 = 143; Dunlop, “Sources of Gold and Silver,” p. 49), and some of the mines mentioned without specification of contents in connection with the Prophet’s life could in
WHAT DID MECCANS EXPORT?

absence of silver from the trading agreement between Ḥāshim and the Byzantine emperor, from the tribute envisaged by the would-be king of Mecca for Byzantium, and from the gifts with which the Meccans hoped to coax the Negus into extraditing the Muslim refugees in Ethiopia certainly do not suggest that this was a commodity that they were in a position to export. Why, then, is silver described as a major article of Qurashi commerce in connection with the raid at Qarada?

The answer is almost certainly because Qarada was located in Najd, an area that did yield silver, but yielded it to the Persians; or in other words, Quraysh would here seem to have been credited with commercial activities that were in fact performed by others. They could, of course, have purchased silver from the Persians or transported it as caravaneers in Persian service, but this is not what the Qarada story says. On the contrary, it makes it clear that it was by way of exception that the merchants of Mecca went to Najd. They only went to Qarada because they were threatened by Muhammad, and they were sufficiently unfamiliar with the route to need a guide. The sources after Ibn Ishāq make the guide in question, Furāt b. Ḥayyān al-ʾIjli, an ally (ḥalif) of Quraysh, implying that Quraysh made regular use of him; but he is a straightforward foreigner in Ibn Ishāq, and Wāqidī even has ʿafwān b. Umayya exclaim in despair that he does not know the route to Iraq. In short, the Qarada story has the Meccans go on an exceptional trip through unfamiliar territory which, as it happened, contained silver mines under Persian control; and it is only in connection with this trip that the Meccans are presented as silver exporters.

There can thus be principle have been silver mines. But in practice, most of them seem to have been gold mines, and those that were unknown were presumably unknown because they were not exploited.

* For the references, see below, nn.43-45.
** Thus as early as Ibn Hishām (Leben, p. 547).
*** “They hired a man of Ḥakr b. Wāʾil called Furāt b. Ḥayyān” (Ibn Ishāq in Ibn Hishām. Leben, p. 547; similarly the other recensions). Wāqidī, Maqābāt, 1, 397 ff., where the guide is likewise a foreigner to those who make use of him.
**** An exegetical story told ad 5:105 has a masūla of Quraysh go to Syria or Ethiopia on trade carrying a silver cup (jām), sometimes said to have been inlaid with gold (several versions have been assembled by Ṭalīh b. al-Ḥusayn Ibn ʿAsākir, Taʾrīkh madinat Dimashq, x, 470 ff. The legal principles around which all the versions are structured are well brought out by Ḥusayn b. ʿUmar Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr al qurʿān al-ʾasīm, xii, 111 ff., where two ver-
little doubt that the Qurashi export of this commodity rests on a process of conflation.

This conclusion is reinforced by the story of the raid at Īṣ in year 6, four years after that at Qarada. At Īṣ, a Qurashi caravan was once more intercepted by Muḥammad’s men. In Ibn Išāq’s version it had carried money (rather than silver) to Syria under the care of Abūl-ʾĀṣ h. al-Rabī’, being on its way back with unspecified things; but in other versions it is returning from Syria with silver belonging to Ṣafwān b. Umayya. The tradition, in other words, asserts both that Quraysh exported silver to Syria and that they imported it from there, and this was the problem that worried Sprenger: they can hardly have done both in historical fact. Given that they are only presented as exporters of silver when they venture across to Najd, being importers of silver, or simply carriers of money, when they are back on their usual route, we may take it that it was not on the export of this commodity that they flourished.

For purposes of the present chapter, this conclusion suffices. It is worth noting, however, that the information on the Meccan silver trade illustrates a recurrent problem with the sources, that is, that apparently sober accounts of separate events turn out to be nothing but elaborations on a single theme. That the stories of the raids at Qarada and Īṣ are doublets is obvious. In both stories a Qurashi caravan loaded with silver (coined or uncoined) is raided by Muḥammad’s men. The silver is owned or guarded by Ṣafwān b. Umayya or Abū Sufyān in the Qarada story, by Ṣafwān b. Umayya or Abūl-ʾĀṣ b. al-Rabī’ in that about Īṣ, and the Muslim commander is Zayd b. Ḥāritha in both. It is hard to believe that the same commander twice intercepted a Meccan caravan loaded with the same commodity and manned by very much the same people. And when we are informed that a whole series of Meccan caravans was to fall into Muslim hands at Īṣ about year 6, it is difficult not to conclude that this is the same episode in a third incarnation. But the
WHAT DID MECCANS EXPORT?

proliferations do not stop here. Some sources mention that Huwaytib b. 'Abd al-'Uzza and 'Abdallâh b. Abî Rabi'a were present in the caravan at Qarada, together with Safwan h. Umayya. Elsewhere we are told that the Prophet borrowed 40,000 dirhams from Huwaytib b. 'Abd al-'Uzza and 'Abdallâh h. Abî Rabi'a, and 50,000 from Safwan b. Umayya, paying them back after the defeat of the Hawâzin. And elsewhere still we learn that the booty taken by the Prophet from the Hawâzin was distributed among various people, including Huwaytib b. 'Abd al-'Uzza, Safwan b. Umayya, and Abû Sufyân; this booty included 4,000 ounces of silver. We thus have a number of Qurashis whose names are linked with silver, but in quite contradictory ways: the Prophet robs them of it as they are sending it to Syria, or bringing it back from there, or he borrows it from them and pays them back, or he gives it to them to win them over, having taken it from others. All the stories have in common is certain Qurashis, the Prophet, silver. They thus testify to nothing but the existence of a theme, and the theme is the only evidence we ought to use, the rest being historically worthless elaboration. But shorn of the elaboration, the theme does not, of course, supply us with the information that we need.

This problem is not confined to cases where several versions of a particular story are known. Variant versions do not always survive, and even when they do, the Islamic tradition is so huge that one has not always read or recognized them: most of what passes for factual information about the rise of Islam is derived from stories read in isolation from their counterparts. The Islamic tradition on the rise of Islam, in fact, consists of little but stories, and the massive information that can be derived from these stories never represents straightforward fact. This is a point to which I shall return at greater length in the conclusion. In the

14 Thus Wiqidi and Ibn Sa'd, but not Baladhurî, who merely mentions other a'yân.
15 Baladhurî, Amâh, I, 363. There are several variations on this story, too: it was on the day of Hunayn (where the Hawâzin were defeated) that the Prophet asked Safwan b. Umayya to lend him money (or coatsof mail) (Abnad Ibn Hanbâl, al-Munad, VI, 465); it was in Mecca that he did so (Tabari, Târîkh, ser. 3, p. 2,357); it was when Huwaytib b. 'Abd al-'Uzza converted that the Prophet asked him for a loan; Huwaytib later participated in the battle of Hunayn (Tabari, Târîkh, ser. 3, p. 2,339), and so on.
16 Wiqidi, Mughâzi, II, 94 f.; Ibn Sa'd, Ta'baqat, II, 152 f. The story is familiar from other sources, too, but without the silver (and silver was not included in all the booty distributed).
meantime, however, I shall suspend most of my source-critical doubts. The purpose of this part of the book is to examine what the Islamic tradition itself (as opposed to the secondary literature) says and implies about the nature of Meccan trade, and to see what sense we can make of this information on the assumption that it is basically correct. In accordance with the methodology adopted by the majority of Islamicists, I shall thus presume information to be authentic until the contrary can be proved. In other words, I shall accept all information on which there is widespread agreement in the tradition regardless of whether the story in connection with which it is offered is authentic or not (as long as it is not dictated by the moral of the story), but reject all claims contradicted by the tradition at large and/or by sources outside it (such as the claim that the Meccans exported silver). To give some concrete examples, I shall accept that Abu Sufyan traded in Syria, for all that some of the stories in which he does so are dalâ'il al-nubuwâ wa stories, that is, miracle stories predicting or otherwise authenticating the prophethood of Muḥammad; but I shall reject the claim that he traded in the Yemen too because it is only in such stories that he does so, and the stories in question are inspired by Qur'anic exegesis in their choice of locale. Similarly, I shall accept that Qurâshîs might sell goods such as leather and perfume in Egypt, as does Ṭâm b. al-Ĥs in a story predicting his conquest of this country; but I shall not commit myself as to whether Ṭâm b. al-Ĥs used to do so, the choice of person being dictated by the point of the story, and I shall completely reject the claim that he (or other Qurâshîs) would sell such goods in Alexandria, this claim being not only dictated by the point of the story, but also unconfirmed by the tradition at large and implausible on other grounds. In short, I shall accept everything that the Muslims at large remembered as their past, provided that their recollection is not obviously wrong or questionable. This methodology may be labelled minimal source criticism, and as will be seen, it is indefensible in the long run: one simply cannot make sense of the information given without assuming the recollection to be fundamentally wrong in one or more respects (or at least I cannot). But it is important to give the tradition the benefit of doubt and ourselves all the rope we could wish for: whether we will save or hang ourselves with it remains to be seen. What commodities other than silver, then, does the tradition associate with Meccan trade?
WHAT DID MECCANS EXPORT?

2. Gold

In Waqidi's account of the raid at Qarada, the Qurashi caravan is loaded not only with silver but also with gold, and a story going back to Kalbi has it that 'Umar once tried to smuggle gold into Syria. One version of this story implies that Qurashi traders in Syria habitually carried gold with them. Did the Meccans then owe their wealth to the export of gold to the Byzantine empire? Once again the answer is negative.

The presence of gold in the peninsula is well attested, and there were gold mines in north Arabia no less than in the south. There were even scholars who claimed one for Makkah, though this is clearly wrong. Three gold mines in the vicinity of Mecca are mentioned in connection with the Prophet's life. The first is Buhran, which belonged to Al-Jalil b. Abd al-Sulami according to Ibn Ishaq, and which was the


The classical sources usually locate the gold-bearing regions in south Arabia, cf. Agatharchides, §§ 95 ff.; Pliny, Natural History, vi, 161; von Wiissmann, "Ophir und Hawilla." But Glase conjectures that the gold exported from Ommana and Apologus (Ubulla) in the Periplus, § 36, came from the Yamama (Skizze, ii, 350, with reference to Hamdani).


22. "Those who have information about Mecca say that at al-'Ayr and al-'Ayrah, mountains overlooking Mecca, there is a mine of gold." (Hamdani in Dunlop, "Sources of Gold and Silver," p. 37: id., Jawbaratayn, p. 137 = 136). But there does not appear to have been any mountains of these names in Mecca. It is in Medina that there is supposed to have been a mountain, or two, called 'Ayr (Yaqt, Buldan, vi, 751 f. s.v.; Abu 'Ubayd 'Abdallah b. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Bakri, Mu'jam ma'ista'jam, pp. 688 f., s.v.). Even this mention, however, is problematic. 'Ayr and Thawr are mentioned in a tradition on the tabrim of Medina. But the Medineneh themselves denied that there was a mountain by the name of Thawr in Medina, and Mu's ab (al-Zubayr?) also denied that there was one called 'Ayr (Bakri, Mu'jam, pp. 222 f., s.v. Thawr).
object of one of the numerous raids organized by the Prophet in which no fighting took place.\(^4\) The second is the so-called “Mine of B. Sulaym.” According to Wāqidi, this was the mine that Ḥajjāj b. ‘Ilāt owned, Buhārān being simply the area in which it was located. We are told that, in fact, he owned several mines and that he would lend some of the gold that he derived from it to Meccan customers.\(^5\) But the “Mine of B. Sulaym” was not located in or near Buhārān; and according to Ibn Sa’d, it only began to be exploited in the caliphate of Abū Bakr.\(^6\) If Ḥajjāj b. ‘Ilāt lent gold to the Meccans, he must thus have had it from Buhārān or elsewhere. Finally, we hear of the so-called Qabaliyya mines in the territory of Juhayna. The Prophet is said to have granted them or their income to a certain Muzānī, though Ibn Sa’d describes their revenues as going to the state in the caliphate of Abū Bakr.\(^7\) There is no mention of them in connection with Meccan trade.

The sources thus do not suggest that Quraysh were involved in the mining of gold. They do assert that Quraysh would obtain gold from their neighbours, and that some of this gold would find its way to the north. But the reason why some of this gold would find its way to the north is clearly that it was a substitute for currency, not that it was an export commodity. Thus Wāqidi’s elaborate account of the caravan threatened at Badr has it that various Meccans had contributed so many camels and so-and-so much gold to it, the value of the gold being identified now in terms of bullion and now in terms of currency. It is also as a substitute for currency that gold appears in the story of ‘Umar as a smuggler.\(^8\) As has been seen, silver and dirhams are similarly inter-

\(^{14}\) Ḥajjāj b. ‘Ilāt. Ibn Ishāq in the ascension of Muḥammad b. Salama (Hamīdallāh, Sira, no. 495) and that used by Yaḡūt (Buldān, i. 498 f., etc. Buhārān), but not in that of Ibn Hishām (Leben, p. 544) or Ibn Ḥarawi (Ṭabarī, Taʾrikh, ser 1, p. 1,368). The raids: Ibn Hishām, Leben, p. 544; Wāqidi, Maghāzī, i. 3, 196 f.

\(^{15}\) Wāqidi, Maghāzī, ii. 702 ff.; (cf. 1, 96); similarly Ibn Sa’d, Tabaqāt, iv. 269 f. (with lacuna); ‘Ali b. al-Ḥusayn Ibn ‘Asākir, Tabāqāt taʾrikh Dimashq al-kabīr, iv. 48. A less elaborate version of this story was also known to Ibn Ishāq (cf. Ibn Hishām, Leben pp 770 f., where he lends money of unspecified origin to the Meccans).


\(^{18}\) Wāqidi, Maghāzī, i. 27 f. (the gold being evaluated in terms of both mithqāls and di
WHAT DID MECCANS EXPORT?

c changeable in the stories of the raid at 'Is. What the sources describe is thus an import trade paid for in bullion, not an export trade of gold. Gold is absent from Hāshim's trading agreement with the Byzantine emperor, the tribute envisaged by the would-be king of Mecca for the Byzantines, and the gifts with which the Meccans tried to bribe the Negus; and there is no record of imports of gold and silver on the Greco-Roman side. Meccan trade thus cannot be identified as a trade in gold.

3. Perfume

As mentioned before, there is good evidence that the Meccans traded in perfume. The centre of the Arabian perfume industry was Aden. According to Marzūqī, it was so famous in pre-Islamic times that even Indian traders would have their perfume manufactured there, apparently supplying the raw materials themselves and, at all events, returning with tīb māmāl, the finished product. At the same time other traders would transport Yemeni perfume by land to Persia and the Byzantine empire. On the Persian conquest of the Yemen the industry fell under Persian control, and one account of the tribute sent to the Persian king duly states that it included perfume.

There is no evidence for Qurashi traders in Aden, or for Qurashi organization of caravans from there to Syria. But Quraysh do seem to have

nārs); Abūl-Baqā', Manāqīb, fols. 112a-b, where it is explained that the Ghassānids “used to take some of the gold which merchants had with them” (kānū yā khitābīn shay‘an mimmā yakānu ma‘al-tujār min al-dhabāb); in other words, it is assumed that merchants of any kind would carry some. In the Qurashi caravaneveryone did: one merchant chose to bury his rather than to make a camel swallow it, as did ’Umar and others. It is thus assumed that the quantities were small and distributed with individuals: gold was not what the caravan as such was carrying. The import of the exclamation cited clearly, “how could they engage in commercial transactions without money?” rather than “what are they bringing in to sell if they have no gold?” Elsewhere too it is taken for granted that the Meccans would pay for their purchases in bullion. Thus ’Abbas is reputed to have taken twenty ounces of gold with him when he went to Badr, intending to spend it on food for his people; and Abū Bakr bought Bilāl for a rais of gold (‘Alī b. Ḥamīd al-Wāhidi, Ashāb al-nuzul, pp. 180, 337).

Cf. below, nn43-45 and Miller, Spice Trade, p. 199.

Marzūqī, Azmīna, ii, 164; compare the parallel, but shorter versions in Ya’qūbī, Ta’rikh, i, 314 (cited above, ch. 2 n59); Abūl-’Abbās Ahmad al-Qalqashandī, Šubb al-dabāb, i, 411; and Abū Ḥāyyān al-Tawḥīdī, Kitāb al-imā‘: wa‘l-mu‘ānasa, i, 84.

Lyall, Mufaddalštī, t. 708 (ad c.vt. 6). A den was tithed by the Persian Abnā` (cf. the references to Marzūqī and Ya’qūbī in the preceding note and Ibn Ḥabīb, Muhābbar, p. 266).
participated in the distribution of Yemeni perfume in Arabia and beyond, starting, probably, in Najrān. Thus 'Abbas b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib sold Yemeni perfume at Minā and elsewhere in the pilgrim season, whereas the mother of 'Abdallāh b. Ḥakam b. As'ās once went to Ḥira for the sale of perfume; and after the conquests, ṭib was among the gifts sent by 'Umar's wife to the wife of Heraclius. Perfume was thus a commodity for which the Mec­cans had a market not only in the Hijāz, but also outside Arabia.

It would nonetheless be hard to present Quraysh as large-scale suppliers of perfume to the Byzantine and Persian empires. The Byzantine empire had a perfume industry of its own, centred on Alexandria, and there is no record of imports of manufactured perfume on the Greco-Roman side. On the contrary, the empire produced enough to export some of it to the Arabs themselves. Thus the Jews of Medina arc said to have imported perfume from Syria to Medina in the time of the Prophet, and it was also imported from there to Medina in Umayyad

33 Cf. below, ch. 5, pp. 122 f.
35 On 'Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Khulīli, The Governors and Judges of Egypt, pp. 6 f. On Ḥakam b. Abī-l-'Āṣ, Aghānī, xvi, p. 369. The parallel version in F. Schulte's, ed. and tr., Der Diwān des arabischen Dichters Hāmid Tejī, p. 29 = 48 f. (ad no. xlviit), does not mention what he intended to sell at Ḥira; but in both versions he is said to have had ṭib with him with which he tayyaba his hosts after the meal he received on the way. This was presumably incense rather than perfume, but at all events a finished product once again. On 'Umar’s wife, Tabārī, Ta'rīkh, 1, p. 2,823.
36 Miller, Spice Trade, pp. 196 f.
37 Waḥīdī, Ashāb, p. 208 (ad 15:87); Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Qurānī, al-jāmī‘ il-ahkhām al-qu‘ān, x, 56 (both first adduced by Kister, “Some Reports,” p. 771). This is a crude piece of exegetical invention to which I shall come back in the last chapter, but the Jews are also presented as traders in perfume (of whatever origin) in Qays b. al Khaṭātim, Diwān, vii, 4 f.
WHAT DID MECCANS EXPORT?

times. That the Arabs should have imported perfume while exporting their own is not implausible: they seem to have appreciated foreign aromatics even in antiquity. But they can hardly have sold manufactured perfume in Alexandria, unless they bought it in Alexandria itself, and the story of 'Amr's visit to this city is clearly apocryphal. Where, then, in Byzantium did they sell it? Presumably at their customary markets in southern Syria: Gaza, Buṣrā, Adhri'āt, and so forth; or, in other words, they seem to have serviced the southernmost, and overwhelmingly Arab, communities of the Byzantine empire. This would agree with such evidence as we have for their activities in Iraq. The Persian empire presumably also had a perfume industry of its own, but Ḥakam b. Abīl-ʿĀṣ had no intention of going further than Ḥira, which had a market "in which the Arabs assembled every year." He should thus be envisaged as a retailer selling his goods directly to private customers, not as a wholesaler catering to the Persian elite. The same is true of 'Amr, who sold humble leather goods along with perfume. If the Qurashi perfume traders in Syria, Egypt, and Iraq were peddlers of an Arabian commodity in an Arab environment, it is less surprising that there should have been a market for them, and imports of this kind would naturally have gone unrecorded. But it is difficult to see how such activities could have sustained the growth of a city in the desert at a distance of one month's journey by caravan.

18 Cf. Aghānī, xxii, 38, where a merchant sells ʿir and bārr in Medina, precisely the two commodities that Abū Ṭālib is said to have traded in (above, n 34).
19 Cf. above, eh. 3 n 1. Moreover, there is no reference to Meccan imports of perfume from Syria unless one takes latīma to mean aromatics, in which case such imports would have been commonplace (cf. Fraenkel, Fremdwörter, p. 176). Wāqīḍi knew that latīma might mean ʿir in particular, but he also knew that it might mean ṭiḥāra in general (Maḥbūlāt, 1, 32), and the sources frequently seem to use the word in this general sense.
20 His presence is required there for predictive purposes, and the mode of prediction seems to be Persian (he is singled out as the future ruler of Egypt by a ball, compare Nöldeke, Geschichte, p. 29). Lammens also rejected it, though it was his sole evidence for the spice trade of the Meccans (cf. "République marchande," p. 47 and the note thereto).
21 Cf. below, ch. 5, pp. 118 f.
22 According to the Aghānī, xxxv, 62, the Persians even exported perfume to the Yemen: Kisrā sent a caravan loaded, among other things, with ʿir to Bādhām, his governor of the Yemen. But this is simply one out of numerous versions of the same story, the Kisrā in question being now Anūshirwān and now Parviz, and the caravan going now to the Yemen and now from it. For Ḥakam, see the references given above, n 35.
4. Leather

Leather is the one commodity that is not only well attested, but also consistently associated with Qurashi exports. According to a well-known story that I shall henceforth refer to as Ibn al-Kalbî’s ilaj-tradition, Hâshim founded the international trade of the Meccans by obtaining permission from the Byzantine emperor to sell leather goods and clothing in Syria. It was hides, sacks of qaraz (a plant used in tanning), and skins filled with clarified butter that ‘Uthmân b. al-Hûwayrîth, the would be king of Mecca, envisaged as a suitable tribute for the Byzantines some time after 570. And it was leather that the Meccans presented to the Negus when they wanted him to extradite the Muslim refugees in Ethiopia, leather being the best Meccan product the Negus could think of. ‘Amr b. al-‘Às similarly presented him with leather when, in a doublet of the above episode, he himself wanted to seek refuge in Ethiopia. The Prophet used to trade in leather, as did his partner, and also ‘Umar, according to some, as well as Abû Sufyân, who once presented the Prophet with some. And when ‘Abd al-Rahmân b. ‘Awf came to Medina, he displayed his business acumen, according to one version of the story, by buying skins, cottage cheese, and clarified butter on which he got rich, presumably by selling them in Syria, so that he soon had seven hundred camels carrying grain and flour from there.

---

41 Ibn Ḥabîb, Munammat, p. 32; Ismâ’il b. al-Qâsim al-Qâli, Kitâb dhoyl al umâli wa’l nawâdir, p. 199, Ya’qûbî, Tarîkh, 1, 280 f.; cf. Kister, “Mecca and ‘Iran,” p. 250. It is Ibn Ḥabîb who identifies the story as going back to Ibn al-Kalbî. It is reproduced, summarized and alluded to in many other sources, too, but usually without specification of the goods involved.
42 Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Fâsi, Shi‘a’ al gharâm bi akhbâr al-balad al-barâm, p. 143; Abû’l-Baqâ’, Manâqib, fol. 10b, where the isnâd is traced back to ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr. The date is fixed by the reference to the Persian conquest of the Yemen. That the goods in question were regarded as valuable is also suggested by Ibn Sa‘d, Taḥqîqat, v. 1, 252, where Abû Bakr divorces Qutayla, giving her gifts of qaraz, clarified butter, and raisins.
44 Ibn Hishâm, Lehen, p. 716; Wâṣîlî, Maj&mâ‘i, II, 742.
46 Kindi, Governors, p. 7.
WHAT DID MECCANS EXPORT?

We also hear something of the provenance of these goods. In Ibn al-Kalbi’s story, the leather comes from the Ḥijāz, being picked up on the way to Syria by Meccan caravans, but some of it also seems to have come from Ta’īf. Thus it was a caravan carrying leather, raisins, and (according to Wāqidi) wine from Ta’īf that Muhammad’s men intercepted at Nakhla, between Ta’īf and Mecca; and the leather industry of Ta’īf is well known, though most of the evidence comes from later times.50 If we go by the account of ‘Uthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith’s ideas on tribute, leather was produced even in Mecca itself, though one story about the origins of Quṣayy’s fortune implies that this had not always been so: Quṣayy, we are told, inherited it from a man who had come to Mecca for the sale of leather.51 It was produced in Medina after the hijra, too, according to hadith. The Prophet himself once fell asleep in the middle of tanning, apparently in Medina; ʿĀṣmaʾ bint ʿUmays tanned forty skins the day her husband died; another widow was in the middle of tanning when the Prophet came to visit her: she wiped her hands of ḥūrāz and presented him with a pillow stuffed with grass; and so forth.52 It would, of course, be an idle task to defend the authenticity of these traditions, and the material relating to the sale of leather outside the Ḥijāz is not necessarily any better. It is clear, however, that those to whom we owe our sources took Meccan trade to have been a trade in leather above all. This is as far as we can go.

We thus have a problem on our hands. It is not likely that the inhabitants of a remote and barren valley should have founded a commercial empire of international dimensions on the basis of hides and skins. Sprenger, it is true, did his best to emphasize the commercial significance of the Arabian leather trade with reference to the high prices

Sanʿānī, al-Mu‘ānnaf, vi. no. 10.41, however, omits the grain and flour and thus the evidence for foreign trade; and those in Ibn Sa‘d, Ṭabaqāt, iii. 125 f., have him sell unspecified things in the Medinese market and return with sūmm and aqīq that he has earned (similarly Muhammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Bukhārī, Le recueil des traditions mahométanes, ii. 50).

Ibn Hishām, Lebn, p. 424; Wāqidi, Maqābāt, i. 16; Ibn Sa‘d, Ṭabaqāt, u. 11; Wābidi, Asbāb, p. 47. On the leather industry, cf. Lammens, Ṭājīf, p. 126; Khan, “Cottage Industry,” pp. 82 f. Both authors tend to treat information from the medieval geographers as information about pre-Islamic Arabia; but Ta’īfī leather appears as a highly esteemed product already in Ibn Hādīb, Munāmaq, p. 73.

Balādhurī, Ansāb, i. 49. Quṣayy inherited the money because the foreigner died without heir; as retold by Lammens, he confiscated it (Mecque, p. 140).

Khan, “Cottage Industry,” pp. 91 f
fetched by Arabian leather goods in medieval times. But in the first place, the popularity of Arabian goods in the medieval Muslim world is likely to have owed more to the religious prestige of Arabia than to the intrinsic merits of its products. In the second place, the production of leather goods was in no way a Meccan monopoly in pre-Islamic or, for that matter, later times. The production would seem to have centred on south Arabia rather than the Hijāz. Leather was sold at Qabr Hūd in the Ḥaḍramawt, and exported from Ṣan‘a’, and Yemeni leather goods were among the things that Nu‘mān of Ḥira would buy at ‘Ukāz. The Yemen also dominated the market in medieval times. But wherever there was a pastoral economy there was a potential tanning industry, and leather would seem to have been produced all over the peninsula, including, no doubt, the Syrian desert: skins had played an important role in the trade of Palmyra; and it was precisely with hides and skins that the rabbinic tradition associated Ishmaelite traders. In the third place, the leather goods of the Meccans do not appear to have been very sophisticated. Leather was used for the most diverse articles in the Ḥijāz and elsewhere—tents, basins, buckets, saddles, oil skins, water skins, butter skins, belts, sandals, cushions, writing material, and, as has been seen, even boats. But insofar as any of these articles qualified for clas-

53 Sprenger, Leben, pp. 94 f. The anonymous author cited is Ibn al-Mujāwir.
54 Marxūqī, Azmina, II, 163. It seems unnecessary to assume with Serjeant that uدام might here mean “anything in which bread is dipped” and thus conceivably be a reference to spices (R. B. Serjeant, “Hūd and Other Pre-Islamic Prophets of Ḥaḍramawt,” p. 125).
55 Qalqashandi, Shabb, I, 471.
56 Balādhi, Anabā, I, 101. The parallel account in Aghbānī, xxiv, 57, mentions much the same goods, but fails to specify that they were Yemeni, and Lammens accordingly took the leather to come from Tā’if (cf. Ta’if, p. 248).
58 Cf. Ibn al-Mujāwir, Descriptio 1113; Dinawari, Monograph Section, nos. 413 ff., on tanning in Arabia; and note how the story in Balādhi, Anabā, I, 18, takes it for granted that people would
59 J.-B. Chabot, Choux d’inscriptions de Palmyre, pp. 29 f. Above, ch. 2174; Great Britain, Foreign Office, Arabia, p. 68, where hides and skins are identified as the most important source of wealth in the area from Jahal Shammar northward.
60 Lammens, Ta’if, p. 27; Khan, “Cottage Industry,” pp. 85 f.
WHAT DID MECCANS EXPORT?

sification as luxury products, they were made in the Yemen. What the Meccans sold were crude products on a par with the cottage cheese, clarified butter, and qaraz with which they are associated, and this fits with Hāshim’s assertion that they were cheap. But if the Meccans dealt in cheap leather products destined for everyday use, why should the inhabitants of distant Syria have chosen to buy from them what was readily available at home? And if the Meccans transported their leatherware all the way to Syria, how could it have been cheap? Watt copes with the problem by dismissing the Qurashi leather trade as unimportant in comparison with that in frankincense and Indian luxury goods. But given that there was no Qurashi trade in frankincense and Indian luxury goods, how did Mecca come to thrive? There is something here that does not fit at all.

5. Clothing

According to Ibn al-Kalbi’s ilāf-tradition, Hāshim founded the international trade of the Meccans by obtaining permission to sell not just leather goods but also clothing in Syria. Like the leather goods, the clothing is explicitly characterized as Hijāzi, and it is implied that it was picked up, at least in part, from the Hijāzi tribes by Qurashi merchants on their way to Syria. They must thus have been woollens. They were no more sophisticated than the leather goods in which the Meccans traded: the “thick and coarse clothes of the Hijāz” are unfavourably contrasted with more refined varieties obtained elsewhere in a passage relating to the Umayyad period. And again we are assured that they were cheap.

Clothing thus poses the same problem as leather. Leather goods can-

---

6) This is presumably why Nu’mān bought Yemeni rather than local leather goods at ’Ukāz (above, n56). Similarly, the Persian governor of the Yemen included leather goods such as ornamented belts in the tribute destined for the Persian king, whereas ’Uthmān b. al-Huwayrīth could think of nothing more sophisticated than qaraz and untanned hides for the Byzantines (Aghānī, xvii, 318; cf. Lyall, Mufaddaliyāt, 1, 708; above, n44).

61) Abū al-Ḥājjār, Muḥammad at Mecca, p. 4.

63) Above, n43.

64) Min ‘udum al-Hijāz wa-thiyābbi. Thus Ibn Ḥabīb, Qāḍī, and Ya’qūbī, alike. It is presented as Yemeni by M. Hamidallah, “Al ilāf, ou les rapports économiques-diplomatiques de la Mecque pré-islamique,” p. 299, and, following him, Baldry, Textiles in Yemen, p. 7.

65) Aghānī, 1, 310.
not have been rare in Syria, and cheap clothing there was certainly like coal in Newcastle. Syria had a textile industry of its own, as did Egypt, and in the late fourth century the Antiochene textile industry was capable of producing coarse cloth at prices so low that it could be sold as material suitable for the use of ascetics even in distant Rome. Moreover, plain weaving was practised throughout the countryside, and the majority of the population undoubtedly made do with clothing made by themselves or local craftsmen. There was no lack of sheep in Syria, the Syrian desert being better sheep country than the Hijāz. Yet the Meccans claimed that bulky woollens carried by caravan from the Hijāz to Syria at a distance of up to eight hundred miles would be cheaper for the Syrians than what they could buy at home. It makes no sense.

It makes even less sense if we consider that the Hijāzīs themselves imported clothing from Syria and Egypt. A Byzantine merchant is said to have sold an extremely expensive cloak in Mecca. Ṣaffūriyya cloaks from Galilee were worn in Medina. Ṣālḥa had Syrian cloth in the caravan with which he returned from Syria. No fewer than seven caravans carrying clothes and other things are supposed to have come from Busrā and Adhrīʿat to the Jews of Medina in one day, and the Jews also appear as cloth merchants elsewhere. Syrian and Coptic linen is mentioned in both poetry and prose, since Syria and Egypt were where

67 Jones, “Asian Trade,” p. 6; id., “Economic Life,” p. 166. Note also that the treaty between the Prophet and the Jews of Maqār required the latter to pay a quarter of what their women spent (Baladhuri, Futūh, p. 60).
68 Foreign Office, Arabia, p. 75.
69 Ḥādāl, xivii, 123. The beauty of thiyāb al-Rūm was proverbial in later times (Ṭālākh, Tirmār, p. 535).
70 Ibn Hānbal, Munāḍ, iv, 75. Lammens had it that ‘Uqba b. Abī Mu‘ayt spent ten years in Ṣaffūriyya, but this is not correct. The story to which he refers has it that Umayya (not ‘Uqba) spent ten years somewhere in Syria (in Jordan, according to Abūl-Baqā‘, Manāqib, fol. 124a), where he adopted the child which his slave-girl had by a Jew from Ṣaffūriyya; this Jew was thus the real grandfather of ‘Uqba (Lammens, Mecque, p. 119; Ibn Qutayba, Ma‘ārīf, p. 139; Bakri, Mu‘jam, p. 609, s.v. Ṣaffūriyya, both from Ibn al-Kalbī; cf. also Ibn Ḥalabī, Munāṣṣayy, pp. 106 f.)
71 Ibn Sa‘d, Tāhāqīy, iii, 215.
72 See the references given above, n 37. I. Goldziher, ed., “Der Diwan des Garwal b. As al-Khūṭa jā,” p. 185 (ad ii, 3). Abū Bakr’s Fadak cloak had presumably also been made or sold by Jews (Ibn Hishām, Lebev, p. 985); and no fewer than 1,500 garments and 20 bales of Yemeni cloth were found at Khaybar on its conquest by Muhammad (Wāqidī, Maghāzī, ii, 664).
WHAT DID MECCANS EXPORT?

Meccans equipped themselves with cloth, as Lammens noted. As has been seen, they also equipped themselves in the Yemen. Clothing from Su‘hār and Oman in general is likewise supposed to have been available in the Ḥijāz, and even trousers from Ḥajar are said to have been sold in the Ḥijāz. One might, then, conclude that the Meccans are once more presented as having imported and exported the same commodity, but this is not quite correct. The clothing that they imported from the Mediterranean and elsewhere was made of linen, cotton, and other fine cloth, whereas that which they exported was woollen and coarse. In other words, the Meccans are presented as having risen to wealth by selling cheap clothes transported at a huge distance in exchange for expensive ones transported at a similar distance in return. If this is true, it is extraordinary. One can, of course, make a profit by selling large quantities of coarse clothing and buying small quantities of fine clothing that is subsequently sold at exorbitant prices in regions in which it is not normally available. But one cannot do so unless there are customers who find the coarse clothing sufficiently cheap to buy it. How could clothing originating in the Ḥijāz compete with that produced in southern Syria itself? There seems to be no simple answer to this question.

6. Animals

Most versions of Ibn al-Kalbi’s Ḥiṣa-tradition mention only leather goods and clothing among the goods sold by the Meccans, but there are some exceptions. Qumma, as has been seen, enumerates leather, clothing, and overseas products such as pepper. Jahiz and Tha‘alibī, on the other hand, omit both leather and clothing, but add that Quraysh would drive camels to Syria on behalf of the tribes through whose territory they passed. There is nothing implausible about this claim, camels going well enough with leather and woollens, but it is probably mere elaboration, on a par with the pepper. Most accounts of Qurashi activities at

11 Jacob, Beduinenleben, p. 140; Ṭirimmāb, iv, 28; Balādhuri, Anṣāb, i, 100; id., Futūb, p. 47. Lammens, Meque, p. 100.
12 Above, ch. 3 n177.
13 Cf. Balādhuri, Anṣāb, i, 507 f., on the Prophet’s clothes; Ibn Sa‘d, Taḥāqāt, i, 327; Lammens, Meque, p. 299n; id., Fāṭima et les filles de Mabomet, p. 70. Ibn Hanbal, Mīmād, iv, 352.
14 Above, ch. 3, n159.
ARABIA WITHOUT SPICES

markets in Syria certainly envisage them as selling inanimate goods (ḥadā'ī, sīla') rather than animals; and the only transaction in which we see a Byzantine merchant being paid in camels was conducted in Mecca rather than in Buṣārah. A satirical poem does, however, taunt the Meccans with selling donkeys to the tribes of Daws and Murād.

7. Miscellaneous Foodstuffs

As has been seen, 'Uthmān b. al-Huwayrith thought of sending clarified butter to the Byzantines, whereas 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf seems to have sold clarified butter and cottage cheese in Syria. Yet the Syrian desert must have been better provided with such things than the barren environment of Mecca, and 'Abdallāh b. Jud'ān is reputed once to have sent two thousand camels to Syria for clarified butter, honey, and wheat with which he fed the Meccans and kept up his renown for generosity. Once again we see the Meccans engaged in the peculiar activity of exporting coal to Newcastle while at the same time importing it from there. 'Uthmān is also said to have dealt in foodstuffs of unspecified kinds; and one version of the list of the professions of the āshrīf has Abū Sufyān deal in oil along with leather. But oil (zayl) is presumably a mistake for raisins (zābīḥ, as in the parallel version), and the oil would, at all events, be an import from Syria whether 'Uthmān imported or exported his foodstuffs is not said.

8. Raisins

Lammens noted with surprise that the Meccans exported raisins from Ta'if to Babylonia and even Syria, a land of vineyards. It would indeed be surprising if they did, but the tradition does not claim as much. It is true that the caravan which Muḥammad's men intercepted at Nakhla was loaded with, among other things, raisins but this caravan was on its way from Ta'if to Mecca, not to Syria. Abū Sufyān traded in

---

78 See the reference given above, n69.
80 See the references given above, nn44, 49.
81 Ibn Kathir, Riddāta, ii. 218.
82 Shaybānī, Kāsīb, p. 41.
84 Lammens, Maqṣūr, p. 284; id., "République marchande," p. 46 (with reference to his Ta'if); id., Ta'if, p. 148 (without references). The claim that raisins are often mentioned among the goods carried by Qurashi caravans is somewhat exaggerated.
85 See the reference given above, n59.
WHAT DID MECCANS EXPORT?

raisins, but we never see him send them any further afield than ‘Ukāz. Insofar as there was any exchange of raisins between Syria and the Ḥijaz, it was no doubt Syria that was the exporter.

9. Wine

According to Wāqidi, the caravan that was intercepted at Nakhla was loaded with not only leather and raisins, but also wine, clearly from Ṣa‘īf; and ‘Uqba b. Abī Mu‘ayyīṣ is supposed to have been a wine dealer. Wāqidi’s wine is an accretion on a par with the gold that he adds to the silver at Qarada and the silver that he adds to the booty at Hunayn, presumably inspired by the fact that leather, raisins, and wine were the three most famous products of Ṣa‘īf. That Ṣa‘īf wine was drunk in Mecca is plausible enough, even if there was none in this caravan, and ‘Uqba may also have traded in wine, for all we know, but Arabia did not export wine, and the Meccans do not seem to have played much of a role in the distribution of wine in the peninsula itself. Wine came primarily, though not exclusively, from Syria, as is clear from pre-Islamic poetry; Syria was a “land of wine” in Arab eyes. It was also from here that wine dealers tended to come, at least as far as northwest Arabia is concerned, many of them Jews, the rest presumably Christians. It is Syrians, both Arab and non-Arab, who are credited with the sale of wine in Medina before the prohibition of alcohol.

66 Ibn Rusta, A’dāq, p. 215; cf. Aghānī, xiv, 223, where the fact that he married a daughter of a Thā‘ārīf is explained with reference to his interest in raisins. Ibn Hishām, Leben, p. 590.

67 Dhiya b. Khalīfa, for example, presented the Prophet with raisins, dates, and figs from Syria (Ibn Hādib, Munammag, p. 28). But elsewhere adhrāb imported from Syria is a mistake for zayţ (cf. for example Rukhārī, Rācīsīl, i, 45 f.).


69 Cf. Ibn Hādib, Munammag, p. 73, where Abrahā is regaled with these three products on his arrival there.


71 Ibn Hishām, Leben, p. 136; Wāqidi, Maqābār, ii, 716. Compare also the oracular utterance cited in Aghānī, xxii, 140; Azraqī, Makka, pp. 54 f.

72 Numerous attestations are given by Goldziher, “Hutaj’a,” p. 185 (ad u. 3); cf. also Lyall, Mufasāhāliyāt, lv, 101 and Lyall’s note thereto (Jewish wine merchants from Golan). The wine merchants from Adhri‘āt and Wādi Jada‘ mentioned by Abū Dhu‘ayb al-Hudhali were Christian (J. Hell, ed. and tr., Neue Hudasten-Dissertationen, vol. 1, ix, 111)


105
'Abdallah b. Jud‘ān is said to have been a slave trader; he kept slave girls whom he would prostitute and whose offspring he would sell.94 Though practices of this kind are attested elsewhere in Arabia, the information is of dubious value;95 and at all events, the slave girls in question should probably be envisaged as Ethiopians and other foreigners rather than as Arab girls, taking us back to a question that has already been discussed.96 But it is well known that the pre-Islamic Arabs were in the habit of enslaving each other in the course of intertribal raids and warfare, and one prisoner of war was sold by Hudhalis in Mecca.97 Even so, the possibility that the Meccans exported Arab slaves to Byzantium and elsewhere can be discounted. It is true that where tribesmen are in the habit of enslaving each other, slave traders are apt to arrive from outside; and if the Greeks and the Persians had gone to Arabia for their slaves, Quraysh might well have made a fortune on this trade. But, in fact, the slave traders of the ancient world left Arabia alone. The desert was too inhospitable and its inhabitants too mobile for organized slave raids on the part of the outsiders, and the Arabs themselves would seem to have had too strong a sense of ethnic unity to offer their captives for sale to outsiders after the fashion of Africans and Turks. There is considerable evidence in both the classical and the Islamic traditions for Greeks, Syrians, Persians, and others enslaved by the Arabs,98 but scarcely any for Arab slaves abroad, and none whatsoever for Qurashi exports of this commodity.99 In the absence of a foreign market, the

94 Ibn Qutay 1a, Ma‘arif, p. 230; Ibn Rusta, A‘lāq, p. 215y; Mas‘ūdi, Murūj, iv, 153 f.
95 Prostitution of slave girls was practised at Dumat al Jandal (Ibn Hibib, Mubābah, p 264). It is also attested for Aden (Ibn al Mujāwir, Descriptio, i, 7, according to whom it was the women of Mecca who had practised the same in the past). The practice was unknown to 'Abdallāh’s biographer in the Aghānī, viii, 327 ff., as well as to Ibn Habīb, Munammaq, pp. 171 ff., and Ibn Kathīr, Bidāya, n, 217 f.
96 Cf. above, ch. 3, no. 22.
97 J. G. L. Kosegarten, ed., Carmina Huidaliitarum, p. 116 (jad, viii); cf. Aghānī, iv, 226.
98 Cf. Peripius, § 20 (if you shipwreck, they enslave you); J. B. Segal, “Arabs in Syrian Literature before the Rise of Islam,” pp. 102 f. (Malkā, a monk from Nisibis, enslaved); H. Lammens, L’Arabie occidentale avant l’égérie, p. 19 (Greek, Coptic, and other slaves of Byzantine origin); Ibn Hisām, Lehen, pp. 130 f.; Ibn Sa‘d, Tahqāqār, iii, 85; Badāhuri, Anṣāb, ii, 47 (Persian slaves).
99 An Arab slave was manumitted at Naupactos in the second century B.C. (R. Daretæ,
trade in Arab slaves had no major centres. The creation and distribution of such slaves took place all over the peninsula, and there is no evidence that Mecca played a greater role in this process than any other market.  

11. Other

According to the list of the professions of the ashrāf, Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqās used to sharpen arrows. So he may have done, but it is arrows from Yathrib, not from Mecca, that are proverbial in poetry. Another Meccan is said to have manufactured and sold idols. Presumably he was not the only Meccan to have done so, given that every house in Mecca is supposed to have been equipped with one, and that even the bedouin would buy them. But it is hard to imagine that the Meccans owed their wealth to the idol trade. There is not even any record of idols being sold to pilgrims.

We may now summarize. The Meccans exported one Yemeni commodity, perfume, and several Hijāzi ones: leather, clothing, possibly also camels and/or donkeys, and some clarified butter and cheese on occasion. None of the goods in question were rare in Syria, the Byzantine empire having a perfume industry, a textile industry, and a Syrian desert well provided with camels, sheep, and their various products; and the Meccans are frequently described as having returned with products identical with or similar to the ones they had sold. With the exception of Yemeni perfume, the goods in question do not seem to have been of superior quality. Most of them were bulky. Almost all were cheap. It is

B. Haussoullier, and T. Reinach, Recueil des inscriptions juridiques grecques ii, 286). Shuayb al-Rūmī, allegedly an Arab, was a slave in Byzantium on the eve of the rise of Islam (Ibn Sa‘d, Tabaqāt, ii, 226). The nearest we get to Qurashi export is the Prophet’s sale of Jewish captives in Syria (below, ch. 7 n5).

Had the Hudhali prisoners of war not happened to have been captured near Mecca, he might have been sold at ‘Ukāz (cf. below, ch. 7 n45). It was Kalbīs who sold Shuayb al-Rūmī to a Meccan, not the other way round (Ibn Sa‘d, Tabaqāt, iii, 226). It was also Kalbīs who sold Salmān al-Fārisī to a Jew from Wādīl Qurā‘, who passed him on to a Jew from Yathrib (Ibn Hishām, Leben, pp. 139 ff.).

Ibn Rusta, A‘laq, p. 215; Ibn Qutayba, Ma‘ārif, p. 249. Other Qurashi ashrāf used to be butchers, smiths, and so forth, we are told, and all the information is clearly worthless.

See for example Tirimmāḥ, xii.viii, 322; Tufayl, 1, 57; ‘Aml b. Qamī‘a, Poems, xiii, 27; A. A. Bevan, ed., The Nahā‘id of Jarir and al-Farasdaq, cv, 57.

Waqidi, vi, 870 ff.; partly reproduced in Azraqi, Makka, p. 78.
possible, indeed likely, that most of the information on which this conclusion is based is fictitious; but silver, gold, and pepper notwithstanding, the tradition is surprisingly agreed on the kind of goods that the Meccans traded. Naturally, even this fundamental point could be wrong. If so, there is nothing to be said on the subject of Meccan trade, and in the last resort this may well turn out to be the only sensible conclusion. But if the general picture drawn by the tradition is accepted, there is no doubt that the one to which we are accustomed should be drastically revised. In what follows I shall try to do precisely that.
WHERE WERE THE MECCANS ACTIVE?

We may start by considering the evidence for where the Meccans operated. The secondary literature generally informs us that they operated in Syria, the Yemen, Ethiopia, and Iraq, linking all four regions in a single commercial network. This claim rests on Ibn al-Kalbi’s ilāf-tradition, which goes as follows.¹

Meccan trade used to be purely local. Non-Arab traders would bring their goods to Mecca, and the Meccans would buy them for resale partly among themselves and partly among their neighbours.² This was how things remained until Hāshim, Muhammad’s great-grandfather, went to Syria, where he attracted the attention of the Byzantine emperor by cooking tbariḍ, a dish unknown to the non-Arabs. Having become friendly with the emperor, he persuaded the latter to grant Quraysh permission to sell Hijāzī leather and clothing in Syria on the ground that this would be cheaper for the Syrians. Next he returned to Mecca, concluding agreements with the tribes on the way. These agreements were known as ilāfs, and granted Quraysh safe passage through the territories of the tribes in question. In return, Quraysh undertook to act as commercial agents on behalf of these tribes, collecting their goods on the way to Syria and handing over what they had fetched on the way back.³ Hāshim accompanied the first Meccan caravan to Syria, seeing to the fulfilment of the agreements and settling Quraysh in the towns and/or

¹ For the most important versions, see above, ch. 4, n45 (Ya’qūbi’s version being more of a loose paraphrase than the other two). There is another reasonably faithful version in Sulaymān b. Sālim al-Kalā‘ī, Kitāb al-ikṭifā‘, pp. 107 ff. (though it omits mention of the Meccan goods). The tradition is discussed by Hamidallah, “Rapports”; Simon, “Hums el ilāf”; and Kister, “Mecca and Tāmil.”

² This point is also made in the paraphrase given by Tha‘allībī, Tābir, p. 115.

³ Qālī’s version has ṭabnīla āyabīm for ṭabnīla ābām. The tribesmen in question would receive both their ra‘s mal and their ribh, that is, what they had invested and what they had gained, the reward of Quraysh consisting exclusively in safe passage; it would seem. Versions such as Tha‘alibī’s, however, make it clear that they took their cut of the ribh, too (Tābir, p. 116).
villages (qurā) of Syria; it was on this journey that he died in Gaza. His three brothers concluded similar treaties with the rulers of Persia, the Yemen, and Ethiopia, enabling Quraysh to trade in safety, and similar agreements with the tribes on the way, enabling them to travel to the countries in question without fear. All died in places implicitly presented as relevant to their trade. It was thanks to the activities of Ḥāshīm and his brothers that the Meccans got rich.

This is an impressive account, and it is not surprising that modern scholars are inclined to accept it more or less at face value. But there is a snag. A number of traditionists, including Ibn al-Kalbī’s own father, offer an account to precisely the opposite effect.

Meccan trade used to be international. The Meccans would go to Syria every summer and winter, or to Syria in one season and to the Yemen in another. (There is no reference to Meccan trade in Ethiopia or Iraq in this version.) They had to do so because other traders did not come to them. But the effort was too much for them, or it left them no time to pay attention to God. So God told them to stay at home and worship Him, and they obeyed. In order to make it possible for them to stay at home, God made Arabs from other parts of the peninsula bring foodstuffs to Mecca, or alternatively it was Ethiopians whom He

---

4 Jafāl al-dīn al-Suyūṭī, Kitāb al-jāf al-manṭūr fīl tafsīr bi-l maṭbūr, vi. 397, citing Ḥkrima (Rūm and Shām, presumably meaning Syria in various guises rather than Anatolia and Syria).

5 Ibn Ḥabīb, Munammāq, p. 262, citing Kalbī; Muṣṭāfīb, Sulaymān, Tafsīr, MS Saray, Ahmet ii, 74/a, fol 253a (I am indebted to Dr. U. Rubin for a copy of the relevant folio of the manuscript); Muhammad b Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, Jāmi‘ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-qur‘ān, xxx, 199, citing Ḥkrima. The view that Quraysh traded in Syria in one season and the Yemen in another is not, of course, confined to these traditions.

6 Muṣṭāfīb, Tafsīr, fol. 253a.


8 This rather than the sheer physical inconvenience is the point stressed in Ģabarī, Jāmi‘, xxx, 198 f.

9 Ibid., citing Ibn ‘Abbās (their journeys left them no rāba, so God prohibited them and told them to worship the lord of this house), Ḥkrima (God told them to stay in Mecca), and Ibn ‘Abbās again (God told them to cling to the worship of Him as they clung to the winter and summer journeys, He told them to stay in Mecca and worship Him instead of journeying to Tā‘if), similarly Suyūṭī, Dharr, vi. 397 f., citing Ḥkrima and Ibn ‘Abbās.

10 Kalbī in Ibn Ḥabīb, Munammāq, p. 262, where the provisions come from Tabāla, Jur
WHERE WERE THE MECCANS ACTIVE?

made do this. At all events, the Meccans no longer left their sanctuary, or they only did so occasionally. Meccan trade thus became purely local.

According to one exegete, it was on the rise of Islam that the international trade of the Meccans came to an end: when the Arabs began to come on pilgrimage to Mecca, and in delegations to the Prophet in Medina, the Meccans no longer needed to go to Syria for their provisions, we are told. But the majority of exegetes implicitly describe this trade as having come to an end at some unidentified stage in the pre-Islamic past; and given that the sura in explanation of which we are told of this development is said to have been revealed in Mecca, this is the view that one will have to accept if one adopts the traditional approach to the sources. It follows that when Muhammad began to receive revelations in Mecca, there no longer was such a thing as Meccan trade in the sense usually understood.

We thus have a situation analogous with that encountered in connection with silver: silver was what the Meccans exported, or maybe it was one of the things they imported; Meccan trade became international some time before the rise of Islam, or maybe it was then that it became local. The tradition asserts both A and not A, and it does so with such regularity that one could, were one so inclined, rewrite most of Montgomery Watt's biography of Muhammad in the reverse.

How then do we resolve the problem at hand? Ultimately it is irresolvable. The rival stories are both of exegetical origin, both being told in explanation of Sūrat Quraysh, in which the enigmatic word ʾilāf occurs. The common theme is Mecca's food supplies, but the theme is developed in diametrically opposed ways: Quraysh took over these supplies from others, or else they handed them over to others. It must have been well known whether Quraysh traded outside Mecca on the eve of Islam.

ash. and coastal Yemen, being sent by sea to Jeddah and by land to Maḥṣṣab (between Mecca and Minā, cf. Yaqūt, Buldān, iv, 426, s.v.). None of the traditions cited by Tabari have details of this kind.

Muṣṭilī, Tafsīr, fol. 133a, where the provisions likewise arrive at Jeddah; Rāzī, Maṣāʾ ʾīb, viii, 512. One version of this tradition is also cited by Hamīdallāh, Rapports, p. 302.

According to Ibn ʿAbbās in Tabari, Jāmaʿ, xxx, 198, ult., they would go on journeys or stay home as they pleased.

Quranī, Tafsīr, ii, 444.

cf. below, ch. 9.
or not; yet the exegetes were happy to assert both that they did and that they did not. As in the case of silver, the embellishments on the common theme would appear to have been made without concern for what was actually remembered.

Stories made up without concern for what was actually remembered cannot be used for a reconstruction of the past with which they purport to deal: those on the beginning and end of Meccan trade should both be rejected. Outright rejection of famous claims made in the Islamic tradition is, however, regarded as unacceptably radical by most Islamists. Let us assume then that there is some historical recollection behind these stories after all, or rather behind one of them: inasmuch as it cannot be the case that the Meccans both did and did not trade outside Mecca on the eve of Islam, one of the two stories must be fundamentally wrong. Which one remembers right?

It is a basic principle of historical research that early information should be preferred to later claims. Kalbi and Muqātil are both earlier than Ibn al-Kalbi. If Kalbi remembered Meccan trade to have come to an end before the rise of Islam and his son remembered the opposite, the recollection of the father must be preferred to that of the son. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that Ibn al-Kalbi's account is wrong in several respects. Most obviously, it is too schematic: four brothers initiate trading relations with four different regions, negotiating with four different rulers and making agreements with four different sets of tribes on the way. But it is also wrong in its assumption that the Byzantine emperor resided in Syria. Moreover, Quraysh are unlikely ever to have negotiated with emperors, as opposed to with Ghassanid and Lakhmid kings (who are, in fact, mentioned in some versions). Further, the agreements concluded between Quraysh and other tribes cannot have been known as īlāfs. And there cannot have been separate agreements with the tribes on the way to Ethiopia, be they known as īlāfs or otherwise: either the Meccans went to Ethiopia via the Yemen, in which case agreements existed already, or else they sailed there directly, in which case there were no tribes on the way. Clearly, Ibn al-Kalbi's story is not


16 Cf. below, ch. 9.
WHERE WERE THE MECCANS ACTIVE?

a factual account. It might be argued that at least it is more plausible than that supplied by his father: if the Meccans stopped trading in pre-Islamic times, how did they make a living? They must have found it hard to pay their bills by assiduous worship alone. But plausibility is no guarantee of truth, and Kalbi's story is, at any rate, quite plausible too: if the Meccans were guardians of a pre-Islamic temple, they could well have made a living by assiduous dispensation of religious services alone; how many other pre-Islamic guardians had to supplement their income by engaging in trade?

More seriously, the story offered by Kalbi and Muqatil is at odds with the tradition at large, and indeed with information elsewhere offered by Kalbi and Muqatil themselves.17 But on the one hand, the idea that Quraysh were passive recipients of goods brought by others is quite common in the exegetical tradition. It is attested in both of the rival stories on Meccan trade: non-Arab traders used to bring goods to Mecca, as Ibn al-Kalbi says; non Arab traders, or other Arabs, took over the task of provisioning Mecca, as Kalbi and Muqatil say. And it recurs in the comments on Sūrat al-tawbah: unbelievers used to bring goods to Mecca; when God prohibited unbelievers from approaching the Holy Mosque, the task of provisioning Mecca was taken over by believing Arabs, or by unbelievers in the form of jizya.18 The commentators here take it for granted that Mecca had always been provisioned by outsiders, continuing to be thus provisioned on the rise of Islam. On the other hand, the tradition at large could well be wrong. If eminent early authorities such as Kalbi, Muqatil, and indeed Ibn 'Abbās hold that the Meccans stopped trading outside Mecca some time before the rise of Islam, should we not take it that their claim preserves a genuine recollection swamped by later accretions? The Qurashi trading caravans with which the tradition at large is so familiar could be dismissed as a mere embellishment on an idea which, once it had entered the tradition, was bound to

1 Thus Kalbi and Muqatil both know of a mas'ūda of Quraysh who traded in Syria or Ethiopia on the eve of Islam (cf. the references given below, n98), and of a Qurashi who traded in Persia at the same time (below, n126).

17 By believers: Muqatil in Kister, "Some Reports," p. 79; 'Abd al-Lah b. 'Umar al-Baydawī, Antūr al-tamūl wa-ursrūr al-tawwīl, t. 496 (ad 9:28). By unbelievers: Tabari, Jami', x. 66 f.; Suyūṭi, Dur, 311, 227; Ibn Kathrīr, Tafsīr, ii. 346 f. (ad 9:28). Baydawī had this solution, 100: first God let the people of Tabāi and Jurash convert and bring provisions (cf. above, n10), and next He brought about the conquests.
generate elaborate stories: that such stories were made up is precisely what Ibn al-Kalbi's ḫāf-tradition demonstrates. Ibn al-Kalbi's ḫāf-tradition is late and wrong, and this is the crucial point: if we insist that there is historical recollection behind the stories on the beginning and end of Meccan trade, it is Kalbi's and Muqātil's account that we must accept. In short, a source-critical approach of the conventional kind leads us to the conclusion that the Meccans did not trade outside Mecca on the eve of Islam.

But this is obviously a source-critical charade. The stories on the beginning and end of Meccan trade are legends told in explanation of the Qurʾān, not of the past. The fact that Kalbi offered one story and his son another to the opposite effect does not mean that Kalbi offered recollection and his son invention, but on the contrary that neither was concerned with recollection at all: what they offered were simply stories that happened to be mirror-images of the same legendary theme. Whether the Meccans traded outside Mecca on the eve of Islam or not is a question that cannot be answered on the basis of these stories. Indeed, the very theme of trade could be legendary. This is the situation in which one turns to the early non-Muslim sources for help, but on this particular question they offer none: Pseudo-Sebeos and Jacob of Edessa do indeed tell us that Muḥammad was a trader, but not that Quraysh were traders too, or even that Muḥammad was one of them. If one accepts that the Meccans traded outside Mecca on the eve of Islam, one does it on the basis of the Islamic tradition at large, and this is what I shall do, one of my concerns in this book being the extent to which the standard account of Meccan trade is defensible in terms of any evidence in this tradition. But in source-critical terms this is not a strong position, and the reader should take note of the methodological arbitrariness involved in this, as in any other, attempt to reconstruct the rise of Islam on the basis of the Islamic tradition: the very existence of the phenomenon to which this book is devoted could be questioned with reference to impeccable Muslim authorities.

Proceeding now on the assumption that the tradition at large is right, where do we find Quraysh in action? Since our present concern is the

"Sebeos, Histoire, p. 95; I. Guidi and others, eds. and trs., Chronica Minora, p. 326 = 250."
WHERE WERE THE MECCANS ACTIVE?

Qurashi export trade, I shall only deal with their presence in foreign countries (including the Yemen) in this chapter, reserving the question of where they traded in Arabia itself for Chapter 7.

SYRIA

There is complete agreement in the tradition that the Meccans traded (or used to trade) in Syria. This is, in fact, the only point on which agreement is total, and the commercial activities of Quraysh in Syria are far better attested than those elsewhere: it is typical that Ibn al-Kalbi’s *ilâf*-tradition has concrete details only in connection with Syria, the parallel arrangements in the Yemen, Ethiopia, and Iraq being disposed of by duplication. All the exegetes who understand the two journeys mentioned in *Surat Quraysh* as trading journeys specify Syria as one of the destinations, and Syria is sometimes presented as the only land with which Quraysh had commercial relations. Numerous individual Qurashis are presented as having traded there. The list includes Umayyads such as Abū Sufyān, Ṣafwān b. Umayya, Uthmān, Sa’īd b. al-ʿĀṣ, and

---

10 Thus, as mentioned already, Suyūṭī cites ʿIkrima for the view that Quraysh used to go to Rūm and Shām in winter and summer (*Durr*, vi, 397); and ʿIkrima is also invoked there for the view that they used to go to Syria in both winter and summer, travelling by different routes according to the season (*ibid.*, p. 398). Ibn Hishām takes it for granted that the two Qur’ānic journeys went to Syria, not Syria and somewhere else (*Leben*, p. 37). And Qummi, who identifies the two journeys as going to Syria and the Yemen, forgets the Yemen in his statement that Quraysh “no longer needed to travel to Syria” (*Tafsir*, u, 444).

11 See for example Ibn Hishām, *Leben*, p. 447; Wāqīḍi, *Maghāzī*, 1, p. 28, where he is a member of the caravan that triggered the battle of Badr on its return from Syria above, ch. 4, no. 1, where he tries to lead a caravan to Syria via Qarada; below, n52, where he visits Syria together with Umayya b. Abī’l-Salt; and Tārīkh, *Tārikh*, ser. 1, p. 1561: Aghānī, vi, 345 (both citing Ibn Ishaq), where he goes to Gaza during the armistice between Mecca and Medina.

12 For his participation in the caravans raided at Qarada and ʿIs, see above, ch. 4, no. 1. According to Wāqīḍi, *Maghāzī*, 1, 197, Ṣafwān was of the view that Quraysh had only settled in Mecca in order to trade with Syria and Ethiopia. But according to Fākihi, cited by Kister, “Some Reports,” p. 77, Ṣafwān traded exclusively with Egypt.

13 Thus Abū Nuʿaym Ahmad b. Abdallāh al-Isbahānī, *Dalā’il al-nubuwwa*, p. 70, citing Wāqīḍi, where he joins a caravan (*ir*, misprinted asghayr) to Syria and hears predictions of the Prophet.

14 He was one of the Qurashitraders rounded up by Uthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith in Syria (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munāmmag*, p. 180; Abūl Ṣaqā, *Menāqib*, fol. 114; Abū Dhiḥ b. Hishām b. Shuʿba [Ribā’ in Ibn Ḥabīb] al-ʿAmīrī is also said to have been taken).
the latter's sons, Aban, Khalid, and 'Amr; Hashimites such as 'Abd al-Mu'ttalib, Harith b. 'Abd al-Mu'ttalib, and the Prophet himself, though Hashimites other than the Prophet himself are more commonly associated with the Yemen; famous members of other clans such as 'Abdallâh b. Judan, Abû-'Ãš h. al-Rabi', Talha, Abû Bakr and his son, 'Amr b. al-'Ãš, as well as the sons of Abû Zam'a and Abû Jahl (and/or Abû Lahab). We also hear of non

15 Ibn Hâjar, Isâba, i. 10, no. 2, s.v.: cf. ibid., p. 181, no. 779, s.v. Bakka. This is yet another story of a trader hearing predictions of the Prophet in Syria.
16 They were partners and would take turns going to Syria (Ibn Hâbib, Munammaq, p. 359).
17 Cf. Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqât, i, 120, where it is he or Abû Tâlib who takes Muhammad to Syria as a child.
18 Ibn Hâbib, Munammaq, p. 441.
19 Usually it is he who is said to have taken Muhammad to Syria. Cf. for example Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqât, i, 153 f. For further references, see below, ch. 9.
20 Thus for example Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqât, i, 149 f., 156. For a survey of the traditions on Muhammad's visits to Syria, see below, ch. 9.
21 Cf. below. If we discount the visits made by Hashimites as guardians of Muhammad, their association with Syria practically disappears.
23 He went to Syria carrying money partly owned by him and partly entrusted to him, being intercepted by the Muslims on the way back (cf. above, ch. 4, n.13). He returned from Syria with a caravan carrying silver, being intercepted by the Muslims on the way at 'Is in year 6 (above, ch. 4, n.13). He went to Syria with unspecified goods and was intercepted on his way back by Muslims operating on the coast during the armistice between Mecca and Medina, that is between years 6 and 8 (Musâ b. 'Uqba in Ibn Hâjar, Isâba, iii, pp. 118 f., no. 684, s.v. Abûl-'Ãš b. al-Rabi'). According to Wâqidî, this episode was another battle at 'Is that had nothing to do with Abûl-'Ãš (above, ch. 4, n.15). Wherever or whenever it happened, he was granted jizârâ by Zaynab, his wife (and daughter of the Prophet), in illustration of the clause in the Constitution of Medina that al mu'mûnân yaday tâlâ mansiuwâbûm, yuqiru 'alayhim adnâbûm.
24 Talha was in Syria at the time of the hijra (Ibn Hishâm, Leben, p. 489; Baladhuri, An sûb, i, 270), or he returned from there with a caravan at the time of the hijra of the Prophet (Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqât, iii, 215). A monk he met at Busâr knew that a prophet had appeared in Arabia (ibid.); Ibn Hâjar, Isâba, iii, 291, no. 4, 59, s.v. Talha b. 'Ubaydallâh.
25 Abû Bakr was well known in Yathrib because he used to pass through it on his way to Syria (Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqât, i, 233; cf. also Waîhidî, Ashâb, p. 284). 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Abî Bakr also went to Syria fil tijâra (Alghâbî, xvii, 359; Ibn Hâjar, Isâba, iv, 168, no. 5, 143, s.v.);
26 He was a member of the caravan that triggered the battle of Badr on its return from Syria (Ibn Hishâm, Leben, p. 427; Wâqidî, Maghâţî, i, 28. Both mention Makhrama b. Nawfal as another participant).
27 Zam'a's majjar was Syria (Ibn Hâbib, Munammaq, p. 485). Abû Jahl's son was killed
WHERE WERE THE MECCANS ACTIVE?

Qurashi caravans going to Syria with Meccan caravans. The Muhājrūn knew the way to Yathrib because their caravans used to pass it on their way to Syria. The Prophet saw Meccan caravans between Mecca and Syria on his night journey to Jerusalem, and he himself continued to send merchandise there after the hiyra. Qurashi caravans going to and from Syria are well known from his attempts to intercept them. One such triggered the battle of Badr, and others were captured at Qarada and Iṣ. According to Wāqidi and the sources dependent on him, numerous other campaigns of the Prophet were also aimed at Qurashi caravans travelling between Mecca and Syria, with increasing success. There was a Qurashi diaspora in Syria. Thus Ḥāshim is said to have settled Qurashis in the qurā of Syria. One Qurashi spent a whole year in Syria, while another spent ten. Yet another is said by way of insult by a lion in the Hawrān, where he had gone for trade (Baladhuri, Ansāb, 1, 131). Elsewhere it is a son of Ḥabū Lahab (with or without Ḥabū Lahab himself) who encounters a lion on a trading journey in Syria, though not always in the Hawrān (Abū Nūaym, Dālili, pp. 380 ff.; Māwardi, Alām, p. 107; ʿIṣāsān b. Thābit, Diwān, 1, 145 f.; 11, 110, ad no. 249:3); but there were also some who made him trade at Ḥilābāshā to the south of Mecca rather than in the Hawrān (ibid., 11, 310).

18 Cf. Ibn Ḥabīb, Munāmaqq, pp. 173, 441, where a Tamīmī goes to Syria with Qurashi, and Qurashi who have gone to Syria with bulūfs become embroiled with Tamīmis on the way.

19 Baladhuri, Ansāb, 1, 257.

20 Ibn Hishām, Lebd, pp. 267 and 975 f., where the merchandise is sent with Dihya b. Khalīfa, who is plundered by Juchām, triggering Zayd b. Ḥāritha’s expedition against the latter; cf. Wāqidi, Maghāzī, 11, 564, where merchandise belonging to the Companions is sent with Zayd b. Ḥāritha, who is plundered by iʿzārā, triggering the campaign against Ubayn Qirā.

21 Ibn Hishām, Lebd, pp. 427 ff.; Wāqidi, Maghāzī, 1, 19 ff. If we go by Wāqidi’s account, there was not a single Meccan who did not have a trading interest in Syria, every Qurashi, indeed every Qurashi woman who owned anything at all, having contributed to this caravan (ibid., p. 27). For Qarada and Iṣ, see above, ch. 4, no. 1.

22 Thus Ḥanẓa’s expedition to the coast and the raids of Kharrār, Abwā’, Buwāt, and Ushayra were all triggered by Qurashi caravans, according to Wāqidi, who here as so often knows more than Ibn Isḥāq (Wāqidi, Maghāzī, 1, 9, 11 ff.; cf. Ibn Hishām, Lebd, pp. 419, 421 f.). No fighting took place and no caravans were captured in any of these raids, but later the Muslims captured practically every Qurashi caravan, as we are told in connection with another episode unknown to Ibn Isḥāq, the second raid at Iṣ (Wāqidi, Maghāzī, 11, 627). One such caravan coming from Syria was intercepted by nine recent ‘Abāb converts (Ibn Saʿīd, Taḥaqāt, 1, 196, citing Wāqidi).

23 See above, pp. 109 f.

24 That is, Abān b. Saʿīd (Ibn Ḥajar, Isāba, 1, 181, no. 779, s.v. Bakkā). That is ʿUmayya, who is said to have left Mecca after losing a munāfara with Ḥāshim,
to have worked as a caravaneer in the Balqa'. And there was no lack of Qurashis for 'Uthmán b. al Huwayrith to round up in Syria at the time of his unsuccessful political ambitions.

We are also given some information of how they went there and where they went. One terminus was Gaza, visited by Hāshim and later by Abū Sufyān and other members of 'Abd Manāf. Another was Būṣā (Bostra), the site of a famous fair at which Muhammad himself is said to have traded once as Khadija's agent. The Meccans are also described as having visited Ayla and Adhri'āt. They do not seem to have frequented Jerusalem, and the evidence for their presence in Damascus is somewhat feeble but they are sometimes said to have gone as far thus starting the enmity between Umayyads and Hashimites (Ibn Sa’d, Tabaqāt, 1, 76; Ibn Ḥabīb, Munāmaq, p. 106; Ibn Qutayba, Mā’ārif, p. 139; Abī’l-Baqā’, Manāqib, fol. 12a; cf. above, ch. 4, n70).

66 Ḥastān b. Thabīr, Dīwān, no. 2062 (ed. Hirschfeld ccxxv, 2).
67 Ibn Ḥabīb, Munāmaq, p. 180: Abū’l Baqā’, Manāqib, fol. 11a. The story in Aqūnā, u. 243, would also testify to a Qurashi diaspora in Syria if “Sharāt” were not a mistake for “Sarāt” (cf. below, n92).
68 Details about the routes followed are proffered by Wāqidi, Maghāzī, 1, 28; 11, 627; Bakri, Mu‘jam, pp. 416, 550, s.v. Raḍwa, al-Ma‘raqa; Suyūṭī, citing Ikrīma via Ibn Abī Ḥātim (cf. above, n70); cf. also Lammens, Meque, pp. 142 ff.
69 Wāqidi, Maghāzī, 1, 28, 200; cf. above, n21, for Abū Sufyān; above, p. 110, for Hāshim.

70 On the fair, see Marziqū, Ḥamzīna, 11, 169 f.; on Muhammad’s visits, both as a child and as an agent of Khadija, see the references given below, ch. 9. Talḥa also visited Būṣā, a traditional site for dāl’il al-muhawwara stories (cf. above, n14). On the town itself, see EP, s.v. Būṣā.
71 They went by the coastal route via Ayla to Palestine in the winter and via Būṣā and Adhri’āt in the summer, according to Ikrīma cited by Suyūṭī (above, n20); cf. also Wāqidi, Maghāzī, 1, 28.
72 A late dāl’il story has it that Umayya b. Abī’l Saʿl al-Thaqāfī went to “Gaza or Jerusalem,” apparently accompanied by Abū Sufyān (Ibn Kathīr, Bidāya, u, 224). But Wāqidi would only admit Gaza (cf. below, n54), and the absence of Jerusalem from the traditions on Meccan trade is striking.
73 In a variant version of the story referred to in the preceding note, Abū Sufyān and Umayya b. Abī’l Saʿl go on a trading journey to Syria, which takes them all the way to the Ghawṭa of Damascus, where they stay for two months (Ibn Kathīr, Bidāya, u, 220 ff., citing Ibn ‘Asākir; Ibn ‘Asākir, Tabākhī, ii, 115 ff.). It was in the Ghawṭ that a Qurashi trader encountered a lion according to some (above, n37), and it is implied that Abū al Ṭālib b. Abī Bakar’s trade took him to Damascus (Aqūnā, xvii, 359 f.). Walīd b. al Mughira is said to have owed money to a bishop of Damascus by the name of Muqawqis (n56), but elsewhere he owes it to the bishop of Najrān (Ibn Ḥabīb, Munāmaq, p. 226; Kis-
WHERE WERE THE MECCANS ACTIVE?

north as Jordan, and Jacob of Edessa has Muhammad trade in not only (Provinia) Arabia, Palestine, and Phoenicia, but also Tyre, a city that is not mentioned in Muslim accounts of Meccan trade at all. On the whole, it is the desert towns and districts in the triangle formed by Gaza, Ayla, and Busra that get the attention in the Islamic tradition, not the Hellenized cities of the coast and their hinterland.

EGYPT

From Syria, Hashim is supposed to have gone to Ankara on occasion; but whatever lies behind this claim, it is not repeated in connection with the later Meccans. There is, however, a fair amount of evidence linking them with Egypt. Thus 'Amr b. al-'As is said to have sold perfume and leather there, as mentioned already. Safwan b. Umayya is supposed to have devoted himself exclusively to trade with this country. Mughira b. Shu'ba once went to Egypt for trade together with other Thaqafis and Qurashis. One version of the Hudaybiyya treaty envisages the Meccans as passing through Medina on their way to Syria and

ter, "Some Reports," p. 73, citing Zubayr b. Bakkar; and elsewhere still it is a Thaqafi who owes money to him (Ibn Hisham, Lehm, p. 273). A governor of Damascus is said once to have acted as judge in a dispute between two Arabs, but neither was a Qurashi (Baladur, Ansâb, i, 282). Watt's claim that the Meccans traded with Damascus and Gaza in the summer and the Yemen in the winter would seem to rest on his own exegesis of Surat Qura'ysh (cf. El., s. 5. Kuraysh, compare also Watt, Muhammad, Prophecy and Statesman, p. 1).

They traded in Palestine and Jordan, according to Muqtil, Ta'if, fol. 253a; and it was also in Jordan that Umayya spent his exile, according to Abu'l-Baqâ' (above, ch. 4 n70). Wajidi, on the other hand, is explicit that they, or at least the members of 'Abd Manaf, did not go beyond Gaza (Maghâzi, 1, 206).

Guidi, Chronica Minora, p. 326 = 250.

Ibn Sa'd, Ta'baqat, 1, 75.

They are sometimes said to have traded in Rûm (cf. the references given above, ch. 1 n70; above, n10; below, n72), and Lammens takes Rûm to mean Anatolia ("République marchande," p. 26, on the basis of the reference cited below, n73). But presumably it simply means the Byzantine empire in general. Consequentially, Hashim's connections with Ankara arise from the fact that members of the Arab tribe of Iyad were believed to have settled there (Agabâni, xxxi, 358).

Kindl, Governors, pp. 61.

Cf. above, n22.

Ahmad b. Yahyä al-Baladurî, Ansâb al-aabrîs, fol. 1, 211 l. 31 (I owe this reference to Dr. G. M. Hinds).
ARABIA WITHOUT SPICES

Egypt.61 And Egypt replaces the Yemen in one version of the ilaj-tradition on Hāshim and his brothers.62 Given that 'Amr's visit to Alexandria is apocryphal, we have no information on where they went. One would expect them to have visited Sinai, a curiously familiar place in the Qur'an,63 as well as the eastern desert; but how much further they went is an open question.

The Yemen

The Yemen is generally described as the secondmost important majar, place of trade, of the Meccans. Thus the two journeys mentioned in Sūrat Quraysh are commonly identified as journeys to Syria and the Yemen,64 though the Yemen is sometimes omitted in favour of two journeys to Syria or one to Egypt or to Ethiopia.65 Individual Qurashīs mentioned as having trading relations with the Yemen include Hāshimites such as 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (whose journeys are not, however, explicitly identified as trading journeys),66 'Abdās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib67 and Ibn 'Abbās,68 but above all Makhzūmīs: Abū Rabī'ā b. al Mughīra,69 Walīd

---

61 Tabārī, Jāmi', xxvi. 55 (ad 48: 25).
62 Suhaylī, Raud, t. 48 (where the countries involved are Syria, Persia, Egypt, and Ethiopia); similarly Jāḥiz in Kitab, "Mecca and Tamīm," p. 137 (Byzantium, Egypt, and Ethiopia).
63 Cf. 23:20; 9:52 (the rest of the attestations refer to the Sinai of Moses).
64 Cf. Muṣṭa'il, Tafṣīr, fol. 353a; Tabārī, Jāmi', xxx. 199; Qummi, Tafṣīr, u. p. 444; Ibn Habīl, Munammag, p. 162, citing Kalbī; 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Qutayba, Tā'ṣīl al-mubākhalat qurān, p. 319; and numerous others.
65 Cf. above, n.20. For Egypt replacing the Yemen, see above, n.62. For identification of the two ribās journeys to Syria and Ethiopia, see Ya'qūbī, Ta'rikh, 1, 280; 'Abd al-Hamīd b. Abīl-Hasayn Ibn Abīl-Hadīd, Sharh nahj al-balāgha, iii. 457, citing Zubayr b. Bakrār; above, n.22 (where Safwān's view is of exegetical origin).
66 Cf. Ibn Ḥabīb, Munammag, pp. 123, 164 f., 538 f.; Azraqī, Makka, p. 99; Ağbānī, ḥ, vi, 75; Ibn Qutayba, Manāṣirī, p. 241, where he goes to the Yemen and stays with a king who tells him about hair dye, or with some 'alīm who predicts the Prophet, or goes to congratulate Sayf b. Dhi Yazān on the expulsion of the Ethiopians, receiving more predictions of the Prophet. That some of these journeys were envisaged as trading journeys is implied by Ibn Kathīr, Bidāyā, u. 251; Abū Nu'aym, Dalā'īl, p. 89, where he goes to the Yemen with riblat al-tibātā, this time to get predictions and advice from a rabbi.
67 He would go to the Yemen for the purchase of perfume (Tabārī, Ta'rikh, ser. 1, p. 1,162). A lengthy dalā'il al-nabawwa story has him go to the Yemen together with Abū Sufyān ( Ağbānī, vi. 348).
68 Ağbānī, vi. 349.
69 Azraqī, Makka, p. 175.
b. al-Mughira,\(^7\) Fākiḥ b. al Mughīra,\(^7\) Hishām b. al-Mughira and his sons,\(^7\) as well as 'Abdallāh b. Abīl-Rabīʿa\(^7\) and 'Umāra b. al-Walīḍ.\(^7\) Makhzūmīs are also associated with the Yemen, as well as Ethiopia, in other ways.\(^7\) Dalā'il al-nabawwa stories in which Abū Sufyān visits the Yemen can presumably be rejected,\(^7\) but other Qurashīs are occasionally seen on trading journeys in the Yemen, too.\(^7\) Explicit mention of caravans travelling between Mecca and the Yemen for purposes of trade is nonetheless rare.\(^7\)

There is also little explicit information on where the traders went. Ibn

\(^7\) He was one of the Qurashi traders who returned in a caravan from the Yemen (thus Ibn Ḥabīb, Munammāq, p. 163) or from Ethiopia via the Yemen (thus ibid., p. 246; Ḥassān b. Thābit, Dīwān, p. 265); and the bishop of Najrān is said to have owed him money (above, n53).

\(^7\) He, too, was a member of the caravan that returned from either the Yemen or Ethiopia (Ibn Ḥabīb, Munammāq, pp. 163, 246 f.)

\(^7\) Hishām b. al-Mughīra met his wife, Asmāʾ bint Mukhhāriba, while staying at Najrān, presumably as a trader (Baladhurī, Anṣāb, I, 209; cf. Kister, "Some Reports," p. 64, where he appears among Meccan traders in Ṣanʿāʾ). Trading with al Rūm waʾl ʿabbāb is attested for his two sons in poetry (Goldziher, "Hutej a," p. 520, xxx, 6 f.; the scholar adds Persia, though not the Yemen).

\(^7\) He traded with the Yemen and sent perfume to his mother, Asmāʾ bint Mukharribā (who had married Abū Rabiʿaʾa on the end of the marriage mentioned in the preceding note); she would sell it in Medina. He also had a large number of Ethiopian slaves (Aghāmī, I, 64 f.).

\(^7\) He is said to have gone to either Syria or the Yemen with ʿUmar as his henchman (Ibn Ḥabīb, Munammāq, p. 147); but he is more strongly associated with Ethiopia.

\(^7\) Huḥayra b. Abī Wāḥib fled to Najrān after the conquest, presumably because he had connections there (Baladhurī, Anṣāb, I, 362; II, 41; Wāṣṭi, Maghāzī, II, 847). ʿIkrima b. Abī Jahl also fled to the Yemen, according to some, with the intention of crossing from there to Ethiopia (below, n109). ʿUmāra b. al-Walīḍ traded in Ethiopia (below, n96), and there was a ḍār al ʿulāj at which Ethiopians were to be found in the Makhzūmī quarter in Mecca (below, n104). The Makhzūmīs who are said to have returned from the Yemen in one version are said to have returned from Ethiopia in the other (above, n70 f.); and though one Makhzūmī is associated with the Yemen, it is Ethiopian trade that is attested for his sons (above, n72). In a non-commercial vein, Makhzūmīs and others are said to have gone to the Yemen and to have run out of water in what appears to be a variant on the theme of the digging of the well (Aghāmī, XV, 19; cf. below, ch. 1, p. 233).

\(^7\) Cf. above, n67; cf. the even more elaborate story in Ibn ʿAsākir, Taḥdīb, III, 148 f.; Ibn Kathīr, Balāʿa, II, 223, 224, where he alternates between Syria and the Yemen.

\(^7\) Cf. Ibn Ḥabīb, Munummāq, pp. 140, 163, 246.

\(^7\) Apart from the caravan returning from either the Yemen or Ethiopia and those in which Abū Sufyān are supposed to have gone, I have not come across any (cf. above, n67, 70 f., 76).
al-Kalbī’s *ilāf*-tradition merely has Mutṭalib (who does in the Yemen what Hāshim does in Syria) die on his way to the Yemen in the nonde-script place of Radmān²⁹ and contrary to what one might expect, they are not attested at Aden, the major Yemeni emporium and the ultimate source of Yemeni perfume at the time.³⁰ Ṣanʿā’ is usually mentioned in political rather than commercial contexts.³¹ A man from Ṣanʿā’ is on record as having owed money to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and one version of the story of the desecration of Abrahā’s church places Qurašī merchants in this city.³² But one of the rival versions places the events in Najrān,³³ and here we are on firmer ground. Thus it was in Najrān that Hishām b. al-Mughīra settled, and to Najrān that Hubayra h. Abī Wahb fled after the conquest of Mecca, just as it was to the Bishop of Najrān that Wallād h. al-Mughīra owed money, according to some.³⁴ All three men were Makhzūmīs. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib is supposed to have been a friend of the bishop of Najrān,³⁵ and he also had a Jewish protégé (*jār*) from Najrān who used to trade in the markets of Tihāma.³⁶ It is Najrān


³⁸ Cf. above, ch. 4, no. 3.

³⁹ It is identified as the capital of Abrahā and other Abyssinian rulers of the Yemen (Ibn Hishām, *Leben*, pp. 36, 43); and it was here, more precisely to Qaṣr Ghumān, that Quraysh (led by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib) and others went to congratulate Sayf h. Dhi Yazàn on the expulsion of the Abyssinians (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munāmmāq*, pp. 538 ff.; A ḡbīnī, xvii, 31 1 ff.; Azraqī, *Makkā*, pp. 98 ff.; Abū Nuʿaym, *Dalāʾīl*, pp. 56 ff.). But there is no account of Meccans visiting its fair, for all that it was one of some importance; cotton, saffron, dyes, stuffs, cloth, and iron were exchanged there, according to Marzūqī (Azmīnī, n, 164), cloaks, beads, and skins according to Qalqashandi (*Ṣabh*, i, 411), and Tawhīdī (*Iltiṣār*, pp. 85).

⁴⁰ Kister, “Some Reports,” p. 75, and p. 64, citing *Niḥāyat al-ʿirāb*. Alternatively, it was a group of Kinānīs who desecrated Abrahā’s church here (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munāmmāq*, p. 68), the Kinānīs in question being intercalators enraged by Abrahā’s proposed diversion of the pilgrimage (Abū Nuʿaym, *Dalāʾīl*, pp. 107 ff., citing Ibn ʿIshāq and others; Ibn Hishām, *Leben*, pp. 29 ff.).

⁴¹ Kister, “Some Reports,” p. 68; Abu Nuʿaym, *Dalāʾīl*, p. 101. This story in its turn sounds like a variant of the one in which Ethiopians are robbed in Mecca (below, ch. 6, p. 143; and note that though the looting takes place in Najrān, the victim (Abrahā’s grand son, who had been on pilgrimage to Mecca in apparent ignorance of Abrahā’s proposed diversion of the pilgrimage) complains of what has happened to him in *Mecca*

⁴² Above, nn70, 72, 75.


WHERE WERE THE MECCANS ACTIVE?

that is mentioned in the one passage suggestive of where the Meccans obtained their Yemeni perfume, and they could certainly have bought their Yemeni clothing there, too. It was to the tribe of Murâd in the Najrân area that they were reputed to have sold donkeys. They were also reputed to have sold them to Daws of the Sarât, and it seems to have been from Daws and other tribes of the Sarât that they obtained their Ethiopian slaves. Abu Sufyân had an important Azdī ally (halîf) from the Sarât, and Qurashi traders were apparently numerous there. Qurashi traders also visited the annual fair at Hubâsha, six days' journey to the south of Mecca in the territory of Bâriṣ, an Azdī tribe; some of

67 As mentioned already, Asmâ' bint Mukharrika met Hishâm b. al-Mughira at Najrân (above, 172). What was she doing there? She was not a native of Najrân, her father being a Tamîmi and her mother a Bâkiyya, and she was a widow when Hishâm met her (Balîdhuri, Ansâb, I, 204). Presumably, then, she was engaging in business (compare Khadija, another widow who engaged in trade, and Hind bint 'Uba, a divorcée who did the same, cf. below, ch. 6, p. 133). After she had settled in Medinah, her business was in perfume that she received from the Yemen (above, 113). It is thus likely that she received it from Najrân.

68 The Prophet imposed an annual tribute of two thousand cloaks on the Najrânis (Balîdhuri, Futûh, pp. 64 f.).

69 Above, ch. 4, no. 6.

70 Thus Bilâl is said to have been an Ethiopian musullad (that is, non-Arab born in slavery in Arabia) from the Sarât (Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqât, III, 212; Balîdhuri, Ansâb, I, 184). Anasa was likewise a musullad from the Sarât, whereas Abu Kahsha was one from the land of Daws (Balîdhuri, Ansâb, I, 478), and 'Amir b. Fuhayra was a musullad of Aţz (ibid., p. 193). Nahdiyya was a musullada of B. Nahd b. Zayd, presumably the Yemeni rather than the Syrian group of that tribe (ibid., p. 196; cf. Caskel, Gamûba, II, s.v. Nahd b. Zaid). And it was at Hubâsha, a market located in Tihâmah, that a black slave girl was sold (above, ch. 3, 170).

71 That is Abu Uzyahhir al Dawsî, whose story is given in full in Ibn Habib, Munammag, pp. 234 ff.: cf. also Fâsann b. Thâbit, Dîwân, n. 258 ff.; Ibn Hishâm, Leben, pp. 273 ff. Abu Bakr also had a halîf from the Sarât (Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqât, VIII, 276). And note that the musullad, presumably freedmen, of 'Abd al-Lâîr who claimed to be halîfis of the latter presented themselves as Yemenis of Azd (ibid., p. 246).

72 Cf. Agbânî, II, 243. Here we are told that when Hishâm b. al Walid killed Abu Uzyahhir al Dawsî, Abu Sufyân's above-mentioned halîf, Quraysh sent someone to the Sarât to warn man bidâh min sujûr Quraysh, while at the same time Azd went to warn his own people. It makes no sense that Qurashi traders in Syria should have been warned, while those in the Sarât would certainly have wanted to get out as soon as possible, so Sarât must here be a mistake for Sarât. Elsewhere we hear of a Qurashi in the Sarât who was pursued by Dawsîs on the news of the murder of Abu Uzyahhir and who was saved by a woman whose house he entered (Balîdhuri, Ansâb, I, 136; Ibn Hishâm, Leben, p. 276, Hassân b. Thâbit, Dîwân, II, 263).
them bought cloth there.\textsuperscript{91} Trading in “the Yemen” would thus seem to have meant trading in the area between Mecca and Najrân, on the fringes of the land occupied by Ethiopians and Persians, rather than in the Yemen itself.

**Ethiopia**

Ethiopia is a problematic case. It is identified as a Qurashi \textit{matjar} of some importance in both Ibn al-Kalbi’s account and elsewhere;\textsuperscript{92} yet there is practically no concrete evidence on the trade in question. One story has Qurashi traders return from Ethiopia via the Yemen, but some hold the Yemen is a problematic case.

Another has ’Umâra b. al-Walid al-Makhzûmî sail to Ethiopia with 'Amr b. al-'Âs for trade,\textsuperscript{93} but the exegetical variants on this story make it reflect political rather than commercial relations.\textsuperscript{94} Yet another exegetical

\textsuperscript{91} Cf. below, ch. 7 n23. One Qurashi who bought cloth there was Hakûm b. Hizâm (Bakrî, \textit{Mu'jam}, p. 264).

\textsuperscript{92} It was a \textit{matjar} for Quraysh in which they found \textit{risâq} \textit{min al-riq wa-amman} (\textit{Ta'bârî}, \textit{Tâ'rikh}, 1, 181; similarly \textit{id.}, \textit{Jâmî}, IX, 152, in connection with the Muslim migration there). A late version of the \textit{ibagai}-tradition makes it the best land in which the Meccans traded (Kister, “Some \textit{Reports},” p. 61, citing \textit{Nihâya al-harb}); and Safwân b Umayyâ is credited with the view that Quraysh only settled in Mecca for the sake of trade with Syria and Ethiopia (above, n22). “What is your business and why do you come to me if you are not traders?” as the Najâshî asks the emissaries of Quraysh who came for the extradition of the Muslims (Abû Nu'aym, \textit{Dalâ'il}, p. 197).

\textsuperscript{93} Above, n70

\textsuperscript{94} \textit{Agbâni}, IX, pp. 55 ff.; Ibn Ishâq in the recension of Yûnûs b. Bukayr in \textit{Hamîdallâh}, \textit{Sûra}, no. 211.

\textsuperscript{95} The story in which 'Amr and 'Umâra go to Ethiopia on trade is about a Don Juan who overreaches himself and is denounced by 'Amr to the Najâshî. It does not at first sight have much to do with the account in which 'Amr goes to the Najâshî to secure the extradition of the Muslims or the doublet in which he thinks of seeking refuge in Ethiopia itself. In all three, though, 'Amr is brought together with the Najâshî; and as Raven has demonstrated, the story about the Muslim refugees is an exegetical one spun around a Qur'anic passage (3:198) with material borrowed from that about 'Umâra and 'Amr. This is confirmed by the fact that some sources let 'Umâra and 'Amr go together to Ethiopia to secure the extradition of the Muslims. Letting 'Umâra come to a sticky end on this rather than a separate occasion (thus Muṣ'ab b. 'Abdallâh al-Zubayrî, \textit{Kitâb nasab Quraysh}, p. 323; Abû Nû'aym, \textit{Dalâ'il}, pp. 196 ff.; citing 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr; \textit{Halabi, Sûra}, pp. 321 ff.; cf. also the discussion in \textit{Balâduri}, \textit{Anâb}, v, 232 ff.). Raven could well be right that the story in which 'Umâra and 'Amr go together for trade is the original one. It is certainly an excellent piece of storytelling. But all the stories involved could also be seen
WHERE WERE THE MECCANS ACTIVE?

story has a mawšá of B. Sahm, the clan of 'Amr b. al-Āṣ, sail to Ethiopia for trade in the company of two Christian traders from Palestine, but a variant version has the mawšá go to Syria. No doubt there will be other stories in the huge tradition; but the enthusiastic claim that “evidence for the brisk commercial intercourse between Mecca and Abyssinia is everywhere” can scarcely be said to be correct.

There is no information on where the traders went in Ethiopia. The name of Aduris, the famous Ethiopian port, is unknown to the sources on pre-Islamic Arabia and the rise of Islam; and though all the stories on Qurashis in Ethiopia, be it as traders or as diplomats, involve the Negus, the tradition also fails to mention Axum. In fact, it would seem to be wholly ignorant of Ethiopian place names. Hashim dies in Caza and Munalib makes it to Radmān in Ibn al-Kalbi’s ilāf-tradition, but their brother 'Abd Shams is despatched in 'Iqqa itself.

How then are we to envisage the trade between Mecca and Ethiopia? One suggestion is that it was the Ethiopians who came to Mecca (or at least Shu‘ayba) rather than the other way round. Of Ethiopians in different elaborations of common material; and if this is so, all the evidence we are left with is the common theme that 'Amr b. al-Āṣ had dealings with the Najāshī (cf. W. Raven, “Some Islamic Traditions on the Negus of Ethiopia”).

Cf. above, ch. 4 n. 12. It is in Kalbi’s version that he goes to Syria (Ibn 'Asākir, Ta’rikh, x, 471), and in Muqāṭil’s that he sails to Ethiopia (ibid. pp. 471 f.). Since the silver cup that he carried was intended as a gift for the king in Kalbi’s account, one would assume that the journey was originally to Ethiopia: the Byzantine king did not reside in Syria, whereas Qurashi traders are presented as having frequented the Najāshī. But then the non-Muslims who accompany him (and who are required for the legal pu‘um) are two Syrian Christians, Tānim al-Dārī and another, even in Muqāṭil’s account, suggesting that both versions are confabulations of earlier ones. The fact that the protagonist is a Sahmī (usually by waṣāla) should probably be taken to link the story to Ethiopia, though 'Amr b. al-Āṣ, as has been seen, traded in Syria, too. But then the protagonist is a mawšá of B. Hāshim in Kalbi’s version, suggesting that there was once a story in which the journey went to the Yemen. The evidence is thus somewhat slippery.

It is true that pre-Islamic and later poets mention ships known as 'adawāt, and that these are generally taken to be from Adulis (thus Lammens, Mecque, p. 350, with numerous references; Jāsh, Bēdīnīnībed, p. 149; Hourani, Seafaring, p. 2). But Muslim scholars invariably identify them as coming from a port in Bahrain (Bakrī, Mu‘jam, p. 648; Ya‘qūt, Baladān, iii, p. 623, both s. v. ‘Adawāt), an identification that would seem to go back to Asma’ (thus the scholar in Kuthayyir ‘Azza, Dīwān, ii, 138). In view of the whereabouts of Ṭārafa, one of the poets to mention these ships, this identification is likely to be right.

Mecca there is, in fact, some recollection. Thus one story about the origins of Quṣayy's fortune is that he killed and plundered an Ethiopian noble ('aṣīm) who had come to Mecca for trade. One version of the story of how Meccan trade came to an end has it that Ethiopians would bring foodstuffs to Jeddah (ṣīr) so that the Meccans no longer had to make their tiresome journeys to Syria. And the Makhzūmī quarter in Mecca is said to have had a dār al-'ulūj at which Ethiopians were to be found. Residues of Abraha's army are also supposed to have stayed behind in Mecca, working as craftsmen and shepherds. Some, though not all, of these stories could be taken to reflect the presence in Mecca of Ethiopian freemen rather than free traders; and the tradition is at all events adamant that the Meccans visited Ethiopia itself, where they had dealings with its ruler. The suggestion that Ethiopian traders would visit Mecca thus does not dispose of the problem.

Another possibility would be that Meccan trade with Ethiopia was not a trade with Ethiopia at all, but rather one with the Yemen under Ethiopian rule. It is the same clan, Makhzūm, which is associated with trade in both Ethiopia and the Yemen; and given the dearth of information on the Ethiopia trade, it is odd that some sources should present Meccan trade as one with Syria and Ethiopia, or Syria, Egypt, and Ethiopia, to the exclusion of the Yemen; if ḥabasba here meant Abyssinians who happened to be in the Yemen rather than Abyssinia itself, the claim would be less odd. But though one source duly identifies the ruler from whom Quraysh obtained permission to trade in the Yemen as an Abyssinian, the tradition does not go so far as to conflate this ruler, or other rulers of the Yemen, with the Negus himself. Moreover, it in-

---

102 Ibn Ḥabīb, Munammatq, p. 18. The alternative story is that he inherited the fortune of a foreigner who had come to Mecca for the sale of leather (above, ch. 4 n3 1). Putting the two together, one might conclude that it was the Ethiopians who sold skins in Mecca rather than the Meccans who sold them in Ethiopia, a good example of the shapelessness of our evidence.

103 Above, n11.

104 Kister, "Some Reports," p. 73, citing Fākihi.

105 Azraqī, Makka, p. 97.

106 Cf. above, nn62, 63. The traditions identifying the journeys asgoing to Syria, Ethiopia, and the Yemen could be read in the same vein (Ibn Sa'id, Tabaqät, 1, 75; cf. Tha'ālīt t, Thibār, p. 145).

107 Kister, "Some Reports," p. 61, citing Niḥāyat al-irāb (Abraha). In this version Hāshim himself concludes all four agreements.
WHERE WERE THE MECCANS ACTIVE?

It is thus also unsatisfactory.

A third possibility is that Quraysh would trade with Ethiopia as residents in the Yemen rather than as citizens of Mecca. Insofar as they went to Ethiopia, they must have done so via the Yemen. The Muhājirūn are admittedly said to have sailed there directly from Shu’ayba; but they did so in ships, clearly foreign, that merely happened to put in there, and it was to the Yemen that ‘Ikrima b. Abī Jahl fled after the conquest of Mecca with the intention, according to Ṭabarî, of crossing to Ethiopia. It was also via the Yemen that the above-mentioned traders in Ethiopia returned. According to Wāqīḍī, ‘Ikrima embarked somewhere on the coast of Tihāma (rather than at Aden), and this agrees well enough with the information on where the Meccans traded in the Yemen. All this and the fact that the same Makhzūm are associated with Yemeni and Ethiopian trade could be taken to mean that Meccan residents in the Yemen participated in the local trade with Ethiopia, selling local rather than Meccan goods in Ethiopia and distributing Ethiopian goods locally rather than at the Meccan markets. The tradition does, of course, insist that it was Meccan rather than Yemeni leather goods that the Negus esteemed so highly, and generally thinks of the Ethiopia trade as conducted from Mecca itself; but this could be explained away, and we certainly never see Qurashīs distributing Ethiopian goods at markets such as ‘Ukāz. If Qurashi trade with Ethiopia was conducted by a diaspora in the Yemen, it would be less odd that the tradition remembers nothing about it except the fact that it existed.

Against this explanation must be set the fact that some accounts present the Ethiopia trade as an extension of Meccan links with Byzantine Syria rather than with the Yemen. Thus one version of the Ṭāfir-tradition has it that it was the Byzantine emperor who obtained permission for

108 Cf. above, ch. 1 n.10.

109 Tābarī, Taʾrīkh, ser. 1, p. 1,640, citing Ibn Iṣḥāq, Ibn Hishām, Leiden, p. 819, merely says that he went to the Yemen. According to Wāqīḍī, Maḥḍī, u. 851, he embarked somewhere on the coast of Tihāma; Wāqīḍī does not say that his destination was Ethiopia, but this can presumably be taken for granted.

110 Cf. above, n.70.

111 Cf. above, n.109.

112 Syrian, Egyptian, and Iraqi goods were sold at one of the greatest fairs ever held at ‘Ukāz, but apparently not Ethiopian ones (Marzūqī, Aṣmīna, u. 168). Of the caravan returning from Ethiopia and/or the Yemen we are merely told that it carried the belongings of a Jadhīmī who had died in the Yemen (Ibn Ḥabīb, Munāmīnī, pp. 163, 246).
Quraysh to trade in Ethiopia. An isolated tradition claims that ʿAbd Shams, the traditional founder of the Ethiopia trade, died in Gaza on a par with his brother Ḥāshim. The mawla who sails to Ethiopia with Christians from Palestine is presumably envisaged as setting out from Ayla. And ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ is supposed to have traded in Syria, Egypt, and Ethiopia alike. On the whole it seems reasonable to dismiss this evidence as triggered by, among other things, the well-known relations between Byzantium and Ethiopia and to stay with the explanation of the Ethiopia trade as one conducted by a diaspora in the Yemen. But no solution seems to be exactly right.

What makes the problem so intractable is the fact that Ethiopia is extraordinarily prominent from a political and religious point of view in the traditions on the rise of Islam. Ethiopia is here a land beyond the sea in which both Muslims and non-Muslims will seek refuge, and the ruler of which is familiar to all, though especially to the Muslims: he receives them, refuses to hand them over, and in due course converts to Islam as the only foreign ruler to accept Muḥammad’s invitation to adopt the new religion. This fits well with the fact that there is a large number of Ethiopian loan words in Arabic relating, above all, to things religious.

Ibn Saʿd, Taḥāqāt, 1, p. 78.

Ibid., iv, p. 19, where the bishop of Gaza comes to Muḥammad at Tabūk and tells him that ʿalaka ʿindi Ḥāshim wa ʿAbd ʿĀṣ wa humūt ajiran wa-badhnihum wa-muḥāṣabumā. This is one out of several traditions in which Ḥāshim is presented as having been active shortly before the Prophet. This an account referred to already (above, ni 14, 107) presents him as having negotiated with Jabala b. ʿAyham in Syria, that is, the last Ghassānid king who died in exile after the Muslim conquest of Syria, though the ruler on the Persian side is Kaʾbād (d. 531). The same account has Ḥāshim negotiate with Abraha, who also flourished too late (c. 540), especially if we consider that the Islamic tradition credits him with an expedition against Mecca in Muḥammad’s year of birth (about 570). But Ibn Saʿd, Taḥāqāt, 1, 75, similarly cites Kalbī as saying that Ḥāshim negotiated the treaty between Quṣayr and Heraclius (d. 641)! Chronologically, the tradition is completely at sea.

Cf. above, ni 8.

Some of the evidence could be dismissed on other grounds. Thus the fact that the mawla sails to Ethiopia in the company of Syrian Christians could well be a result of conflation (cf. above, ni 8). ʿAmr’s trade in Egypt (above, r 38) is probably generated by the fact that he was the conqueror of Egypt; and his links with Ethiopia can also be queried, as will be seen: the ʿAmr with whom the tradition associates the Naṣāḥi is not always identified as ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (cf. below, ch. 4), pp. 21 f.). He might thus have traded in Syria alone (above, r 36).

See for example, Taḥārī, Taʿrīkh, scr. 1, pp. 1,568 ff.
(though many or most could in principle be south Arabian, too). But it is not easy to say what sort of historical relations this evidence reflects. It is customary to explain it with reference to commercial links, a venerable approach inasmuch as early Muslim scholars did the same. But hardly any of the loan words are commercial terms; the overwhelming majority entered Arabic via the Qur’ān, for all that Muḥammad neither traded in Ethiopia nor went there as a refugee; and practically nothing is known to the tradition about the trade that they are supposed to reflect. It would thus appear misguided to stretch such evidence as we have on trade in order to explain the mysterious Ethiopian link, this link being more likely to explain the evidence on trade when or if it is identified. Meanwhile, one can only say that however we are to envisage Qurashi trade with Ethiopia, it is unlikely to have played a major role in the Meccan economy.

IRAQ

That leaves us with Iraq. Ibn al Kalbi’s ilaq-tradition asserts that the Meccans traded regularly there, and there is some concret evidence in support of this claim. Thus one story has Abū Sufyān accompany a caravan of Qurashis and Thaqafis to Iraq, while another displays him as a trader at Hira. It was also Abū Sufyān and/or Ṣafwān b. Umayya who accompanied the caravan intercepted by the Muslims at Qarada. Ḥakam b. Abī l-‘Ās once went to Hira for the sale of perfume. And Musāfir b. Abī ‘Amr went there to earn money for a dower, engaging in trade, according to some, though others have it that he chose the ca-

18 Niöldeke, Neue Beiträge, pp. 31 ff. The authority for the point that many of them could equally well be south Arabian is Professor A.F. L. Beeston (personal communication).

19 Cf. Tabari, Ta’rikh, ser. 1, p. 1181, citing ‘Urwa on the hijra to Ethiopia, explained with reference to the fact that Ethiopia was a matjar of Quraysh.

20 Agbaini, xii, 106, citing Haytham b. ‘Adi; cited from the Agbaini together with an other version in Ibn Hajar, Itāba, v, no. 6918, s.v. Ghaylān b. Salama; an almost identical version is given by Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khaṭib al Ḳaṣīfī. Luṣf al tadbir, pp. 71 f. (I owe the last two references to Professor M. J. Kister.)

21 Agbaini, ix, 52, citing Nawfali.

22 Above, ch. 4, no. 1.

23 Agbaini, xvii, 36, citing Ibn al-Sikkit and others.
icer method of asking Nu‘mān h. al-Mundhir for help. And according to Ibn al-Kalbi himself, it was Qurashi trading with Hira who brought sndaqa to Mecca. All the individuals mentioned are Umayyads, and the only destination seems to have been Hira. The ilāf-tradition adds no place names, despatching Nawfal, the founder of the Iraqi trade, at Salmān on the route to Iraq in Arabia itself. Some sources, however, add details on the relations that obtained between Quraysh and the tribes along the route in question.

The trouble with these accounts is that they are so contradictory as to cancel one another out. Thus Ibn al-Kalbi claims that Nawfal obtained permission from the Persian emperor (or the king of Hira) for Quraysh to trade in Iraq; but the story that has Abū Sufyān accompany a caravan of Thaqafis and Qurashi to Iraq makes Abū Sufyān exclaim that this is a dangerous undertaking because the Persian has not given them permission to trade in his land, which is no maqar to them. Similarly, Ibn al-Kalbi claims that Nawfal concluded ilāf-agreements with the tribes on the way to Iraq, thereby obtaining safe passage for Quraysh; but other sources (themselves dependent on Ibn al-Kalbi) have it that Quraysh enjoyed automatic inviolability among most of the tribes along the Iraq route, either because Mu‘ādh and their allies respected their direct and indirect ties of kinship with Quraysh or because they regarded Quraysh as holy men. And both claims are contradicted in their turn by the story of Ḥakam b. Abīl-‘Āṣ, for Ḥakam sought jiwar from one of these

14 Aqībī, ix. 50, 51 (he went to Hira, he went to ask Nu‘mān’s help, he went to Nu‘mān to acquire money for a dowel); Mus‘ab, Nawab Quraysh, p. 136 (he went to Hira for trade and died ‘inda ‘l-Nu‘mān).


16 Traditions in which Qurašī traders go elsewhere in Iraq are not known to me, but there is one in which such a trader visits Persia proper. In explanation of Sūra 31:5 (wa‘āmin al-nās man yashiru labas‘al-badīth), Kalbi and Muqāṭit inform us that Nadr b. al-Hārith, a member of ‘Abd al-Dār, used to go as a trader to Persia, where he bought Persian stories (however that is to be envisaged); he would tell these stories to Quraysh back in Mecca, saying that whereas Muhammad told them of ‘Ād and Thamūd, he could tell them about Rustam, Isfandiyār, and the Persian emperors (Wāhidī, Azbāb, p. 259). One would scarcely wish to postulate the existence of a Qurašī trade with Persia on the basis of this.

17 Ibn Ḥalībī, Muhabbar, pp. 164f. Marzūqī, Azmina, ii. 162, both from Ibn al-Kalbi.

18 Above, n120. This contradiction was first noted by Simon, “‘Hums et tālāf”, p. 238.

19 Above, n127. It is Marzūqī who attributes inviolability to them on grounds of their connection with the sanctuary.
WHERE WERE THE MECCANS ACTIVE?

allies of Muṣṭar on his way to Iraq, or, in other words, he made *ad hoc* arrangements for his safety on the way in equal ignorance of Qurashi *ilāfs* and Qurashi inviolability among the tribes in question. Further, we are told that when Quraysh took the route through the territory of Rabi‘a, they would be escorted by the sons of ‘Amr b. Marthad, the chief of Qays b. Ṭha‘alabā, from Bakr b. Wā‘il, thereby obtaining safe passage. This is perhaps compatible with the existence of *ilāfs*-agreements (though hardly with inviolability). But Abū Sufyān and Ṣafwān b. Umayya seem to have been ignorant of this arrangement, given that they were at a loss at what to do when Muḥammad forced them to take their caravan to Syria via the route to Iraq; and when a solution to their problem was proposed in the form of a guide from Bakr b. Wā‘il, who presumably served as their guarantor of safety as well, the guide in question was not a son of ‘Amr b. Marthad, but an unknown man by the name of Furāt b. Ḥayyān.

The tradition thus asserts both that the Meccans had *regular* commercial relations with Ḥi‘rā and that they did not. Presumably then they did not. For one thing, the tradition is more likely to have credited the Meccans with a fictitious *majjar* than to have denied them an *historical* one. For another, the assumption that they did not have regular commercial relations with this area seems to be the prevailing one. The Qaraḍa story presupposes that Quraysh did not trade in Iraq; Abū Sufyān explicitly says as much as leader of the Qurashi-Thaqafi caravan; and Ḥakam b. Abī‘l-‘Aṣrā’im *jīwār* implies the same. Apart from Ibn al-Kalbī, no exegetes mention Iraq or Persia in explanation of the two (or two sets of) journeys mentioned in the Qur‘ān. The descriptions of Qurashi relations with Ḥi‘rā and Rabi‘a along the Iraq route are given in connection with their visits to Dūmat al-Jandal (modern Jawf), and it is neither said nor implied that they used to *continue* to Hi‘ra. The stories that depict Abū Sufyān and Musāfīr as traders in Hi‘ra have variants in which the trade is omitted, and the same is true of Ibn al-Kalbī’s account of

---

130 Above, n.123. The tribe from which he sought *jīwār* was *Ṭayy*, explicitly mentioned by Ibn Ḥabīb and Marzuqī as an ally of Muṣṭar that respected the inviolability of Quraysh.

131 Above, n.127.

132 Cf. above, ch. 4 nn.14 f.

133 For Musāfīr, see above, n.124. It is in connection with Musāfīr that we met Abū Su-
the spread of zanâqa in Mecca, a phenomenon of dubious historicity in itself. Naturally, there is no reason to assert that Qurashi traders never ventured across to Hîra, but their visits must have been rare enough that it is meaningless to speak of a Qurashi trade with Iraq, a point that has in fact been made before.

Meccan trade with foreign states was thus overwhelmingly a trade with Syria and its Egyptian neighbourhood, though commercial relations with the Yemen are also fairly well attested. By the Yemen, however, the sources seem to mean the area between Mecca and Najrân rather than the southernmost corner of the peninsula. From here, apparently, they would cross to Ethiopia, though precisely in what way they traded here is uncertain. They cannot be said to have had regular relations with Iraq.

fyânat Hîra, but it is only in one version that he is explicitly said to have gone there for trade (Agbanî, ix, pp. 50, 51).

134 Cf. above, ch. 2 n 170.

135 Bulliet, Camel and the Wheel, pp. 245 f. (= n 40); Donner, “Mecca’s Food Supplies,” p. 255, with reference to the Qarada story. Cf. also J. M. B. Jones, “‘Al Sîrâ al nabhawiyâ as a Source for the Economic History of Western Arabia at the Time of the Rise of Islam,” 17 f. (where the absence of Persia and Iraq from the ilâf-tradition is noted together with the Qarada story).
WHAT MECCAN TRADE WAS NOT

We are now in a position to propose three negative points about the Meccan export trade. First, it was not a transit trade. Second, it was not a trade of the kind that attracted the attention of the inhabitants of Egypt and the Fertile Crescent. Third, it was not a trade that presupposed control of any trade routes in Arabia.

The first point is easily substantiated. The Meccans are usually envisaged as middlemen in a long-distance trading network. They are assumed to have collected goods, both native and foreign, in south Arabia and Ethiopia and to have transported them to Syria and Iraq for redistribution within the Byzantine and Persian empires. But the goods that they sold in the north were overwhelmingly of north Arabian origin, not south Arabian or Ethiopian, let alone Indian, Southeast Asian, or Chinese. They did purchase perfume in south Arabia for resale further north. But for one thing, most of it was sold in the Hijaz rather than the Byzantine and Persian empires. For another, there is nothing to suggest that any Meccan goods, be they perfume or other, were destined for redistribution within these empires. There was a market for Hijazi leatherware, clothing, and Yemeni perfume in the cities and villages of southern Syria, perhaps even in Hira, but not in Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, or Ctesiphon. When Ibn al-Kalbi tells us that Hashim settled Quraishis in the towns and/or villages of Syria, he takes it for granted that the goods which they sold were intended for local consumption, and this agrees with the way in which the Quraishi sellers of perfume are depicted. And when we are told of Hind bint Utba, the ex-wife of Abū Sufyān, that she borrowed 4,000 dinars from the treasury in the time of 'Umar and set off to trade in the land of Kalb, the

1 Cf. above, ch. 5, pp. 109 f. The same is implied by Hāshim's remark that it would be cheaper for the Syrians. Lammens nonetheless asserted that Quraṣh did not sell manufactured articles, but only raw materials that the Byzantine industry could not do without (Mecca, p. 139).

2 Above, ch. 4, no. 3

133
ARABIA WITHOUT SPICES

Arab tribe in southern Syria, we are hardly to take it that her commercial activities were radically different from those in which Khadija or Abū Sufyān had engaged. The sources, in other words, assume the Meccans to have traded directly with private customers in southern Syria, not to have handed over their wares to wholesalers in Gaza or Damascus. In short, Meccan trade is envisaged as an exchange of local goods. And this exchange is presented as having been conducted overwhelmingly within Byzantium and the Byzantine sphere of influence, not in the Sasanid empire.

As regards the second point, it is obvious that if the Meccans had been middlemen in a long-distance trade of the kind described in the secondary literature, there ought to have been some mention of them in the writings of their customers. Greek and Latin authors had, after all, written extensively about the south Arabians who supplied them with aromatics in the past, offering information about their cities, tribes, political organization, and caravan trade; and in the sixth century they similarly wrote about Ethiopia and Adulis. The political and ecclesiastical importance of Arabia in the sixth century was such that considerable attention was paid to Arabian affairs, too; but of Quraysh and their trading centre there is no mention at all, be it in the Greek, Latin, Syriac, Aramaic, Coptic, or other literature composed outside Arabia before the conquests.

This silence is striking and significant. It is so striking that attempts have been made to remedy it. Thus we are told that Quraysh are indirectly attested in Pliny’s Dabaneoritis regio, that Ptolemy mentions Mecca under the name of Macoraba, a name supposed also to be reflected in Pliny’s portus Macborbae, identified as Jedda (sic), and that Ammianus Marcellinus likewise mentions Mecca, this time under the name

3 Tabari, Taʾrikh, ser. 1, pp. 2766 f. Compare the similar story told ibid. about ʿUṭba b. Abī Sufyān, who had engaged in trade as governor of the tribe of Kināna.

4 H. von Wissmann, “Makoraba,” with reference to Pliny, Natural History, vi, 150.

5 Of. A. Grohmann, “Makoraba,” with reference to Ptolemy, Geography, vi, 7: 32 and earlier literature. This identification has been accepted by El, s.v. Ka’ba.

6 Thus Grohmann, “Makoraba,” citing Glicher with reference to Pliny, Natural History, vi, 150. Von Wissmann, on the other hand, locates portus Makorbae opposite the island of Naʾmān in the northern end of the Red Sea and finds Jeddah in Ptolemy’s Argo Kōmē (H. von Wissmann, “Madiama,” col. 539; id., “Makoraba”).

134
WHAT MECCAN TRADE WAS NOT

of Hierapolis. All these suggestions should be dismissed out of hand. Dabangorius regio cannot be construed as *Dbû Bani Quraysh, "the (area) pertaining to Bani Quraysh," as von Wissmann would have it. For one thing, such a construction would be South Arabian rather than Arabic, the language one would have expected to be reflected here. For another, the expression "Bani Quraysh" is impossible, Quraysh being no patronymic: as a descent group Quraysh were Banû Fihr. But above all, Pliny locates the region in question in southeast Arabia, more precisely somewhere between Ommana and the Ḥadramawt, and the same is true of *portus Maçoraba, mentioned in the same passage. That places explicitly identified as southeast Arabian should have been misconstrued as Qurashi domains says much about the intoxicating effect of Mecca on the source-critical faculties of otherwise sober scholars. So does the identification of Ptolemy's Maçoraba with Mecca, which has gained almost universal acceptance. It was first made on the ground that the names were vaguely similar and the location vaguely right, Maçoraba being assumed to reproduce a name such as Makka-Rabba, "Great Mecca." But this is a most implausible construction, which has since been replaced by makrâb or mikrâb, meaning temple. But in the first place the root *krb does not denote holiness in Arabic, as opposed to South Arabian, so that once again the language reflected would not be the one expected. In the second place, a name composed of the consonants *mkk cannot be derived from the root *krb. It follows that Ptolemy would be referring to a sanc-

Grohmann, "Makoraba," with reference to Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii, 6: 47.

In Arabic, of course, such a construction would mean "the owner of the one endowed with B. Quraysh." It is not impossible that South Arabian (or for that matter Aramaic) was the lingua franca of the area at the time, but lingua franca do not normally affect place names.

Pliny starts vi, 147, by saying that "we will now describe the coast from Charax onwards" and duly proceeds via Gerrha to Ommana and other ports on the Persian Gulf, which he reaches in vi, 149, arriving in south Arabia with its Chathamuratae and Sabaean frankincense in vi, 154. How then could vi, 150 refer to the coast near Mecca?

Not that von Wissmann was noted for his sobriety, but Grohmann's identifications are no southerder, and there are examples of even wilder proposals by earlier scholars in his "Makoraba."

It was justified with reference to names such as Rabbath-Moab or Rabbath-Ammon (cf. Grohmann, "Makoraba"). But the parallel is false inasmuch as these names are constructs, whereas Makka-Rabba is not. It would at all events have to be Makka al-rabba, but rabba is not used as an adjective in Arabic, nor is Mecca known as Makka al-kubrā.

It is hard to share Rodinson's belief that the name of Mecca could be derived from the South Arabian form behind Makoraba, "perhaps by abbreviation" (Mohammed, pp. 38 f.).

135
tuary town which was not called Mecca. Why then identify the two? Rescue attempts such as mikrāb Makka, "the sanctuary of Mecca," are no better than Makka-Rabba, for all that we clearly need some sort of addition to account for the feminine form reflected in the Greek. The plain truth is that the name of Macoraba has nothing to do with that of Mecca, and that the location indicated by Ptolemy for Macoraba in no way dictates identification of the two. If Macoraba was located in an Arabic-speaking environment, its name is more likely to reflect an Arabic form such as *Muqarraba than a derivation from South Arabian krīb; if it was located among speakers of South Arabian, it cannot have been the city of interest to us; and if Ptolemy mentions Mecca at all, he calls it Moka, a town in Arabia Petraea. Naturally, there is no Mecca in Ammianus Marcellinus.

14 Cf. von Wissmann, "Makoraba." A name such as mikrāb Makka would presumably be rendered in Greek with a final k rather than ba; it is unlikely that Macoraba should reproduce mikrāb with just a feminine ending taken from Makka. Buhl who rightly notes that the name of Mecca cannot be derived from the Semitic word Macoraba, refers to Macoraba's alternative name of Bakka, but this clearly does not help (F. Buhl, Das Leben Muhammad, p. 1031).

15 As von Wissmann asserts in his "Makoraba," Ptolemy locates Lathrippa at longitude 71, and this is accepted by von Wissmann as the longitude for Yathrib (cf. his Ptolemaic map of northern Arabia in "Madīna," col. 528). But Macoraba is located at longitude 73, or, in other words, two degrees further east, giving it a location somewhere in the middle of Arabia instead of near the coast (cf. the Ptolemaic map after Sprenger, Stevenson, and von Wissmann in Groom, Frankincense, p. 86, where this location is duly reproduced; and compare the actual relationship between Mecca and Madīna at p. 192). Naturally, Pliny's longitudes and latitudes are inexact; but if they are inexact, one cannot identify places on the basis of them alone.

16 Cf. Maqārib, a place near Madīna, in Yāqūt, Buldān, IV, 587, s. v.
17 Ptolemy, Geography, v. 17, 5 (this was drawn to my attention by M. A. Cook).
18 Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, Rerum Gestarum Libri, xxi. 6. 47. Ammianus here lists seven civitates eximiae of Arabia Felix, that is, Geopolis, another five cities, plus Dioscuris (presumably Ḥ Ḫatra). Grohmann noted that the five cities in question recur as metropoleis in Ptolemy, where they are listed in the same order and followed by Dioscoridos polis, 100 (Geographia, vi, 7. 35-45). This suggested to him that Ammianus and Ptolemy were using the same list and that Ammianus' Geopolis ought to be mentioned in Ptolemy, 100. He proceeded to find it there in the form of Makoraba, arguing that a variant reading of Geopolis is Hierapolis, or, in other words, that Ammianus translated the name of the sanctuary town where Ptolemy merely transcribed it (Grohmann, "Makoraba"). This conjecture falls on the fact that Ptolemy mentions Geopolis under that very name (Geopolis, vi, 7: 29). Hierapolis is thus a mistaken reading; and given that Makoraba is unlikely to have been Mecca, a reference to it would not have been a reference to Mecca, anyway.
That classical authors should have failed to mention Mecca and Quraysh is not a problem: why read them into Pliny and Ptolemy when it is authors such as Procopius, Nonnosus, and Syriac churchmen who ought to have referred to them? After all, we only make things worse by postulating familiarity on the part of Greco-Roman authors with both Mecca and Quraysh before they mattered, whereas neither was known after they had risen to commercial and political importance. It is the sixth-century silence that is significant, and this silence cannot be attributed to the fact that sources have been lost, though some clearly have.

The fact is that the sources written after the conquests display not the faintest sign of recognition in their accounts of the new rulers of the Middle East or the city from which they came. Nowhere is it stated that Quraysh, or the “Arab kings,” were the people who used to supply such-and-such regions with such-and-such goods: it was only Muhammad himself who was known to have been a trader. And as for the city, it was long assumed to have been Yathrib. Of Mecca there is no mention for a long time; and the first sources to mention the sanctuary fail to give a name for it, whereas the first source to name it fails to locate it in Arabia. Jacob of Edessa knew of the Ka’ba toward which the Muslims prayed, locating it in a place considerably closer to Ptolemy’s Moka than to modern Mecca or, in other words, too far north for orthodox accounts of the rise of Islam; but of the commercial significance of this place he would appear to have been completely ignorant. Whatever the implications of this evidence for the history of the Muslim sanctuary, it is plain that the Qurashi trading centre was not a place with which the subjects of the Muslims were familiar.

Assuming that there was such a thing as Qurashi trade, the silence of the sources must thus be explained with reference to the nature of the trade itself; and there is nothing in the Islamic tradition to suggest that

19 Of Nonnosus’ account, for example, only a short fragment survives in Photius. This account does mention a sanctuary of major importance, but the sanctuary is described as one active only in the holy months, on a par with ‘Ukáz and other pilgrimage fairs, so it is unlikely to have been a city, let alone a city called Mecca (cf. Nonnosus in Photius, Bibliothèque, 1, 5 f.).

20 Cf. above, ch. 5 n19.

21 P. Crome and M. Cook, Hagarism, pp. 171 n8 (on the Continuatio Arabica, which gives Mecca an Abrahamic location between Ur and Harran), and 176 n48 (on the Khuzistâni chronicle and Bar Penkaye, who fail to give a name for it).

22 Ibid., p. 173 n30.
it *should* have attracted attention outside *Arabia*: the sale of leather goods, woollens, and perfume in places such as Buṣrā and Adhriʿāt was not likely to make headlines. If Quraysh were traders, their commercial activities were of a kind conducted in this area since time immemorial.

It follows that the traditional question of how and when the Meeceans gained control of the routes between the Yemen, Syria, Ethiopia, and Iraq is meaningless; and the sources do not, in fact, assert that they were in control of any route or dominated the export trade of any particular locality, let alone that they monopolized the export trade of Arabia at large.

**Mecca-Syria**

The route between Mecca and Syria, traditionally identified as the northern end of the incense route, is assumed by modern scholars to have been controlled by the Ghassānids, who must have been ousted by Quraysh. Thus Simon has it that the fifth clause of the peace treaty between Byzantium and Persia in 561 furnishes decisive proof that the Ghassānids "actively pursued their commerce and without doubt controlled the Syrian part of the incense route." But the clause in question orders the Arabs to bring their goods to Dara and Nisibis in *upper Mesopotamia*, forbidding them to smuggle their goods into the Byzantine and Persian empires by other routes. What it regulates is thus an east-west trade between the Arabs of the Syrian desert and their settled neighbours, not a north-south trade between Syria, Iraq, and Arabia; indeed, why should a north-south trade have figured in a treaty between Byzantium and Persia at all? Whatever the Ghassānid involvement in the east-west trade, the treaty says nothing about their commercial policies in Arabia, and it neither proves nor implies that they were in control of any route. In fact we know nothing about the commercial policies of the Ghassānids, and they are not presented as commercial competitors of Quraysh in the sources. Ibn al-Kalbī’s *ilāf*-tradition has it that it was

---

3. The story cited by Kister, "Merca and Tamūn," p. 121, plays up Quraysh as true Arabs at the expense of the Ghassānids, but reflects no commercial rivalry.
non-Arab traders who were ousted by Quraysh, not Ghassānids; and what Quraysh took over was the task of supplying Mecca with necessities, not that of purveying luxury goods to the Byzantines. There simply is no evidence for a shift from Ghassānid to Meccan control of the northern route.

On the contrary, the tradition gives us to understand that numerous communities, both Arab and non-Arab, were commercially active in northwest Arabia side by side with Quraysh. Even Ibn al-Kalbi’s claim that Quraysh ousted non-Arab traders from Mecca is contradicted by other material. Traders from Syria are supposed to have visited Mecca after Quraysh’s death,16 and they were still there on the eve of Islam. Thus we are told that Byzantine traders were subject to tithes on entering Mecca.17 One Byzantine merchant is on record as having sold an extremely expensive cloak there, and a certain Qimṣa al-Rûmî married his daughter to Nubayh b. al-Ḥajjāj, thereby making the latter’s fortune.18 Jewish traders settling in, or trading with, Mecca are also mentioned in connection with predictions of the Prophet.19 As will be seen shortly, Yemeni traders were active in Mecca, too, as well as further north.

A similar picture is presented for Medina. Thus “Nabataecans” from Syria were still selling foodstuffs here toward the end of the Prophet’s life: it was thanks to them that the Muslims were so well informed about Syrian affairs.20 They carried grain and oil in their caravans,21 and they

---

16 Azraqi, Makka, p. 375, citing Muḥājb (they killed a gazelle in the haram).
17 Ibid., p. 107.
18 Aḥbāb, xviii, 123; Ibn Ḥabīb, Munāmmag, p. 53.
19 Thus, as mentioned already, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib had a Jewish jār from Najrān who used to trade in the sūq of Tihāma (Ibn Ḥabīb, Munāmmag, p. 94; this is the only Jew whose role is not predictive). A Jew settled in Mecca for trade at the time of the birth of Muḥammad, whose future prophethood was well known to him (Ibn Sa’d, Tabaqāt, 1, 162; the version cited in Maʿwārī, Aʿlām, p. 153, omits the trade). A Jew from Taymā’ who traded with Mecca or the Yemen predicted the Prophet to ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib (Kālāʾi, Iḥtiṣāf, pp. 240 f.; Abū Nuʿaym, Dūla’d, p. 122).
20 Wāqidī, Maghāzī, iii, 980 f., 1, 051; Ibn Ḥishām, Lehen, p. 911.
21 They are known now as sāqiya and now as dāḏīya, and they carried dārmak and oil to Medina, according to Wāqidī, Maghāzī, iii, pp. 980 f. Rīfā’ī b. Zayd bought dārmak from them (Balāḏurī, Ansāb, 1, 278; also cited in Ibn al-Athīr, Usd, iv, 263, and in hadith collections). A Syrian who sold oil in Medina is mentioned in Ibn Ḥanbal, Munādāt, v, 191. For nabiṣ or anbāt abīl-Sbām selling grain and oil in Medina at the time of the Prophet, see also Bukhārī, Recevai, ii, 45 f. (where the first tradition has zabib for zayt); cf. ibid., p. 7. For the sūq al-nabiṣ in Medina, see Wāqidī, Maghāzī, i, 395.
ARABIA WITHOUT SPICES

would also visit Dūmat al-Jandal and the Yamāma, their imports from the Yamāma being dates.32 Of a Christian trader from the Balqāʾ we are likewise told that he would sell grain in Medina in return for dates.33 When Muḥammad’s father went to Medina to buy dates, he was thus one of many traders there.34 The sale of wine in Medina was dominated by Jews and Christians, as seen already, and the presence of Christian traders in Medina is taken for granted in other contexts, too.35 As for the Jews of Medina, they are supposed to have engaged in caravan trade with Syria on a large scale, and one of them had business that took him to Wādīl-Qura.36 Even the Arabs of Medina would go to Syria for trade, if only in the context of predictions of the Prophet.37

In general, the Jews are said to have traded in commodities such as perfume, clothing, kohl, and wine.38 Jewish Khaybar certainly played a major role in the distribution of Yemeni cloth in the north, and it was the site of an important fair.39 Jews from Yathrib and the Yemen who had settled in the environs of ‘Ṭāʾīf for purposes of trade were required to pay jīzāyah on the rise of Islam.40 The Arab inhabitants of ‘Ṭāʾīf likewise engaged in trade, apparently often in collaboration rather than compe-

11 Wāqīḍi, Magābīt, 1, 403. Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Mubārrad, al-Kāmil, pp. 202 f.; the sawāqīt here include an Arab. Cf. also the definition of sawāqīt in Lane, Lexicon, s. v.
14 Above, ch. 4, no. 9. One of the stories told in explanation of Sūra 2:257 (‘ā ikrābī al-dīn) is that an Anṣārī called Ḥusayn or Ḥusaynī or Abūl-Ḥusayn had two sons who were converted to Christianity by Syrian traders in Medina; the Syrians were selling oil (zayt) or raisins (ṣabīb) or foodstuffs (ṣī`ām) in general (Wāqīḍi, Magābīt, pp. 58 f.; Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr, 1, 310 f.; Ibn Ḥajar, Isāba, ii. 23, no. 1, 753, s. v. Ḥusayn).
15 For the seven caravans that are supposed to have come to the Jews of Medina from Ṭurār and Adhīrāt in one day, see the references given above, ch. 4, 337. Note also Ibn Ṣu‘ayma or Subayma, a Jewish merchant of Medina, according to Ibn Hishām, al-Ṭabarānī, p. 553 (cf. Wāqīḍi, Magābīt, 1, 190 ff., where we are not, however, told that he was a merchant). Balādhurī, Risāla, 1, 486 the bought Salmān al-Fārisī there.
16 Ibn Ṣa‘d, Ṭabaqāt, 1, 165.
18 Cf. the large quantity of Yemeni cloth and garments found at Khaybar on its conquest by the Muslims (Wāqīḍi, Magābīt, u. 664). On the fair, see Ibn Ḥabīb, Muḥābbar, p. 268, Marzūqī, Atnīma, ii, 161, 165. Note also the Ghassānīd who fled to Ḥira after having killed a fellow tribesman and posed there as a trader from Khaybar (Qādi, Anfāl, p. 179).
19 Balādhurī, Fu‘ūḥ, p. 56.
WHAT MECCAN TRADE WAS NOT

even the occasional Najdī trader is met in the Hijāz. Hudhalīs would go to Syria on trade, coming back, like so many, with predictions of the Prophet, and they visited Medina too, at least in the time of 'Umar.

Since much of this evidence relates to the period before the hijra, there is no question of explaining it with reference to the supposed “weakening of Mecca’s monopoly” on the onset of hostilities between the Muslims and Quraysh; but its historical value can, of course, be queried on other grounds. Even so, the general point is clear, and there is some documentary evidence in its support: the Nessana papyri show us a group of Ishmaclites who were active at Nessana, some sixty kilometers from Gaza, and who traded in wool, camels, donkeys, grain, and the like, that is, in commodities similar to those handled by Quraysh at very much the same place and time. For what it is worth, the evidence does not suggest that the Meccans dominated the exchange of goods between north Arabia and southern Syria, let alone that they enjoyed a monopoly of it.

The Yemen—Mecca

As far as the so-called southern end of the incense route is concerned, it is said that the Meccans took control of it in the wake of the Ethiopian conquest of the Yemen about 525. The occupation is assumed to have given rise to political disorders that affected economic life, though this, as has been noted, is “not crystal clear”; the Yemenis might thus have

---

141

---

* Cf. above, ch. 5, n.60 (Mughīrā b. Shu‘ba trading with Qurashi in Egypt), 76 (Abū Sufyān trading together with Umayya b. Abīl-Ṣalties), and 17 (Abū Sufyān leading a caravan of Qurashi and Thaqafīs to Iraq). For a Ghāmīdī who settled in Tā‘if as a trader, see Ibn Ḥajar, Isbā’i, iii, 240, n. 4,049, s.v. Ṣakhir b. Wādā’ā.

1 The YEMEN—MECCA

As far as the so-called southern end of the incense route is concerned, it is said that the Meccans took control of it in the wake of the Ethiopian conquest of the Yemen about 525. The occupation is assumed to have given rise to political disorders that affected economic life, though this, as has been noted, is “not crystal clear”; the Yemenis might thus have

---

141

---

* Cf. above, ch. 5, n.60 (Mughīrā b. Shu‘ba trading with Qurashi in Egypt), 76 (Abū Sufyān trading together with Umayya b. Abīl-Ṣalties), and 17 (Abū Sufyān leading a caravan of Qurashi and Thaqafīs to Iraq). For a Ghāmīdī who settled in Tā‘if as a trader, see Ibn Ḥajar, Isbā’i, iii, 240, n. 4,049, s.v. Ṣakhir b. Wādā’ā.

1 The YEMEN—MECCA

As far as the so-called southern end of the incense route is concerned, it is said that the Meccans took control of it in the wake of the Ethiopian conquest of the Yemen about 525. The occupation is assumed to have given rise to political disorders that affected economic life, though this, as has been noted, is “not crystal clear”; the Yemenis might thus have

---

141

---

* Cf. above, ch. 5, n.60 (Mughīrā b. Shu‘ba trading with Qurashi in Egypt), 76 (Abū Sufyān trading together with Umayya b. Abīl-Ṣalties), and 17 (Abū Sufyān leading a caravan of Qurashi and Thaqafīs to Iraq). For a Ghāmīdī who settled in Tā‘if as a trader, see Ibn Ḥajar, Isbā’i, iii, 240, n. 4,049, s.v. Ṣakhir b. Wādā’ā.

1 The YEMEN—MECCA

As far as the so-called southern end of the incense route is concerned, it is said that the Meccans took control of it in the wake of the Ethiopian conquest of the Yemen about 525. The occupation is assumed to have given rise to political disorders that affected economic life, though this, as has been noted, is “not crystal clear”; the Yemenis might thus have

---

141

---

* Cf. above, ch. 5, n.60 (Mughīrā b. Shu‘ba trading with Qurashi in Egypt), 76 (Abū Sufyān trading together with Umayya b. Abīl-Ṣalties), and 17 (Abū Sufyān leading a caravan of Qurashi and Thaqafīs to Iraq). For a Ghāmīdī who settled in Tā‘if as a trader, see Ibn Ḥajar, Isbā’i, iii, 240, n. 4,049, s.v. Ṣakhir b. Wādā’ā.

1 The YEMEN—MECCA

As far as the so-called southern end of the incense route is concerned, it is said that the Meccans took control of it in the wake of the Ethiopian conquest of the Yemen about 525. The occupation is assumed to have given rise to political disorders that affected economic life, though this, as has been noted, is “not crystal clear”; the Yemenis might thus have

---

141

---

* Cf. above, ch. 5, n.60 (Mughīrā b. Shu‘ba trading with Qurashi in Egypt), 76 (Abū Sufyān trading together with Umayya b. Abīl-Ṣalties), and 17 (Abū Sufyān leading a caravan of Qurashi and Thaqafīs to Iraq). For a Ghāmīdī who settled in Tā‘if as a trader, see Ibn Ḥajar, Isbā’i, iii, 240, n. 4,049, s.v. Ṣakhir b. Wādā’ā.

1 The YEMEN—MECCA

As far as the so-called southern end of the incense route is concerned, it is said that the Meccans took control of it in the wake of the Ethiopian conquest of the Yemen about 525. The occupation is assumed to have given rise to political disorders that affected economic life, though this, as has been noted, is “not crystal clear”; the Yemenis might thus have

---

141

---

* Cf. above, ch. 5, n.60 (Mughīrā b. Shu‘ba trading with Qurashi in Egypt), 76 (Abū Sufyān trading together with Umayya b. Abīl-Ṣalties), and 17 (Abū Sufyān leading a caravan of Qurashi and Thaqafīs to Iraq). For a Ghāmīdī who settled in Tā‘if as a trader, see Ibn Ḥajar, Isbā’i, iii, 240, n. 4,049, s.v. Ṣakhir b. Wādā’ā.

1 The YEMEN—MECCA

As far as the so-called southern end of the incense route is concerned, it is said that the Meccans took control of it in the wake of the Ethiopian conquest of the Yemen about 525. The occupation is assumed to have given rise to political disorders that affected economic life, though this, as has been noted, is “not crystal clear”; the Yemenis might thus have

---

141

---

* Cf. above, ch. 5, n.60 (Mughīrā b. Shu‘ba trading with Qurashi in Egypt), 76 (Abū Sufyān trading together with Umayya b. Abīl-Ṣalties), and 17 (Abū Sufyān leading a caravan of Qurashi and Thaqafīs to Iraq). For a Ghāmīdī who settled in Tā‘if as a trader, see Ibn Ḥajar, Isbā’i, iii, 240, n. 4,049, s.v. Ṣakhir b. Wādā’ā.

1 The YEMEN—MECCA

As far as the so-called southern end of the incense route is concerned, it is said that the Meccans took control of it in the wake of the Ethiopian conquest of the Yemen about 525. The occupation is assumed to have given rise to political disorders that affected economic life, though this, as has been noted, is “not crystal clear”; the Yemenis might thus have

---

141

---

* Cf. above, ch. 5, n.60 (Mughīrā b. Shu‘ba trading with Qurashi in Egypt), 76 (Abū Sufyān trading together with Umayya b. Abīl-Ṣalties), and 17 (Abū Sufyān leading a caravan of Qurashi and Thaqafīs to Iraq). For a Ghāmīdī who settled in Tā‘if as a trader, see Ibn Ḥajar, Isbā’i, iii, 240, n. 4,049, s.v. Ṣakhir b. Wādā’ā.

1 The YEMEN—MECCA

As far as the so-called southern end of the incense route is concerned, it is said that the Meccans took control of it in the wake of the Ethiopian conquest of the Yemen about 525. The occupation is assumed to have given rise to political disorders that affected economic life, though this, as has been noted, is “not crystal clear”; the Yemenis might thus have

---

141

---

* Cf. above, ch. 5, n.60 (Mughīrā b. Shu‘ba trading with Qurashi in Egypt), 76 (Abū Sufyān trading together with Umayya b. Abīl-Ṣalties), and 17 (Abū Sufyān leading a caravan of Qurashi and Thaqafīs to Iraq). For a Ghāmīdī who settled in Tā‘if as a trader, see Ibn Ḥajar, Isbā’i, iii, 240, n. 4,049, s.v. Ṣakhir b. Wādā’ā.

1 The YEMEN—MECCA

As far as the so-called southern end of the incense route is concerned, it is said that the Meccans took control of it in the wake of the Ethiopian conquest of the Yemen about 525. The occupation is assumed to have given rise to political disorders that affected economic life, though this, as has been noted, is “not crystal clear”; the Yemenis might thus have

---

141

---

* Cf. above, ch. 5, n.60 (Mughīrā b. Shu‘ba trading with Qurashi in Egypt), 76 (Abū Sufyān trading together with Umayya b. Abīl-Ṣalties), and 17 (Abū Sufyān leading a caravan of Qurashi and Thaqafīs to Iraq). For a Ghāmīdī who settled in Tā‘if as a trader, see Ibn Ḥajar, Isbā’i, iii, 240, n. 4,049, s.v. Ṣakhir b. Wādā’ā.
lost their trade to the Meccans, in due course losing their political pre-eminence in Arabia to them, as well.\textsuperscript{45} But there is no reason to believe that the Meccans inherited either power or commerce from the Yemen. As regards the former, it emerges from Justinian's negotiations with Esimphaios, that is Sumayfa', the puppet king set up by the Ethiopians, that the Yemen was still politically influential in north Arabia in the early part of the reign of Justinian (527-565). The military and other exploits of Abraha, the Ethiopian usurper who followed Sumayfa', also suggest that the Yemen under Ethiopian rule was a power of some consequence in Arabia. And the Persians who took over later certainly represented an even bigger one.\textsuperscript{46} The fact that the Yemenis ceased to rule themselves does not mean that Arabia was henceforth afflicted with a political vacuum which it was the historical role of Mecca to fill.

As regards commerce, the reason why both Ethiopians and Persians displayed an interest in the Yemen is precisely that the Yemen mattered in the eastern trade, not that it had lost its importance to Mecca. The Yemen mattered because it was located on the way to the east, and it is a curious idea that while the giants were fighting for control of the coasts, a dwarf in the desert pinched the prize, causing Abraha to attack Mecca in dismay at a commercial success that did not, however, cause the Persians to leave the Yemen alone.\textsuperscript{47} What sort of evidence, one wonders, can he adduced for all this?

One version of the iljaf-tradition places the inception of Qurashi trade with the Yemen in the reign of Abraha, that is after the Ethiopian conquest, though Abraha, who ruled about 540, cannot in fact have been a contemporary of Ḥāshim, Muḥammad's great-grandfather.\textsuperscript{48} And some exegetes claim that the failure of Abraha's attack on the Ka'ba was crucial for the survival of Meccan trade, in the sense that the Meccans could not be traders without the sanctuary that Abraha was out to destroy.\textsuperscript{49}

\textsuperscript{45} Shahid, "The Arabs in the Peace Treaty," pp. 88 ff. In general, the introductory part of this article is one of the most intelligent presentations of the conventional view of Meccan trade. Cf. also J. Wellhausen, \textit{Reiseurabischen Heidentums}. p. 92: after the fall of the Himyarite kingdom Mecca seems to have become the largest and most powerful city in Arabia.

\textsuperscript{46} Procopius. \textit{War}, 1, 19, 14:1, 20, 9; \textit{Ep}, s. v. Abraha (Beeston); cf. above, ch. 2, on the Persians.


\textsuperscript{48} Above, ch. 5 n. 7.

\textsuperscript{49} Ibn Qutayba, \textit{Mukhtal al-Qur'ān}, p. 319.
WHAT MECCAN TRADE WAS NOT

Following these exegetes, Shahid links the sura assumed to refer to Abrahah's defeat with that referring to Qurashi journeys, and reads the result as Qur'anic evidence that the Meccans had established control of the incense route. But whatever the merit of reading the two suras as a unit, the exegetes who link them merely say that the Meccans continued to trade after Abrahah's defeat, and the Qur'an itself says even less: the journeys are not identified as trading journeys in the book, nor were they always understood as such by the exegetes; their destination is not specified, and the exegetes do not always take them to have included journeys to the Yemen; and the incense route is unknown to Qur'an and exegetes alike. The Meccans may well have started trading in the Yemen at the time of Abrahah. A story set in the time of Abrahah nonetheless has Yemeni traders, or Ethiopian traders from the Yemen, come to Mecca, where the Meccans, having suffered a bad period of drought and being apparently pastoralists, cannot resist the temptation to rob them. This is scarcely how their commercial takeover is usually envisaged.

Simon accordingly postpones their takeover to the time of the hift al-fudâl. Since this alliance was formed when Muhammad was in his twenties, or about 590, the crucial commercial expansion of the Meccans would thus have taken place so late that it cannot have affected Muhammad's background much, though it could still be of importance for the conquests; but even this argument does not work. The hift al-fudâl was an alliance sworn by a number of Meccans when a Yemeni trader sold goods in Mecca and failed to get his payment, the object of the alliance being to ensure that such incidents would not be repeated. A story in which the Meccans vow to do justice to Yemeni traders in Mecca can hardly be said to suggest that they had ousted the traders in question, least of all when the sources show us the hift in action by bringing a

62 Cf. Baladhuri, Ansâb, ii, 12; Aghâni, xvii, 287 ff., 297 ff.; Ibn Habib, Munammaq, pp. 45 ff., 217 ff.; Ya'qûbi, Ta'rîkh, i, 166 f.; Jabir, Râdî'î, pp. 71 ff.; Ibn Abî-l- hadid, Shurb, iii, pp. 455 ff.; Kâlí, Ikây'â, p. 146. The trader is usually a Yemeni from B. Zubayd (Zayd in Kâlí) or Sa'd al' Ashira; but it is also suggested that he may have been a non-Arab (Ethiopian?), and in Ya'qûbi he is a northern Arab. The event is dated with reference to the Prophet's age at the time: he was twenty or in his twenties.
whole string of Yemeni traders to Mecca for unfair dealings that are duly put right. The stories may well have blurred the true nature of the events they describe, as Simon argues; indeed, it would be more correct to say that they are legendary. But if stories in which the Meccans boast of having set up a board of complaints for Yemeni and other foreign traders in Mecca constitute “flagrant proof” (“preuve flagrante”) that the Meccans “definitely eliminated the merchants of the Yemen from the commerce along the incense route and organized caravans to the Yemen themselves,” then any evidence can be adduced as meaning anything we like. The stories are based on the assumption that Yemeni traders were active in Mecca on the eve of Islam; and though the non-Arab traders supplanted by Quraysh in Ibn al-Kalbi’s story of Hāshim and his brothers could be understood as Ethiopians from the Yemen and other Yemenis, the tradition is in general innocent of the idea that the Meccans should have ousted them. The caravaneers who transported perfume from Aden to the Byzantine and Persian empires were presumably Yemenis; at least they are not identified as Qurashīs, and Yemenis are said to have frequented the fair at Dūnat al-Jandal far from trying to supplant them, Quraysh would providethem with escorts on the way. The caravans to the Yemen that the Meccans are said to have organized for themselves are poorly attested in the tradition, and the maritime trade of the Yemenis was not, of course, affected by Mecca at all. As usual, the information is not necessarily true; but true or false, it is the only information that we have, and there is no way in which it can be brought to support the notion of a shift from Yemeni to Meccan domination.

**Ethiopia-Mecca**

The Meccans may well have dominated the flow of goods from Ethiopia to Mecca, however we are to envisage the route in question. They can-
What Meccan Trade Was Not

not have had many competitors apart from the Ethiopians themselves, who took over from the Meccans or were ousted by them, depending on one's exegetical tastes. But the trade between Ethiopia and Byzantium was maritime, as was that between Ethiopia and Persia so far as it existed, and we never see Meccans handle Ethiopian goods in Arabia or further north. The idea that they enjoyed something like a monopoly on the trade between East Africa and the Mediterranean can accordingly be dismissed.

Mecca-Iraq

In view of the fact that the Meccans hardly ever traded in Iraq, it is not a very plausible proposition that they should have come to dominate the route to this country, and the evidence traditionally adduced for the view that they did says nothing of the kind. Watt, Simon, and others identify the war or wars of Fijār, enacted about 590, as the occasion on which the Meccans took over from their Lakhmīd rivals of Hīra. As in the case of the Yemen, Iraq is thus added to the list of markets dominated by the Meccans at a stage so late that it cannot have mattered for the formation of Muhammad, though it may still be of importance for the conquests. And again, the expedient goes against the tenor of the sources.

In the first place, the stories about the wars of Fijār are not about commerce at all. They are set at 'Ukāz because this is where people got together, not because trade was conducted there, and what they illustrate (very vividly, in fact) is life in a stateless society: one battle was triggered by amorous adolescents molesting a pretty girl, another by a creditor who could not get his money back, and still others by Barrād, an outlaw who had become an ally (ḥalīf) of Ḥarb b. Umayyā and who killed the

18 Cf. ch. 5, pp. 109-111.
19 Cf. EI', s.v. Kuraysh (Watt).
60 Watt, 'Muhammad at Mecca,' pp. 14 f.; Simon, "Hulmes ('āf)," pp. 227 f.; Shahid, "The Arabs in the Peace Treaty," p. 191; EI', s.v. Fidjar (Fück). The Prophet was fourteen, seventeen, twenty, or twenty-eight years old at the time, though some traditions imply that he was a minor (cf. E. Landau-Tasseron, "The 'Sinful Wars,' Religious, Social and Historical Aspects of Hurrāb al-Fidjar").
61 Elsewhere this story is set in Medina and told in explanation of the expulsion of B. Qaynuqā (cf. Watt, Prophet and Statesman, p. 130).
escort of a caravan sent by Nu'mān of Ḥira to 'Ukāz, thus embroiling his ally and the latter's tribe in war with Qays, the tribal group to which the murdered man belonged.\textsuperscript{61} In the first two episodes, Quraysh are presented as peacemakers, and it is the third that is added as leading to the Qurashi takeover: Barrāḍ, we arc informed by Watt, acted in accordance with Qurashi desires, if not on Qurashi instructions, when he killed the leader of the Ḥiran caravan (which Watt misrepresents as being on its way to the Yemen rather than 'Ukāz).\textsuperscript{65} But what we are actually told is that Barrāḍ was a good for nothing whom Ḥarb b. Umayya wanted to disown, though he was persuaded to let the alliance stand when Barrāḍ implored him to do so: Barrāḍ went to Ḥira in order \textit{not} to give trouble to his ally, though being what he was, he misbehaved again. In another version he kills a Khuzā'ī after having made the alliance with Ḥarb and flees to the Yemen, proceeding to Ḥira from there without apparently even informing his ally of his whereabouts.\textsuperscript{64} Either way, the events turn on the fact that he was a troublemaker;\textsuperscript{65} and it was wounded pride, not a desire to further the policies of the Meccans, that caused him to murder the escort, the latter having mortally insulted him at Ḥira.\textsuperscript{66} According to the \textit{Aḥbānī}, he made off with the caravan, taking it to Mecca, though he fled to Khaybar according to the other accounts. But the fact that the Meccans accept his presence in this version means

\textsuperscript{61} For a vivid account of life at 'Ukāz, including the Ḥijār episodes, see Welhausen, \textit{Reise}, pp. 88 ff. The most important accounts of the wars are given by Ibn Ḥabīb, \textit{Munammaq}, pp. 185 ff.; \textit{Aḥbānī}, xxii, pp. 54 ff.; Bālādhūrī, \textit{Ansāb}, i, 100 ff. But there are many others, all examined by Landau Tisseron, “Sinful Wars.”

\textsuperscript{65} Watt, \textit{Muḥammad al-Meccah}, p. 1 (where he “doubtless” knew that his action was in accordance with Meccan policy, though he was “presumably” pursuing his own ends), cf. p. 14 (where the fact that an ally of Quraysh made an unprovoked attack on a caravan from Ḥira to the Yemen [sic] would mean that the Meccans were trying to close this route or ensure some control of it). We are explicitly told that Nu'mān used to send a caravan to 'Ukāz every year and that this was one of them (\textit{Aḥbānī}, xxii, 57; Bālādhūrī, \textit{Ansāb}, i, 101; Ibn Ḥabīb \textit{Mubabhar}, p. 195; ibid., \textit{Munammaq}, p. 191; Ibn Sa'd, \textit{Tābaqāt}, i, 126 f. Compare also Yaʿqūbī, \textit{Tāʾirīk}, ii, 14; Ibn Ḥabīb, \textit{Munammaq}, pp. 428 f.; Kister, “Ḥira,” p. 154, on Nu'mān and this market.

\textsuperscript{66} Thus Ibn Ḥabīb, \textit{Munammaq}, p. 191; ibid., \textit{Mubabhar}, p. 195.

\textsuperscript{67} Cf. the heading \textit{fustāk al-jābihyya} under which he is listed in Ibn Ḥabīb, \textit{Mubabhar}, pp. 192, 195 f.; compare Tha'labī, \textit{Tāmār}, p. 128. It is, of course, this problem that lies behind Watt's guarded formulation (above, n63).

\textsuperscript{65} He had called him an "outlaw ṣū'ūd dog" to his face when he volunteered to escort the caravan.
WHAT MECCAN TRADE WAS NOT

no more than that they stood by the alliance, as well they might, since war was coming anyway. The story of Barrād is the story of a misfit and the trouble he caused to everyone around him, and to read Qurashi machinations into it is to miss its point.

In the second place, Quraysh did not win the wars of Fījār; nobody did. What we are told is that Quraysh would mostly lose, but that in the end both parties got tired of fighting, whereupon they negotiated peace, counted their dead, and imposed blood money on the side that had inflicted more casualties than it had suffered. All this is typical of tribal war, not of struggles for commercial supremacy; and if commercial supremacy had been involved, Quraysh could scarcely be said to have achieved it. "Of the four battle days, Quraysh were victorious only in the third one, and were defeated in all the rest," as Landau-Tasserón notes. In Watt's judicious formulation, however, we are informed that "as they were apparently successful, they presumably attained their object"; and in Simon's work the outcome has become a "crushing defeat" inflicted by Quraysh on their opponents, leading to the rise of Qurashi trade with Iraq. Quraysh thus contrive to take control of the Iraq route by a combination of conjecture and misrepresentation.

The stories of the wars of Fījār are works of literature, not records of political or commercial history, as is true of most of our evidence on pre-Islamic Arabia. Whoever first told them was concerned to illustrate Jahili society as Jahili society had always been, using such episodes and personnel as were remembered; and it is for this that we should use them. The fact that one of these episodes happened to involve the capture of a caravan does not mean that we must attach deep economic or political significance to it: when were caravans not being captured in Arabia? Nu'mān himself had suffered numerous losses before. No

67 Landau Tasserón, "Sinful Wars."
69 As does Simon, for example, not only in connection with the wars of Fījār but also in his discussion of the Persian caravan which was plundered by Tamīmīs ("Hums et ilāf," p. 227n).
70 Cf. Kister, "Hira," pp. 34ff.; Landau Tasserón, "Sinful Wars," n60 (B. ‘Āmir); Ibn Ḥabīb, Maḥbūbar, pp. 195 f.; Ya‘qūbī, u. 14 f. (Balā’ b. Qays, the Laythi chief who started raiding Nu’mān’s caravans after the latter had killed his brother); Segal, "Arabs in Syriac Literature," p. 108 (Tha’labīs from the Byzantine part of the Syrian desert who raid a caravan of Nu’mān’s).
doubt there were frequently tribal rivalries behind this kind of event, but we are making false economic history by elevating such rivalries into struggles for long-term commercial or political objectives.\footnote{Here I must disagree with Landau-Tasseron, who rejects Watt's interpretation of the Fijjar wars but not the idea that Quraysh were trying to establish control of the Iraq route. The agents in this interpretation are B. 'Amir, who had previously raided one or several of Nu'mān's caravans. It is postulated that B. 'Amir acted in accord with Quraysh and that the object of the aggression was to force Nu'mān to grant B. 'Amir the privilege of escorting his caravans: it was only by having this privilege granted to a friendly tribe that Quraysh could achieve control of the route. But quite apart from being highly conjectural, this theory does not make much sense. B. 'Amir may well have intended to obtain the privilege of guarding the Hiran caravans, but why should Quraysh have assisted them in this? Quraysh are supposed to have wanted control of the route in the sense that the goods that travelled along it went in Qurashi as opposed to Hiran or other caravans, or not at all; and it cannot have made much difference to them whether one tribe or the other had the privilege of guarding the caravans of their competitors. If B. 'Amir and Quraysh were in cahoots, Qurashi caravans could travel through 'Amir territory regardless of whether B. 'Amir were escorts for the Hiran or not; and if B. 'Amir wanted to be such escorts, they cannot have helped Quraysh in their supposed efforts to put an end to the Hiran caravans.} The only commercial effect of Bārād's action, apart from the loss to Nu'mān, was the suspension of the fair at 'Ukāz that year. Quraysh did not oust the Lakhmids of Hira from the route to Iraq in the 590s: the dynasty was abolished by the Persian emperor in 602, so that if the route was closed, as Watt surmises may have been the case, we must credit the fact to the Persians rather than Quraysh. Quraysh did not, at all events, begin to trade regularly in Iraq thereafter. It was Abū Sufyān, the son of Bārāc's Meccan ally, who described Iraq as a land in which Quraysh had no permission to trade; and it was still by way of exception that he and other Qurashis ventured along the Iraq route to Qarada in 624.\footnote{Cf. ch. 4, pp. 87, 89.}
What can we say about the nature of Meccan trade in positive terms? Clearly, it was a local trade. Moreover, it was an Arab trade, that is to say, a trade conducted overwhelmingly with Arabs and generated by Arab rather than by foreign needs. But its precise nature is hard to pin down because of an overriding problem: how could a trade of this kind be combined with a trading centre in Mecca?

Meccan trade was a local trade in the sense that the commodities sold were of Arabian origin and destined for consumption in Arabia itself or immediately outside it. Some sources present the transactions of the Meccans as an export trade in return for which bullion was carried back, whereas others on the contrary describe it as an import trade for which bullion was carried to Syria. But whatever the exact role of bullion in their transactions, most accounts envisage the Meccans as having sold commodities in Syria and elsewhere with a view to carrying others back. We do not know what they sold in Ethiopia, except perhaps skins; nor do we know what they sold in the Yemen, except for donkeys. But Ethiopia can perhaps be discounted for purposes of Meccan (as opposed to Qurashi) trade; and though more information about Qurashi transactions in the Yemen would have been welcome, we do at least know that in Syria they sold hides, skins, leather goods of other kinds, clothing, perhaps also animals and clarified butter on occasion, as well as perfume. The commodities specified are in agreement with the modern observation that insofar as Arabia produces anything in excess of its domestic consumption, it is almost entirely due to the nomads and

Cf. above, ch. 4, nos. 1-2.

1 This is clearly implied by the Najāši’s fondness for Meccan skins (cf. above, ch. 4 nns. 45-46 f. As argued already, the skins and leather products may in fact have been Yemeni (cf. above, ch. 5, p. 127). Either way it should be noted that leather products are unlikely to have been any rarer in Ethiopia than they were in Syria; by the time of Ibn al-Mujāwir, at least, leather was tanned all over Arabia and Ethiopia (Descriptio, 3, 13).
mountaineers. And what the Meccans carried back was also goods of the kind one would expect. From Syria and Egypt, we are told, they imported fine cloth and clothing, \(^5\) arms, \(^6\) grain, \(^7\) perhaps also oil, \(^8\) and perfume on occasion. \(^9\) From the Yemen they likewise obtained fine cloth and clothing, \(^10\) as well as slaves, ultimately from Ethiopia, \(^11\) “Indian swords,” \(^12\) possibly foodstuffs, \(^13\) and certainly the perfume that they would occasionally sell even abroad. What they bought in Ethiopia is unknown \(^14\) and will again have to be discounted from the point of view of Meccan trade. But such information as we have leaves no doubt that of Arabia have always had to procure from the fringes of the Fertile Crescent and elsewhere, not the luxury goods with which Lammens

---

\(^1\) Great Britain, Admiralty, *A Handbook of Arabia,* 1, 24.

\(^2\) For Syrian swords from Busrā and elsewhere, see F. W. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber,* p. 131. When the Prophet sold some of the captives of B. Qurayza in Syria, he bought weapons and horses in return (Wāqīḍī, *Mdhā'īt,* ii, 5, 23).


\(^4\) This is a conjecture based on evidence referring to Medīna and elsewhere (cf. Lammens, *Meqque,* p. 301; id., “République marchande,” p. 47; *L’Arabie occidentale,* p. 22).


\(^6\) This again is a conjecture based on evidence referring to Medīna (cf. above, ch. 4, no. 3).

\(^7\) Cf. above ch. 4, no. 5.

\(^8\) Cf. above ch. 3 n169; ch. 5 n90.

\(^9\) As conjectured by Jacob, *Beduinenleben,* p. 149; cf. also Schwarzlose, *Waffen,* pp. 127 f. Note that one version of the tribute dispatched by the Persian governor of the Yemn has it include swords (Lyall, *Masjudalıyāt,* 1, 708).

\(^10\) According to Lammens, *Meqque,* pp. 142, 302, the Meccans imported grain from the Sarāt; but he does not give any references. Māṣūdī has it that the month of Șafar owed its name to markets in the Yemn at which the Arabs would provision themselves; he does not, however, mention Quraysh in this context (*Muṣrīj,* ii, 417).

\(^11\) Though it has been conjectured on lexicographical grounds that here, too, the return trade was in clothing (cf. Baldry, *Textiles in Yemen,* p. 8).
would have them equip themselves abroad. The Meccans, in short, are presented as having exchanged pastoralist products for those of the settled agriculturalists within their reach, an activity also engaged in by the inhabitants of nineteenth-century Ḥa'il. The settlers of Ibn Rashid's realm, according to Musil, would send at least four great caravans a year to Iraq. They would hire baggage camels from the Bedouin and load them with wool, goats' hair, camels' hair, clarified butter, camel fat, camel saddles, and so forth. They would often be accompanied by camel, sheep, and goat dealers, who would drive the animals they had purchased to Iraq and from there along the Euphrates to Syria, as well as by Bedouin who would sell their animals there and supply themselves with food and clothing. What Musil describes for Ḥa'il in relation to Iraq is very much what the sources describe for Mecca in relation to Syria; and it is, of course, an activity that has been conducted in the peninsula ever since it was colonized by pastoralists.

Meccan trade was thus a trade generated by Arab needs, not by the commercial appetites of the surrounding empires, and it is as traders operating in Arabia rather than beyond its borders that the Meccans should be seen. Arabia to them was not simply a route between the termini of a long-distance trade, but the very area on which their trade was focused. Thus they were active throughout western Arabia from Najrān to southern Syria and the Syrian desert, where they would visit Dūmat al-Jandal. It was perhaps from Dūma that they would make their occasional visits to Hira: this at least would explain both their ignorance of the route to Iraq from Mecca itself and the fact that it is Umayyads, otherwise associated with Syria, who are said to have made the visits in question. It was at all events in western Arabia itself that they had some of their most important markets, that is, the annual fairs held during the holy months at ’Ukāz,* Dhu‘l-Majāz,’ Majanna and Minā,* located in

---

*See for example Lammens, “République marchande,” p. 47.


* Insofar as I have acquired any clarity of vision on this point, I owe it to the comments of Professor A. F. L. Beeston at a Byzantinists seminar in Oxford 1982, at which I presented a preliminary version of this book.

* Ibn Ḥabīb, *Mubabbār,* p. 264 (where they are only said to have provided escorts for others going there); Marzūqī, *Azmina,* ii, 162 (where they go in their own right). I know of no concrete illustration of Qurashiš at Dūma.


* It was at ’Ukāz and Dhu‘l-Majāz that the Meccans traded before their trade went in
the vicinity of Ṭaʿif and Mecca. And they are also said to have visited other annual fairs in the region, such as Badr to the north of Mecca and Ḥubāsha to the south. Indeed, they are even said to have visited a fair as distant as Rabiya in the Ḥadramawt. In central and eastern Arabia, however, they do not seem to have had much business, though the occasional Qurashi is met in the Yamāma. One tradition claims that the Meccans obtained regular food supplies from the Yamāma, but this is unlikely to be correct. Central and eastern Arabia must have

ternational (Thaʿalibi, Thīnār, p. 115). They are often portrayed as trading there after it had done so (cf. Ibn Ḥabīb, Munammāq, p. 236; Ibn Ḥishām, Leven, p. 274; Jāḥiz, Rādīʿ, p. 76; Ibn Sād, Tabaqāt, 1, 152).

11 The presence of Qurashi traders at Majann is attested only in Wāqī, Miḥrābī, 1, 388 (where it sounds like mere embroidery). For a Qurashi trader at Minā, see Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, s. v., 1, 162. But all the pilgrim fairs are envisaged as fairs for the Meccans in the sources (see for example Bakrī, Muʿjam, p. 668, s. v. ʿUkāy).

13 Thus Wāqī, Miḥrābī, 1, 384, 387; cf. Ibn Saʿd, Tabaqāt, 1, 13. This sounds like mere embroidery.

11 Thus it was at Ḥubāsha rather than at Buṣrā that Muḥammad traded as Khadīja's agent, according to some (ʿAbd al-Razzāq, Miṣalmaf, 1, 310; Ḥassān b. Thabit, Dirāwān, 1, 310; Yāqūt, Buldān, 11, 192 f., s. v., with an alternative location of the fair at Medina). It was located in Azd territory six days journey to the south of Mecca, according to Ṭabrāq (Makka, p. 151), and was the greatest ʿaṣq of Tihāma, according to Bakrī (Muʿjam, pp. 262, 264; Bakrī also knew that the Prophet had attended this fair).

14 Ibn Ḥabīb, Muḥbbar, p. 267; Marzūqī, Azmīna, 1, p. 165. Again, I know of no concrete illustration of Qurashis then; the traders who visit the Ḥadramawt in Ibn Ḥabīb, Munammāq, p. 321, are Kinānīs.

1 Nobody seems to claim that they visited fairs such as Dābā or Ṣuhār in Oman. Ibn Ḥabīb does claim that they would act as scouts to caravans visiting Muḥṣaqūr in Bayrān (Muḥbbar, p. 269); but this claim rests on the belief that Quraysh were inviolable in all Mudārī territory thanks to Mudārī respect for kinship ties, a most implausible idea (Mudār was far too large a group for relations between its members to be comparable to that between fellow tribesmen), and Marzūqī merely says that Muḥṣaqūr was visited by all Arab tribes presumably meaning that it was a fair of minor importance, not necessarily that it was visited by Quraysh, as well (Azmīna, 1, 162 f.).

15 Thus Bujāyr b. al ʿAwwāmīs is said to have gone to the Yamāma as a trader and to have been killed there by an Azilī in revenge for Abū Uzáyhir (Ibn Ḥabīb, Munammāq, p. 350). Some versions omit the trade (Balāḍhūrī, Azrāb, 1, 136; Caskel, Gāmḥara, 11, s. v. Buğārī b. al ʿAwwām).

17 Thus we are told that Thumāma b. Ṭāhā cut off the supply of grain from the Yamāma to Mecca on his conversion (Ibn Ḥishām, Leven, p. 997; Kister, “Mecca and Taʾmūm,” p. 135). This is a story of exegetical origin. In explanation of Sūra 23:78 (wa-laqad akhṭathāhum bīls−adḥāb) we are told that the Prophet prayed for the Meccans to be afflicted with seven years of famine “like the years of Joseph” and that Abū Sufīn com-
trading people ever did;\(^4\) and Quraysh, as noted already, are not commonly seen in action in central or eastern Arabia. Equally, the fact that they had to coexist with Byzantine, Yemeni, Jewish, and various other traders in western Arabia itself means that it is difficult to credit them with a dominance such as that enjoyed by Ḥā'il, that is, a dominant position in the general exchange of pastoralist and agriculturalist products within a specific region. And it is also hard to award them a dominance such as that enjoyed by the Ḥuqayl, who controlled the export trade in a specific commodity (camels) throughout all or most of the peninsula: inasmuch as the Meccans do not seem to have handled Yemeni leather goods,\(^5\) such control as they had of this trade must have been limited to northwest Arabia. The question thus reduces to whether they dominated the exchange of goods at the pilgrim fairs of this region.\(^6\) Here the evidence is somewhat inconclusive.

It is customary to present the Meccans as having controlled these fairs. Indeed, the fairs in question are often described in a fashion which the innocent reader might take to suggest that the Meccans owned them. But this, at least, they did not. The fairs were cooperative ventures. The sites were located in the territories of various tribes (all non Qurashi), but subject to no authority, being devoid of permanent inhabitants.\(^7\) In the holy months, when the use of arms was forbidden, large numbers of tribesmen would come together here as pilgrims and as traders: ‘Ukāz, for example, attracted visitors from Quraysh, Hawāzin, Khuzā’ā, Ghā-

\(^4\) Even the Minaeans, who probably came closer to it than any other trading people, had to coexist with Sabaeans, Gerrheans, Gezbanites, and no doubt others, too.

\(^5\) The only suggestion of a Qurashi interest in Yemeni leather goods is the adim Khawalānī that was used as writing material by the Prophet in Medina (Waṣiqi, Magḥāba, t. 13). Presumably it came from Khawalān in the Yemen rather than the Syrian village of that name (cf. Yāqūt, Buldān, ii, 499, n.; leather is mentioned as writing material elsewhere in the literature, too, but without indication of its provenance). But this scarcely suffices to establish a Qurashi trade in such goods.

\(^6\) There were clearly pilgrim fairs elsewhere in the peninsula, too. Thus the sanā‘ī who imported dates from the Yamāma visited the Yamāna, not the Ḥijāz, in the holy months (Mubarrad, Kāmil, p. 202).

\(^7\) Asrāfī, Muḳha, p. 131 (‘Ukāz was in the territory of Naṣr of Quraysh Aylān, Majanna in that of Kināna, and Dhūl-Majāz, apparently, in that of Ḥudhayl). Simon goes to the other extreme when he presents these tribes as having dominated the fairs (“flums et lāf,” p. 215). Wellhausen correctly observes that “niemand war hier Herr im Hause” (Reste, p. 392).
We are told that arms would be deposited with a Qurashi at 'Ukaz, and this certainly shows that Quraysh were respected there. But so were Tamim, for it was Tamimis who had the function of hereditary judges; and the view that they had it by gracious permission of Quraysh rather than by common consent is unpersuasive.

This point apart, the view that Quraysh enjoyed particular importance at the pilgrim fairs arises largely from the fact that the pilgrim fairs were of particular importance to them, which is not quite the same thing. Naturally, we hear more about Quraysh at these fairs than about other participants: it was, after all, they who produced the Prophet. But it was at 'Ukaz that agents of Nu'man of Hira sold Iraqi goods, buying Yemeni ones in return; and though it may have been Qurashis who carried the Yemeni goods there, we are not told that this was so. Others, moreover, offered goods such as camels and cattle, swords, slaves, precious metals, and clarified butter. And we are hardly to take it that the sale of leather and raisins at 'Ukaz was in the hands of Quraysh alone.

In short, one does not get the impression that the pilgrim fairs

---

38 Ibn Habib, Muḥabbur, p. 267; Marzuqi, Azmina, ii, 165. Ya'qubi merely says that the participants were Quraysh and other Arabs, mostly of Mudar (Ṭarikh, i, 314).
39 Agabani, xxii, 59.
40 The numerous attestations of this point are lined up by Kister. "Mecca and Tamim," pp. 145 ff.
41 With all due respect to Kister, who sees Quraysh as having entrusted this and other functions to Tamim (cf. the preceding note).
42 For his annual caravans to 'Ukaz, see above, ch. 6 n.6; for his purchase of Yemeni goods there, see ch. 4 n.56.
43 Marzuqi, Azmina, ii, 168.
44 Cf. Agabani, xi, 19, where a killer disposes of his victim's sword at 'Ukaz, implying that this was the place where one sold whatever one might wish to get rid of.
45 Khadija's nephew bought Zayd from Qaynis at 'Ukaz (Ibn Sa'd, Tahâqas, iii, 40); it was also here that Fâkih b. al-Mughira bought the woman who was to become the mother of 'Amr b. al-'As, like Zayd she was the victim of a raid (Ibn al-Athir, Usd, iv, t 6).
46 Marzuqi, Azmina, 11, 168 (nagd). Presumably it was here that the Meccans obtained some of their bullion.
47 Agabani, i, 209.
48 For Abu Sufyan's sale of raisins at 'Ukaz, see Ibn Hishám, Leżen, p. 590. For the leather trade there, see ch. 4, n.56, 59. There is also a reference to the sale of leather at Dhũl Majāz in Nābihga al Dhubyāni, Dietm. no, vi, 14 f.; where it is sold by a Ḥirmiyya. Was she a Meccan? Lammens proposed to consider her into a Jarmiyya (Mesque, pp 154n, 164 f.).
ARABIA WITHOUT SPICES

and elsewhere. The 'Uqayl thus specialized in a commodity that was also available in Syria itself, and the fact that they could do so shows that transport costs must have been low. If the 'Uqayl could do it with camels, why should Quraysh have been unable to do it with hides and skins? The answer is because camels can walk, whereas their disembodied hides and skins cannot. The 'Uqayl operated as itinerant traders, dispersing among the tribes every year and returning with as many camels as a man can manage, or more if they hired herders to accompany them part or all of the way, as they frequently seem to have done. Bedouin and itinerant traders have in common the fact that travelling is simply another form of living to them: the activity involves few or no extra expenses. But hides and skins, not to mention woollens, have to be carried, and the quantities that an individual can carry are limited. Quraysh are accordingly presented as having organized caravans; and though some of their goods were picked up on the way, according to Ibn al-Kalbi's ilâf-tradition, Mecca must have been the primary centre of collection inasmuch as it was from here that the caravans set out. But caravan trade means transport costs: goods simply cannot be transported by caravan without expenses over and above what it would cost for the people involved to subsist on the way. Animals have to be hired, containers to be provided, drivers to be paid, and arrangements for fodder, food, and water on the way have to be made. The loss of an occasional caravan, moreover, is a far more expensive matter than the loss of an occasional 'Uqayl.

There are examples of caravaneers carrying humble goods for a long way in Arabia, too. Thus natives of nineteenth-century 'Unayza, a city in the Qašîm, found it worth their while to transport clarified butter collected from the local Bedouin all the way from 'Unayza to Mecca, covering some 450 miles and spending twenty days or more on the way. We are told that they would recoup by charging twice as much for their

53 Cf. the references given above, n32.
51 Musil, Ruwâs, p. 286.
44 Later evidence shows the transport costs of caravan trade to have been surprisingly low (cf. Steensgaard, Caravans, Caravans and Companies, pp. 31 ff.). As soon as a desert had to be negotiated, though, transport costs rose steeply (ibid., p. 39); and the calculations apply only to caravan trade in valuable goods: "of course, for cheaper goods it was an altogether different matter" (ibid., p. 39, with an example at p. 40).
WHAT TRADE MAY HAVE BEEN

goods as they were worth locally, and Wāqidi likewise has the Meccans making a gross profit of 100% in Syria. Where, then, is the difference? The journey to Syria was much longer, but even so the Meccan enterprise can hardly be said to have been of a different order.

The parallel breaks down in two ways, however. First, the 'Unayzīs were servicing tourists in a city that produced nothing in itself, and that also lacked a fertile hinterland; clarified butter was a rare commodity in Mecca, and prices were scarcely an objection. But southern Syria in the sixth and seventh centuries was neither a tourist land nor a land so deprived of resources as Mecca and environs. The customers of Quraysh were tribesmen, villagers, and townsmen who produced most of what they needed themselves and who could have obtained most of what they needed in addition from local caravanners such as the Christian Ishmaelites who operated at Nessana. They were under no constraint to buy their hides, clarified butter, or coarse clothing from traders coming from almost twice as far away as the 'Unayzīs. In short, it is hard to believe that there was a market in southern Syria for humble goods transported from so far afield.

Second, the 'Unayzīs had their base in the Qaṣīm, the fertile part of central Arabia in which the 'Uqayl organization also had its centre, whereas Quraysh had theirs in the Ḥijāz, or more precisely in the lowlands thereof known as Tihāma. Not only Mecca but the entire Ḥijāz is described in the modern literature as patchy in terms of agriculture, poor in terms of pasture land, and generally quite unproductive. The exegetes inform us that Quraysh engaged in trade precisely because there was no other way in which they could make a living in Mecca. But the idea that trade in other people's commodities is something one can pull out of one's sleeve for purposes of occupying places unsuitable for human, or at least settled, occupation is somewhat naive. How, for example, did a city bereft of pasture land provide fodder for the 1,000 or even 2,500 camels of which their caravans are sometimes said to have been composed? The figures are, of course, quite unrealistic, but

16 Doughty, Travels, ii, 487; Wāqidi, Ḍaḥāʾiq, 1, p. 200, cf. p. 387. Wāqidi's details, unknown to Ibn Ishaq, are common in the literature after him.
17 Foreign Office, Arabia, pp. 9, 11, 29; Admiralty, Handbook of Arabia, 1, 98 ff.
18 Thus for example Ibn Qutayba, Musḥkī al-Qur’ān, p. 319.
19 Cf. Wāqidi, Ḍaḥāʾiq, 1, 12, 27, on the caravans that the Prophet tried to intercept at
they serve to highlight the problem. The Meccans had to import all their foodstuffs, and presumably fodder too, not to mention the *qaraz* which they used in tanning.\(^6\) Some of their provisions, notably fruit, came from neighbouring Ta'if, a city that God is supposed to have moved from Syria to Arabia for the express purpose of ensuring that the Meccans had something to eat.\(^6\) But man does not live on fruit alone, still less do beasts, and other foodstuffs had to be imported from further afield.\(^6\) But foodstuffs imported from far away must have been expensive, and grain carried by caravan from Syria at a distance of some eight hundred miles must have been incredibly costly: that which Medina, some two hundred miles to the north of Mecca, imported from southern Syria is explicitly said to have been a luxury that only the rich could afford.\(^6\) How, then, could the Meccans at large afford it? How, in other words, could they trade in Syria from a place that was not only far away, but also devoid of food and other amenities that human beings and other animals generally require to engage in activities of any kind?

The standard answer to this question is that Mecca was a sanctuary that attracted pilgrims. Quraysh, we are told, began by trading with the pilgrims and in due course extended their sphere of activities, no doubt spending some of their pilgrim money in Syria. I shall come back to this hypothesis in the next chapter. All I wish to say here is that even if it were true, it would not solve the problem. How could the Meccans cope with thousands of pilgrims, their mounts, and other animals on top of the local human and animal population? It was possible after the con-
quests, but only thanks to regular imports of grain from Egypt (by sea, of course), lavish digging of wells, and other forms of attention from the rulers of the Middle East, who had infinitely more resources at their disposal than the pre-Islamic Meccans. As far as pre-Islamic Mecca is concerned, the more people we choose to place in it, the more imports of expensive food by caravan we need to postulate. Naturally pilgrim money ought to have helped, if pilgrim money was indeed available. But even if we accept that Mecca was an object of pilgrimage in pre-Islamic times, we have to confront the problem that the Meccans are almost invariably said not to have traded with the pilgrims. And even if we are willing to impugn the veracity of the sources on this point, we are still left with the problem that the Meccans invested their money in commodities of the kind that could not be transported from Mecca to Syria by land without becoming more expensive than Syrian varieties of similar or higher quality. Why would the Syrians buy these commodities? How could Quraysh afford to import necessities at such a price and on such a scale? Why, in short, was Qurashi trade a viable enterprise?

There are at least four ways in which this problem could be solved. All four, however, require rejection of at least one proposition on which there is total agreement in the sources; in other words, all four require the adoption of a more sceptical attitude to these sources than has prevailed so far in this work. So far I have analyzed discrepancies between the secondary literature and the sources, and between statements made in the sources themselves, without querying the fundamental reliability of the tradition; on the contrary, I have presupposed it: this is how I have isolated the body of evidence with which we must now try to reconstruct the nature of Meccan trade. But now it seems that the overall reliability of the tradition must be queried: the sources are agreed on what can scarcely be called other than mutually contradictory propositions. Some readers may be inclined to accept these propositions bilā kayf, arguing that Meccan trade was as described, however little sense it may appear to make; but this seems an unsatisfactory solution. If Meccan trade existed, it must have been trade of an intelligible kind; and if the sources fail to describe it as such, then we must consider the possibility that the sources are at fault.

If we chose to do so, the first and most obvious hypothesis to try out

---

65 I shall take up this point in the following chapter.
ARABIA WITHOUT SPICES

is that the trading centre of Quraysh was located much closer to Syria than modern Mecca, that is to say, somewhere in the northern Hijaz within easy reach of Busra, Adhrati, and Gaza. If Quraysh were in this area, they would no longer be engaged in the peculiar task of selling imported coal in Newcastle, but rather in that of distributing coal of local origin in Newcastle and environs; and the fact that they frequently bought identical or similar goods for themselves would cease to be odd. In favour of this idea, it could be said that the relationship between Mecca and Syria comes across as unusually close in the sources. Just as the Meccans would visit Syria, so Syrian and other Byzantine traders would visit Mecca, and Mecca was also linked with Byzantine Syria in political terms. Thus Qusayy is said to have received Byzantine assistance for his conquest of Mecca, while 'Uthman b. al-`Ijaz thought that the Byzantines might like to have a client king there. It was from the Syrian desert that Qusayy arrived for his conquest of the city, more precisely from the land of `Udhra, a Qu`ayy tribe; and his Qu`ayy relatives participated in the conquest, too. Indeed, the Qurashi link with Byzantium was such that it was a Qurashi in Syria, according to Theophanes, who gave warning to the Byzantines when the Muslim invasion of Syria began. Topographically, Syria was also far better known to Qusayy than any other maja`ir of theirs. Names such as Busra, Adhrati, Zarqa, Ma'an, Balqa, Sharat, and Gaza are mentioned with some frequency, and the sights of southern Syria are treated as landmarks familiar to the Meccans at large. Thus when Amina was...

66 Cf. above, ch. 6 nn. 26-28.
67 Ibn Qutayba, Ma'dirif, p. 279.
69 On the death of Qusayy's father, his mother married an `Udhri and went to live in Syria, taking Qusayy with her; on learning his true origins, Qusayy returned to Mecca and conquered it from Khuzay'a with the help of his half-brother Rizâh, who came to jam` min al-Shâm wa-al-`Afnâ`a Qusayy (Ibn Hâhib, Munammar, pp. 16 f., 81 ff.; Ya`qûbi, Ta'rikh, i 273 ff.; Ibn Hishâm, Leven, pp. 75 f.; Baladburi, Ansâb, 1, 48 ff. The story is told in other sources, too).
70 Theophanes, Chronographia, 1, 335, A.M. 6123 (a Koraish called Kouatha; cf. ibid., p. 355, A.M. 6169, where Mu`awiya has a council of amirs and Koraish, Qurashis).
71 The Meccan familiarity with Syrian towns such as Busra also impressed Lammens (Meccae, p. 142).
Given that there is no way of eliminating the overriding importance of Syria, it might thus be argued that Quraysh had two trading centres rather than one, possibly to be envisaged as an original settlement and a later offshoot. Whichever might be the original settlement, there would be a centre in the north, associated above all with Umayyads, and another somewhere in the south, associated primarily with Hashimites and Makhzūmīs, the two being linked by common origin, commercial relations, and marriage ties. Such a hypothesis would wreak much more havoc in the traditional account of Muhammad's life than a mere relocation of Mecca. Yet, as will be seen, Muslim accounts of the Meccan sanctuary also suggest that more than one place is being described.

A third possibility is that we should make a sharp distinction between Mecca and Qurashi trade, or in other words, envisage Quraysh as a trading people operating more or less independently of the place in which they were recruited. Such trading peoples are well known from pre-oil Arabia. Thus Pliny's Gebbanitac as reconstructed by Beeston originated, perhaps, in the Niṣāb area, but operated all over southwest Arabia, handling frankincense, cinnamon, and other aromatics wherever they went, and setting themselves up in a number of towns outside their homeland, which does not appear to have functioned as the centre of either collection or distribution. Similarly, the 'Uqayl were active wherever there were camels. The families who organized the trade were settled in the Qaṣīm, where the agents likewise tended to be recruited. But though the Qaṣīm to some extent served as the centre of collection and distribution, much of the trade was conducted outside it. There is an even more striking example in the Kubaysīs, all or most of whom came from Kubaysa in Iraq, but who operated as itinerant traders in Arabia, trading practically everywhere, it seems, except in Kubaysa itself. All three peoples specialized in certain commodities as types of trade rather than a certain region, and in the case of the Kubaysīs and 'Uqaylīs this was clearly a result of the dispersed nature of both goods and customers. Since Quraysh likewise handled goods produced everywhere in the peninsula, it makes sense that they should have been widely dispersed, operating as far away as Syria and the Ḥaḍramawt, and even Ethiopia, without much overall connection between their ac-

---

79 Cf. the references given above, n. 32.
80 Musil, Rurāla, p. 169.
tivities in north and south. Mecca would simply be the place of recruitment, to some extent perhaps of organization, but not the centre of collection. There would not be any one centre of collection, but rather numerous minor ones; and insofar as there was any centre of distribution, this was clearly the pilgrim fairs, notably 'Ukāz and Dhūl-Majāz, not Mecca—a point to which I shall come back. This model would have the additional advantage of making Quraysh extremely well connected, especially in the western half of the peninsula, without eroding them with a political predominance or “Meccan commonwealth” supposedly built up on the Ethiopian conquest of the Yemen.

The sources, of course, insist that Mecca was the centre of Qurashi trade, being the city for which all imports were destined and from which all caravans set out; and though Ibn al-Kalbi has Qurashi caravaneers pick up goods from local tribes on the way to Syria in his īlāf-tradition, neither he nor any other source known to me envisages them as trading on the way. What is more, if we distinguish between Mecca and Qurashi trade, we run into problems with the traditional account of how Muḥammad forced Mecca to surrender. But, on the one hand, the 'Uqayli model could perhaps be modified to avoid this problem. Thus it might be argued that Mecca was a transfer point for most goods handled by Quraysh even though most buying and selling took place outside it: pace Ibn al-Kalbi and others, they did trade on the way. On the other hand, it could be argued that the traditional account of how Muhammad forced Mecca to surrender should be rejected. For one thing, the number of caravans threatened or intercepted by Muhammad is considerably larger in Wāqidī than in Ibn Ishaq: the three caravans that are plundered by the Muslims over a period of five or six years in the latter’s work scarcely suffice to explain why a trading city of major importance, let alone one backed by a “Meccan Commonwealth” should have surrendered to a nest of robbers. And if the number of caravans involved increased at the same exponential rate of growth before Ibn Ishaq as it did between Ibn Ishaq and Wāqidī, we soon arrive at a stage at which not a single one remains. For another thing, it is by no means obvious that Mecca did surrender peacefully. “We trampled upon Mecca by force with our swords,” as 'Abbās b. Mirdās remembered it.86 “The Muslims advanced their swords against them, beating so that one could hear

86 Ibn Hishām, Lebes, p. 860: republished with notes and further references in 'Abbās b. Mirdās, Birwān, xxiv, 8.

165
nothing except the cries of men in battle," as another poet put it.81 "Our swords have left you a slave, and 'Abd al-Dār, their leaders, are slave girls," as Ḥassān b. Thābit boasted.82 And early lawyers were also of the opinion that Mecca had been conquered by force.83 There is thus no reason to reject the 'Uqayli model simply because it is at odds with the received version of Muḥammad's life.

Yet whichever model we adopt, the fact remains that two areas in particular are reflected in the traditions on the Prophet's life, that is, southern Syria and the northern Ḥijāz on the one hand, the Sarāt and other places to the south of modern Mecca on the other. Why should this be so? Where was Muḥammad active before the ḥijra, and which was the city that he forced to surrender or conquered by force? Where was the sanctuary? There appears to be no way of making sense of Qurashi trade without undermining the tradition at large.

Finally, it could be argued that the entire attempt to reconstruct the nature of Meccan trade is futile. If the sources assert that the Meccans stopped trading outside Mecca or started doing so, exported commodities in return for which they were paid in bullion or exported bullion in return for which they bought commodities, or exported commodities in return for others, then one has every right to suspect that what the sources preserve is not recollections of what Meccan trade was like, but rather versions of what early storytellers thought it could have been like, each version being perfectly plausible in itself because it is based on knowledge of the kinds of trade that were conducted in Arabia. If this is so, it is not surprising that the traditions fail to add up to a coherent picture, nor should we attempt to make them do so. It would not be the case that certain details are wrong and others right, but that all should be dismissed as embroidery on general themes such as trade, wealth, raids, and the like.

81 J. Wellhausen, ed. and tr., "Letzter Teil der Lieder der Hudhailiten," p. 137 (no. 183), where it is attributed to Abū Raʾās al-Sāhili. The poem is also cited in Ibn Hishām, Lehen, p. 818, with much the same story about the author, here Ḥimās b. Qays (similarly Wāqidi, Maḥbūb, 11, 833, without the poem). But we are now assured that the poem does not refer to the conquest of Mecca as such, only to an isolated pocket of resistance led by the three men whose names are mentioned in the poem.
82 Ḥassān b. Thābit in Ibn Hishām, Lehen, p. 819 (= Dirān, ed. Hirschfeld, no. 1, lines 21 f.). 'Ararat rejected this line (Dirān, 1, 19 f.).
THE SANCTUARY AND MECCAN TRADE

The genesis of Meccan trade is conventionally explained with reference to the fact that Mecca was a haram or sanctuary area. On the one hand, it was the object of an annual pilgrimage. It thus became a pilgrim fair, “a typical . . . combination of pilgrim center and marketplace,” as Donner puts it. On the other hand it was inviolable, no bloodshed being permitted within it. It was thus apt to attract settlers and visitors all the year round, and according to Watt it became a commercial center because it was a place “to which men could come without fear of molestation.” It is not always clear in the secondary literature whether it was the annual pilgrimage or the permanent inviolability, or both, that stimulated the growth of trade; nor is it always clear when the sanctuary began to have its stimulating effect: according to some, Mecca was a cultic and commercial center even in antiquity, though it is more commonly said only to have developed into one on its occupation by Quraysh. There is not, however, any disagreement on the basic point: one way or the other, Meccan haram and Meccan trade were intimately linked, as practically every author on the subject states. But why has this proposition gained axiomatic status?

As regards antiquity, the proposition is gratuitous in that we do not know anything about trade in Mecca before its occupation by Quraysh. The belief arises from the identification of Mecca with Ptolemy’s Makuraba. But this identification is untenable, as has already been shown;

1 F. M. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests*, p. 51.
2 Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, p. 3.
3 Mecca is conjectured to have been a major cultic and commercial centre even in antiquity in Grohmann, “Makuraba”; similarly Hitti, *Capital Cities*, pp. 4 f.; and Donner believes it to have functioned as a pilgrim fair for centuries before the rise of Islam (*Conquests*, p. 51). For other views, see the discussion in Simon, *“Huns et ilâf,”* p. 206 n.
and even if it were not, it would not enable us to say anything about the city, inasmuch as Ptolemy offers no information about it apart from the longitude and latitude at which it was located. The Islamic tradition has it that the Amalekite and Jurhumite rulers of Mecca used to collect tithes from traders there, but is otherwise silent on the subject.

It could, moreover, be argued that Quraysh were traders even before they occupied Mecca. An 'Uqla inscription dating from about 270-278 A.D. enumerates Qrāšīn as guests of a Ḥaḍramī king along with representatives of Ṭaḏmar, Kašd, and Hind. The Qrāšīn are assumed to be Qurashi women; and if the other guests were Palmyrenes, Chaldaeans, and Indians, the meeting presumably had something to do with trade. If so, Quraysh would appear to have been traders of some importance as early as the third century A.D.; and since they only settled in Mecca two centuries later or so, their trade could evidently not owe anything to the sacred status of this city. One would not, however, wish to attach too much importance to this inscription. Khadija, Aṣmā', Hind, and other female traders notwithstanding, it is odd that Quraysh should have been represented by fourteen women and not a single male, fourteen also being too many in view of the fact that the hypothetical Palmyrenes, Chaldaeans, and Indians only sent two representatives. Whatever the women were doing in the Ḥaḍramawt, they had hardly been sent there to discuss trade. If their identification as Qurashi women is correct, Quraysh must have enjoyed an importance in the third century of which the Islamic tradition preserves no recollection at all, and this is a startling thought. But the importance was not necessarily commercial, and the identification could be wrong. There may have been trade in Mecca be-

---

1 Cf. above, ch. 6, pp. 134-36.
2 Aghānī, xv, 12 f.; Mašūdī, Murūj, iii, 99.
3 A. Jamme, ed. and tr., *The Al 'Uqlab Texts* (Documenta Arch. III), pp. 38, 44 (Ja 919, 931). Both parts of the inscription have been published before, but the crucial words had not yet been deciphered (cf. *Revue d'Égyptologie* (1981), p. 192).
4 Jamme takes the identification of the women as Qurashi for granted and considers the possibility that the Hindites were Indians, but makes no suggestions regarding the identity of Taḏmar and Kašd (Al-'Uqlab Texts, pp. 1, 25, 38 f., 45). It is to Professor A. F. L. Beeston that I owe the suggestion that we may here be seeing Indians, Chaldaeans, Palmyrenes, and Quraysh together (personal communication).
6 Jamme offers no speculations on what they might be doing, though he too thinks that there must have been more than trade at the meeting (Al-‘Uqlab Texts, p. 25).
fore its occupation by Quraysh, and Quraysh may have been traders before they occupied the city; but the fact of the matter is that we know nothing about either question.

What, then, do we know about the relationship between the Meccan bur'am and Qurashi trade after the Qurashi occupation of the city? On this question the tradition offers a fair amount of information. We may start by considering whether Mecca was a pilgrim fair.

The tradition is almost unanimous that it was not a pilgrim fair. A famous list of pre-Islamic fairs enumerates some sixteen fairs as having been of major importance in Arabia before Islam. Not one of the several versions of this list mentions Mecca. What is more, there is no question of Mecca having been somehow forgotten. We are told that three of the fairs in question, that is, 'Ukāz, Dhū'l-Majāz, and Majanna, were held in the holy months. Having traded there, people would perform their ritual duties at 'Arafa (located in the vicinity of these fairs just outside Mecca) and then go home. Thus one version. More commonly we are told that they would prepare for the pilgrimage to Mecca. This they would do on the day of tarwiyah (8 Dhu'l-Hijja) by calling a halt to trade and transferring from 'Ukāz or Dhū'l-Majāz to 'Arafa. On this day, too, they would be joined by all those who had not attended the fairs in question, having nothing to buy or sell. No trade was conducted at 'Arafa or Minā. A fortiori, no trade was conducted in Mecca itself.

[Footnotes]
11 The fullest version is given in Marzūqī, Azmina, ii, 161 ff.; shorter ones are found in Ibn Ḥabīb, Muḥabbār, pp. 263 ff.; Abū Ḥayyān, Imtā', i, 83 ff.; Ya'qūbī, Tā'īkh, 1, 313 ff.; Qašqarī, Subhā, i, 410 ff. The section relating to the pilgrim fairs is also reproduced in a somewhat different form in Azraqī, Makka, pp. 129 ff.; Ibn Ḥabīb, Munammaq, pp. 274 ff. Some additional material is cited in Bārī, Majām, pp. 660 ff.; Yaḥyū Buldān, iii, 704 ff., both sv. 'Ukāz. In general, see also S. al-Afghānī, Arwāq al-'arab fi'l-jāhilīyya wa'l Islām.
12 Thus Abū Ḥayyān, Imtā', p. 85 (bhumma yaqīfūna bi 'Arafa wa yaqīfūna majalūyīm min munā'ikibim bhumma yatawa'yahāna ilā awṣānihibim).
13 Ya'qūbī, Tā'īkh, i, 314; Ibn Ḥabīb, Munammaq, p. 275; id., Muḥabbār, p. 267; Marzūqī, Azmina, ii, 166; Azraqī, Makka, p. 129. Compare also Aqūn, xxiv, p. 57, where the fair of 'Ukāz is envisaged as continuing right up to the beginning of the pilgrimage.
14 Azraqī, Makka, p. 130; Marzūqī, Azmina, ii, 166.
The list of pre-Islamic fairs goes back to Ibn al-Kalbî, but the section on the pilgrim fairs is derived from his father's Tafsîr, presumably ad 2:194.16 By way of background to this verse, other exegetes also inform us that the pre-Islamic Arabs used not to trade during the pilgrimage, that is in a state of iḥrâm;17 accordingly, we are told, no trading was conducted at either 'Arafâ, Dhû'l-Majâz, and Majanna, not as Mecca, Minâ, or 'Arafâ, so Mecca still is not envisaged as a pilgrim fair. Either way, God himself put an end to the qualms in question when he revealed 2:194: "it is no fault in you that you should seek bounty from your lord." It was then that people began to trade at 'Arafâ, Minâ, and, once more implicitly, Mecca itself during the pilgrimage.18 Indeed, given that 'Ukâz,
some cogency that Mecca was not an object of pilgrimage at all in pre-Islamic times.16 As I shall show, Wellhausen’s hypothesis makes effortless sense of the evidence. The pre-Islamic Arabs did trade during the pilgrimage. But they did not trade in Mecca during the pilgrimage, because the pilgrimage did not go to Mecca before the rise of Islam.

That the pre-Islamic Arabs traded during the pilgrimage is easily shown. 'Ukāz, Dhū'l-Majāz, and Majanna were ḥarams which one would visit in the holy months,17 that is to say, as pilgrims. They were also ḥarams at which people would trade. The pre-Islamic Arabs thus traded during the pilgrimage, and naturally they did so in a state of ḳiṣāma, the consecrated state of pilgrims: how could they be pilgrims if they were not in this state? Ibn Habīb informs us that Quraysh would never go to Dhū'l-Majāz except in a state of ḳiṣāma.18 Quraysh were also in a state of ḳiṣāma at 'Ukāz when the war of Fījār provoked by Barrāḍ broke out.19 And according to Azraqī, nobody would go to either 'Ukāz, Dhū'l-Majāz, or Majanna except in a state of ḳiṣāma (ṣūrā muhrīmūn bi'l-ḥajj).20 Our sources no doubt take it that people would go in this state because trading at the fairs in question was followed by the pilgrimage to 'Arafa, Minā, and Mecca, but this is evidently wrong. If people went in a consecrated state to holy places in the holy months, they were going as pilgrims to the places in question. Visiting 'Ukāz, Dhū'l-Majāz, and Majanna was part of the pilgrimage, not a prolegomenon to it. In short, it was as pilgrims that visitors to 'Ukāz, Dhū'l-Majāz, and Majanna would engage in trade.

From 'Ukāz, Dhū'l-Majāz, and Majanna the pilgrims would proceed to 'Arafa and Minā. But would they proceed to Mecca, too? Wellhausen denied it on the ground that the Muslim pilgrimage is still conducted largely outside Mecca, a point hard to dispute. Though it begins in Mecca, its formal start is at 'Arafa; and though it ends in Mecca, too, its real termination is at Minā, this being where sacrifices are made and

16 Wellhausen, Reste, pp. 79 ff.
17 "He brought it to the market of 'Ukāz in the baram," as we are told of someone trying to sell a sword at 'Ukāz, where he was killed in the baram (Ağbānī, xl. 119). For the dates of the fairs, see the references listed above, n 11.
18 Ibn Habīb, Munammāq, p. 275.
19 Ibn Habīb, Munammāq, p. 196 (qadīma sūq 'Ukāz jāwajadāl-nās bi-'Ukāz qad ḫudāra'īl-
sūq wa'l-nās muhrīmūn il' bājj).
20 Azraqī, Makka, p. 132.
heads are shaved, whereupon the state of ibrāʿ is abandoned.11 This suggests that the visits to Mecca have been added to an originally independent ritual, and there are two further points in support of this view. First, as Wellhausen himself noted, the religious offices connected with the pilgrimage to ‘Arafa were in the hands of Tamimis and others, not of Qurashis: Quraysh are presented as responsible only for the pilgrims in Mecca itself.12 Second, Mecca is an odd place in which to end the hajj. Minā and ‘Arafa were uninhabited places devoid of guardians and permanent inhabitants, being active only in the holy months. So also were ‘Ukāz, Dhul’-Majāz, and Majanna, the bārans with which the pilgrimage started: the five sanctuaries outside Mecca form a natural group. But Mecca was a city with a permanent population and a shrine endowed with guardians. It was thus a shrine on a par with that of Allāt at Tāʾīf or al-ʿUzza at Nakhla, not a desert sanctuary. The pilgrimage was a ritual performed at times and places in which everybody downed arms and nobody was in control: a sanctuary owned by a specific tribe does not belong in this complex.

It could, of course, be argued that the pilgrimage had been extended to Mecca even in pre-Islamic times, and this is how Lammens saw it: the originally independent sanctuaries of ‘Arafa and Minā, according to him, had been reduced to mere stations on the way to Mecca even before the rise of Islam by the enterprising Quraysh in the course of their commercial expansion.13 But this is unlikely to be correct. In the first place, the tradition is too eager to dissociate ‘Arafa and Minā from the other desert sanctuaries, attaching them to Mecca instead. When the exegetes tell us that the pagan Arabs used to abstain from trading during the pilgrimage (meaning the Muslim pilgrimage to ‘Arafa, Minā, and Mecca), or that they did trade during the pilgrimage (but only during the pagan pilgrimage to ‘Ukāz, Dhul’-Majāz, and Majanna), they are concerned to present Minā and ‘Arafa as places of particular holiness. But people did
along with other requisites, the only reward of their Meccan hosts, according to some, being a share in the pilgrims' sacrifices. And it was to neighbouring tribes, not to pilgrims, that the Meccans were reputed to have sold idols. For the flourishing trade with pilgrims in Mecca described, for example, by Margoliouth, there is no support in the tradition, while that presented by Lapidus in fact refers to 'Ukāz. This is not to deny that Quraysh owed much of their wealth to the pilgrimage. "How did they make a living if not from the pilgrimage?" as 'Umar asks in response to the question on the legitimacy of combining pilgrimage and trade. But the pilgrimage on which they flourished was the pagan one to sanctuaries outside Mecca, above all 'Umm al-Jamūz. These were the pilgrim fairs at which "people made a living in the Jāhilīyya," the mawāṣim al-ḥaḍīj that constituted their maṭjr, their place of trade. When we are told that Quraysh used to trade only with those who came to Mecca, Mecca is more or less automatically glossed as meaning Dhūl-Majāz and 'Ukāz here as elsewhere "Mecca" is an

42 Cf. Kister, "Mecca and Tamīm," pp. 136 and the note thereon, 137, 139
43 Cf. above, ch. 4, no. 11.
44 Cf. Margoliouth, Mohammed, p. 13. It is true that Hubal's guardians charged a fee for oracular advice; but it is Quraysh themselves, not foreign pilgrims, who are presented as the customers (a point to which I shall return shortly). A visitor's tax is attested for Byzantine traders, but again not for pilgrims (cf. Aṣiraqi, Makka, p. 107). Lammens takes the ḥarīm mentioned by Ibn Durayd to be a tax on pilgrims (cf. Mecque, p. 140; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Ibn Durayd, Kitāb al-wābiqāq, p. 282). In fact, however, the ḥarīm was a share in the pilgrims' sacrifices that Qurash hosts would receive in return for looking after them and providing for their needs (cf. Kister, "Mecca and Tamīm," p. 136n. And even this interpretation could be disputed; cf. the alternative story about 'Uqayyīlim, the mānī al ḥarīm, cited ibid. from Balādhurī). Lapidus, "The Arab Conquests," p. 59; compare Wellhausen, Reste, pp. 89 f.
45 Taḥarī, Jamī', n. 160; Ibn Kathīr, Tajūf, t. 1, 240 (wa ba al kānat ma'ayisbūnum illā fil-ḥaḍīj).
46 Kāna 'Ukāz wa Dhūl Majāz wasāqābum fil-jāhilīyya yaqūtmūnabā mawāṣim al-ḥaḍīj wa kānat ma'ayisbūnum minhā (Bayḍawī, Anwār, i. 145). Kāna maṭjr al wāṣ fil-jāhilīyya 'Ukāz wa Dhūl-Majāz (Tabari, Jamī', n. 159, citing 'Amr b. Dinār from Ibn 'Abbās). Kānat 'Ukāz wa Majāma wa Dhūl Majāz wasāqāqan fil-jāhilīyya (Ibn Kathīr, Tajūf, t. 1, 239, citing the same). All statements are made in explanation of 2:194, which was revealed fīmawāṣīm al-ḥaḍīj.
47 Kānat Quraysh la ṭutājiru illā māa ma'ārūna 'alayhā Makkata fil-mawāṣīm wa-hi Dar' Majāz wa-tūq 'Ukāz wa-fīl-arhabul-κurum (Tha'lībī, Thīmār, p. 115). This passage clearly does not describe three alternative places or dates of arrival. fil-mawāṣīm is synon-
The sources thus make it clear that sanctuaries did contribute to Quraishi wealth; but it was sanctuaries other than that of Mecca which made the contribution.

It might still be argued that Mecca, though not an object of pilgrimage, nonetheless attracted visitors in Rajab, when the 'umra was made, and that these visitors stimulated trade. But for one thing, it could be argued that the bâjj and the 'umra were destined for the same sanctuary: if the bâjj stopped short of Mecca, the 'umra did, as well. For another thing, there is only the feeblest suggestion that the 'umra generated trade. And though Hubal, the deity accommodated in the Ka'ba, may

---

48 Events located at Mecca in one source will be located at Dhul-Majaz or 'Ukaz in an other (cf. above, n49; and compare the equivalence of Mecca and Dhul-Majaz in n39). When Ibn Sa'd says that the Prophet "stayed in Mecca for as long as he stayed, calling the tribes to God and offering himself to them every year at Majanna, 'Ukaz and Minâ," he is implicitly turning the pilgrim fairs into parts of Mecca without saying anything incorrect (Tabaqat, 1. 217; similarly p. 216). When the sources speak of the pilgrim fairs as "the markets of Mecca" (cf. the following note), they again tend to envisage them as extensions of Mecca rather than as markets outside it at which the Meccans traded; and naturally the modern reader follows suit.

49 Bakrî, Muqam, p. 660, s.v. 'Ukaz: 'Ukaz, Majanna, and Dhul-Majaz were arsâq li Makka; cf. Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqat, viii, 323: Dhul-Majaz was a suq min arsâq Makka.

50 Yaqût, Buldân, tt. 705, s.v. 'Ukaz, citing Wájidi; cf. Ibn Habib, Muhabbar, p. 267 (kānat 'Ukaz min a zami arsâq al-`arab).

51 Cf. Wellhausen, Reste, pp. 84, 97 ff.

52 This was not Wellhausen's view, but compare Nommès's description of an Arabian sanctuary of the same type as the complex of pilgrim fairs known from the Islamic tradition, possibly even identical with it: it was visited in all three holy months, including Rajab (below, nn 117-18). And note that the 'umra seems to go to Dhul-Majaz in one of the accounts of the conversion of Medina cited above, n39.

53 One version of the bilf al-fudâlí story has it that the Yemeni, who was wronged in Mecca, has come to make the 'umra and engage in trade (qadona Makkah mu'tamran bi-bîdâ', thus
THE SANCTUARY AND TRADE

for all we know have attracted visitors all the year round, there is little to indicate that Mecca was a market of major importance at all. It had a sāq, and there is occasional mention of Hudhaliṣ, Kinānīs, and others selling camels, sheep, slaves, and other commodities there. Saifān b. Umayya is said to have sold Egyptian imports in the lower part of the city, and a Tamīmī is said to have had his matjar in Mecca (but the parallel version omits the matjar, and a variant version also fails to mention trade). Byzantine traders are said to have visited Mecca, and Jews are also supposed to have been active there, as we have seen already. But the sources give us to understand that Qurashi trade was conducted

Ibn Abī'l Ḥadīd, Sharḥ, vii, 46; Kalāʿī, Ikṭīfā, p. 146, both citing Zubayr b. Bakrār. But in the prediction story cited in Kalāʿī, Kirāb al-ikṭīfā, pp. 240 f., Abū Nuʿaym, Dalāʿīl, p. 122, the Yahthribis who make the ḍumra are merely accompanied by a trader, a Jew who evidently was not making the ḍumra himself. I know of no other stories in which ḍumra and trade are mentioned together.

There is no indication of seasonal patterns in accounts of visits to Hubal. For the votive offerings that he received, see Azraqi, Makkā, pp. 31, 49. Compare the votive offerings received by Allāt (above, ch. 3 no. 4). Votive offerings are not, of course, evidence of trade.

Thus Nubayh b. al-Hajāj found it hard to maintain his two wives on what he earned during the day in the sāqof Mecca (Ibn Hābīb, Munammaq, p. 53). Abū Jahl was sitting fi-nahiyat min al-sāq when a Zubaydi came to complain to the Prophet about an injustice (Haḷādhuri, Ansāb, i, 130—a variation on the bīf al-fudul story).

Thus an Irāshī sold camels to Abū Jahl, who refused to pay, whereupon Muhammad redressed the injustice (Ibn Ḥishām, Leḥem, p. 237; Balādhuri, Ansāb, i, 128; Abū Nuʿaym, Dalāʿīl, p. 166 f.). A Sulānī sold camels to a Meccan who likewise refused to pay (Ibn Hābīb, Munammaq, p. 164). A Hudhali selling sheep in Mecca caught sight of Abū Jahl (Balādhuri, Ansāb, i, 128. All these are more variations on the bīf al-fudul theme).

A Hudhali sold a prisoner of war in Mecca (above, ch. 4, no. 79). Since Dhū'l-Majāz was located in Hudhali territory it is, however, possible that Mecca here stands for Dhū'l-Majāz.

A Kinānī sold an unspecified commodity in Mecca (Ibn Hābīb, Munammaq, pp. 275 f.). Two Abālīs are supposed to have sold trousers from Hajar there (above, ch. 4 no. 75). And iddhkhār was exchanged there for ṭibām (above, ch. 3 no. 49).


Ibn Abī'l Ḥadīd, Sharḥ, vi, pp. 465 f.; Ibn 'Asākir, Tabdibih, vi, 319; cf. Kister, “Mecca and Tamīm,” pp. 110 f. Both tell a story about a Tamīmī protégé of Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib who got slapped by Ḥarb b. Umayya in Mecca. Ibn 'Asākir does not, however, mention that the Tamīmī had come to Mecca for trade; and trade is also absent from the story in which it is a protégé of Khalaf b. Asʿad who gets slapped by Ḥarb b. Umayya (Raddīl, p. 76; cited by Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, Sharḥ, vi, 457).

Cf. above, ch. 5, p. 139
ARABIA WITHOUT SPICES

overwhelmingly outside Mecca, in Syria, the Yemen, and elsewhere, and above all at the pilgrim fairs.

One is thus inclined to be suspicious of the claim that Qurashi trade developed because men could come to Mecca without fear of molestation. Actually, here, as so often, Mecca has been conflated with the pilgrim fairs around it. The only time at which people could come to Mecca without fear of molestation was in the holy months; but the holy months did not, of course, owe their existence to the Meccan sanctuary, and it was to 'Ukāz, Dhūl-Majāz, and other pilgrim fairs that Meccans and others alike would go during the months in question. The advantage that Mecca is believed to have derived from its sacred status (apart from the pilgrimage that has already been discussed) is a permanent inviolability which meant that people could live there without fear of molestation, be it by neighbouring tribes or private enemies elsewhere. The exegetes make much of the claim that Mecca was exempt from raids and other violence, God having granted it immunity from perils of this kind in response to Abraham's prayer for safety and sustenance; and it is often stated in the secondary literature that Mecca attracted outlaws, fugitives, and others in need of refuge. Be this as it may, the exegetes develop the theme of inviolability in a fashion precisely opposite to Watt when it comes to trade. It is not that others could come to Mecca without fear of molestation, but on the contrary that the Meccans themselves could go away from Mecca without such fear. Whereas other Arabs, we are told, were unable to leave their territories without risking being raided, Quraysh were safe wherever they went, their connection with the sanctuary conferring inviolability on them. If they were raided by mistake, their property would be restored to them on discovery of their identity because, as it was said, a Qurashi is inviolable everywhere.

This idea is not confined to the exegetes. Thus one version of the list

61 Ṭabarî, Ḣamī', xxx, p. 172; Suyūtī, Durr, vii, 397; Rāzī, Maṣāḥīḥ, viii, 513; Tūsî, Ti byān, p. 414 (the latter without reference to Abraham); cf. Qur'ān, 14:40. All are commenting on Sūra 106.
63 Kalā'ī, Ikṣifā, p. 78, citing Abū 'Ubayda (al-Qurashi bi-kulli baladān barām); similarly Qatāda in Ṭabarî, Ḣamī', xxx, 172.
of pre-Islamic fairs has it that all Mudar and their allies (though not all Arabs, as implied by the exegetes) regarded Quraysh as inviolable because of their association with the bayt.\textsuperscript{64} And Jāhiz contrives to find a reference to this inviolability in a pre-Islamic poem, though this time in a contemptuous vein: being mere traders, we are told, Quraysh would seek refuge in their bayt and, on leaving it, decorate themselves with muqil and the bark of trees in order to make themselves recognizable to potential attackers. In short, there is evidence that Quraysh were regarded as holy men, not holy dispensers of justice as Serjeant would have it, but rather holy traders.\textsuperscript{66}

The claim is not altogether implausible. Traders have often been regarded as inviolable in Arabia, though they have not often had a sanctuary to make their inviolability respectable.\textsuperscript{67} And guardians of holy places have similarly tended to enjoy inviolability, though they have not often used it to be traders. That Quraysh were regarded as inviolable is nonetheless hard to accept.

First, who acknowledged the inviolability of Quraysh? Not all Arabs, for not all Arabs recognized the sanctity of Mecca, as the tradition itself admits.\textsuperscript{68} It could be the case that all Mudar and their allies did, as Marzuqi claims. But according to Ibn Ḥabīb’s version of the same passage, it was on grounds of kinship rather than holiness that these tribal groups would refrain from raising Quraysh: no Mudarī or ally of a Mudarī would molest Mudarī merchants, he says, meaning that Qaysī or Tamimī merchants enjoyed the same protection as the supposedly holy men of Quraysh.\textsuperscript{69} In fact, however, Quraysh can scarcely have enjoyed automatic protection on either ground, for the story of Hāshim’s ḥāf-agreements takes it for granted that they had to make special agreements for their safety on the way wherever they went. And the story of Ḥakam b. Abīl-ʿĀṣ’s ḥirār similarly presupposed lack of automatic protection,

\textsuperscript{64} Marzuqi, Azmina, u. 162.
\textsuperscript{65} Jāhiz, Ṭabīqū qawwala, p. 63. Cf. R. B. Serjeant, “Haram and Hawtah, the Sacred Enclave in Arabia.”
\textsuperscript{66} And despite the sanctuary, they clearly are not respectable in Jāhiz’s discussion. The poem on which he is commenting explicitly says that trade is despised (waʾl-iṣār a tabiyya), and Jāhiz explains that this is because traders could not defend themselves. Quraysh are thus pariahs here rather than holy men.
\textsuperscript{68} Ibn Ḥabīb, Muḥabbat, p. 164.
though it presupposes lack of special agreements as well, at least on the
route to Iraq. To restate the point in concrete terms, we are told by
Marzuqi and Ibn Ḥālib that Ṭayyī’i would refrain from raiding Quraysh
because they were allies of Mudār, who respected the sanctity of
Mecca or maybe just Mudārī kinship ties. But others tell us that, on the
contrary, Ṭayyī’i were among the tribes who did not respect the sanctity
of Mecca and who would even raid pilgrims in the holy months. Indeed,
It was because Ṭayyī’i and others did not respect the sanctity of Mecca
that Hāshim had to negotiate ḥāf-agreements. Nonetheless, it was also
from Ṭayyī’i that Ḥākam was obliged to seek ḥawār. One is thus disin­
clined to believe that either Mudār or their allies regarded Quraysh as
exempt from acts of aggression.

Second, how could Quraysh claim inviolability? To be inviolable in
tribal Arabia was to be excluded from the tribal commonwealth in
which prestige was determined largely by military strength. One could
be excluded because one was too holy to compete, as in the case of the
saint, or because one was too weak to do so, as in the case of the pariah;
but either way one had to renounce the use of force: one evidently can­
not claim to be both inviolable and a competitor in military terms. But
Quraysh were a warlike people. It is true that there are suggestions to
the contrary. Thus they are often said to have abstained from raiding; the
Jews of Medina attributed their defeat at Badr to their lack of mili­
tary experience; and Jāḥīz explains that traders in pre Islamic Arabia,
including Quraysh, were despised for their inability to defend them­
selves, an explanation that conjures up pariahs. But the tradition at
large is innocent of the idea that they were either unwilling or unable to
fight. There are stories in which they engage in Bedouin-style raids, or
set out to avenge their dead, and long accounts of their wars with the
Azd and other tribes, not to mention the wars of Fījār or their campaigns
against Muḥammad. Even members of trading caravans would gall­
antly engage in military skirmishes with other tribes on behalf of

74 Cf. above, ch. 5 n 23.
75 Kister, "Mecca and Ṭamīm," pp. 118 f., 142, citing Ṭhaʿalib, Jāḥīz, and others.
76 Ibid., pp. 136 f., 138, citing Jāḥīz and Ḥalabī.
77 Ibn Ḥishām, Leben, p. 383.
78 Cf. above, n n66, 67.
79 Cf. Ibn Ḥabīb, Munāmmag, pp. 150 f., where they leave Mecca to raid and plunder
tribes as far away as Ḥakhm and Bāl. See also pp. 124 ff., 146 f., 164, 235 ff.
THE SANCTUARY AND TRADE

weaker groups; and 'Abd al-Dār, the actual guardians of the Ka'ba, had no more renounced the use of arms than had the rest of Quraysh. Naturally, saints are not always so much above the use of force as they are supposed to be; but if they fight, they do so to the accompaniment of protests, and of such there are none in the tradition. Who, moreover, supplied practically all the leaders of the conquests? It is hard to believe that generals such as Khālid b. al-Walid or 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ started as men too holy (or too weak) for direct participation in the use of force.

Third, it is clear that the sources confuse temporary inviolability during the holy months with permanent inviolability arising from association with a sanctuary, the second institution being the only one to have survived the rise of Islam. When Jāḥiz says that Quraysh would decorate themselves with muqil and bark on leaving their sanctuary, he takes it that the inviolability which the outfit advertised arose from the sanctuary and was exclusive to its Qurashi inhabitants. But according to Abū 'Ubayda, the inhabitants of Yathrib would similarly decorate their turrets with ropes and stalks of palm leaves when they wished to make the 'umra or the pilgrimage: everyone would know that they had gone into a state of iḥrām, and they would thus be granted free passage. Or again, Ibn al-Kalbī informs us that pilgrims and traders in the holy months would decorate themselves with garlands of hair and tufts of wool to notify that they were exempt from the normal rules of tribal relations; pilgrims and traders coming from Mecca, though, would use bark, precisely as Jāḥiz says. And Azraqi has it that garlands of bark were also donned by those who had used violence in the haram as a means of averting retaliation. In all three cases, the visual display ad-

---

16 Ibn Ḥabīb, Munammaq, pp. 170, 441; Baladhuri, Ansāb, I, 102.
7 Cf. R. B. Serjeant, The Sāyiḍeṣ of Ḥadramawt, pp. 15, 17, 19
8 Ibn Ḥabīb, Munammaq, p. 327. The transmitter’s name is given as Ibn Abī 'Ubayda.
9 Marzūqī, Aṣāma, ii, 166 f. The details are given in connection with the dājj, the trader in the holy months, but the introductory paragraph makes it clear that they apply to the bājj as well.
10 Azraqi, Mukkā, p. 132. If someone killed, slapped, or beat another in the bāram (of the pre-Islamic sanctuary fairs), he would make a garland of bark and say anā ṣātiṣa (not ṣaṭrā, as in Wüstenfeld’s edition) and thus avoid retaliation. (The expression is explained as a claim of ignorance of the sanctity of the area, cf. Lane, Lexicon, s.v.) For the comparable use of crowns by pilgrims in antiquity, see Gaudfroy-Demombynes, Pélerinage, p. 285. (The conjecture that ‘iḥdhābīr was used for qīlādas by the Meccans is not, however, supported by the sources.)
ARABIA WITHOUT SPICES

saint), in which others settle to engage in trade, crafts, and other occupations regarded by the tribesmen as despicable. Those who engage in these occupations are du'afā', weaklings who cannot protect themselves and who owe their freedom from tribal molestation to the prestige of the presiding saint. But if Quraysh were a holy lineage, who were their du'afā'? Quraysh did not preside over a pariah population of traders, tanners, sweepers, and servants, but on the contrary worked as tanners and traders themselves, whence the odd suggestion of both holy men and outcasts in Jahiz's discussion of them. How could they be both? No doubt guardians of sacred places, be they pre-Islamic or Islamic, have seen fit to engage in trade at various times, and trade has not been uniformly despised in Arabia, nor are Quraysh usually presented as having lost status by engaging in it. But with the exception of Quraysh, guardians with commercial interests have not actually identified themselves as traders, still less have they chosen to trade in person. The fact is that trading can never have been a proper activity for those in charge of holy places. However praiseworthy the activity may have been when performed by others, guardians cannot be caravaneers: what sort of guardian spends his time shifting raisins, hides, and perfume between the Yemen, Ṭā'if, and Syria and haggling at the markets of Baṣrā and ʿUkāz? Quite apart from the undignified nature of the idea, guardians are supposed to stay by their shrines and receive a constant stream of visitors desirous of such services as they may be reputed to perform. Yet Quraysh were always on the move, engaged in tasks below their dignity. Even ʿAbd al-Dār, the actual guardians of the Ka'ba, would seem to have been traders, and the Hāshimites, supposedly in charge of functions linked with the pilgrimage, certainly were. No wonder that God told Quraysh to stay at home and worship him: the exegetes apparently also felt that guardianship and trade were incompatible.

Second, Quraysh do not seem to have performed any of the services expected of pre-Islamic guardians. Practically all guardians of pre-Islamic shrines were diviners, that is to say, they would foretell the outcome of events, advise on the suitability or otherwise of intended action,

---

81 Cf. above, p. 181. For Serjeant, see "Haram and Hawtah"; cf. id., Sayids of Ḥadramawt.

85 It was an 'Abdārī who was said to have worked as a caravaner in the Bahqā; but this was admittedly said by way of insult (above, ch. 5 n46). It was also an 'Abdārī who was reputed to have traded in Persia (ch. 5, n126).
and generally know that which is unknown, always in a practical context. Yet neither 'Abd al-Dār nor Quraysh at large were kubhān. We see them practise divination as laymen equipped with their own do-it-yourself divination kits, but not as professionals dispensing their art on behalf of visitors to Mecca. On the contrary, they themselves were customers of professional diviners. Sometimes they would seek out kābīns and kābinas far away from Mecca or in Mecca itself, and sometimes they would consult the oracular arrows of Hubal, the deity which the Ka'ba is said to have accommodated. It makes sense that Hubal’s guardian should have practised divination, but it is odd that he was not apparently a Qurashi. Admittedly, some sources listing the real and imagined offices of pre-Islamic Mecca place the uṣlām, the divinatory arrows, with Quraysh; but they fail to do so in connection with Hubal. Usually the administrator of his arrows is completely anonymous. Hubal had a guardian (bājib), we are told. His divinatory arrows were administered by “the one who administered the arrows” (ṣāhib al-qidāb). It was “the guardians of the sanctuary” (ṣadanat al-bayṭ) who would handle the arrows on behalf of Qurashi in search of oracular advice. What guardi-

---

1 Cf. T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 10; Wellhausen, *Reste*, pp. 131 ff. Note that pre-Qurashi guardians of the Ka'ba are also said to have practised kābīn (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammad*, pp. 346–405).

2 Surāqā b. Mālik consulted his arrows on the question of whether he should try to catch the Prophet on the latter’s escape from Mecca; the arrows were on God’s side (Ibn Ḥishām, *Leben*, p. 331). Abū Sufyān is reputed to have had his arrows with him at Ḥunayn (ibid., p. 845; Wāqidi, *Mağbāzi*, iii. 895). For other examples (both Qurashi and non-Qurashi), see Fahd, *Divination*, pp. 181 n., 186 f.

3 Cf. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammad*, pp. 20 f. 105 f., 107 f. (Khuzā‘i kābin in 'Usfān, a kābin in 'Usfān), 108 f. (a kābin), 112 ff. (Ṣāḥib al kābin in the Yemen; this story is also told in Aghānī, *ix*, 53 f.). On Hubal’s divinatory arrows see Ibn Ḥishām, *Leben*, pp. 97 f.; Aẓraqi, *Mukka*, pp. 31, 58, 73 f. (citing Ibn Isḥāq); Ḥishām b. Muhammad Ḥanbal-Kalbī, *Kitābat-asnām*, p. 28; cf. also El s.v. Hubal. We see them in use mainly in connection with ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who consulted them over the digging of the Zanjam and the proposed sacrifice of his son (Ibn Ḥishām, *Leben*, pp. 94, 97 f.). Aẓraqi also displays them in use on an earlier occasion (*Makka*, p. 107), but the parallel passage in Ibn Sa’d omits both Hubal and the arrows (*Tabaqāt*, 1, 146). According to Wāqidi, Quraysh consulted them on whether or not to fight the battle of Badr (*Mağbāzi*, 1, 33).


ans? Who are these people officiating in the Ka'ba in the name of the one deity said to have had its place inside the Ka'ba itself, exercising the one function known to have been characteristic of pagan priests? The answer would seem to be members of Ghādira b. Ḥubshiyya, a Khuzā'ī lineage of the same ancestry as Hulayl b. Ḥubshiyya, the lineage in which the guardianship of the Meccan sanctuary is said to have been vested before the Qurashi occupation of Mecca. Both arc usually presented as persons rather than groups: Hulayl was the last Khuzā'ī guardian;8 Ghiṣira, his brother, was in charge of Hubal's divinatory arrow at some stage, apparently in Qurashi Mecca, and would dispense his services in return for a dirham and a sacrificial animal.93

Now we are told that when Qurayy conquered Mecca, he graciously decided to leave the iḥāsa of the pilgrimage at 'Arafa in the hands of Tamīmīs, that at Muzdalīfa in the hands of 'Adwānis, intercalation in the hands of Kinānis, and some unspecified function in the hands of Murra b. 'Awf of Dhubayn.94 As has been seen, he also “allowed” Tamīmīs to continue as hereditary judges at 'Ukāz.95 And it would now appear that he likewise allowed Khuzā'īs to remain in charge of Hubal in the Ka'ba. If so, what religious functions can Quraysh be said to have taken over on their conquest of the baram? They did not divine, they did not cure, they did not adjudicate: they simply kept the Ka'ba in repair and supplied food and drink for the pilgrims.96 Quraysh were thus

8 Thus Ibn Hishām, Leben, p. 97; Azraqī, Mukkā, p. 58 and elsewhere. Wāṣidī, however, moves him outside (Maghaṣṣ, n. 833).
10 Azraqī, Mukkā, p. 133; cf. Ibn Hishām, Leben, p. 97, where we are told that Quraysh would pay a hundred dirhams and a jazār to the šāhib al-qidāḥ, Caskel, Ġumbara, n. s.v. Gādira b. Ḥabašiyā.
11 Ibn Hishām, Leben, p. 80; cf. pp. 58, 76 ff.
12 Cf. above, ch. 7, p. 156.
13 The list of famous judges given in Ibn Habīb, Muḥāʾ, pp. 132 ff.; Yaqūbī, Ţārīkh, 1. 299 f., does include Qurashis, and a fuller version of this list is given by Ibn Habīb, Munāmaq, pp. 459 ff.; Fāṣi, Shīfā', pp. 142 f. But it is clear from Fāṣi's remarks that the Qurashi judges are envisaged as having adjudicated among Quraysh only (he points out that they owed their office to the common consent of Quraysh, not to a position of power). There are no examples of Qurashis being sought out as judges in intertribal disputes (it is clearly as an interested party that Sa'id b. al-Ḳas actuates as ḥakam in the dispute between Quraysh and Layth reported in Ibn Iḥāb, Munāmaq, pp. 137 ff.; it is as laymen that they intervene in the first Fījār disputes, the ḥakams at 'Ukāz being Tamīmīs); and it
ARABIA WITHOUT SPICES

goddesses, or any one of them: it was outside Mecca at shrines guarded by other people that they would worship them, al-'Uzzā at Nakhla being their greatest idol, according to Ibn al-Kalbi.98

The tradition clearly envisages them as guardians on behalf of Allāh, the God of Abraham and the future God of Islam. “We are the sons of Abraham, the people of the holy territory (burūt), the guardians of the shrine (wulāt al-bayt), and the residents of Mecca,” as Quraysh would say.99 The Ka'ba was “the holy house of Allāh” (bayt allāh al-ḥarām), and “the holy house of Allāh and his friend Abraham.”100 Like other Arabs, Quraysh had corrupted their Abrahamic monotheism by the adoption of polytheist gods.101 But it was they who maintained the crucial features of Abrahamic monotheism that survived: belief in Allāh and the conduct of pilgrimage to his house.102 And it was because of this role that they enjoyed a position of superiority in Arabia.103

How much truth is there to this account? The belief that Abraham had bequeathed a monotheist religion to his Arab descendants is attested for northwest Arabia as early as the fifth century in a Greek source.104 It

(omitting note). She is well attested in the theophoric names of Quraysh, whereas Hubal is not. In fact, no theophoric name seems to be attested for him at all; and though Hubal figures as a personal name, it does not do so among Quraysh (cf. Caskel, Goddesses, pp. 26 ff.; Wiedenroth, pp. 169 ff.).

99 Ibn Hishām, Leben, p. 126, where they invent the Huns on this ground.
100 Ibn Hishām, Leben, pp. 31, 33; cf. p. 15, where Jewish rabbis confirm that this was so.
102 The pilgrimage is identified as Abrahamic in, for example, Masudi, Murij, ut, 09 (with reference to Qur’ān, 2:1); Ibn Hishām, Leben, p. 126, and the pilgrims are guests of Allāh and visitors to his bayt, ibid., pp. 83, 87.
103 Ibn Hishām, Leben, p. 126; cf. Ibn Iṭlabīb, Muḥābbar, p. 264; Marzūqī, 'Amīna, ll. 162.
104 Cf. Sozomen, Kirchengeschichte, vii, 38, 5 ff. = The Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen, pp. 380 ff. Sozomen, a fifth-century native of Gaza whose mother tongue could well have been Arabic (his name was Salamanes), informs us that the Arabs descend from Ishmael and Hagar, that such being their descent they abstain from pork and observe other Jewish practices, and that insofar as they deviate from the practices of the Jews, this must be ascribed to the lapse of time and contact with other nations: Moses only legislated for the Jews whom he led out of Egypt, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring region (sc. Arabia)
in historical fact. If we accept that they resisted Muhammad more or less as described, the claim that they represented the God of Abraham must be dismissed.

This does not, of course, rule out the possibility that they represented an indigenous deity known as Allāh, and it is as guardians of such a deity that they are generally envisaged in the secondary literature. But this hypothesis is also problematic.

Admittedly, up to a point it makes good sense. Allāh is associated with a black stone, and some traditions hold that originally this stone was sacrificial. This suggests that it was the stone rather than the building around it which was bayt allāh, the house of god, and this gives us a perfect parallel with the Old Testament betbel. The cult of the Arab god Dusares (Dhū Sharā) also seems to have centred on a black sacrificial stone. According to Epiphanius, he was worshipped together with his mother, the virginal Kaabou, or in other words kāʾib or kāʾāb, a girl with swelling breasts. A similar arrangement is met in a Nabataean inscription from Petra that speaks of sacrificial stones (nsyb = ansūb) belonging to “the lord of this house” (mrʾ byṭ) and al-ʿUzza, another kāʾib lady. If we assume that bayṭ and kāʾba alike originally referred to the Meccan stone rather than the building around it, then the lord of the Meccan house was a pagan Allāh worshipped in conjunction with a female consort such as al-ʿUzza and/or other “daughters of God.” This would give us a genuinely pagan deity for Quraysh and at the same time explain their devotion to goddesses.

But if Quraysh represented Allāh, what was Hubal doing in their approach the Holy Mosque, they are proto-dhimmis.) But it is, understandably, in connection with the Prophet’s own tribe that this dual perspective is most marked. Compare below, ch. 10, p. 233.

106 It owed its colour to the pagan practice of pouring blood and intestines over it (cf. U. Rubin, “Places of Worship in Mecca”). But as might be expected, there are also other explanations of its colour.


108 Ibid., pp. 101 f.


111 But it would, of course, also require rejection of the contention that they worshipped al-ʿUzza (and/or other “daughters of God”) at sanctuaries other than the Kaʾba.
THE SANCTUARY AND TRADE

shrine? Indeed, what was the building doing? No sacrifices can be made over a stone immured in a wall, and a building accommodating Hubal makes no sense around a stone representing Allâh. Naturally Quraysh were polytheists, but the deities of polytheist Arabia preferred to be housed separately. No pre-Islamic sanctuary, be it stone or building, is known to have accommodated more than one male god, as opposed to one male god and female consort. The Allâh who is attested in an inscription of the late second century A.D. certainly was not forced to share his house with other deities. And the shrines of Islamic Arabia are similarly formed around the tomb of a single saint. If Allâh was a pagan god like any other, Quraysh would not have allowed Hubal to share the sanctuary with him—not because they were proto-monotheists, but precisely because they were pagans.

One would thus have to fall back on the view that Allâh was not a god like any other. On the one hand, Allâh might simply be another name for Hubal, as Wellhausen suggested: just as the Israelites knew Yahwe as Elohim, so the Arabs knew Hubal as Allâh, meaning simply "God." It would follow that the guardians of Hubal and Allâh were identical; and since Quraysh were not guardians of Hubal, they would not be guardians of Allâh, either. But as Wellhausen himself noted, Allâh had long ceased to be a label that could be applied to any deity. Allâh was the personal name of a specific deity, on a par with Allât, not merely a noun meaning "god"; and in the second century thâl's deity had guardians of his own. When 'Abd al-Mu'tâlib is described as having prayed to Allâh while consulting Hubal's arrows, it is simply that the sources baulk at depicting the Prophet's grandfather as a genuine pagan, not that Allâh and Hubal were alternative names for the same god.

114 J. T. Milik, "Inscriptions grecques et nabatéennes de Rawwâfah," p. 58 (I am indebted to Dr. G. M. Hinds for drawing my attention to this inscription). A certain Ša'dat here identifies himself as priest ('jâ) of 'îb' and builder of his temple (byû).  
116 Cf. above, n 14.  
117 Ibn Hishâm, Leben, pp. 94, 98 (the first passage is defective in the Wüstefeld edition, "Allâh" having fallen out, but cf. Ibn Hishàm, al-Sîra al-nabawiyya, ed. M. al-Saqqâ and others, 147; the second passage was adduced by Wellhausen from Tabari, Ta'rikh, ser. 1, p. 1076, cf. p. 1077). Similarly (on another occasion) Ibn Ishâq in the recension of Yûnûs b. Bukâyir (Hamidallah, Sîra, no. 28); compare Ibn Ishâq in the recension of Ibn Hishâm, where Hubal is omitted (Leben, pp. 106 f.).
and Allāh had been one and the same deity, Hubal ought to have survived as an epithet of Allāh, which he did not. And moreover, there would not have been traditions in which people are asked to renounce the one for the other.¹⁸

On the other hand, Allāh might have been a high God over and above all other deities. This is, in fact, how Wellhausen saw him, and he has been similarly represented by Watt.¹⁹ It is not how he appears in the inscriptive material, in which he is very much the god of a particular people;²⁰ and the fact that he was known as Allāh, “the god,” is no indication of supremacy: Allāt, “the goddess,” was not a deity over and above al-‘Uzzā or Manāt. But he could, of course, have developed into such a god, as the Qur’ānic evidence adduced by Wellhausen and Watt suggests. If we accept this view, however, we are up against the problem that he is unlikely to have had guardians of his own in this capacity. Viewed as a high god, Allāh was too universal, too neutral, and too impartial to be the object of a particularist cult, as Wellhausen noted; no sanctuary was devoted to him except insofar as he had come to be identified with ordinary deities.²¹ A high god in Arabia was apparently one who neither needed nor benefitted from cultic links with a specific group of devotees. (Wellhausen may of course be wrong: maybe a high god in Arabia did benefit from such links. But if so, we are back at the problem of why Allāh was made to share these links with Hubal.)

If Qurayḥ were guardians on behalf of an Allāh above all other deities, they must thus have started as guardians of someone else. But as has been seen, they do not appear to have been guardians of Hubal, and Hubal was not identified with Allāh, nor did his cult assist that of Allāh in any way.²² And if we postulate that they started as guardians of an or-

¹⁸ Cf. above, n. 97.
¹⁹ He was the highest god (Wellhausen, Reste, p. 76), different from the Götzen (ibid., pp. 218 ff.), and above tribal and cultic divisions (ibid., pp. 219, 221 ff.). Cf. W. M. Watt, “The ‘High God’ in Pre-Islamic Meca”; id., “The Qur’ān and Belief in a ‘High God’ .”
²⁰ He was the god of Rubat, the tribe to which the guardian belonged, cf. Milik, “Inscriptions,” p. 58, adducing an inscription in which llāh is asked to regard the tribe of Rubat with benevolence.
²¹ Wellhausen, Reste, pp. 219, 221.
²² Pace Fahd in EL, s.v. Hubal, where we are told that “in the field of popular piety at least, it eclipsed the other deities in the Meccan pantheon, to such an extent that there has been some speculation whether the unanimity regarding this cult did not help prepare the
dinary Allah who subsequently developed into a supreme deity, we reinstate the problem of Hubal's presence in his shrine. The fact is that the Hubal-Allâh sanctuary of Mecca is an oddity; can such a shrine have existed in historical fact? There would seem to be at least two sanctuaries behind the one depicted in the tradition, and Quraysh do not come across as guardians of either.

Their supposed guardianship notwithstanding, Quraysh appear as laymen in the sources. It is as laymen that they seek out kâbîns and kâbinas when in trouble and consult Hubal's arrows for expert advice. It is likewise as laymen that they are free to be devotees of as many gods as they like, joining the crowds of Kinânâs and other Mu'darîs around al-'Uzzâ at Nakhlâ, visiting Allât at Ťa'îf and Manât at Qudayd, making annual pilgrimages to an idol at Buwânâ, and joining the annual hajj to sanctuaries outside Mecca. There is nothing in this behaviour to suggest special identification with or interest in a particular god, and at no point do we see Quraysh in the role of professional dispensers of religious services to others. The tradition credits them with a guardianship by presenting Mecca as the haram in which the Abrahamic pilgrimage culminated: when we see Quraysh leave their city in a state of ihram we are not to take it, the sources insist, that Quraysh are going as pilgrims to other places, but on the contrary that they are leaving so as to return as pilgrims to the very city from which they had come. There was nothing to the guardianship apart from the pilgrimage. Quraysh were thus guardians in the sense that they looked after the Muslim pilgrimage to the sanctuary of the Muslim God: all genuinely pagan functions were in the hands of others. Take away the Muslim elements and the guardianship dissolves, leaving Quraysh as ordinary traders.

way for Allâh." But what the evidence shows is precisely that the cult of Allât and al-'Uzzâ eclipsed that of Hubal (cf. above, 197); and Fahd has misunderstood Wellhausen, to whom he refers as an authority for his view. Wellhausen was out to explain why one hears so little about Hubal, not why he was so popular; and his solution was that Hubal was Allâh, not that he prepared the way for him: the two names referred to one and the same deity.

133 This shrine was venerated by Quraysh, Kinânâ, and all Mu'dar, according to Ibn Hishâm, Lebeu, p. 859; cf. also Ibn al-Kalbî, Assâm, pp. 18, 27.
134 For Buwânâ, see Ibn Sa'd, Tabagâh, 1, 158, 164; 380; Kalâ't, I, 1, 257. It is one of the idols denounced in Balâdhurî, Ansâb, 1, 185.
The relationship between Mecca and Qurashi trade may now be summarized as follows. Qurashi trade is said to have developed because Mecca was a halt on the incense route, because it was located at the crossroads of all major trade routes in Arabia, and especially because it was a sanctuary that attracted pilgrims once a year and afforded constant protection to those who wished to settle there. All these claims would appear to be wrong. Mecca was not located on the incense route, still less at the crossroads of all the major routes in Arabia. It was not a sanctuary, or if it was, Quraysh were not apparently its guardians. And it did not, in fact, afford protection to those who settled there: settlers in Mecca owed their safety to alliances with members of Quraysh, not to the supposed sanctity of the Meccan territory. The site was barren, devoid of a fertile hinterland except for Ta'if, ill-equipped for maritime trade, and much too far away for a caravan trade with Syria of the kind that the sources describe.

Did Quraysh really have their trading center in this place? If we accept that they did, we will have to grant that Quraysh became traders despite the nature of the place in which they settled, not because of it; and we will also need to reinterpret the nature of their trade, conceding that it must have been conducted largely independently of Mecca, in some variation or other of the 'Umaylî model. If we reject the identification of their center with modern Mecca, we can relocate them somewhere in northwest Arabia and thus accept the picture presented on their trade; but in return we are left with a southern connection of an enigmatic kind. Either way, the sources on the rise of Islam are wrong in one or more fundamental respects.

From the point of view of the rise of Islam, the problem may be restated as follows. We seem to have all the ingredients for Muḥammad's career in northwest Arabia. Qurashi trade sounds perfectly viable, indeed more intelligible, without its south Arabian and Ethiopian extensions, and there is a case for a Qurashi trading center, or at least dias-

133 All foreigners in Mecca were either ba'īs or mawāli of Qurashi, yet an asylum is supposed to afford protection to those who cannot find people to help them. Barād was an outlaw who sought refuge in Mecca, but he owed his safety there to his alliance with Harb b. Umayya: had Harb chosen to disown him, he would have been no safer in Mecca than anywhere else (cf. above, ch. 6, p. 146).
pora, in the north. One might locate it in Ptolemy's Moka.116

Somewhere in the north, too, there was a desert sanctuary of pan-Arabian importance, according to Nonnosus.117 Mecca originated as a desert sanctuary, according to Kalbi;118 it still sounds like one in the accounts of Mu'āwiya's building activities there;119 and the sanctuary that

116 Cf. above, ch. 6 n. 17.

117 "Most of the Saracens, those of the Phoinikón and those beyond it and beyond the Taurean mountains, consider as saerted a place dedicated to I do not know what god, and assemble there twice a year. Of these gatherings, the first lasts a whole month and goes on until the middle of spring ... the other lasts two months. ... While these gatherings last, they live, says Nonnosus, in complete peace not only with each other, but also with all the people who live in their country. They claim that even the wild beasts live in peace with men and, what is more, among themselves" (Nonnosus cited by Photius, Bibliotheca, 1, 5 f.; cf. Wellhausen, Reste, p. 101). The Phoinikón are presumably the Palm Groves of Procopius ( Wars, 1, 19, 7 ff.; ii, 3, 41) on the northern Red Sea Coast. The Taurean mountains ought to be Jabal Ṭayyi'. If so, the sanctuary was presumably located somewhere in the north. As noted before, Epiphanius' month of Aggathalwart (Hijjat al-bayti) also suggests the existence of a pilgrim centre in the north (EP, s.v. hajjd).

118 Bakri, Mu'jam, p. 58: Hishām said that Kalbi said, "people would go on pilgrimage and then disperse, so that Mecca would remain empty, nobody being there." Noted by Wellhausen, Reste, p. 92. Given the transfer of information from the pilgrim fairs, this clearly suggests that the first Muslim sanctuary simply was one or more of these fairs. Such a hypothesis would, however, require relocation of one or more of the fairs in question in the north. Lamunens was not averse to relocation (cf. Masque, pp. 131 n., 153 f.), and it would be neat to conflate the pilgrim fairs with Nonnosus' haram, identifying both with the first sanctuary of Islam. (Nonnosus' sanctuary was visited first for a month and next for two, whereas the pilgrim fairs were only visited during the two months of Dhul-Qa'da and Dhul-Hijja. But if the 'ama of Rajah also went to the pilgrim fairs rather than to Mecca [as it seems to do above, n. 39], this problem disappears.) It would, of course, also be simplistic in the sense that there must have been several pilgrim centres in pre-Islamic Arabia. But if we choose not to identify Nonnosus' haram with the pilgrim fairs, we must acknowledge that a sanctuary of major importance in Arabia disappeared without leaving any trace whatever in the tradition. And if we similarly choose not to identify it with the first sanctuary of Islam, this silence becomes particularly odd: a rival haram of such importance ought to have been an object of invectives.

119 When Mu'āwiya began his building activities in Mecca, there was a storm of protest, not only because he had no right to plant orchards in a place that God himself had described as devoid of cultivation but also because it was felt that Mecca ought to be a place "with wide unbuilt spaces ... accessible to everyone" (Kister, "Some Reports," pp. 86 ff.). People used to pitch their tents anywhere in the sanctuary area, and this was how things ought to remain (ibid., pp. 86 f.). Compare the conscious (and successful) effort to keep Minā unpopulated (ibid., p. 88; Azraqī, Mokka, p. 400; cf. Yāqūt, Buldān, iv, 643, s.v.).
ARABIA WITHOUT SPICES

Mu‘awiyah turned into “towns and palaces”10 must have been located somewhere in the north.11 Jewish communities are well attested for northwest Arabia. Even Abrahamic monotheism is documented there,12 and the prophet who was to make a new religion of this belief was himself a trader in northwest Arabia. Yet everything is supposed to have happened much further south, in a place described as a sanctuary town inhabited since time immemorial,13 located, according to some, in an unusually fertile environment,14 associated with southern tribes

10 Cf. Kister, “Some Reports,” p. 88, where ‘Ā‘isha reproves Mu‘awiyah for having turned Mecca into madā‘in ‘aṣ-ṣaqār, whereas God had made it free for all (Fākhī).
11 Cf. the qibla of the pre-Umayyad mosque of Kufa (Baladhūrī, Futūh, p. 276) and those of the Umayyad mosques of Wāsāṭ and Ishāf Beni Junayd (Crone and Cook, Hagarism, p. 23, adding archaeological evidence and Jāḥiz, Rasā’il, p. 206). For Jacob of Edessa’s observations on the qibla, see ibid., p. 173 n. 30. There is, of course, no question of explaining away this evidence with reference to the assumption that Christian authors were so prejudiced against Islam that they could not tell east or west from south (Jacob of Edessa), or that the conquerors themselves had so little sense of direction that they could not tell west from south (Baladhūrī, the archaeological evidence). It could be argued that the Umayyads had officially adopted a qibla facing jibat (as opposed to ‘a‘yn) al-Ka‘ba, which would allow them an orientation from due west to due south in Iraq, due east to due south in Egypt (cf. D. A. King, “The Practical Interpretation of Qur‘ān 2:144: Some Remarks on the Sacred Direction in Islam.” I owe my knowledge of this paper to Dr. G. M. Hinds). It is, however, somewhat unlikely that recent conquerors with a strong sense of where they came from should have adopted a simplistic qibla notion popular with ‘ulamā’ in medieval Central Asia and Spain. The fact that the two Umayyad mosques of Iraq are both oriented too far north by about 30 degrees (in fact 30 and 33) suggests that the Umayyads were aiming at precision. So does the tradition that the mosque of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ in Egypt pointed too far north and had to be corrected in the governorship of Qurra b. Shāriq (Crone and Cook, Hagarism, p. 24). And Jāḥiz certainly did not explain the deviant qibla of Wāsāṭ as an instance of orientation towards jibat al-Ka‘ba; as far as he was concerned, it was plain wrong. The evidence for an Islamic sanctuary in northwest Arabia thus remains impressive.

12 Or more precisely since Abraham (cf. Ibn Hishām, Leben, p. 51). Note that it was a real city, not just a scatter of encampments: already in the days of the Ama’ilites and Jurhumites it was ruled by proper kings, one in the lower part and one in the upper part of the city, who could collect tithes (cf. above, n6). When Qaysyy settled Quraysh in Mecca, he continued the collection of tithes (Ibn Sa’d, Tabaqat, 1, 70).

13 Thus the story of the migration of Ketura and Jurhum has these two tribes settle in Mecca on grounds of its lush vegetation (Ibn Hishām, Leben, pp. 71 ff.; Aghāni, xv. 12; Azraqi, Makka, pp. 45, 47). The Ama’ilites also benefitted from its fertility (Azraqi, Makka, p. 50; Tahārī, Tā’īkh, ser. 1, p. 278). It was still kathār al-ibār wa-l-idāb wa-l-
THE SANCTUARY AND TRADE

such as Jurfhum and Khuzā‘a, linked with Ethiopia and the Yemen, and
endowed with a building accommodating Hubal and his priests. 135
Why? What is the historical relationship between these places? Whatever the solution, we are unlikely to find it with the methodology that
currently prevails in the field.

salam when Qusayy occupied it (Ibn Sa‘d, Ṭabaqat, 1, 71). It is characterized as mu‘alij
at-ba‘th, “a plain with luxuriant herbage” in Ibn Hishām, Leben, p. 65 (cf. Lane, Lexicon,
sv ‘silajj). Ibn al-Lubayr was the son of mu‘alij al-ba‘th (‘Ubaydallāh Ibn Qays al
Rusayyāt, Dīwān, xlvi, 1; translated “dichtest bewachsenen der Thalgründe [von Mecca]”); and a later ‘Alid boasted of being the same (D. S. Margoliouth, ed. and tr., The Table-Talk of a Mesoopotamian Judge, p. 51 = 56; translated “the meeting place of the low
grounds”). It could, of course, be argued that these statements merely reflect other peo-
ple’s ideas about qualities required in a sanctuary (cf. Crone and Cook, Hagarism, p. 22 and
116 thereto; A. J. Wensink, The Ideas of the Western Semites Concerning the Navel of the Earth,
pp. 34 ff) On the other hand, if there is any reality to the sanctuary town in question, it
makes sense that it should have been located in a fertile environment.

‘‘Hubal clearly belongs in a town, not in an open air sanctuary. He had Khuzā‘i
guardians. He was introduced by a Khuzā‘i, too (‘Amr b. Luḥayy/Rabi‘a, the ancestor of
Khuzā‘a, who was guardian of the Meccan shrine). It is true that epigraphically it
seems to be a northern rather than a southern divinity (cf. EP, s. v.), that Ibn al-Kalbi credits
his introduction to Khuzayma, the ancestor of Kināna, rather than to ‘Amr b. Luḥayy
(Asmā‘, p. 18; repeated by Ibn Sa‘d, Tabagāt, 1, 69; Baladhurī, Anwār, i, 37), and that
‘Amr b. Luḥayy himself is supposed to have imported him from the north: he brought
him from the Balqā‘ (Ibn Hālabī, Munāmmoq, pp. 353 ff), or from Hit in the Jazīra (Azerbai,
Makka, pp. 31, 58, 73, 133). But the one Qurāshī who is associated with Hubal is ‘Abd al-
Muṭṭalib (cf. above, 1117), and ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib is consistently associated with the south:
he journeys to the Yemen (above, ch. 5 n66), negotiates with Abraha in the story of the
elephant (Ibn Hishām, Leben, pp. 33 ff.), and goes to Ṣan‘ā‘ to congratulate the Yemenis
on the expulsion of the Ethiopians (above, ch. 5 n81). Notethat ‘Ali is also associated with
the south: he was sent on campaign to the Yemen by the Prophet on two occasions (Ibn
Hishām, Leben, p. 999); and the author of the “Secrets of Simon b. Yohai” apparently be-
lieved him to be Yothanid from the Ḥ allamawt (cf. Crone and Cook, Hagarism, p. 178
n68). As noted several times before, there was also a strong Yemeni contingent with ‘Ali
at Sīṭīn and in the following of Muktār (according to W. M. Watt, Islam and the Integra-
ton of Society, pp. 105 ff., the entire development of Shi‘ism can be credited to Yemeni
influence). Yet Muhammad himself is consistently associated with Syria, except for the
tradition in which he trades at Hūshā‘a.
PART III

CONCLUSION
THE SOURCES

This is a book in which little has been learnt and much unlearnt. Part of what has been unlearnt is a cluster of ideas without support in the sources, but a good deal more consists of contentions made by the sources themselves. That the sources on the rise of Islam are of questionable historical value has long been recognized. The trend until recently, however, has been toward general acceptance of their veracity, and the secondary literature frequently treats them as straightforward historical reports. This they are not, as should be clear already, and most of our conventional knowledge about the rise of Islam will have to be unlearnt when this is recognized. What kind of sources are they, then?

Leaving aside sources outside the Islamic tradition, the bulk of our information on the rise of Islam is derived from the Qur’ān and the amorphous mass of material subsumed under the label of hadīth, that is, the countless traditions on the sayings and doings of the Prophet, the Companions, and other early figures that are preserved in exegetical, historical, legal, and other works, as well as in special hadīth collections. There is, of course, material on pre-Islamic Arabia of a quite different kind: tribal tradition, poetry, information derived from Sasanid annals, and so forth. Such material is of decisive importance for our reconstruction of the context in which the new religion arose, and some use has been made of it in the present work. It poses problems of its own that must be left aside here. As soon as we start asking questions about the actual rise of the new religion, however, we find ourselves heavily dependent on Qur’ān and hadīth, and it is to these two sources that the present chapter is devoted.

The Qur’ān is generally, though not invariably, regarded as a contemporary source, or in other words as the preaching of Muḥammad himself. Whether or not this is correct, the Qur’ān does not offer much historical information, and what it does offer is formulated in a style so
CONCLUSION

allusive that it is largely unintelligible on its own. Without the help of the exegetical literature one would not be able to identify the historical events referred to in verses such as "it is He who restrained their hands from you, and your hands from them, in the hollow of Mecca, after He had made you victorious over them" (48:24); "God has already helped you on many fields, and on the day of Hunayn, when your multitude was pleasing to you, but it availed you naught, and the land for all its breadth was strait for you, and you turned about, retreating" (9:25); "O believers, remember God's blessings upon you when the hosts came against you . . . there it was that the believers were tried . . . and when the hypocrites . . . said, 'God and His messenger promised us only delusion.' And when a part of them said, 'O people of Yathrib, there is no abiding here for you, therefore return.' And a part of them were asking leave of the Prophet, saying 'our houses are exposed,' yet they were not exposed; they desired only to flee" (33:9 ff.); "and God most surely helped you at Badr, when you were utterly abject" (3:19). This last verse seems intelligible because the story of the battle of Badr is very familiar. It is not, however, familiar from the Qur'ān. If the Qur'ān were our only source on the rise of Islam, we would know that the rise of the new religion had something to do with a man called Muhammad, who claimed to be an apostle of God and who operated somewhere in north-west Arabia, apparently in the vicinity of Lot's remains in the Balqā'.

For practical purposes, our sources are thus exegetical hadith plus hadith of other kinds. It is not generally appreciated how much of our information on the rise of Islam, including that on Meccan trade, is derived from exegesis of the Qur'ān, nor is it generally admitted that such information is of dubious historical value. I should like to illustrate the nature of this information with reference to Sūrat Quraysh, a sura that we have already encountered on several occasions.

1 Cf. M. Cook, Muhammad, pp. 69 f. Cf. also J. Wansbrough, Qur'anic Studies, p. 56: "the role of the Qur'ān in the delineation of an Arabian prophet was peripheral: evidence of a divine communication but not a report of its circumstances. The very notion of biographical data in the Qur'ān depends on exegetical principles derived from material external to the canon."

2 Cf. above, chs 4 and 5, on what and where the Meccans traded.
Sūrat Quraysh consists of four lines that may be rendered as follows:

1. For the ilāf of Quraysh,
2. their ilāf of the journey in winter and summer.
3. So worship the lord of this house, who fed them against a hunger
4. and gave them security from a fear.

Ilāf has been left untranslated because its meaning is uncertain; also, some exegetes read the initial li as an expression of surprise rather than as a preposition meaning “for.” But otherwise the translation is straightforward. What then does the sura say?

It mentions a journey in summer and winter. The context gives no indication of what journeys are intended, but the exegetes are ready to assist. The journeys, we are told, were the greater and lesser pilgrimages to Mecca: the bājj in Dhūl-hijja and the ‘umra in Rajab. Alternatively, they were the migrations of Quraysh to Ta’if in the summer and their return to Mecca in the winter. Or else they were Quraysh trading journeys. Most exegetes hold them to have been trading journeys, but where did they go? They went to Syria, we are told: Quraysh would travel by the hot coastal route to Ayla in the winter and by the cool inland route to Busrā and Adhri’at in the summer. Or else they went to Syria and somewhere else, such as Syria and Rām, however that is to be understood, or Syria and the Yemen, as is more commonly said: Quraysh would go to Syria in the summer and to the Yemen in the winter, when Syria was too cold, or else to Syria in the winter and the Yemen in the summer, when the route to Syria was too hot. Alternatively, they went

1 Cf. Tābarī, Jāmī’, xxx, 198.
2 Rāzī, Mafāʾīl, v, 151.
4 Suyūṭī, Durr, vi, 398, citing ‘Ikrima. Muqātil similarly has them travel by the coastal route in the winter, but instead of having them travel by the inland route in the summer, he has them go to the Yemen (Tafsīr, fol. 253a).
6 Tābarī, Jāmī’, xxx, 171, citing Ḥāhāk, Kalbī, Ibn ‘Abbās, and ‘Ikrima (the latter specifying Busrā and the Yemen), also cited by Suyūṭī; Ibn Qutayba, Mushkil al-qur’ān, p. 319; Bayḍāwī Anwār, ii, 620; Qumonī, Tafsīr, n, 444; Ibn ʿAbī b, Munammaq, p. 262, citing Kalbī.
7 Muqātil, Tafsīr, fol. 253a.
CONCLUSION

to Syria and Ethiopia: to Syria in the summer and Ethiopia in the winter, or maybe the other way round. Or they went to Syria, the Yemen, and Ethiopia; or to Syria and Rûm on the one hand and the Yemen and Ethiopia on the other; or to Syria, the Yemen, Ethiopia, and Iraq; to Syria in the summer and to the rest in the winter, according to those who specify. Several of these views are offered outside the exegetical literature proper, though clearly in explanation of the Qur'ân. It is clearly also in explanation of the Qur'ân that we are told of Hâshim's institution of the two journeys, or of one of them, or of all four, though the classical exegetical literature omits this point.

What does the sura say about these journeys? Verse 3 proceeds, "so worship the lord of this house," implying that there was a logical relationship between worship and journeys, and all the exegetes agree that this is so. But in what way? According to some, Quraysh are here being told to worship God because He enabled them to go on these journeys, thereby securing provisions for Mekkah, or because He enabled them to continue to do so despite the Ethiopian threat to Mecca. According to others, they are being told to worship God as much as they travel, or to worship Him instead of traveling, the journeys leaving them no time to do so. And according to still others, they are being told to worship

10 Wâqidi, Mağhâzi, 1, 197 (to Syria in the summer and Ethiopia in the winter); Ya’qûbî, Ta’rikh, 1, 280 (the other way round); Ibn Abîl–Hâdîd, Sharh, iii, 457 (where no seasons are specified).
11 Ibn Sa’d, Ta’bîq, 1, 75, citing Kâlîbi.
12 Tha’alibi, Thimâr, 1.
13 Cf. above, ch. 5 n1. The seasons are supplied by Baladhurî, Ansâb, 1, 59.
14 Cf. Baladhurî, Ansâb, 1, 58; Ibn Sa’d, Ta’bîq, 1, 75; Tabari, Ta’rikh, ser. 7, p. 1.089.
15 Namely, the journey to Syria. Only Ya’qûbî seems to have noticed that the story of Hâshim and his three brothers conflicts with the claim that Hâshim sanna al–riblatayn: according to him, Hâshim instituted the two journeys to Syria and Ethiopia, whereupon his brothers went into action, one of them resigning.
17 Baydawî, Amârû, ii, 620; this is also the exegesis implicit in Ibn al-Kalbi’s story of Hâshim and his brothers.
18 Ibn Qâtibî, Ma’bîk al–Qu’rân, pp. 310 f.
19 Tabari, Jami’, xxx, 199
20 Ibid., p. 198, citing Ibn ‘Abbâs (nabâbûm ‘an al–ribîla . . . fa lam yakun labum râha); similarly Ibn ‘Abbâs in the tradition identifying the two journeys as going to Tâ’if and back, and ‘Ikrima, ibid., p. 199 (fa–amrahûm an yagûmû bi Makkah); Ibn Khallawayh,
trading journeys, attaching every poor man to someone rich, and letting rich and poor share in the proceeds until all were equally rich. In short, the import of God's words on hunger are uncertain.

In what sense, then, did God free them from fear, as stated in verse 4? According to many, He freed them from fear of the road. This He did by letting Hāshim conclude ilāf-agreements with the tribes on the way to Syria and elsewhere, or by conferring inviolability on them wherever they went, or by putting an end to their journeys so that they could stay at home, or by making Mecca itself inviolable. According to others, however, the fear in question was fear of the Ethiopians, the verse being a reference to the defeat of the ashbāb al-fīl. Alternatively, it was fear of leprosy, or fear that the future caliphate might pass from Quraysh, or fear in every sense of the word. In short, the fear was either general or specific, and if specific of disputed nature.

We are thus left with the enigmatic word ilāf of lines 1-2. The exegetes disagreed over its reading: was it to be read ilāf, ilāf or ilf? And they were even more divided over its meaning. Some took it to mean "habit" (of going on journeys), others proposed "clinging to" (these journeys

---

Rāzī, Mafāṭīb, viii, 514, citing 'Aṭā' from Ibn 'Abbās; similarly Suyūṭī, Durr, vi, 397, citing Zubayr b. Bakr’s Muwaffaqiyāt (it is not found in the published part of this work); cf. Kister, “Mecca and Tamîm,” pp. 122 f.

Thus, implicitly, Ibn al-Kalb’s ilāf-tradition. The exegetical origin of this story is confirmed by Jābill, Rasā'il, p. 71 (where this and other accounts are explicitly characterized as tafsīr a'manahum min khabat); and Tha'alibi, Thimār, p. 155 (where the story is told with the comment that Hāshim was the first to make the ilāf mentioned by)

Ṭabarî, Jami’, xxx, 206, citing Qatāda (twice); also reproduced by Suyūṭī, Ibn Qurayba, Masākil al-qur'ān, p. 319.

Qumrū, Tafsīr ii, 444.

Ṭabarî, Jami’, xxx, pp. 199 f., citing Ibn 'Abbās (on God’s response prayer) and others; similarly Suyūṭī, Durr, vi, 397; Tūsī, Tihkān, x, 414. This also seems to be Muqāṭīl’s interpretation (Tafsīr, fol. 253a).

Thus A’mash and Zubayr b. Bakr in Suyūṭī, Durr, vi, 398; similarly Baydāwī, Anwār, ii, 620.

Thus several traditions citing Khalīb (according to whom no Qurashi was ever afflicted with this disease); Tūsī, Tihkān, x, 414 (fear of the enemy or of leprosy); Baydāwī, Anwār, ii, 620.

Rāzī, Mafāṭīb, viii, 513, with reference to other interpretations, too.

Thus Ṭabarî himself (Jami’, xxx, 208).

See for example Ibn Khāl away, Muhāṣṣar, p. 180; Ṭabarî, Jami’, xxx, 197.

Ibn al-Kalbī in Ibn Ḥabīb, Muṣammaq, p. 263; Ibn Sa’d, Tabaqāt, i, 73 (da’b).
THE SOURCES

and/or the worship of God), still others proposed “mutual love” or “harmony” (obtaining on these journeys and elsewhere); some took it to mean “blessing” (conferred by these journeys), and still others took it to mean “pacts” or “protection” (negotiated by Quraysh for their safety on these journeys, or for the collection of taxes devoted to Mecca’s defence).

In short, the sura refers to the fact that Quraysh used to trade in Syria, or in Syria and the Yemen, or in Syria and Ethiopia, or in all three, and maybe also in Iraq, or else to their habit of spending the summer in Ta’if, or else to ritual visits to Mecca. It celebrates the fact that they began to trade, or that they continued to do so, or that they stopped; or else it does not refer to trade at all. It alludes to a Meccan need for imported foodstuffs, or to a Meccan famine, or to a Meccan habit of committing suicide by starvation; it refers to Qurashi agreements with other tribes, or to Qurashi inviolability, or to the inviolability of Mecca or its need for defence, or to its safety after the Ethiopian defeat, or to Qurashi exemption from leprosy, or the Qurashi monopoly on the caliphate; and it does all this using a word that means habit, or clinging to, or mutual love, or divine blessing, or pact and protection.

What the exegetical tradition has to say on Surat Quraysh may thus be reduced to the following: in this sura God tells Quraysh to worship Him, referring to two journeys of uncertain nature and destination, reminding them of an exemption from hunger and fear that could be interpreted in a variety of ways, and using a word to which any meaning derivable from the root ‘if could be imputed. Taken in its entirety, the

---

20 Tabari, *Jāmi‘*, xxx, 198 (uljā); similarly Zubayr b. Bakkar in Suyūṭī, *Durr*, x, 397 (with reference to Hāshim’s mixing of rich and poor); Tūsī, *Tibyān*, x, 413; cf. also Rāzī, *hafāreb*, v, 510 f.
22 Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī’s *ilāf*-tradition. *Ilāf* is glossed as ‘uḥdād in Ibn Ḥabīb, *Mubahhar*, p. 162, as annī in Mas‘ūdi, *Moraj*, iii, 121. The idea that the agreements were about taxes for the defence of Mecca is mentioned as an alternative interpretation of the verse on *khawif* in Jāḥiz, *Rasa‘il*, p. 70.
23 With the exception of nī‘ma, all the meanings proposed for Qur’ānic *ilāf* are ramifications of the root meaning of ‘if, as pointed out by A. Brockett, “Illustrations of Orientalist Misuse of Qur’ānic Variant Readings.”

209
There is certainly no indication of a seasonal retreat to Ta' if in the accounts of Muhammad's life, and Mecca was full of Quraysh during the summer in which Muhammad and his Companions are said to have made their hijra to Medina.53

The proposition that Quraysh had agreements known as ilāf can also be rejected. If ilāf had been a technical term for an institution of central importance for the Meccans, as also for the tribes with which they were in contact, it would have been a very familiar word. Yet later scholars, many of them Meccans, were puzzled by it. They disagreed over its pronunciation and also over its meaning, and where some took it to be a singular, others understood it as a plural.54 All this shows clearly enough that this was a word that they had never encountered before.55 In fact, Hashim's supposed ilāf-agreements owe their existence to the Qur'ān mention of freedom from fear: Quraysh were freed from fear by agreements known as ilāf guaranteeing them safety on the way, or by inviolability arising from their residence in the haram, or by inviolability in the haram alone, or by agreements, similarly known as ilāf, guaranteeing them a contribution toward the defence of this haram. Taken in isolation, each suggestion sounds convincing. But that merely goes to show that they were made by men familiar with the manners and customs of Arabia: their utterly contradictory nature demonstrates that they were made without concern for the manners and customs of historical Mecca. There is accordingly no reason to accept any of them as true,56 and
the modern tendency to accept all of them as such is certainly quite illegitimate. The information is here engendered by the wording of the Qurʾān regardless of such historical information as may have been available on Quraysh in pre-Islamic times.

The fact of the matter is that the Qurʾān generated masses of spurious information. The story about Ḥāshim’s ʿilāf-agreements is not an originally independent account now wrongly told in explanation of Sūra 3:66, still less is it an account confirmed by this sura. On the contrary, it is engendered by it: without this sura it would not exist. It does not represent a vague recollection of how Meccan trade began, nor does the rival story offer recollections of how it came to an end: Meccan trade obviously neither began nor ended in this way.

Of such exegetical stories there are countless examples. It is precisely because the exegetical literature offers a story in explanation of practically every verse that the exegetical literature is so popular: hunting ground for historians. When, for example, God tells the believers that He has given them “seven mathāni and the glorious Qurʾān” (15:87), we are told by way of background that seven caravans belonging to the Jews of Ῥaḥil arrived from Buṣrā and Adhrī’āt in one day carrying rich goods, or alternatively that Muḥammad and his men saw these caravans at Adhrī’āt, and that either way Muḥammad’s men wanted to plunder them, but that God restrained them, saying that He had given them

al-ṣafār (Thaʿlabi, Thimār, p. 116), fa-yakūnabum huṃlānāhā (Qālib, Amāšī, p. 193; Ibn Ḥabīb, Munammad, p. 33). But in the rival story the crucial idea is that God saved Quraysh the trouble of travelling to these markets: wa-kafāhum Allāh al-riḥlatayn (Ibn Ḥabīb, Munammad, p. 262), kafāhum Allāh ‘azza wa-jallā mu‘ānat al-ṣibā’ wa-l-ṣayf (Muqāṭtil, Tafsir, fol. 253a), kafāhum al-mu‘āna (Tabari, Jāmi‘, xxx 171). There is no recollection of arrangements specific to Mecca behind these assertions.

See for example Shaban, Islamic History, 1, 6 f.: “Makkah merchants would . . . take such goods with them to Syria and, on their return, would pay back their would be partners their capital and all their profits. In return these tribesmen would guarantee the safety of the Makkah caravans in their territories. This was probably the original form of ʿilāf, pact of security, which was the most widely applied. Other forms of ʿilāf involved a payment of tax by the tribesmen wishing to take part in trade, but unable to guarantee the safety of Makkah caravans in their territories. Ḥāshim collected these taxes to enable him to organize the defence of those caravans.” Jābiʿ makes it quite clear that the arrangements supposedly referred to in the Qurʾān were of either the one type or the other (Rauw., pp. 70 f.). But Shaban wants both to be historical and duly supplies a different context for the two, discreetly changing the purpose of the taxes in question from defence of Mecca to a commercially more interesting defence of Meccan caravans.
something better than that, namely the seven mathānī and the Qurʾān.⁶ Not all exegetical stories are quite so crude, but a great many well-known facts about the rise of Islam are likely to be exegetical inventions of this kind. Do the Qurʾānic references to orphans reflect the historical fact that Muhammad was an orphan, or did Muhammad become an orphan by way of amplification on the Qurʾān? When the Qurʾān speaks of hearts being “brought together,” is it referring to a historical group of people whose “hearts were brought together” after the conquest of Mecca (al-muʿallafā qulūbuhum), or did this people come into existence because the Qurʾānic allusions had to be explained and fleshed out? If the second point of view is adopted, the conventional account of the rise of Islam collapses.

The exegetical literature testifies to what the exegetes chose to believe rather than to what they remembered: their information on Mecca shows what sounded plausible to them, not what Mecca was like in historical fact. What sounded plausible to the majority of exegetes has been accepted in this book as the nearest one can get to historical fact, but it must be admitted that the nearest is not very near. If the exegetes found it equally plausible that the Meccans should have traded and that they should have stopped doing so, that they should have traded during the pilgrimage and abstained from doing so, that they should have been holy men and not holy men, plausibility in their eyes was clearly determined by exegetical rather than historical concerns. Moreover, the exegetes were evidently familiar with Arabia in general, and some of their contradictory accounts about Mecca must have been based on such general knowledge rather than knowledge of Mecca. When they credit the Meccans with a leather trade, did they actually remember the Meccans to have traded in leather, or was leather simply a plausible commodity with which to credit them? If the second point of view is adopted, all the positive claims advanced in this book collapse, along with the conventional account.

How reliable, then, is the nonexegetical tradition? From what has been said, it should be plain that much of the apparently historical tradition

⁶ Qurṭubi, Jāmiʿ, x, 56; Wāḥidi, Asbāb, p. 208 (where the caravans arrive in Medina); Baydawi, Anwār, i, 655 (where they are seen at Adhrāʾ). Tabarī similarly interprets 15:88 as an injunction not to cover the property of others, but without recourse to the story about the caravans (Jāmiʿ, xiv, 38).
is in fact of exegetical origin. Thus the story of Hāshim and his journeys owes its existence to Sūrat Quraysh, for all that it is in historical rather than exegetical works that it survives. Similarly, the numerous historical events said to have triggered a revelation (the raid at Nakhla, the battle of Badr, the oath of allegiance at Ḥudaybiyya, Muhammad’s encounters with munāṣibīn, and so forth) are likely to owe at least some of their features, occasionally their very existence, to the Qur’ān. As for what remains, some is legal and doctrinal hadīth in historical guise; that such material reflects the religious preoccupations of later generations rather than their historical recollection is now generally accepted. But there is also a good deal of historical narrative that seems to be largely or wholly devoid of exegetical, doctrinal, or legal inspiration, and the nature of this material is of crucial importance. How could it not represent a more or less faithful recollection of historical events? In fact, its historical value is slight. Like much exegetical hadīth, it is the work of storytellers.

That storytellers played a major role in the formation of the exegetical tradition is no secret, and the stories of the beginning and end of Meccan trade are characteristic examples of their contribution. Being almost perfect mirror images of each other, they are contrary developments of the theme, and there are also different developments of minor themes within them. This is characteristic of oral storytelling, and both the

58 Cf. the contrary developments of kafābim at-mu‘na, above, n 54. Compare the different developments of the theme of akhṭaba: when the Meccans found the effort of travelling back and forth between Syria and the Yemen too much, akhṭaba ’labāla wa-jurabīn abī sāhīl al-bahr, and these people took over the task of carrying provisions to Mecca (Kalbī in Ibn Ḥātib, Mūnammāq, p. 262); when the Meccans disbelieved in Muhammad, Muḥammad asked them forthem to be afflicted with years like the years of Joseph, whereupon they suffered drought and hardship; but when they converted, fa-akhṭabat al-nilād wa-akhṭabā abī Makka (Kalbī in Rāzī, Muqṭīb, viii, 518). When Ḥāshim made ḥajj-agreements with the tribes of Arabia, fa-akhṭabat Quraysh (Tha‘alībī, Thīmūr, p. 116; Jāḥiz, Rasā‘î, p. 71). When Ḥāshim imported bread from Syria and fed the Meccans, fa-kānā dā‘ika azwālā ḥāṣibīm Mecca during a year of famine, thus freeing the Meccans from hunger (above, n 27), or he cooks it in Syria where it attracts the attention of the Byzantine emperor, with much the same result (above, chapter 5, p. 109). This theme is used in other hostility between Ḥāshimītes and Umayyads (Ibn Ḥātib, Mūnammāq, pp. 103 ff.; Ibn Sa‘d, ’Tabaqāt, i, 75 f.). Or he cooks it at Mina, ‘Arafa, and Mecca in illustration of the Meccan solicitude for pilgrims
CONCLUSION

stories in general and particular themes such as Hashim and his tbarid show the genre to have been a popular one. Now, as mentioned already, it is a characteristic feature of Muslim exegesis that it consists in the first instance of a story. We hear of people, caravans, wars, disputes over land or booty, marriages and divorces, love and emotional entanglements of other kinds: it is almost invariably concrete human relationships of this kind that cause God to intervene, sending down a verse. This is an approach typical of popular, not scholarly, thinking, and it is predominant in the works of early exegetes such as Kalbî and Muqātil. Classical exegetes such as Ţabarî may omit the story, having developed hermeneutical interests of a more sophisticated kind; but even when they do so, the story underlies the interpretation advanced. It is clear, then, that much of the classical Muslim understanding of the Qur'ān rests on the work of popular storytellers, such storytellers being the first to propose particular historical contexts for particular verses. It should also be clear that this is the major reason why the exegetical tradition is so unreliable a guide to the original meaning of the Qur'ān and history alike: as might be expected of storytellers, they made up their stories in complete disregard or ignorance of both.

It is, similarly, thanks to the contribution of storytellers that the historical tradition is so short of authentic information. Their role in the formation of the sources on the rise of Islam is manifest in three major ways.

(Ya‘qūbī, Ta‘rīkh, i. 280; Ibn Sa‘d, Taḥqīqāt, i, 78). The activity always explains his name.

59 Cf. Wansbrough, Qur’anic Studies, pp. 122 ff., where it is typical of Muqātil, but not of Kalbî. As Wansbrough himself says, however (ibid., p. 144), the work that he cites as Kalbî’s Taṣfīr cannot be the work of Kalbî himself. When Kalbî’s Taṣfīr is cited in the tradition, be it exegetical, historical, or legal, it invariably offers a story, such as that about the end of Meccan trade preserved by Ibn Hābîb (Munāmaṣ, pp. 162 f.), the drought with which the Prophet punished the Maccans cited by Rāzî (Mafātiḥ, viii, 513), the drought to which I lāhim responded by cooking tbarid (above, n 27), the maslā ḥi who traded in Syria with a silver cup (above, ch. 5, n 98), or the qasīl Ḳār‘īl who occasioned the institution of the qaṣāma (P. Crone, “Jāhili and Jewish Law: the Qaṣāma,” p. 175). It follows that the ascription to him of the utterly different Taṣfīr extant in a number of manuscripts must be rejected (ibid., n11).

60 Thus Ĥabarî and other exegetes omit mention of Hashim in connection with Sirat Quraysh, but still identify the journeys as trading journeys. Ĥabarî omits the story of the caravans told ad 15:58, but interprets the passage no differently.

61 Cf. Wansbrough, Qur’anic Studies, pp. 112 ff.
which he did.⁶⁷ ʿĀṣim, in other words, was a storyteller, and what Ibn Isḥāq reproduces here is some of the stories with which he entertained the Damascenes. Evidently, his assignment was not to give boring lectures on history, but rather to evoke an emotional response to the great deeds of the Prophet and his Companions so as to commit people to Islam. And this he did, in the first story by stressing the pitiful state of the Medinese before God in His mercy sent them a prophet, and in the second story, by building up the immense opposition that Muhammad had to overcome in Medina, using the opportunity to flesh out Qur’ānic references to munāfiqūn. The fact that the two stories are utterly contradictory no doubt went unnoticed both by himself and his audience, just as it has gone unnoticed by later historians, because they are told for different purposes in different context, each one of them making emotional sense on its own.

There is a similar contradiction in Ibn Isḥāq’s presentation of the Jews in Medina on the eve of Islam. On the one hand, we are told that they used to side with their Arab allies in the feuds conducted by the latter, fighting against each other with a lamentable lack of monotheist solidarity: was not the Torah in their hands by which they knew what was forbidden and what allowed?⁶⁸ This is meant to evoke the response “what has Judaism come to? A good thing that we now have Islam.” But on the other hand we are also told that the Jews were molested as a people by their pagan neighbours, with the result that they were united in the hope for a prophet who would kill their Arab oppressors.⁶⁹ Here the Jews display no lack of monotheist solidarity, because here we are meant to see them as representatives of the monotheist tradition that was oppressed by paganism and that Muhammad was to indicate (though as it happened, he killed the Jews rather than their Arab oppressors, the Arabs having hastened to convert). Once again, the stories are told with complete disregard for what the situation in Medina may or may not have been like in historical fact.

In historical fact it is more likely that there were feuds than kings in Medina: on this question we have a tradition used by the storytellers but not invented by them.⁷⁰ But if there were feuds in Medina, the storytellers must have invented the power of Ibn Ubayy. They must also

⁶⁷ Aḥmad b. Ṭālib b. Ḥajār al-ʿAsqalānī, Ṭaḥāthib al-tabāthā, v, 53 f., s.c.
⁶⁸ Ibn Ḥishām, Leben, p. 372.
have invented something, possibly everything, about the position of the Jews.

The second way in which the contribution of the storytellers is manifest is in the tendency for apparently independent accounts to collapse into variations on a common theme. I have already commented on this phenomenon, but I should now like to examine its significance in greater detail.

The sources are familiar with a large number of stories, all of which are variations on the theme of "Muḥammad's encounter with representatives of non-Islamic religions who recognize his as a future prophet." According to one set of traditions, this encounter took place when Muḥammad was a small child still (in practically all versions) in the care of his foster mother. He was seen by Ethiopian Christians who wanted to kill him, or by kābins at 'Ukāz or an 'arrāf there, or by a kābin or 'arrāf at Dhū'l-Majāz, or by a kābin in Mecca, all of whom similarly wanted to have him killed, or by a seer at Mecca who wanted to take him away. According to another set of traditions, the encounter took place when Muḥammad was aged nine or twelve. He was taken to Syria by Abū Ṭālib (or 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib) and was seen by Jews of Taymā', or by a nameless monk in a nameless place, or by BābiTa, a Christian monk at Buṣrā, or by BābiTa in an unnamed place, or by BābiTa, a Jewish rabbi. In these versions, too, the Jews (or the Greeks) are after him, with the result that he is quickly taken away. Yet another set of traditions hold the encounter to have taken place when he was twenty-five.

---

7 This example was suggested to me by M. A. Cook.


72 Cf. Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt, 1, 120.

73 Jews of Taymā': Abū al-Razzāq, Muṣannaf, v, 318; monk: Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt, 1, 120, 153; BābiTa at Buṣrā: Ibn Hishām, Leben, pp. 115 f.; Nu'aym, Dala'il, pp. 125 ff.; BābiTa: sāb, 1, 96 f. His journey to Syria at the age of nine is also mentioned in Ibn Ḥabīb, Mubah bar, p. 9; Yaʾqūbi, Taʾrikh, ii, 13, but without reference to the encounter with Abī al-ktāb.

74 Ibn Kathīr, Bidayt, ii, 286, citing Suhaylī from Zuḥrī's Siyar.

75 Compare also Abū Nu'aym, Dala'il, pp. 119 f., where Muhammad is recognized a future prophet by a Jew in Medina at the age of six; the Jew informed Muhammad's maternal relatives there, whereupon Amina became afraid and took him away.
value, except for incidents of a supernatural nature. Source criticism to Watt thus consists largely in adopting a secular stance. Mutatis mutandis, the wall of Jericho did not collapse at the sound of Joshua's trumpets, but otherwise the Biblical account is reliable; Jesus did not feed thousands with a couple of fishes and loaves, but the Sermon on the Mount was enacted precisely as the Gospels describe.

Storytellers do not however distinguish between true and false in the realistic sense of the secular historian, and what they did to supernatural incidents surrounding Muhammad's life they did to natural incidents as well. They did not put their imagination only into supernatural events, reverting to the role of faithful transmitters as soon as straightforward history was involved. If they could produce fifteen equally fictitious versions of a miraculous episode, they could also produce fifteen equally fictitious accounts of an apparently historical event. The fact that so many stories in the tradition are variations on a common theme testifies to this very fact.

For example, 'Amr b. al-Âs is supposed to have gone to Ethiopia on three (or two) occasions. First he went there in order to trade together with 'Umâra b. al-Walid, whom he denounced to the Najâshî. Next (or, according to some, on the same occasion) he went to the Najâshî armed with leather in order to secure the extradition of the Muslim refugees in Ethiopia; he denounced them to the Najâshî, though the latter refused to comply with his wishes. Finally, he went, once more armed with leather, to seek refuge at the Najâshî's court himself. On this occasion he met another 'Amr there, that is 'Amr b. Umayya al-Îbâmî: he denounced him to the Najâshî, though again without success. 'Amr b. Umayya had been sent by the Prophet in connection with the Muslim refugees in Ethiopia, or the marriage of Umm Habîba, or as a scout, or for unspecified reasons, or to summon the Najâshî to Islam. The Najâshî converted, and when 'Amr b. al-Âs denounced 'Amr b. Umayya to him, he refused to extradite him, whereupon 'Amr b. al-Âs converted at his hands.

---

83 Cf. *El*, s.v. Âmina (Watt).
84 Cf. the references given above, ch. 4 no. 45, 56; ch. 5 no. 96-97.
86 Raven, "Some Islamic Traditions."
87 Cf. above, n 85.
These stories are no different from those on Muhammad's encounter with Jews and others. Being non-miraculous, they do not violate any laws of nature, of course, and in that sense they could be true. In fact, they are clearly not. All are elaborations on a common theme, "'Amr and the Najashi." The 'Amr in question is either good or bad, the bad one being armed with leather, and all the stories are combinations and recombinations of the same motifs: refuge, extradition, denunciation, and conversion. Watt selects as historically true the tradition that 'Amr b. Umayya was sent to Ethiopia in connection with the Muslim refugees in Ethiopia, or Umm Jabība's marriage, rather than to summon the Najashi to Islam. Here as elsewhere, his source criticism thus consists in adopting a secular stance: the nature of the source material remains unnoticed.

Given the proliferation of variant versions in the tradition, we clearly cannot adopt a literal-minded approach to anyone alleged event: which version of the event in question are we to be literal about? If the tradition offers two, five, or fifteen versions of a certain event, we evidently ought to reconstitute this event on the basis of them all. Yet this is precisely what we cannot do. What is the original event behind the theme of 'Amr and the Najashi or of certain Qurashis and silver? We cannot even tell whether there was an original event: in the case of Muhammad's encounter with Jews and others there was not. Either a fictitious theme has acquired reality thanks to the activities of storytellers or else a historical event has been swamped by these activities. The result is that we are left with little but spurious information: the fact that the stories consist of themes and subthemes in different combinations means that we cannot get behind the storytellers.

What the tradition offers is thus a mass of detailed information, none of which represents straightforward facts. Naturally, much of this information could be correct in the sense that the storytellers presumably drew on their historical knowledge for the circumstantial details with which they embellished their accounts. But this merely amounts to saying that the tradition offers us information of the kind that sounded plausible to storytellers, which does not take us very far. One storyteller

W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, pp. 345 f., with reference to the fact that "Muhammad was a wise and far-seeing statesman" who would not have sent envoys to foreign rulers inviting them to convert: "to appeal to these princes at this period to accept Islam would have done more harm than good."
THE SOURCES

Now it has long been recognized that some of our evidence on the rise of Islam goes back to storytellers; but it is usually assumed that the storytellers simply added some legends and fables to a basically sound tradition that existed already, possibly distorting this tradition to some extent, but on the whole doing no damage that we cannot simply deduct. This is a gross underestimation of their contribution. In the case of Sūrat Quraysh, Ibn Ubayy, the Jews of Medina, Ṭāmir and the Najāshī, Ṭāmir al-Muṭṭalib’s well, Muhammad and Khadija, it was the storytellers who created the tradition: the sound historical tradition to which they are supposed to have added their fables simply did not exist. It is because the storytellers played such a crucial role in the formation of the tradition that there is so little historicity to it. As storyteller followed upon storyteller, the recollection of the past was reduced to a common stock of stories, themes, and motifs that could be combined and recombined in a profusion of apparently factual accounts. Each combination and recombination would generate new details, and as spurious information accumulated, genuine information would be lost. In the absence of an alternative tradition, early scholars were forced to rely on the tales of storytellers, as did Ibn Ḥishāq, Wāqidi, and other historians. It is because they relied on the same repertoire of tales that they all said such similar things, as Jones has pointed out. Wāqidi did not plagiarize Ibn Ḥishāq, but he did not offer an independent version of the Prophet’s life, either: what he, Ibn Ḥishāq, and others put together were simply so many selections from a common pool of qāy material. And it is for the same reason that they came to agree on the historicity of events that never took place, such as Ṭāmir’s adventures at the Najāshī’s court. Nobody can have remembered these adventures, but nobody remembered anything to the contrary, either. The sources are agreed on the historicity of these adventures because there were well-known stories about them: the consensus is based on scholarly examination of secondary material, not on con-

---


95 The nearest we get to one is the tradition on the feuds of Medina, which contradicts the information on Ibn Ubayy: there is none on Ibn Ubayy himself.

96 This is a point that I have tried to demonstrate before with reference to the fate of the Constitution of Medina in Ḥadīth (cf. P. Crone, Slaves on Horses, p. 7). But I overlooked the role of the storytellers in this loss.

continuous transmission of a historical tradition. There was no continuous transmission. Ibn Ishq, Wâqîdî, and others were cut off from the past: like the modern scholar, they could not get behind their sources.

That there was no continuous transmission is a fundamental point which I should like to corroborate with references to the date of the battle of Badr. The history of this date illustrates the role played by the Qur’ân in the formation of the tradition at the expense of recollection. The agents may or may not have been storytellers in this particular case, but either way the moral is the same: as new information was created, earlier information was lost.

What is the date of the battle of Badr? There is complete agreement in the tradition that it is Ramadân, year 2. What we are concerned with here is the month. On the face of it the month is confirmed by the Qur’ân: here Ramadân is given as the month of the furqân (2:181); and the “day of furqân on which the two parties met” (8:42) is identified by the exegetical tradition as the battle of Badr. The combination of scholarly unanimity and what appears to be scriptural confirmation would thus make the month in which the battle of Badr took place one of the few unshakable facts of early Islamic history. Naturally, it is not of great importance in itself, but a correctly preserved date for so early an event would do something to vindicate the general reliability of the historical tradition. There is, of course, a weak link in the argument in that the Qur’ân itself does not identify the “day of furqân” as the battle of Badr; and the furqân that was “sent down” in Ramadân scarcely sounds like a reference to a battle. Sceptics might thus argue that the Qur’ân, far from confirming the date given in the tradition, actually general it. But until recently such sceptics had the unanimity of the tradition against them.

In 1956, however, Grohmann published an eighth-century papyrus from Khirbat al-Mird in Palestine. The papyrus is fragmentary and Grohmann’s reading is undoubtedly wrong in places; but unless he has totally misread it, the papyrus gives us a deviant date for the battle of Badr.*


* A Grohmann, ed. and tr., Arabic Papyri from Khirbet el-Mird, no. 71. The possibility that Grohmann misread the papyrus is real; one fragment (no. 28), which he took to be an official letter probably referring to taxation, has since turned out to be a fragment of the Qur’ân (cf. M. J. Kister, “On an Early Fragment of the Qur’ân”; the photograph of the
THE SOURCES

The papyrus begins by listing some names, of which only Wāqid b. 'Abdallāh, B. 'Adi b. Ka'b, Mughīra, and Ḥakam are legible or easily reconstructed. In line six it mentions the date of “fourteen months from Muḥarram” and states that “they went out to Badr.” In line seven we are told that “they met at Badr,” the date being now given as “eighteen months from Muḥarram.” The last line mentions Muḥammad, Mocca, Quraysh, and a certain Majīd.

The battle of Badr is not supposed to have taken place fourteen or eighteen months from Muḥarram, but rather twenty-one months from it (the Muḥarram involved being the first month of the first Muslim year). If we count fourteen and eighteen months from Muḥarram, we arrive either at Ṣafar and Jumāda I or at Rabī’ I and Rajab, depending on whether or not we include Muḥarram itself in the count. We do not arrive at Ramaḍān. Abbott did not like this fact, and together with Grohmann she set out to spirit it away. This she did by proposing, first, that the author of the fragment was not counting from Muḥarram, but rather from Rabī’ I, the month in which the bijra actually took place (as does Wāqidī, for example); and second that the first of the two dates given by the fragment should be taken to refer to an earlier event known as the first battle of Badr.¹⁰⁶ (There are no fewer than three “battles” of Badr. The first is a minor episode in which no fighting took place; the second is Badr al-qītāl or the classical battle; the third does not concern us here.)

Let us assume then that Abbott is right: the author counted from the month of the bijra, that is Rabī’ I. Counting fourteen months from Rabī’ I does not get us to the right month for the first battle of Badr, still less for the second¹⁰⁷. But counting eighteen months from Rabī’ I does get us to Ramaḍān, the proper month for the second or classical battle of

¹⁰⁶ Grohmann citing Abbott in Grohmann, Arabi Papyri, p. 105.
¹⁰⁷ The first battle of Badr took place in Jumāda II, year 2, according to Ibn Isḥāq (this date is implicit in Ibn Hishām, Lehen, p. 423, and explicit in Khalifah b. Khayyāt, Ṭārīkh, I. 16). And this is the date that Abbott and Grohmann equate with the first date given in the papyrus. But Jumāda II, year 2, is fifteen or sixteen months from Rabī’ I, year 1 (depending on whether Rabī’ I is included in the count or not), not fourteen. The second battle was eighteen or nineteen months from Rabī’ I.
CONCLUSION

Badr, provided that we omit Rabî' I itself from the count. Wāqīdī does not, his date being nineteen months from the bi'rā. But this is scarcely an objection. Whatever the first date may refer to, we would thus seem to have saved the traditional date for the battle of Badr.

There is, of course, a problem. The fragment is eight lines long; within those eight lines the author informs us twice that he is counting from Muḥarram: one might thus be inclined to believe that he is counting from Muḥarram. If so, we have an author of the mid-eighth century who was under the impression that a battle or battles known by the name of Badr had been fought fourteen and/or eighteen months from Muḥarram, in other words not in Ramaḍān.

What, then, are the events described? Pace Grohmann and Abbott, the fragment does not refer to the first battle of Badr. This “battle,” alias the raid of Safawān, is one out of two episodes involving Kurz b. Jābir and pasturing camels at Medina. No Wāqīdī, ‘Adī b. Ka‘b, Mughīra, or Ḥakam are mentioned in connection with this episode in any classical source. It is, however, well known that the second or real battle of Badr was preceded by a raid at Nakhlah in which Muhammad’s men captured a Meccan caravan on its way from Ṭā‘if. The participants in this raid included Wāqīdī b. ‘Abdallāh and Ḥamrā‘a of B. ‘Adī b. Ka‘b on Muhammad’s side, and ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Mughīra together with Ḥakam b. Kaysān on the Meccan side. There can thus be no doubt that the papyrus describes the raid of Nakhlah followed by the battle of Badr. The two dates given are either the dates of Nakhlah and Badr, respectively, or alternative dates for the battle of Badr alone.

103 Wāqīdī, Maghāzī, 1, 2.
104 Cf. Ibn Hishām, Leben, p. 423; Wāqīdī, Maghāzī, 1, 12 (Kurz raided the camels of Medina and the Prophet went in pursuit of him; Wāqīdī adds that the camels were stationed in the Jammā’ area). For the second occasion, see Ibn Hishām, Leben, pp. 995 ff. (Kurz went in pursuit of some tribesmen who had raided pasturing camels in the Jammā’ area); Wāqīdī, Maghāzī, n. 568 ff. (somewhat different).
105 The sources consulted are Ibn Hishām, Leben, p. 423; Khalīfa, Tā’rikh, t. 16; Wāqīdī, Maghāzī, t. 12; Ibn Sa‘d, Tabaqāt, n. 9; Ibn Iḥṣāb, Muhābbat, p. 111; Tabarīkh, ser. 1, p. 1,271.
CONCLUSION

right or wrong) were still current in the mid-eighth century. Unanimity in this case does not testify to continuous transmission, but on the contrary to the accumulated loss of information. As in the case of 'Amr's adventures in Ethiopia, the consensus was based on secondary material that has obliterated the past, not on genuine remains with which it can be reconstituted.

"Once the modern student is aware of the tendencies of the early historians and their sources . . . it ought to be possible for him to some extent to make allowance for the distortion and to present the data in an unbiased form; and the admission of 'tendentious shaping' should have as its corollary the acceptance of the general soundness of the material."108 This is Watt's methodology, and it represents a common attitude to the sources on the rise of Islam. It must be said to rest on a misjudgement of these sources. The problem is the very mode of origin of the tradition, not some minor distortions subsequently introduced. Allowing for distortions arising from various allegiances within Islam such as those to a particular area, tribe, sect, or school does nothing to correct the tendentiousness arising from allegiance to Islam itself. The entire tradition is tendentious, its aim being the elaboration of an Arabian Heilsgeschichte, and this tendentiousness has shaped the facts as we have them, not merely added some partisan statements that we can deduct.109 Without correctives from outside the Islamic tradition, such as papyri, archaeological evidence, and non-Muslim sources, we have little hope of reconstituting the original shapes of this early period.110 Spurious information can be rejected, but lost information cannot be regained.

108 Watt, Muhammad at Mecca, p. xiii.
109 Cf. Wansbrough, Qur'anic Studies, pp. 57 f.
110 Cf. Crone and Cook, Hagarism, part I.
THE RISE OF ISLAM

Having unlearnt most of what we knew about Meccan trade, do we find ourselves deprived of our capacity to explain the rise of Islam? If we take it that trade is the crucial factor behind the appearance of a prophet in Arabia, the spread of his message there, and the Arab conquest of the Middle East, then the answer is evidently yes. But, in fact, Meccan trade cannot be said ever to have provided a convincing explanation for any of these events.

The view that Meccan trade is the ultimate cause of the rise of Islam is Watt's. The reader may begin to feel that there has been enough polemic against Watt in this book, and this is a view which its author shares. But to disagree with the conventional account is of necessity to disagree with the *fons et origo* of this account: throughout the present work, the reader can treat the name of Watt as a shorthand for "early Islamic historians in general" and take polemical attention as a backhanded compliment to him. It is thanks to the enormous influence exercised by his work that a general appraisal of the theories that dominate the field takes us back to Watt for a final round.

According to Watt, the Qurashi transition to a mercantile economy undermined the traditional order in Mecca, generating a social and moral malaise to which Muhammad's preaching was the response. This hypothesis is clearly weakened by the discovery that the Meccan traded in humble products rather than luxury goods, but it is not necessarily invalidated thereby. Even so, however, there are other reasons why it should be discarded.

In the first place, it is unlikely that so brief a period of commercial wealth should have sufficed to wreak much havoc in Meccan society. In

---

This thesis is presented in Watt, Muhammad at Mecca and Muhammad at Medina; also Muhammad, Prophet and Statesman, Islam and the Integration of Society, The Cambridge History of Islam.
the nineteenth century, for example, the town of Ḥā'il enjoyed a
meteoric rise to commercial importance, comparable to that described for
Mecca, without there being any indication of a correspondingly swift
breakdown of traditional norms. Why should there have been? It takes
considerably more than a century of commercial success to undermine
the tribal order of a population that has been neither uprooted nor forced
to adopt a different organization in connection with its economic activi-
ties. Caravan trade is not capitalist in any real sense of that word, and
Watt's vision of the Meeans as financiers dedicated to a ruthless pursuit
of profit occasionally suggests that he envisages them as having made a
transition to the twentieth century.

In the second place, the evidence for a general malaise in Mecca is in-
adequate. According to Watt, the Qur'ān testifies to an increasing
awareness of the difference between rich and poor and a diminishing
concern on the part of the rich for the poor and weak even among their
own kin, orphans in particular being ill-treated; further, the Qur'ānic
stress on acts of generosity implies that the old ideal of generosity had
broken down to the point that the conduct of the rich would have been
looked upon as shameful in the desert, while at the same time the
Qur'ānic emphasis on man's dependence on God suggests that the Mec-
cans had come to worship a new ideal, "the supereminence of wealth." But the Qur'ān does not testify to an increasing awareness of social dif-
ferentiation or distress: in the absence of pre-Qur'ānic evidence on the
subject, the book cannot be adduced as evidence of change. And charges
of excessive attachment to wealth and neglect of others, especially the
poor and the weak, are standard items in the repertoire of monotheist
preachers, as is the theme of man's dependence on God: how different
would Muhammad's preaching have been, one wonders, if he had begun
his career in Medina, or for that matter elsewhere? It is not very likely
that there should be a one-to-one correspondence between the objective
factors that led to the appearance of a prophet in Arabia and Muḥam-
dad's subjective perception of his mission: prophets are heirs to a pro-
phetical tradition, not to a sociological habit of viewing their society
from outside.

Cf. Watt, Muhammad at Mecca, pp. 49, 72 ff.
Ibid., pp. 72 ff., 75, 78.
Cf. Wansbrough, Qur'anic Studies, p. 156, on "the orphan's lot."
Leaving aside the Qur'ān, then, to what extent does the tradition corroborate Watt's diagnosis? Viewed as pagan enemies of Islam, the Meccans are accused of neglect of kinship ties and other protective relationships, as well as a tendency for the strong to "eat" the weak. But viewed as proto-Muslims, they are praised for their harmonious relations. The conduct of trade in particular is supposed to have been characterized by cooperation between rich and poor; indeed, by the time of the rise of Islam there no longer were any poor. Both claims, of course, merely illustrate the point that what the tradition offers is religious interpretation rather than historical fact. If we go by the overall picture suggested by this tradition, there is, however, no doubt that Watt's diagnosis is wrong. In social terms, the protection that Muhammad is said to have enjoyed from his own kin, first as an orphan and next as a prophet, would indicate the tribal system to have been intact, as Watt himself conceives, adding that the confederate status of foreigners in Mecca would indicate the same. It was, as Abu Sufyān said, Muhammad who disrupted traditional kinship ties with his preaching. From the point of view of morality, traditional tribal virtues such as generosity were both esteemed and practised: wealthy Meccans such as 'Abdallāh b. Jud'ān would have been astonished to learn that their conduct would have been looked upon as dishonourable in the desert. In religious terms, the Meccans are depicted as zealots on behalf of their pagan shrine as well as devotees of a string of other deities by whom they swore, after whom they named their children, and whom they took with them in battle against the Muslims. Watt interprets the

---

7 Cf. the interpretation of dā' in *Sūrāt Quraysh* as *ulfa* (above, ch. 9 n. 40).
8 Cf. the references given above, ch. 9 n. 18.
10 Abu Sufyān said so in connection with the complaint mentioned above, ch. 7 n. 27, where the references are given. Compare Kister, "Mecca and Tāmīm," p. 124. Watt's observation that reactions to Muhammad did not always follow tribal ties accordingly has no bearing on the state of tribal ties before Muhammad's appearance (*Muhammad at Mecca*, p. 19).
11 Ibn Jud'ān was famed for the grandiose scale on which he fed the Meccans (cf. *Aghāni*, viii, 327 ff.; Ibn Kathīr, *Riddāya*, 11, 218). Other Meccans were similarly noted for their generosity toward the poor and needy of their clans (Kister, "Mecca and Tāmīm," pp. 123 ff.; in general, this work is a good antidote to Watt's).
violation of the *haram* during the wars of Fījār as "probably a sign of declining belief." But obviously holy places and months were violated from time to time: Muḥammad himself is supposed to have violated a holy month without having lost belief in it;*¹¹ and if the Meccans had come to regard such violations as unobjectionable, they would hardly have referred to the wars in question as *burābal-fijār*, "the sinful wars."*¹² The fact that the Meccans carried their pagan deities with them into battle does not mean that "the remnants of pagan belief in Arabia were now at the the level of magic"*¹³: we are hardly to take it that the remnants of Islam were similarly at the level of magic by the time of the battle of Siffin, in which the soldiers are said to have carried Qur'āns with them, or that Christians who wear crosses are mere fetishists. Watt concedes that "in view of the opposition to Muḥammad at Mecca it is conceivable that some small groups there—perhaps those specially concerned with certain religious ceremonies—had a slightly higher degree of belief."*¹⁴ But a slightly higher degree of belief among small groups with possibly special functions scarcely provides an adequate explanation for the magnitude of this opposition.

The fact is that the tradition knows of no malaise in Mecca, be it religious, social, political, or moral. On the contrary, the Meccans are described as eminently successful; and Watt's impression that their success led to cynicism arises from his otherwise commendable attempt to see Islamic history through Muslim eyes. The reason why the Meccans come across as morally bankrupt in the sources is not that their traditional way of life had broken down, but that it functioned too well: the Meccans preferred their traditional way of life to Islam. It is for this that they are penalized in the sources; and the more committed a man was to this way of life, the more cynical, amoral, or hypocritical he will sound.


*¹² Cf. Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, pp. 5 ff., on the raid of Nakhla, supposedly conducted in the holy month of Rajab. Compare Agbāni, xiii, 3: "Qaysab b. Kulthūm al-Sakūni ... went on pilgrimage. When the Arabs went on pilgrimage in the Jāhiliyya, they used not to molest one another. When he passed B. 'Amir b. 'Uqayl, they attacked him, took him prisoner and took all his property and whatever he had with him." The norm is explained so as to elucidate the nature of the violation, not so as to suggest that it had ceased to be observed.

*¹³ Landau-Tisseron also rejects Watt's interpretation ("Sinful Wars").


*¹⁵ Ibid., p. 23.

234
the practical services they could render in respect of these phenomena. As Wellhausen noted, they differed from more spirits only in that they had names and cults devoted to them; without a name a deity could not be invoked and manipulated, and the very object of the cult was to make the deity exercise its power on behalf of its devotees. **Ilähā, regard the tribe of Rubat (with benevolence),** as a third-century inscription says. This being so, tribal gods neither required nor received emotional commitment, love, or loyalty from their devotees. Thus a famous story informs us that “in the days of paganism Banū Ḥanūfa had a deity made of dates mixed with clarified butter. They worshipped it for a long time. Then they were hit by a famine, so they ate it.” In much the same pragmatic spirit a modern Bedouin vowed half of whatever he might shoot to God. Having shot some game, he ate half, left the other half for God and departed; but feeling hungry still, he crept back and successfully stole God’s part, and ate it, boasting that “God was unable to keep his share, I have eaten his half as well as mine.” Now if hunger could make a tribesman eat or cheat his god without remorse, then it is obvious that practical needs could likewise make him renounce or exchange this god for another without compunction. “We came to Sa’d so that he might get us together, but Sa’d dispersed us; so we have nothing to do with Sa’d,” as a pre-Islamic tribesman is supposed to have said in disgust when his idol scared his camels away. In much the same fashion a whole tribe abandoned its native gods for Christianity when its chief was cured of childlessness by a Christian monk. And the numerous other Arabs who found the medical facilities of the Christian God sufficiently impressive to adopt Him as their own are unlikely to have found the act of conversion any more difficult. A god was, after all, no

---

19 Cf. the reference given above, ch. 8 n 117.
24 The holy man who converted Najrān to Christianity was a healer, according to Ibn Hishām, *Leben*, p. 21. *Ephraim the Stylite also worked miracles among his Arab devotees (T. Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 221, cf. p. 219).* The Christian sources are in general quite remorseless about the role of medical miracles in the spread of their creed, be it in Arabia or elsewhere, and Christian saints continued to cure Arabs even after the conquests, though they could no longer demand conversion (as opposed to fiscal and other.
more than a powerful being, and the point of serving him was that he could be expected to respond by using his power in favour of his servants. A modern Tiyahi tribesman who was being swept away by a flood screamed in great rage at God, "I am a Tiyahi! I am a Tiyahi! God, if you don't believe it, look at the brand on my camels." Obviously, if a deity was so inefficient as to unleash floods against his own followers, or so weak as to be unable to protect them from famine, or to keep his own share of some game, or to work miraculous cures, then there was reason to eat, cheat, abuse, denounce, or abandon him. "What were two little words?" as Doughty was asked on one of the numerous occasions on which attempts were made to convert him, "pronounce them with us and it shall do thee no hurt." The idea that a believer might be personally committed to a deity, having vested the ultimate meaning of his life in it, did not occur to any of these men. Those who tried to convert Doughty were evidently thoroughly committed to Islam, but not to Islam as a saving truth of deep significance to them as individuals. Convert, settle, and we will give you palm trees, as they told Doughty; in other words, be one of ours. Allah was a source communal identity to them, not an answer to questions about the hereafter. And the numerous people who tried to convert him or to penalize him for his Christianity on other occasions were likewise people who neither knew nor cared much about Islam as a saving truth, but who were outraged by his open denial of the God who validated their society.


Doughty, Travels, t, 356. On the occasion cited, the saving qualities of Islam were invoked as a last resort, Doughty being an obstinate man who refused to care for the things of this world: "what were two little words? Pronounce them with us and it shall do thee no hurt. Khalil [= Doughty], believe in the saving religion, and bowbeit thou carest not for the things of this life, yet that it may go well with thee at last" (Doughty, Travels, t, 356). The speakers were villagers. Elsewhere Doughty noted that it was only with difficulty that the Bedouin could imagine a future life (ibid., p. 182; similarly A. Blunt, Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates, II, 216 ff.).

Doughty himself characterized Bedouin fanaticism as "a kind of national envy or Semitic patriotism" (Travels, t, 569); and the reason why he found their obsession with religion hypocritical is clearly that they were not religious in his sense of the word, that is, they did not care very much about abstract truth or ritual observance (cf. ibid., II, 53). Having understood that religion in Bedouin (or indeed Arabian) society was a kind of patriotism, he ought also to have understood that he placed himself in the position of an out-
CONCLUSION

Now, just as tribal gods did not articulate great spiritual truths, so also they were not deeply entrenched in everyday life. Pre-Islamic (or for that matter pre-modern) Arabia was strikingly poor in mythology, ceremonial, ritual, and festivals. Religious life was reduced to periodic visits to holy places, stones, and trees, to sacrifice and consultation of diviners; most Bedouin managed with even less than that; and these practices were not closely associated with belief in specific gods. The great annual pilgrimage was apparently not conducted in the name of any one deity, and the remaining practices could effortlessly be switched from one deity to another; all survived into modern times, among Muslim and Christian tribesmen alike. Renouncing one god for another thus did not require any change in either outlook or behaviour, unless the new deity carried with him a behavioural programme antithetical to tribal norms. In principle, the Christian deity did carry with him such a programme, though in practice the holy men active in Arabia were in no position to ensure that conversion amounted to more than two little words. But the Muslim deity did not. On the contrary, he endorsed and ennobled such fundamental tribal characteristics as militance and ethnic pride. Despite the Qur'anic suspicion of Bedouin, it

law by his open denial of the God who sanctioned this society (cf. ibid., ii. 254, where his 
rajiq threatens to kill him on the ground that “with a Nazari who need keep any law? Is 
not this an enemy of Allah?”). But he was too bent on seeing himself as a martyr to concede 
this point.

And note that the validity of this point is not limited to the Bedouin. The Hanifa who 
ate their idol were settled villagers, not Bedouin. The man who offered Doughy palm 
trees in return for conversion was no Bedouin, either. And in general, Doughty's account 
of reactions to his Christianity in Arabia reveals no difference of outlook between settled 
and Bedouin, except that the fanaticism of the former tended to be more intense (cf. Travels, i. 95).

11 The Bedouin of the inner desert have no holy places, sacred objects, or mediators be 
tween man and God (Musil, Northern Nubia, p. 257). They pay no attention to the saintly 
graves they come across near villages, dismissing the saints in question as belonging to vil 
lagers and herders of goats and sheep, not Bedouin (id., Rwala, pp. 417 f.). Bedouin atti 
udes to the superstitions of the settled are well caught in the statements recorded by Mur 
ray in Sinai: “there is a grave... [in Egypt, on which] those women who desire offspring go 
and break hottles, and they think it does them good. Also those who wish to marry go 
before an old man and pay him a good round sum for writing their names in a book. 
And they think that cures them good!” (Murray, Sons of Ishmael, p. 150). “The jinn abound 
in our mountains, but nobody but a fellah would fear them. Now, wolves are really dan 
gerous!” (ibid., p. 156).
THE RISE OF ISLAM

was only on the development of classical Islam in the Fertile Crescent that the celebrated antithesis between murūwwa and din, manliness and religiosity, emerged.

It is thus clear that the mass conversion of Arabia to Islam does not testify to any spiritual crisis, religious decadence, or decline of pagan belief. Indeed, in behavioural terms, the better part of Arabia was still pagan in the nineteenth century. What the mass conversions show is that Muḥammad’s God had something very attractive to offer here and now. When Sa’d, the pre-Islamic deity, scared away the camels of his devotees, the latter concluded that “Sa’d is just a rock”: the power that he was supposed to have exercised had proved unreal. But when Muḥammad established himself, they concluded that “Allāh is great.” The Arabs converted to Islam because Allāh was a greater power than any other spirit endowed with a name and a cult so far known in Arabia, and the problem is not the ease with which they could convert, but the inducement. What was it that Allāh had to offer?

What he had to offer was a programme of Arab state formation and conquest: the creation of an umma, the initiation of jihād. Muḥammad was a prophet with a political mission, not, as is so often asserted, a prophet who merely happened to become involved with politics. His monotheism amounted to a political programme, as is clear not only from non-Muslim accounts of his career, but also from Ibn Isḥāq.

Thus Ibn Isḥāq informs us that the turning point of Muḥammad’s career as a prophet came when he began openly to attack the ancestral gods of Quraysh and to denounce his own ancestors. This was a turning point because in so doing, he attacked the very foundations of his own tribe; and it was for this that he would have been outlawed or killed if his own kinsmen had not heroically continued to protect him—not for the threat that his monotheist preaching allegedly posed to the pagan sanctuary or Meccan trade. He was, after all, no more than a local eccentric at the time, and Quraysh were quite willing to tolerate his oddities, including his minor following, as long as he confined his teaching to abstract truths about this world and the next. But they were not willing to tolerate an attack on their ancestors. By his they were outraged, and quite rightly so: a man who tries to destroy the very foundation of

13 As Wellhausen argued (Rasse, pp. 220 f.).
14 Ibn Isḥāq, Leben, pp. 166 ff.
CONCLUSION

Islamic poet boasts.\textsuperscript{45} “We slew in requital for our slain an equal number [of them], and [carried away] an uncountable number of fettered prisoners... the days have thus raised us to be foremost with our battles in warfare after warfare; men find in us nothing at which to point their finger of scorn,” another brags.\textsuperscript{46} “When I thrust in my sword it bends almost double, I kill my opponent with a sharp Mashrafi sword, and I yearn for death like a camel overful with milk,” a convert to Islam announced.\textsuperscript{47} Given that men of this kind constituted Muḥammad’s following, we do not need to postulate any deterioration in the material environment of Arabia to explain why they found a policy of conquest to their taste.\textsuperscript{48} Having begun to conquer in their tribal homelands, both they and their leaders were unlikely to stop on reaching the fertile lands: this was, after all, where they could find the resources which they needed to keep going and of which they had availed themselves before. Muḥammad’s God endorsed a policy of conquest, instructing his believers to fight against unbelievers wherever they might be found; and if we accept the testimony of non-Muslim sources, he specifically told them to fight the unbelievers in Syria, Syria being the land to which Jews and Arabs had a joint right by virtue of their common Abrahamic descent.\textsuperscript{49} In short, Muḥammad had to conquer, his followers liked to conquer, and his deity told him to conquer: do we need any more?

The reason why additional motives are so often adduced is that holy war is assumed to have been a cover for more tangible objectives. It is felt that religious and material interests must have been two quite different things—an eminently Christian notion; and this notion underlies the interminable debate whether the conquerors were motivated more by religious enthusiasm than by material interests, or the other way round. But holy war was not a cover for material interests; on the contrary, it

\textsuperscript{45} 'Abid b. al Abru, iv, 14: 17, in C. J. Lyall, ed. and tr., The Devāns of 'Abid Ibn al-Abrās.

\textsuperscript{46} Tufayl, 'Awf, 1: 62, 76 f., in F. Krenkow, ed. and tr., The Poems of Tufail Ibn 'Awf al Ghanawi and at Tirimmāh Ibn Hakim at Tā'īy. Boasts of this kind are standard ingredients of pre-Islamic poetry.

\textsuperscript{47} Ibn Hishām, Leben, p. 447 (the translation is Guillaume’s).

\textsuperscript{48} When the Persian commander at Qādisiyya explained the Arab invasion with reference to material hardship, Maghira b. Shu‘ba correctly pointed out that the Arabs had suffered similar and worse hardship before (Ṭabarī, Tārikh, ser. 1, p. 2, 332).

\textsuperscript{49} Crone and Cook, Hagarism, pp. 7 f.
was an open proclamation of them. "God says . . . 'my righteous servants shall inherit the earth'; now this is your inheritance and what your Lord has promised you . . . ," Arab soldiers were told on the eve of the battle of Qadisiyya, with reference to Iraq: "if you hold out . . . then their property, their women, their children, and their country will be yours." God could scarcely have been more explicit. He told the Arabs that they had a right to despoil others of their women, children, and land, or indeed that they had a duty to do so: holy war consisted in obeying. Muhammad's God thus elevated tribal militance and rapaciousness into supreme religious virtues: the material interests were those inherent in tribal society, and we need not compound the problem by conjecturing that others were at work. It is precisely because the material interests of Allah and the tribesmen coincided that the latter obeyed him with such enthusiasm.

The fit between Muhammad's message and tribal interests is, in fact, so close that there is a case for the view that his programme might have succeeded at any point in Arabian history. The potential for Arab state formation and conquest had long been there, and once Muhammad had had the idea of putting monotheism to political use, it was exploited time and again, if never on the same pan-Arabian scale. Had earlier adherents of Din Ibrâhim seen the political implications of their own beliefs, might they not similarly have united Arabia for conquest? If Muhammad had not done so, can it be argued that a later prophet might well have taken his role? The conquests, it could be argued, turn on the simple fact that somebody had an idea, and it is largely or wholly accidental that somebody did so in the seventh century rather than the fifth, the tenth, or not at all.

But the fact that it was only in the seventh century that the Arabs united for conquest on a pan-Arabian scale suggests that this argument is wrong. If we choose to argue otherwise, we must look for factors which were unique to Arabia at that particular time, not constants such as the feuds of Medina, and which affected the entire peninsula, not just a single city such as Mecca. Given the fit between Muhammad's message and tribal interests, the factors in question should also be such as to ac-


\* This is what I have argued myself (Crone, Slaves, p. 25), though I no longer believe it to be correct.
CONCLUSION

centuate the perennial interests of tribal society rather than to undermine them in the style of Meccan trade as conventionally seen. There is only one development which meets all three specifications, and that is the foreign penetration characteristic of sixth- and early seventh-century Arabia.

As mentioned already, the Persians had colonies throughout eastern Arabia, in Najd, and in the Yemen, as well as a general sphere of influence extending from the Syrian desert to the Ḥijāz. The Byzantines had no colonists to the south of Tabūk, but their sphere of influence was felt throughout western Arabia from the Syrian desert where they had client kings to the Yemen where their Ethiopian allies ruled until they were ousted by the Persians. Muhammad’s Arabia had thus been subjected to foreign rule on a scale unparalleled even in modern times: where the Persians had colonists and fire-temples, the British merely had Philby. The scale on which Muhammad’s Arabia exploded is equally unparalleled, the nearest equivalent being that of the Īkhwān. It seems unlikely that the two phenomena were unrelated.

If so, how? One model can be eliminated at once. It is well known that empires tend to generate state structures among their barbarian neighbours thanks to the ideas that they provide, the material sources that they pass on, and the resentment that their dominance engenders; and having generated such state structures, they will usually become targets of conquest, too. This is the pattern known from Central Asia and Europe; but it is not the pattern to which Arabia conforms. There was no incipient growth of state structures at the expense of tribal ties in Arabia, not even in Mecca. Muhammad’s state in Medina was formed by a prophet, not a secular statesman, by recourse to religious authority, not material power, and the conquests were effected by a fusion of tribal

---

"They did have colonies to the north of Tabūk. cf. J. E. Dayton, “A Roman/Byzantine Site in the Hejaz.”"

"Cf. above, ch. 2 n150.

"Cronje, Slave, ch. 2

"Cf. Wolf, “Social Organization of Mecca,” where the Meccan transition to a commercial economy creates a political malaise to which Muhammad responds by completing the transition to statehood. The objections to this interpretation are much the same as those to Watt’s. Mecca is described as a successful society, political conflicts being both rare and swiftly settled: statelessness was no problem here. And it was in Medina that Muhammad was welcomed, the Meccans resisting his innovations until they were conquered (similarly Asward, “Social and Ecological Aspects,” p. 420)."
THE RISE OF ISLAM

society, not by its disintegration. If the imperial powers contributed to the rise of Islam, they must have done so in a different way.

An alternative hypothesis would be that Islam originated as a nativist movement, or in other words as a primitive reaction to alien domination of the same type as those which the Arab conquerors were themselves to provoke in North Africa and Iran, and which European colonists were later to provoke throughout the Third World. If we accept the testimony of the non-Muslim sources on the nature of Muhammad's teaching, this interpretation fits extremely well.

Nativist movements are primitive in the sense that those who engage in them are people without political organization. Either they are members of societies that never had much political organization, as is true of Muhammad's Arabia, or they are drawn from these strata of society that lack this organization, as is true of the villagers who provided the syncretic prophets of Iran. They invariably take a religious form. The leaders usually claim to be prophets or God Himself, and they usually formulate their message in the same religious language as that of the foreigners against whom it is directed, but in such a way as to reaffirm their native identity and values. The movements are almost always millenarian, frequently messianic, and they always lead to some political organization and action, however embryonic; the initial action is usually militant, the object of the movement being the expulsion of the foreigners in question. The extent to which Muhammad's movement conforms to this description can be illustrated with reference to a Maori prophet of the 1860s who practically invented Islam for himself. He reputedly saw himself as a new Moses (as did Muhammad), pronounced Maoris and Jews to be descended from the same father (as were the Jews and their Ishmaelite brothers), and asserted that Gabriel had taught him a new religion which (like that taught to Muhammad) combined belief in the supreme God of the foreigners with native elements (sacred dances as opposed to pilgrimage). He proclaimed, or was taken to proclaim, the Day of Judgment to be at hand (as did Muhammad). On that day, he said or was taken by his followers to say, the British would be expelled from New Zealand (as would the Byzantines from Syria), and

56 Cf. A. Bell, La religion musulmane en Berbérie, t. 170 ff.; G. H. Sadighi, Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIe et au IIIe siècles de l'hégire; V. Lanternari, The Religions of the Oppressed.
57 This feature has been analyzed by A. F. C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," and R. Linton, "Nativist Movement."
CONCLUSION

all the Jews would come to New Zealand to live in peace and harmony with their Maori brothers (as Jews and Arabs expected to do in Syria). This, at least, is how his message was reported by contemporary, if frequently hostile, observers. And though he may in fact have been a pacifist, his followers were not. Unlike the followers of Muhammad, however, they fought against impossible odds.

Like the Maori prophet, Muhammad mobilized the Jewish version of monotheism against that of dominant Christianity and used it for the self-assertion, both ideological and military, of his own people. It is odd that what appears to have been the first hostile reaction to alien domination, and certainly the most successful, should have come in an area subject to Byzantine rather than Persian influence, that of the Persians being more extensive. But Jewish-Arab symbiosis in northwest Arabia could perhaps account for this: according to Sebeos, the Byzantine victimization of Jews played a crucial role in the birth of Muhammad's movement. In any case, Muhammad was not the only prophet in seventh-century Arabia, and two of his competitors, Musaylima and Aswad, were active in areas subject to Persian influence, the Yamama and the Yemen, respectively, while a third, Sajah, was sponsored by tribes known to have participated in the celebrated battle against the Persians at Dhū Qār. The fact that the resistance to Islam in Arabia was led by imitators of Muhammad rather than by representatives of traditional paganism is thus unlikely to mean that traditional beliefs and values had

58 Lanternari, Religions, pp. 248 ff., with references to further literature. The more recent work by P. Clark, “Hauhau,” the Pai Marire Search for Maori Identity, is apologetic. Clark stresses the peaceful intentions of the prophet (on which there seems to be wide agreement) and refuses to believe that even his followers wished to expel the British. The prophet’s identification with Jews is admitted, but not developed, and the millenarian nature of his preaching more or less denied. Clark is of course right that there was an element of cultural adjustment in the cult in that the Maoris were eager for all the secrets of the Europeans (the technological disparity between natives and foreigners is an aspect missing from the Arabian case); but the fact that they wanted European science does not mean that they wanted the Europeans. He adduces such Maori sources as exist, but does not apparently know the work of Vagglio, an Italian historian who was in New Zealand at the time and who is the main source behind Lanternari’s account.

59 Cf. Crone and Cook, Hagarism, pp. 6 f.

60 Cf. F. M. Donner, “The Bakr b. Wail Tribes and Politics in Northeastern Arabia on the Eve of Islam,” p. 30. Note also the attempt during the ridda to restore the Lakhmid dynasty in the Bahrāyn area (ibid., p. 31; restoring a native dynasty abolished by the Persians obviously was not a pro-Persian move).
The Rise of Islam

lost force in Arabia; on the contrary, Muhammad would seem to have hit upon a powerful formula for the vindication of those values. And this formula was, of course, likely to be used against Muhammad himself when he began his subjection of Arabia.

A more serious objection would be that the foreign presence is unlikely to have affected the majority of Arabs very deeply. Unlike the Maoris, who were losing their land to the British, they certainly cannot have felt that their entire way of life was under threat; and unlike the Berbers, they were not exposed to forced conversion. Nor are expressions of dissatisfaction with foreign domination very common in the sources. There is, admittedly, no lack of anti-Persian feeling in the poetry triggered by the battle of Dhū Qár, which the Prophet supposedly described as the first occasion on which the Arabs obtained revenge from the Persians, the conquests (by implication) being the second. But in historical fact this battle may not have represented more than a short-term disagreement between the Persians and their Arab subjects.

Still, there were some who felt that “the Arabs were confined between the lions of Persia and Byzantium,” as Qatāda said in a passage contrasting the ignominious state of the Arabs in the Jahiliyya with the grandeur achieved on the coming of Islam. “Other men trampled us beneath their feet while we trampled no one. Then God sent a prophet from among us... and one of his promises was that we should conquer and overcome these lands,” as Mughīrah b. Shu‘ba is supposed to have explained to a Persian commander. In general it is acknowledged that

---

42. Compare the proliferation of prophets in early ‘Abbāsid Iran (Behāfarīd, Sunbāth, Muqanna‘, Hābak, and soon). There were also several in Maori New Zealand.
43. That Musaylima’s movement should be seen as a nativist (or “revivalist”) response has in fact been suggested before; cf. D. F. Eickelman, “Musaylima.” Eickelman sees it as a response to pressure from Islam, however, not a response to foreign interference, or to foreign interference and Islam.
45. See for example Ya‘qub. Tārikh, 1, 246.
48. Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb b. Ibrāhīm, Kitāb al-kbarāj, p. 39; cited by Robinson, Mohammed, p. 295. But variant versions of this speech omit the protest against foreign domination, or even acknowledge the benefits of Persian government (cf. Ṭabarī, Tārikh, ser. 1, pp. 2,240f., 2,276 f., 2,352).
the Arab conquests were nothing if not “an outburst of Arab national­
ity.”

To what extent, if at all, the nativist model can be applied to the rise of Islam is for future research to decide; no doubt there are other ways in which the interaction between Arabs and foreigners could be envis­aged. But it is at all events the impact of Byzantium and Persia on Arabia that ought to be at the forefront of research on the rise of the new religion, not Meccan trade. Meccan trade may well turn out to throw some light on the mechanics behind the spread of the new religion; but it cannot explain why a new religion appeared at all in Arabia or why it had such massive political effect.

THE PROVENANCE OF CLASSICAL CINNAMON

Cinnamon is an aromatic bark nowadays obtained from two species of the genus *Cinnamomum*, of the family of Lauraceae or laurels, that is, *C. zeylanicum* Nees and *C. cassia* Blume. The former, sometimes identified as “true cinnamon,” is native to south India and Ceylon; it is reputed to produce better cinnamon in Ceylon than anywhere else, but it is now widely cultivated in other parts of the old and the new world, as well. The latter is native to south China and does not appear to be much cultivated outside China itself. Numerous other species of *Cinnamomum* with a distribution from India to New Guinea also yield aromatic barks of various kinds, some of them used as cinnamon substitutes, though the so-called “white cinnamon” or canella bark is derived from a completely different genus native to the West Indies (Uphof, *Dictionary*, s. vv. *Cinnamomum* spp. and Canella alba; G. Watt, *The Commercial Products of India*, pp. 310 ff.; I. H. Burkhill, *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula*, 1, 543 ff.). Cinnamon is used primarily as a condiment today, but this usage is of fairly recent origin (cf. C. Schumann, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Zimtländer*, p. 24). In antiquity it was an ingredient in ointments and perfumes, as well as a medicine.

Cinnamon is first attested under this name in the Old Testament, where *qimmôn bēšem* is mentioned as an ingredient in the holy oil (Exodus 30:23), and *qimmâmôn* figures as a perfume (Proverbs 7:17; Song of Songs 4:14). Cassia, the inferior form of cinnamon commonly referred to in antiquity, is perhaps also first mentioned under this name here, but only in the plural form of *qıddfet* (Psalms 45:8, sg. *qıddfät*, as a singular it occurs only as the name of Job’s daughter, Job 42:14). It is, however, also believed to be attested here under the name of *qiddâ* (Exodus 30:24; Ezekiel 27:19).

Greek *kinnamêmmum* (later also *kinnamon*, *kinamon*) is first attested in Herodotus, according to whom the Greeks learned the word from the Phoenicians (*History*, ii, 101). Herodotus also mentions cassia (*kasia,*
APPENDIX ONE

Ionian κασίχ, III, 110), a word that they presumably also learnt from the Phoenicians and that is attested even before Herodotus in the poetry of Sappho (fragment 44 cited by Müller. Weibrauch, col. 708).

Cinnamon is associated with, among other things, myrrh in several of the Biblical passages; cassia is mentioned together with myrrh and frankincense in Sappho, and together with frankincense in Melanippides (fragment 1 cited by Liddell and Scott, Lexicon, s. v. Kasia) as well as in an account of aromatics used by the Phoenicians (Müller, Weibrauch, col. 732). This suggests that the Phoenicians obtained their cinnamon and cassia from the same people who supplied them with myrrh and frankincense, and by the time of Herodotus this was clearly so: He-rodotus explicitly says that cinnamon and cassia came from south Arabia (History II, 86; III, 107, 111). Herodotus believed the south Arabian to obtain the products, or at least cinnamon, from the nests of large birds: nobody knew where cinnamon actually grew, though the land in which Dionysius was brought up had been proposed (ibid., III, 111; possibly a reference to Ethiopia). But classical authors soon acquired the belief that cinnamon and cassia grew in Arabia itself. This opinion was shared by Theophrastus (Plants, IX, 4: 2), Alexander the Great (Arrian, Anabasis, vii, 20: 2; cf. also Strabo, Geography, xv, 1: 22, 25), Eratosthenes (cited by Strabo. ibid., xvi, 4: 4), Agatharchides (§ 97) and, following him, Artemidorus (cited by Strabo, Geography, xvi, 4: 19) and Diodorus Siculus (Bibliotheca, ii, 49: 3); it was also the opinion of Dioscorides (Materia Medica, i, 13: 12). The belief that cinnamon and cassia were products of south Arabia was thus current in the classical world for almost five-hundred years. Occasionally, it is found in later authors, too (cf. Jacob of Edessa, Hexameron, p. 138 = 115; Sehumann, Zimmänder, p. 21). The usual and indeed only explanation at first sight is that the Arabs imported cinnamon and cassia from India or even further east, and kept the origin of their spices secret in order to preserve their monopoly on the trade (cf. above, eh. 2 nn104 f.). There are no species of Cinnamomum in Arabia. The Arabs must have been middlemen in an eastern trade of a very early date (cf. above, eh. 2 1102).

When, then, did the Greeks discover the true origins of cinnamon? According to McCrindle, they knew of the Indian cinnamon tree as early as the fourth century B.C., when Ctesias described it under the name of karpion (J. W. McCrindle, tr., Ancient India as Described by Ktesias the Indian, pp. 29 f. and the note thereto). But this cannot be right. For
CLASSICAL CINNAMON

one thing, Ctesias, who collected this information in Persia, was hardly in a position to reproduce a Tamil word (supposed to be karuppu or the like, though I have not been able to verify the existence of such a word); and if karpos reproduces Sanskrit karpūra, the tree was a source of camphor, not of cinnamon. For another thing, Ctesias says that whereas the Indian name of the tree is karpos, its name in Greek is myroboa, not kinnamomum. Above all, no species of Cinnamomum has leaves like those of a date palm, nor does any such species exude a resin or gum, as did that of Ctesias; the essential oil of Cinnamomum is obtained from the leaves, bark, pods, or twigs, invariably by distillation. It follows that Ctesias' tree was neither a cinnamon nor a camphor tree (camphor being derived from a species of Cinnamomum, too).

It would appear, though, that the Greeks discovered Indian Cinnamomum, possibly C. zeylanicum, in connection with Alexander’s campaigns. Strabo, at all events, cites Aristobulus as being of the opinion that “the southern land of India . . . bears cinnamon, nard, and other aromatic products” (Geography, xv, 1: 22). And by the first century A.D. there were those who held most cassia in the Greek-Roman world to be of Indian origin (ibid., xvi, 4: 25). But those who held as much were also under the impression that the best frankincense came from Persis, so they cannot have been well informed. By the second century A.D. Apuleius also spoke of Indian cinnamon, as did Philostratus in the third (both cited in L. Casson, “Cinnamon and Cassia in the Ancient World,” p. 223. I owe my knowledge of this work to Professor G. Bowersock); but such statements were exceptional. What did come from India was malabathrum, the “Indian leaf” conventionally (but probably wrongly) said to be derived from C. tamala Nees, which is indigenous to India, but which does not yield a bark of much commercial value (cf. Watt, Commercial Products of India, pp. 312 ff.; Miller, Spice Trade, pp. 5 ff., 23 ff., 201; the conventional identification was rejected by B. Laufer, “Malabathron,” on grounds that have been ignored rather than countered). But though the Greeks and Romans now visited India themselves, they did not generally return with the impression that India was the land of the spice they knew as cinnamon.

They did discover the true origins of cinnamon in the first century A.D., however, or so they said: it came from East Africa, not from Arabia. Already Aristobulus had noted that south India bore cinnamon “like Arabia and Ethiopia” (Strabo, Geography, xv, 1: 22). Artemidorus
also knew of cinnamon and "pseudo-cassia" in Africa, presumably on the basis of Agatharchides (ibid., xvi, 4: 14). But it was Pliny who set out to explode the myth of Arabian cinnamon: contrary to what people said, it grew in East Africa, being transported to Arabia from there by raft (Natural History, xi, 85 ff.). The Periplus, a merchant's guide to African, Arabian, and Indian ports, soberly enumerates the East African ports from which cassia was exported (§§8, 10, 12 f; the word is kasia throughout, though Schoff translates it as cinnamon). Dioscorides also knew of cinnamon and cassia from East Africa, more precisely from Mosyllum, a port mentioned by the Periplus (Materia Medica, 1, 13 f./t 2 f.; cf. Periplus, § 11). Ptolemy likewise held them be African products (Geography, iv, 7:34), as did Philostorgius (Kirchengeschichte, III, 6). Isidore of Seville, echoing some earlier source, held them to come from India and Ethiopia (Schumann, Zimmänner, p. 22, cf. p. 25). But Cosmas, the sixth-century traveller to India, once more omitted India as a source: cassia came from East Africa, being collected in the interior and brought to the coast for export from Adulis (Topographie, 11, 49). The belief that cinnamon and/or cassia were products of East Africa thus held sway for another five hundred years, and was unshaken in the century before the Muslim conquests.

Against this background, the conventional explanation of the origins of cinnamon looks considerably less convincing than it did at first sight. If cinnamon and cassia actually came from India or the Far East, a mysterious guild of cinnamon dealers must have operated in both Arabia and East Africa, successfully keeping the provenance of their goods, not to mention their own existence, secret for over a thousand years. "So strong was the age-long understanding between Arab and Hindu, that cinnamon... was still found by the Romans only at Guardafui and was scrupulously kept from their knowledge in the markets of India" (Schoff, Periplus, p. 6). But how could such a secret possibly have been maintained? By the sixth century, Greek merchants had long been familiar with both India and Ceylon; yet they had not noticed that this was where cinnamon actually came from, the belief to the contrary being limited to ill-informed people of the first century A.D. Equally, by the sixth century, Greek merchants had long frequented both Arabian and East African ports, and missionaries had even penetrated the interior; yet nobody had noticed that the reputed cinnamon and cassia trees simply were not there. Some authors stopped talking of cinnamon, men-
zeylanicum is a large tree in the wild. It does exist as a coppiced bush under cultivation, and Miller adduces this fact in support of the eastern origin of the products (Spice Trade, p. 44, though he docs not want them to be products of C. zeylanicum or to have come from India). Pliny is, however, explicit that the bush known to him was wild ("it flourishes among the thickest of bushes and brambles, and is difficult to gather"); this point is also overlooked by Casson, "Cinnamon and Cassia," p. 238). And C. zeylanicum does not appear to have been cultivated commercially in Ceylon until the Portuguese and Dutch conquests; in south India it still had not come to be thus cultivated by the time Watt wrote his Commercial Products of India (pp. 313 f.).

Equally, the products cannot have come from China. The view that cinnamon bark was used as a spice, aromatic substance, and medicine in China as early as the third millennium B.C. would appear to be gratuitous (pace A. Dietrich, "Dār Šini"). According to Laufer (Sino-Iranica, p. 543), the tree and its products only entered the literature on the Chinese colonization of south China during the Han, that is, between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. and the first mention of the medicinal use of cinnamon only dates from the fifth or early sixth century A.D. By then, however, it must have come to be exported to the west, for it was known already in Pahlavi as *dār-i cēnik, "Chinese wood," an appellation that survives as a loan word in Armenian and Arabic, as well as in modern Persian (cf. ibid., p. 541 n). The word is attested already in the Talmud (Lōw, Flora der Juden, II, 112); and Moses of Khoren also knew cinnamon as a Chinese product (cf. Schumann, Zimtländer, p. 41). It was Chinese, not Indian cinnamon that came to dominate the market after the Arab conquest of the Middle East (cf. Schumann, Zimtländer, p. 42, citing Ibn Khurdadbeh; Dietrich, "Dār Šini"; Jāhiz, Tījāra, p. 33 = § 14). But unless we are willing to grant that the south Arabs sailed all the way to south China in their leather boats even in remote antiquity, it cannot have been "Chinese wood" that circulated in the ancient or classical Near East. Nor is there any reason to believe that Greek kāsia is derived from Chinese kuei sbi, "cinnamon branch," as opposed to from Hebrew qāšā, or rather its Phoenician equivalent, a good Semitic word meaning something cut off (pace Schumann, Zimtländer, p. 7; Miller, Spice Trade, pp. 42 f.; cf. Laufer, Sino-Iranica, p. 542 n). And Sigismund's explanation of kinnamōmon as "Chinese ammonium" on a par with "Chinese wood" (Aromata, p. 30) is impossible on a number of grounds: China was scarcely known by this
APPENDIX ONE

cation, as pointed out by Lassen long ago (C. Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde*, 1, 330f).

Cinnamon and cassia thus cannot have come from India, China, or Southeast Asia. Moreover, if they had come from so far afield, the sources would not have been able to describe the plants from which the spices were derived. Yet the ancient Egyptians were familiar with the roots of the *Ijpar* cinnamon tree (von Deines and Grapow, *Wörterbuch*, p. 551); and Theophrastus and Pliny offered descriptions of both the cinnamon and the cassia trees (a point also noted by Groom, *Frankincense*, p. 84), giving information about harvest methods and harvest rituals, as well (*Plants*, ix, 5; *Natural History*, xii, 89 ff.). It must thus be accepted that cinnamon and cassia came from where the sources say they came, that is, Arabia and/or East Africa, as numerous scholars have concluded before (cf. the defenders of East African cinnamon in Schumann, *Zimtländer*, pp. 25 ff.; similarly Sigismund, *Aromata*, pp. 26 ff.; Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 543; R. Hennig, “Kinnamomum und Kinnamóphóros Khóra in der antiken Literatur”; Raschke, “New Studies,” pp. 652 ff. [where the case is exceedingly well made]; Groom, *Frankincense*, pp. 84 f.).

The defenders of Arabian and/or African cinnamon are up against the problem that no species of *Cinnamomum* is native to these countries. (A *C. africanum* Lukmanoff was reported in *Index Kewensis*, supplementum sextum, Oxford 1926, with reference to a publication of 1889; but this species is unknown to the literature on East Africa, cf. E. Chiovenda, *Flora Somalia*; P. E. Glover, *A Provisional Check-list of British and Italian Somaliland, Trees, Shrubs and Herbs*; E. Milne-Redhead and others, *Flora of Tropical East Africa*; G. Cudofontis, *Enumeratio Plantarum Aethiopieae*.) Indeed, the entire family of Lauraceae is weakly developed in Africa and apparently not represented in Arabia at all (A.Engler, *Die Pflanzenwelt Afrikas*, iii, 1: 219; Blatter, *Flora Arabica* and *Flora of Aden*). This point was stressed and elaborated with impressive learning by Schumann, who also argued that East Africa does not offer the right conditions for *Cinnamomum* at all, thus disposing of the hypothesis that it had been introduced there at some stage (*Zimtländer*, pp. 28 ff.). Pace Casson (“Cinnamon and Cassia”, p. 235), time has not proved Schumann right. *C. zeylanicum* was cultivated experimentally in East Africa (though more widely in West Africa) at the beginning of the present century (Engler, *Pflanzenwelt*, p. 220); by the 1950s it had been introduced to Ethiopia,
CLASSICAL CINNAMON

Zanzibar, Tanganyika, and elsewhere (Cudofontis, *Enumeratio*, p. 118); and not only *C. zeylanicum*, but also *C. cassia* and *C. camphora* have been naturalized in Tanganyika (Watt and Breyer-Brandwijk, *Medicinal and Poisonous Plants*, pp. 530 ff.). But it would nonetheless be futile to argue that the cinnamon and cassia obtained from East Africa in the ancient world were derived from a species or various species of *Cinnamomum*. No trace of *Cinnamomum* has been found in ancient Egyptian remains (Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, pp. 301, 308 ff.), and one can confidently predict that none ever will be.

As conjectured by Laufer (*Sin-iranica*, p. 543), Groom (*Frankincense*, p. 85) and others, including a professional botanist (F. N. Hepper, "On the Transference of Ancient Plant Names," p. 130), the spices known as cinnamon and cassia in antiquity were not the spices known as such today. This point can be established beyond all reasonable doubt on the basis of the descriptions given by Theophrastus (*Plants*, ix, 5) and Pliny (*Natural History*, xii, 89 ff.). Cinnamon was obtained from shrubs that grew in ravines (Theophrastus), among the thickest bushes and briers, being difficult to gather (Pliny). The shrubs were small (Theophrastus), ranging in height from a mere span to three feet (Pliny), and the whole plant was cut down for harvesting (Theophrastus; differently Pliny). It had a dried-up appearance and a leaf resembling wild marjoram. It liked dry ground, being less fertile in wet weather. It grew in the vicinity of cassia, though the latter was a mountain plant (Pliny). Cassia was also a shrub, but of a coarser kind (both). The colours of the bark were black and white (Theophrastus), light, dark, mottled, and pure white in the case of cinnamon and white, reddish, and black in the case of cassia (Pliny, cf. also Dioscorides, *Materia Medica*, i, 12 ff./13 ff.; cf. also Casson, "Cinnamon and Cassia," pp. 228 ff., 232).

By no stretch of the imagination can this account be taken to refer to a species of *Cinnamomum*, a genus that flourishes in humid climates, producing large trees with glossy leaves. Modern users of cinnamon will also be surprised by the reference to black, white, and mottled varieties of this spice, though this is not a decisive point (cf. Casson, "Cinnamon and Cassia," pp. 229 ff.). What Theophrastus and Pliny describe is a xerophilous shrub of the kind that proliferates in the thorn-woodland of the regions bordering on the Red Sea (cf. Polunin, *Plant Geography*, pp. 442 ff.). It leaves no doubt that the plants in question grew where classical authors say they grew (and there is nothing in the description to rule
APPENDIX ONE

out Arabia). But it does rule out that the spices which these plants produced should be identified with ours.

If classical cinnamon and cassia were different from “Chinese wood,” one would expect the sources to say as much once “Chinese wood” had come to be imported. Several sources do, in fact, say precisely that. Thus a Gaonic comment on the Talmudic passage on *darsini* explains that *darsini* is a Chinese plant similar to *qinnammon*, or maybe identical with it (Löw, *Flora der Juden*, 11, 112; but the rabbinical “cinnamon” that grew in Palestine, where it was eaten by goats, was clearly an altogether different plant again, cf. *ibid*, pp. 108 f.; *id.*, *Pflanzenamen*, p. 346). A Syriac author of unknown date similarly explains that *qinnammon* “is not the substance which they call *qinnamū* or *darsini*, but a kind of wood which has a pleasant smell” (Budge, *Syriac Medicine*, p. 609 = 724; here too *qinnammon* is also the name of an altogether different product, namely, storax). And countless Arabic authors state that *qiifa* is an aromatic substance different from, similar to or maybe identical with *darsini*. *Qiifa* is identified as any bark, including *qiifat* or *rib*, by Dinawari, who seems still to be ignorant of its associations with “Chinese wood” (*Dictionnaire*, no. 865). But we are soon told elsewhere that “*qiifa* is a species of *darsini*; it is also said that it is a different species that resembles it” (Khwārizmī, *Maṭārib*, p. 172). “*Darsini* . . . is not *qiifa*; I state this because the Egyptians call *qiifa* *darsini*” (Maimonides in M. Levey, *Early Arabic Pharmacology*, p. 150; Qurtubī in Schmucker, *Matena Medica*, p. 342, where the refusal to identify the two is wrongly taken to reflect Qurtūbī’s idiosyncratic views). “*Qiifat al-darsini* . . . is much less aromatic than *darsini*; it is also said that it is another species different from *darsini* . . . some is black . . . and some white . . . ” (Arrajānī in Bīrūnī, *Pharmacy and Materia Medica*, p. 303 = 265). “*Qiifa* is a bark varying in colour from red to black . . . it resembles *darsini*” (Rāzī cited *ibid*, p. 303 = 266). “*Qiifa* . . . is much rarer (aqallu) than *darsini*; some people say that it is a species (jins) different from *darsini*” (attributed to Dioscorides in Bīrūnī, *Pharmacy and Materia Medica*, p. 304 = 266). *Qiifa*, in other words, was a bark that was sufficiently similar to *darsini* to be confused with it, though it was less aromatic and came in white and black as well as reddish colours (these colours are mentioned by several authorities cited by Bīrūnī and they do not seem to be derived from Dioscorides). It was an Arabian product (this is implied by Dinawari, whose plants are Arabian unless otherwise specified); and it had come to be much rarer than its Chinese
There can thus be little doubt that *qirfa* was the cinnamon and/or cassia of the classical world.

*Qirfa* was found in East Africa, too. “Ethiopian (ḥabashi) ḏārṣīni is *qirfa*” (attributed to Paul of Aegina in Bīrūnī, *Pharmacy and Materia Medica*, p. 190 = 156). “There is East African (ṣanji) ḏārṣīni which is malodorous and which is adulterated with a species of plants with a weak aroma. There is also a species of plants with a weak aroma which resembles ḏārṣīni” (ibid., pp. 190 = 156, clearly independent of the classical tradition).

Whether the plants in question can be more precisely identified is for professional botanists to decide. So far they have not succeeded (F. N. Hepper, personal communication); and it is their silence that allows the controversy to continue. For “if it is hard to believe that traders in cinnamon and cassia in the ports of Somalia were able to keep their products a secret from the author of the *Periplus*, it is even harder to believe that Ethiopia and Somalia boasted a tree that at one time supplied a fragrant bark in sufficient quantity to take care of the needs of the whole Roman empire and then disappeared without leaving a trace in the botanical record,” as Casson rightly observes (“Cinnamon and Cassia,” p. 236; Casson opts for China and mainland Southeast Asia). It is, however, a little premature to assert that it *has* disappeared from the botanical record. How many botanists have worked on the areas in question with the problem of classical cinnamon in mind? And of those who have, how many have looked for a small shrub as opposed to a tree?

But whatever the outcome of the botanical search, there is no doubt that “cinnamon” is a word of Semitic origin on a par with *qirfa* and *qīṣṭā* (the latter translated into Arabic as *salīka*, cf. Löw, *Pflanzennamen*, p. 349; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.). It cannot be derived from the root *qnm* (rightly rejected by Löw, *Flora der Juden*, II, 107). But the first part of the word is presumably “reed” (Arabic *qanāb*, pl. *qinā*). *Qinnamōn*, *kin(n)amōn* (the latter influenced by the false parallel with *amōmon*) would thus mean “the reed” or “reeds” of something; the word with which the reeds are in construct can no longer be identified.
A reed described as aromatic (qâneh bōsem, qâneh tôb) is mentioned in the Old Testament, where it is always found in the company of at least one Arabian product and where the Phoenicians of Tyre are said to have traded in it (Exodus, 30:23 f.; Jeremiah, 6:20; Ezekiel, 27:19; Song of Songs, 4:24). This suggests an Arabian commodity. An aromatic reed (kalamos euædist; calamus ùdoratus) was, in fact, to be found in Arabia, according to Theophrastus and Pliny, both of whom knew it to grow in Syria, too; in particular, it grew by the dried-out lake in the Lebanese valley in which sweet rushes (Arabic idbkkbir) were also to be found (Theophrastus, Plants, ix, 7:1 f.; Pliny, Natural History, xi, 104 ff.). It grew in south Arabia, too, according to Agatharchides (§ 97); and a Mineean who sold myrrh and calamus in Egypt is attested in an inscription of 264 B.C. (Rhodokanakis, “Sarkophaginschrift von Gizeh,” p. 113). Plm is also attested on some Arabian incense bowls (Ryckmans, “Inscriptions sud-arabes,” p. 176).

According to Pliny (Natural History, xi, 104 ff.), calamus also grew in India, and Dioscorides identified it as Indian tout court (Materia Medica, i, 18/17). “Indian calamus” is mentioned elsewhere, too (Raschke, “New Studies,” pp. 651 f.). But “Indian calamus” apparently also grew in East Africa, for Strabo mentions it there (Geography, xvi, 4:9); and it was from East Africa that calamus was imported in the sixth century (Cosmas, Topographia, 11, 49).

Islamic sources identify calamus (qasab al-tib, qasab al-dharira, cf. Low, Pflanzennamen, p. 342; Lane, Lexicon, s.v. dharira) as primarily Iranian. It was imported from Khwārizm, according to Jâhiz (l’ijâra, p. 36; mistaken for sugarcane in Pellat’s translation, § 15), though Qazwini held it to be exclusive to Nihâwand (cited in M. Ullmann, Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam, p. 93). “The Persian reed is called calamus in Greek” (al-qasab al-’arisi b’il-rûmiyya qalâmus), we are told by Birûnî. Birûnî knew from both classical and Muslim sources that it also grew in India (Pharmacy and Materia Medica, p. 309 = 269 f.).

The plant in question is generally identified as Acorus calamus, L., Araceae, a perennial herb with a distribution from Ceylon to northern
Europe and beyond. Its English name is sweet flag, and its rhizomes have been widely used to flavour food and drink, as a source of tooth-powder and insecticides, and as a remedy against dysentery and other ailments (Uphof, Dictionary, s.v.). It does not grow in Syria, Arabia, or East Africa (cf. G. E. Post, Flora of Syria, Palesine and Sinai, Blatter, Flora of Aden and Flora Arabica; Glover, Provisional Check-list; Chiovenda, Check-list; Watt and Breyer-Brandwijk, Medicinal and Poisonous Plants, and so forth). If this identification of the plant is accepted, we thus have a problem parallel to that of cinnamon, and a ready-made explanation: the Arabs imported calamus from India or further east and kept its provenance secret in order to preserve their monopoly on the trade; they must have begun to do so already in Pharaonic times (cf. Moldenke and Moldenke, Plants, p. 41; Miller, Spice Trade, p. 93), and they operated in both Arabia and East Africa, thereby giving rise to the idea that this was where the plant in question grew.

But why go to such elaborate lengths in defense of an implausible identification? If the sources describe a plant as growing in Syria, Arabia, East Africa, Persia, and India, it is willful to identify it as one attested for Persia and India, but not for East Africa, Arabia, or Syria. And if the sources speak about reeds, who are we to say that they actually meant rhizomes? "Kalamos and skhoinos grow beyond the Libanus between that range and another small range, in the depression thus formed...there is a large lake, and they grow near it in the dried-up marshes, covering an extent of more than thirty furlongs. They have no fragrance when they are green, but only when they are dried, and in appearance they do not differ from ordinary reeds and rushes" (Theophrastus, Plants, ix, 7: 1; cf. Pliny, Natural History, xi, 104 ff.; Hort duly renders the untranslated words as sweet flag and ginger-grass). How could rhizomes imported from India give rise to such a circumstantial and matter-of-fact description? As has been seen, skhoinos was not ginger-grass, and we may take it that kalamos was not sweet flag, either. Acorin, the substance extracted from Acorus calamus, is bitter, and while it may counteract insects, dysentery, and tooth decay, it does not seem to have been used in perfumery (British Pharmaceutical Codex, p. 241; Watt, Commercial Products of India, p. 24; it is classical sources that lie behind Uphof's information on its supposed use in perfumery). Aromatic reeds used in the manufacture of scents and ointments with a habitat ranging from India to East Africa can most plausibly be identified as members of Cymbopogon (formerly Andropogon), the genus of
APPENDIX 3.

THE ETYMOLOGY AND ORIGINAL MEANING OF Alōē

According to Miller, Greek aloe in the sense of fragrant wood (lign-aloe or eagle-wood) is derived from Sanskrit agaru via intermediaries such as Tamil ukil and Hebrew šbālāt (or its Phoenician cognate). Alōē in the sense of bitter medicine (aloes) he proposes to derive from Persian alwā (Spice Trade, pp. 35 f., 65 f.). This cannot be right.

The derivation of Hebrew š'abāl from Sanskrit agaru is uncertain, though generally accepted (cf. Löw, Pflanzennamen, p. 295). It is true that šbālāt sound like a foreign spice in Proverbs, 7:17, Psalms, 45:8, and Song of Songs, 4:14, where they are enumerated together with myrrh, cinnamon, and other aromatics. But in Numbers, 24:6, where they are mentioned in the alternative plural form of šḥalām, they are trees familiar to Balaam's audience by sight. šbālim might, of course, be something different from šbālāt; but if so, one would assume them to be trees that produced the spice known as šbālāt rather than trees that happened to bear the same name as a spice imported from India.

Even if we accept that š'abāl is cagle-wood, however, we cannot derive Greek alōē from it. Alōē must be a Semitic loan word, as Löw observed (Florader Juden, II, 149), and it must have entered Greek with the sense of bitter medicine. The name of the plant that produced this medicine is written with an 'ayn in Aramaic and Syriac (cf. Löw, Pflanzen­namen, p. 295; id., Flora der Juden, II, 149); and Syriac 'alway (attested for example in Budge, Book of Medicines, passim) provides an almost perfect prototype for Greek alōē: the Greek word is a straightforward transcription of a Semitic name. The Greek word was transcribed back into Syriac and Aramaic (cf. Löw, Pflanzennamen, p. 295; in Jacob of Edessa, Hexaemeron, p. 139, the name of the bitter medicine is alwā and šabrā, the former a Greek and the latter an Arabic loan word). And from Syriac and Aramaic it passed to Arabic and Persian (cf. Löw, loc. cit.; Dinawartī, Plants, p. 39, no. 40 (alawwa, uluwwa). Persian alwā and variants
are thus transcriptions of the Greek word, not its source, as was noted long ago (cf. Lauffer, Sinu-Iramica, p. 481).

The original meaning of Greek \textit{aloe} is medicine. The original word for eagle-wood, on the other hand, was \textit{agallo-khon}, a word picked up by the Greeks in India and first attested in Dioscorides (\textit{Materia Medica}, 1, 22/21). There is no confusion of the two in Dioscorides or other writers of the first and second centuries A.D. When the \textit{Periplus} (§ 28) mentions \textit{aloe} among the articles exported from the Hadramawt, it clearly refers to the bitter medicine of Socotra (pace Huntington, \textit{Periplus}, p. 132; cf. also MacCrindle, \textit{Periplus}, p. 15). When Nicodemus offers myrrh and \textit{aloe} for the embalming of Jesus in John, 19:39, he is offering two bitter substances, myrrh and aloes (as in the Authorized Version). And when Celsus recommends \textit{aloe} as a purgative, it is again the bitter medicine he has in mind (\textit{De Medicina}, 1, 3: 26; correctly translated by Spencer). Celsus mentions \textit{aloe} again in other passages, and Spencer takes these passages to refer to eagle-wood. Miller follows suit (\textit{Spice Trade}, p. 35; cf. above, ch. 3 n54). But if Celsus had suddenly understood a completely different substance by the word, one would have expected him to indicate as much: how was his reader to guess that the medicine prescribed here was not identical with that mentioned as a purgative in 1, 3: 26? Clearly, Celsus was thinking of bitter aloes throughout, a fact corroborated by the constant association of aloe with myrrh in his recipes.

How then did \textit{aloe} come to mean eagle-wood as well as bitter medicine? Apparently thanks to the Septuagint. The translators of the Old Testament into Greek had trouble with \textit{\textsuperscript{5}b\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{6}al\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{6}im}} and \textit{\textsuperscript{5}h\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{6}al\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{6}ot}}. They did not know the identity of the trees referred to in Numbers, 24:6, where the tents of Israel are compared to cedars and \textit{\textsuperscript{5}b\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{6}al\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{6}im}} planted by God; so they read the word as \textit{\textsuperscript{5}b\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{6}al\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{6}im}}, “tents,” which is clearly wrong. Apparently they were equally unfamiliar with the nature of the spice elsewhere referred to as \textit{\textsuperscript{5}h\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{6}al\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{6}ot}} for they translated it as \textit{aloe} even though \textit{aloe} only can have meant bitter medicine at the time: presumably they opted for this word on grounds of mere similarity of sound, much as Miller does. But the Biblical passages do, of course, suggest that \textit{\textsuperscript{5}h\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{6}al\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{6}ot}} were something sweet-smelling such as, for example, \textit{agallo-khon}. If Greek readers of the \textit{Bible} assumed the Biblical spicce to be eagle-wood, they must have inferred from the Septuagint that eagle-wood was known as \textit{aloe} too. This would explain why the confusion between the two sub-
stances spread with Christianity. *Aloë* presumably means eagle-wood in the Alexandrian tariff excerpted by Justinian (reproduced in Miller, *Spice Trade*, p. 279), and it certainly does so in Cosmas (*Topographie*, xi, 15). It was also with the double sense of bitter medicine and lign-aloe that the word passed back into Syriac and Arabic. The spice * bénéfic* having been identified as *aloë* in the sense of Indian eagle-wood, the *墦ím* with which Balaam’s audience were familiar became so, too: the tents of Israel are “as the trees of lign aloes which the Lord hath planted” in the Authorized Version.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abīd b. al Abraṣ, see Lyali.
Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm. Kitāb al kharāj. Cairo, 1346.
Agība, see Iṣbahānī.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Azraqi, Muhammad b. 'Abdallāh al-. *Kitāb akhbār Makka.* Edited by F. Wüstenfeld. Leipzig, 1858.


—-. “Hadrarmawt.” *Encyclopaedia of Islam.* 2nd ed.

—-. “Kataban.” *Encyclopaedia of Islam.* 2nd ed.


Bor, N. 1.. *Gramineae (= K. H. Rechinger, ed.. *Flora Iranica*, no. 70).* Graz, 1970


273
Bibliography


Brock, S. “Jacob of Edessa’s Discourse on the Myron.” Oriens Christianus 63 (1979), 20-36.


Burnell, A. C. “On Some Pahlavi Inscriptions in South India.” Indian Antiquary 3 (1874), 308-316.


Christensen, A. L’Iran sous les Sassanides. 2nd ed. Copenhagen, 1944.

274


BIBLIOGRAPHY


Dunlop, D. M. “Sources of Gold and Silver according to al-Hamdânî.” Studia Islamica 8 (1957), 29-49.


The Encyclopaedia of Islam 2nd ed. Leiden and London, 1966-


Fahd. —. “Hubal.” Encyclopaedia of Islam. 2nd ed.


———. “Makoraba.” In Paulu Wissova, *Realencyclopaedie*.
See also Dunlop.

277
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Hirschfeld, H. New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Quran. London, 1902.

Hirth, F. China and the Roman Orient. Leipzig, 1885.


278
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Ibn Ishāq, see Hamidallāh; Ibn Hishām.


BIBLIOGRAPHY


———. *Trias Opuscula*. Edited by G. van Vloten. Leiden, 1903.


Kawar, see Shahid.


280


———. “Mecca and Tamīm (Aspects of Their Relations).” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 8 (1965), 147-163.


———. *La cité arabe de Taïf à la veille de l’égérie* (reprinted from *Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph*, vol. 8). Beirut, 1922. References are to the original pagination.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Lammens, H. "La Mecque à la veille de l'âge de l'âge (reprinted from Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph, vol. 9)." Beirut, 1924. References are to the original pagination.

———. "La république marchande de la Mecque vers l'an 600 de notre ère." Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien 5th series. 4 (1910), 23-54.


Lauffer, B. "Malahathron." Journal Asiatique ser. 11, vol. 12 (1918), 5-49


"Irrigation in Ancient Qatabán (Beihan)." In R. Le Baron Bowen, Jr., F. P. Albright, and others, Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia. Baltimore, 1958, pp. 43-132.


Lisân, see Ibn Manzûr.

Loret, V. La flore pharaonique. 2nd ed. Paris, 1892.


McCrindle, J. W., tr. Ancient India as Described by Kišias the Kusâni. Calcutta, etc., 1882.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


... ed. and tr. *The Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*. 2 vols. London, 1921

1922.


Müller, W. W., "Das Ende des antiken Königsreichs Ḫadramaut. Die Sabäische
BIBLIOGRAPHY


—. “Der Gott Mr’ Bit’ und die Ka’ba.” Zeitschrift für Assyriologie 23 (1909), 184-186.

—. Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft. Strassburg, 1910.

—. Sketches from Eastern History. London and Edinburgh, 1892.


Paret, R. “Les villes de Syrie du sud et les routes commerciales d’Arabie à la fin
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly’s Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft. 2nd ed. Edited by G. Wissowa. Stuttgart, 1893—.


Possner, G. La première domination perse en Égypte. Cairo, 1936.


RAHMANI, L. Y. “Palestinian Incense Burners of the Sixth to Eighth Centuries C.E.” Israel Exploration Journal 30 (1980), 116-122.


Rawlinson, H. G. Intercourse between India and the Western World from the Earliest Time to the Fall of Rome. Cambridge, 1916

Râzî, Fakhr al din al-. Majârîb al ghâyb. 8 vols. Cairo. 1307-1309.


BIBLIOGRAPHY

"Inscriptions sud-arabes (troisième série)." Le Muséon 48 (1935), 163-187.


Schott, see Periplus.


Schulteiss, F., ed. and tr. Der Dictan des arabischen Dichter's 'Hātim Ṭe'ī. Leipzig, 1897.

Schumann, C. Kritische Untersuchungen über die Zimtländer. Gotha, 1883.


287
BIBLIOGRAPHY


288
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Tirimmâh, see Krenkow.


Tufayl, see Krenkow.


——. "Kuraysh." Encyclopaedia of Islam. 2nd ed.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


—. “Medina vor dem Islam.” In his Skizzen und Vorarbeiten. Vol. 4. Berlin, 1884, pp. 3-64.

—. Reste arabischer Heidentums. Berlin, 1887.

Wensinck, A. J. The Ideas of the Western Semites Concerning the Navel of the Earth. Amsterdam, 1916.


Woelk, see Agatharchides.

Woenig, F. Die Pflanzen im alten Ägypten. Leipzig, 1886.


Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache. Wiesbaden, 1979-

Yadin, Y. “An Inscribed South-Arabian Clay Stamp from Bethel?” Bulletin of
BIBLIOGRAPHY


INDEX

Page references refer to text and notes alike regardless of whether the two are connected or not: the reader should not confine his attention to the note ad the word in the text. Separate note references (indicated by superscript) are only given for entries not found in the text. Square brackets indicate that the passage referred to does not use the actual word given in the entry.

Abân b. Sa'id, 116, 117
'Abbâs b. 'Abd al-Muttalib, 96, 120
Abbott, 227 f.
'Abd al-Dârî, 130, 166, 183, 186, 187
'Abd Manâf, 118
'Abd al-Muttalib, 116, 120, 122, 186, 193, 199, 210, 220, 223, 225
'Abd al-Rahmân b. 'Abî Bakr, 118
'Abd al-Rahmân b. Asâf, 98
'Abd Shams (b. 'Abd Manâf), 125, 128
'Abdallah b. 'Abî Rabî'î, 80, 91, 96, 121
'Abdallâh b. Judâ'n, 104, 106, 116, 150

Ahrafa, 43, 122, 126, 141 f., 199
Abrahamic monotheism (Din Ibrahim), 190–92, 198, 245
Abû-l-As b. al-Râbi'î, 92, 116
Abû Bakr, 98, 102, 116
Abû Jahl, 116, 179
Abû Lahab, 82, 116
Abû Rabî'î b. al-Mughirah, 120, 121
Abû Tâlib, 53, 96, 116, 219, 220
Abû Uzayhir al-Dawsî, 123, 127, 152
Abû Zam'rî, 116
Aegus calamus, 264–66
Aden (Fâdaemon Arabia), 4, 25 f., 26, 36, 38, 41, 42, 48, 52, 77 f.; Meccans and, 122; perfume industry of, 95, 144
Adhârât, 97, 102, 103, 118, 162, 205
Addulís, 40, 41, 44, 77, 125, 134
Aelia, see Ayla
Aelius Gallus, 24, 45
Aggathabeh, 197
Alexander the Great, 33, 34, 56, 68, 73, 154
Alexandria, 38, 41, 44, 96
Ali (b. Abî Tâlib), 59, 82, 199
Allah, 100–95, 242
Allât, 52, 174, 189, 191, 193, 195
aloe (fragrant wood), 28, 54, 59, 74, 76, 267–69
Amuletics, 160, 198
ambergris, 83
Amina, 101 f., 98, 220
Anmûmûm, 70 f.
'Amr b. al-As, 69, 98, 116, 119, 124 f., 156 f., 221 f., 225
'Amr b. Marthad, sons of, 131
'Amr b. Sa'id, 116
'Amr b. Umayya al-Damrî, 221
Ankara, 119
Anshûr, Muhammad's meeting with, 175
Aquileius agallocha, see aloe (fragrant wood)
'Arafa, 170, 171, 188, 235
arms trade, 150, 154, 156
arrow, 107
INDEX

Davies, 104, 123, 163
Dedan, 6
Dhū Nuwas, 44
Dhū Qār, 248f.
Dhūl-Majāz, 151, 163, 170-78, 184f., 219. See also pilgrim fairs
distances, 7, 188
divination, diviners, 48-88, 219
donkeys, 104, 141, 149
Donner, 172f., 53, 142
Doughty, 239
doum palm, 69
Dracaena, see cinnamon
dī'āfī's, 184f., 186
Dūmat al-Jandal, 131, 140, 144, 151
Dusares, 192

East Africa, products of, 177, 769-87. See also
Egypt, (ancient) and cinnamon, 257, 259, 260f., and incense products, 16, 14, 17, 22, 264f.; (Byzantine) and Meccan trade, 119f.
Eulengria cardamomum, see cardamom
Ethiopia, Ethiopians, 22, 278, 41f.; and 'Amr b. al-ʾĀṣ, 98, 221f.; and Byzantine trade, 42-45, 47f., 81f., 134, 242; conversion to Christianity, 300f., 45f.; and Meccan trade, 4, 82f., 110, 112, 120f., 124-29, 144f., 149f., 207-209;
Muslim refugees in, 5, 44f., 98, 127, 128, 224f.; political and religious relations with Mecca, 181f., 163
Eudaemon Arabia: and Socotra, 34f., 36f.; the Sabean port see Aden
Fākīb b. al-Maghīra, 121, 156f
famines, 152f., 207, 218
feuds, 217, 236, 245
Fijar wars, 145-48, 173, 182, 234
foodstuffs, 104, 139, 150, 160, 172
frankincense, 12-29, 51-53, 88f., 254
fruit, 150, 160
Fürat b. Hayyān al-ʾIJīn, 80, 131
Gaza, 7, 19, 97, 110, 113f., 118f., 128, 134, 162, 160f.
Geopolis, 136f.
Gebelatae, 19, 164
Gerrha, Gerrheans, 93f., 23, 25, 38f., 88f.
Ghādirah b. Hubsīyyah, 188
Ghashān, Ghashānids, 43, 95f., 112, 138f., 140f.
Gilead, products sold by Ishmaelites of, 15, 55, 56, 62f.
ginger, 76f.
ginger grass, 58
gold, 90, 93f.; See also bullion
grain trade, 78, 98, 104, 139-41, 150, 156, 160
Grolmann, 276, 728
Groom, 2, 13
gum benjamin, 54, 68f.
Hadramawt, Hadramīs, 18-25, 48, 50, 60, 100, 152f., 169, 268; holy men of, 184f., 185f.
Hārī al-ʾĀs, 151, 154f., 332
Hajar, 46, 103
bay, see pilgrimage
Hajjā b. ʾIlāt al-Sulami, 93f.
Hakam b. Awāl ʾĀṣ, 96f., 129-11, 181
Hakim b. Hizām, 124f., 156f.
Hanifa, B., 218
barum (sacred area), see Mecca; pilgrim fairs
Harbīb, Umeyya, 145f., 179f., 186f.
Harith b. ʾAbd al-Muṭṭalib, 116
Hāshim b. ʾAbd Manāf, 98, 109f., 117f., 118, 123, 206-208; See also līf
Hāshimites, 116, 118f., 120, 164, 186, 199f.
Hatrā, 45
Hawdha b. ʾAlī, 40-46, 47
Heraclius, 96, 128f.
hide, see leather
Hierapolis, 135
Hijāz, commodities from, 92, 103; Persian impact on, 49; unproductive nature of, 159
INDEX

Idanum, 56
Lakhmid, 112, 145, 146, 248. See also Hira
Lamitens, 9, 11, 11, 13, 78, 80, 88, 103, 104, 174, 211
Landau-Tasseron, 147
Lapidus, 127
Latina, 97
leather, hides and skins, 29, 98-101, 128, 137, 138, 156. See also pilgrim fairs
Makhzunis, 120-22, 126f., 164
malaibhram, 135
Malays, 259
Manii, 189, 191, 194, 195
Mauri prophet, 247f.
Margoliouth, 12, 177
maritime trade, Meccan, 51; speed of, 21. See also incense trade
marzuban al-hadiya, 40
Mecca: asylum, 180, 196; barrenness/fertility of, 159, 196, 198; conquest by Qasyy, 163; conquest by Muhammad, 157, 164; as desert sanctuary, 197; location on incense route, 61; location in Arabia, 162-64, 196; non-Arab traders in, 199, 199; pre-Islamic and non-Muslim sources on, 114-12; pilgrimage to, 172-76, 205; pilgrims in, 169f.; pilgrimage fair of, 160-6; sanctuary of, 6, 160, 185; society on the eve of Islam, 231-35; sif of, 179
Meccans as pastoralists, 123
Medina, see Yathrib
Miller, 57, 70, 71, 238f., 267
Minâ, 96, 151, 170-75, 197**, 215. See also pilgrim fairs
Minaeans, 203, 213, 36f., 154, 155
Moka, 136, 137, 197
monkeys, 129
al-mu’allaqa qu’dubum, 214
Mu’awiya, 197-98
Mudar, 136f., 152f., 181f.
Maghira b. Shu’ba, 119, 244**, 249
Muhammad: encounters Jews, Christians, etc., 210f.; Meccan reaction to, 241f.; orphanage of, 214, 233; political program of, 241f.; and the sea, 57, 25a trader, 198, 114, 115, 137, 152f., 170, 223
Muller, 7
murâ fujis, 215, 217, 218
miqâl, 67, 69, 181, 184f.
Murâd, 104, 123
murr, see myrrh
Muru b. Awf, 188
Musâfir b. Abî’Amr, 206f., 131
Musayhina, 248
Mushaqqar, 152f.
musli, 28f., 83
Mustâlib b. ‘Abd Manâf, 122
mawalliids, 123f.
Muza, 24, 25
Muzdalfa, 188
myrrh, 12-20, 53f., 88f., 254, 264, 269
Mystica fragrant, 71
Myus Hormus, 34
Nabataean, 18, 24, 56, 88f., 93f.
‘Nabataeans’ (anbâil), 133f.
Najâshî, Negus (king of Ethiopia), see Ethiopia
Najd, 46, 48, 92-94
Najran, 7, 96, 122-23, 151
Nakhla, raid at, 205, 105, 213, 228f., 234f.; sanctuary at, 174, 185, 180, 195
nald, 28f., 72f.
Nardostachys jatamansi, see nard
Nasîr al-Râhîb, 220
nativism, 247-50
Nawfal b. ‘Abd Manâf, 110
Neko, 33
INDEX

- Nessana, 141, 159
  non Arab traders, 159:41. See also Christians; Jews
  Nonnusus, 143.13, 178.13, 197
  Nabayh b. al-Hajjāj, 139, 179.14
  Nūmān b. al Mundhir, see Hira

- oil, 78.14, 103.13, 139, 140.13, 150
  Oman, 48, 103
  Ommanya, 25, 126.13, 35.13, 61, 133
  opobalsamum, see balsam
  overland route, see incense route; silver route
  overland transport, slowness and cost of, 72, 73, 42, 158
  Palmyra, Palmyrenes, 6, 39, 41, 43, 100, 169
  peacocks, 31.11, 32, 33.90
  pepper, 77f.
  perfume, 81, 95.92, 132.13, 140.144, 150
  Periplus, date of, 104.2, 25
  Persia, Persians, 69, 26, 76, 83; and Arabia, 46-50, 88f., 95, 142, 246, 248f.;
  Meccan trade with, 110, 130.19, 131. See also Iraq
  Persian Gulf, navigation in, 9, 23.1, 31
  Petra, 24, 25
  Phoenicians, 32f., 68.100, 253.1, 258.1, 264
  pilgrim fairs, 170-72; location of, 155, 163, 197.97; Mecca as one of, see Mecca; Meccan domination of, 155-57; Muhammad touring, 175; in Yamāma and else where, 155.13, 197.97. See also Dhū‘ al-Majaz, Manama; Minā ‘Ukāz
  pilgrimage, 195; to Mecca, see Mecca
  pirates, 2.1, 47
  Pituaca: (lenticus), 55, 63.14; (terebinthus), 65.14, 63.14
  portus Macedonie, 13.14-15
  profits, 159
  Prophet, the, see Muhammad
  Ptolemies, 33f., 35.13, 79
  Punt, 14, 12, 52, 257
  Qahaliyya mines, 83
  Qarada, 87-90, 117, 129, 131, 148
  qaraz, 98, 99, 100.1, 101, 160
  qasab al-dharara‘aḥ, see calamus
  Qaṭīm, 154, 158, 159, 164
  Qatahān, 18-20
  qatirān, 20.1
  qibla, 108.16
  qutaf, 26f.
  Qudayd, 195
  Qudrat (Clirysa), 25, 41
  Qur’ān as a source, 209.1, 210, 214, 212
  Qurashi giving warning to Byzantines, 162
  Quraysh: in ‘Uqla inscription, 169; as guardians, 185-89; as holy men, see invisibility; as judges, 188f. as monotheists/polytheists, 191, 233. See also Sūrat Quraysh
  Quṣayy, 12, 126, 139, 162
  Rabiya, 152
  Railmān, 122
  Radrad, 88
  raisins, 104.1, 140.13, 156
  Red Sea, navigation in, 9, 23, 22-24, 25, 32-34, 43f.
  religion, in Arabia, 237-41 in Mecca, 233-35
  ridda, 243
  Rodinson, 12, 53
  Rūm, 5, 110.1, 115.80, 140.61, 121.13, 205f.
  Saba, 10, 29
  Sabaeans: (northern), 14, (southern), 15
  10, 21-23, 25, 24, 16, 30.13, 36, 41.13, 51.13, 60, 153
  sabur, see also medine
  Sa‘d (deity), 218, 241
  Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqāṣ, 107, 223f
  Safwān, 229f.
  Saffūriyya, 112
  Saffwān b. Umayya, 87, 88-91, 113, 119,
  129-31, 179
  Sā‘ib b. Abī‘l-Sā‘ib, 220f
INDEX

Said b. al ’Ās, 115
Sajjāb, 248
Salman, 130
San ’ārī, 109, 122, 172
ṣayf al, 139
Sarāt, 133
Sassanids, see Persians
Sawasara loppa, see costum
senna, 66
Sennaacherib, 31
Sericant, 181, 184*, 185
Shahān, 3
Shahsaw, 6*, 18-19, 21, 22, 25
Shahīd, 143
Shamus, 88
Shāfi‘ī and II, 46
Shārat, 162
Shī’ah, Queen of, 92, 14f., 64
sheep, 102, 179
Shibr, 267, 48, 62, 6u
Shu’ayb, 52, 52a, 78, 125, 127
silver, 46, 48, 49, 87-92, 94
silver route, 45f., 68
Simon, 143f., 145*, 147
Sinai, 120
skhūnūs, see sweet rush
skins, see leather
slave trade, 46f., 110, 150, 156, 172
Socotra, 13, 35, 42, 50, 69f., 136*, 268
Solomon, 9, 31, 64
Sozomen, 190
spice trade, see incense trade; transit trade
spices, definition, 42
spiritual crisis, 235-37
Sprenger, 8, 87, 99
Spuler, 53
storytellers, 21
Suḥār, 251, 48, 111, 152*
Sulaym, mine of B., 94
Surnayfa, 142
sunbulbindi, see wood
Sūrat Qur‘aybī, 1, 11, 115, 120, 204f., 215, 216*
216*, 225
Sūrat tawba, 113
Syria, 109f., 115-19, 149f., 161, 205-209
sweet flag, 263f.
sweet rush (albkbr, skbunūs), 57-59, 183*
264
Tabāka, 110*, 111*, 172
Tabūk, 246
Tā’if, 6f., 39, 90, 104, 105, 160, 174
195: Abd al-Muţallib’s well at, 2; 3
participates in Meccan trade, 146f.;
Qurashi migrations to, 205, 209, 209, 211f.
Taḥa [h. ‘Ubaydallāh], 102, 116
Tamīm, 129, 174, 179, 188
Tayyārī’, 122
turebindh resin, 53
Thaqafis, see Tā’īf
tharid, 109, 207, 215f., 216
themes and variations, 90-92, 219-222
Abūl ’Ās and Zaynab’s jiwa, 146
‘Amr and the Najāshī, 211f.: the begin-
ing/end of Meccan trade, 109f., 111, 112, 211f., 211f.; the digging of the well,
111; 223; Hashim’s tharid, 211f.; Kurz
and pasturing camels, 128; Muhammad’s encounter with Jews, Christians,
etc., 211f.; Qurashi, the Prophet, and silver, 91; the robbing of Ethiopians,
211f., 113f.; trade and predictions of the Prophet, 92, 116*, 118*-119, 120*, 211f., 212f.; 121, 122-41
Thumma, 19
Thumama b. Uthāl, 152
Tihāmah, 49
trade, attitudes to, 69, 181, 182, 243
Trajan, 25, 256
transit trade, 20-50, 133f.
Tyre, 119
‘ūd bindi, see aloe (fragnic wood)
‘Ukāz, 62, 145, 151, 165, 170-78, 184,
185, 219; commodities exchanged at,
100, 101, 127, 155; Nu’man of Hira
and, 81, 100, 101f., 146-48, 156; Qur-
ashī and Tamīmian functions at, 156,
INDEX

'Ukã (cont.)
  188. *Seed-eater* pilgrim fair

'Umar b. al-Khuţâbl, 93f., 96, 98, 121f.

'Umar b. al-Wâlîd, 121, 124, 231

Umayya, 102f., 117f., 179f.

Umayya b. 'Abî-Sâlih, 115f., 118ff.

Umayyâs, 13ff., 118ff., 129ff., 151, 164

Umra, 176ff., 178, 183, 197ff., 289

Umâyza, 'Umayzâs, 158ff.

'Uthayl, 154f., 157f., 164-66

'Uqba b. Abî Mûayyâq, 102f., 105

'Uqla inscription, 162

'Urâb b. Abî Sûfîyân, 134f.

'Uthmân b. 'Affânî, 104

'Uthmân b. al-Huwâyriqî, 98f., 101ff.,
  151ff., 118

al-'Uzza, 174, 185, 189-92, 194ff.

Wâdîl'Qurâ, 140

Wajî, 266

Wâlîd b. al-Mughîrâ, 120ff., 122

Wâqîdî, 224

Watt, 3, 2f., 11, 12-45, 14 - 45-47, 168,
  180, 194f., 211, 210-12, 230, 231-36

Wellhausen, 172ff., 176, 193ff., 238

Witte, 102, 149

Wissmann, von, 135

women traders, 66f., 174, 169. *See also*

  'Asmûa bint Mukhtar ibn Hind bint

  'Urâb: Khādîja

Yâmânâ, 46, 140, 152, 155ff., 238

Yathrib (Medina), 45, 46, 49, 107, 117,
  119, 140, 183, 204; on the eve of Islam,
  217-19; Muhammad and, 235ff., 242

Yemen: industries of, 82, 95f., 100ff.; Mecca-
  can relations with, 106, 120-24, 141-44,
  149ff., 163, 201f., 209, 211; Persian oc-
  cupation of, 48f., 240, 245; silver mines
  in, 48, 88; tribute caravan from, 76ff.,
  83, 88, 95, 97ff., 109ff., 150ff.

Yemeni traders in Mecca, 139, 143f.

Zâbbâ', 41ff.

Zam'a (b. al-Aswâd b. al-Mu'tâlib), 116ff.

Zauram, 50, 220, 223

Zandaga, 50, 130, 132

Zarqâ', 102


Zingiber officinale, see ginger

Zoroastrians in Arabia, 47

Zufâr, 14, 20, 21
FOR more GORGIAS PRESS Reprints, see www.gorgiaspress.com.