Tamīm al-Dārī¹

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Tamīm al-Dārī was one of the Prophet Muḥammad's companions and an early convert to Islam from Christianity. His name is most closely associated with the eschatological traditions concerning the Dajjāl (the Muslim Antichrist), and various early ascetic ideas.² The best known story involving him is in fact his meeting with the Dajjāl, after he and others of his tribe are shipwrecked on a mysterious island. He is taken by a creature called *al-jassāsa* to meet a chained man in a monastery, who asks the tribesmen a number of questions about the state of the outside world, most of which are related to the area of the Rift Valley in Syria. After they answer him, he proclaims himself to be the Dajjāl and announces that he is about to be let loose on the world. Somehow Tamīm and his companions manage to leave the island and come to visit the Prophet, who hears their story and relates it to the populace of Medina.³ However, in spite of this story, historical material about him, as is common with the Prophet's companions in general, is hard to come by. In this article I will explore some of the historical traditions connected with this figure and try to establish which material is reliable and which is not.

His tribal affiliation is said to have been to the well-known Iraqi tribe of Lakhm, though according to the genealogical tradition he is said to have come from the Palestinian branch of this tribe, which fled there after its chieftain converted to Christianity in the sixth century.⁴ As far as his genealogy goes, we are for the most part presented with a unified version with few variants. His *nisba* of al-Dārī is said to have been connected to a monastery (*dayr*) in which he worshipped.⁵ There is little information available about Tamīm's early life so we are obliged to concentrate on the event which dominates the biographical material about him: his conversion to Islam and his meeting with

¹ I would like to thank Drs. Amikam Elad, Isaac Hasson and Michael Lecker for reading drafts of this paper and making valuable suggestions.

² On Tamīm see *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1st ed., Leyden, 1987 (repr.)), s.v. 'Tamīm al-Dārī' (G. Levi Della Vida); and D. Shulman, 'Muslim popular literature in 'Tamil'', in (ed.) *Islam in Asia*, 1, Y. Friedmann (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1984), 178–90; on his ascetic connections see Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī, *Ma'rifa al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. Muḥammad Rāḍī b. Hājj 'Uthmān (Medina: Maktabat al-Dār, 1988), iii, 191–9, for example; and Waḍī'a al-Najm, 'Tamīm al-Dārī: Awwāl qaṣṣ fī 'l-Islām', *Majallat Kulliyat al-Adab*, 5, 1962, 293–314.

³ *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, (ed.) A. J. Wensinck and others (Leiden, E. J. Brill: 1936–62), s.v. *jassāsa*; and al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, ed. Bakrī Ḥayyānī (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1989), xiv, 283–84 (no. 38738), among many sources.

⁴ *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2nd ed. Leyden, 1960–), s.v. 'Lakhm' ('Irfān Shahīd). On Tamīm's genealogy see W. Caskel, *Gamharat al-Nasab: Das genealogisches Werk des Hišām ibn al-Kalbī* (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1966), ii, 543; and also 'Alī b. Husayn b. 'Asākīr, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq* (photostat: Dār al-Bashīr, n.d.), iii, 531; Abū 'l-Hujjāj Yūsuf al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmā' al-rijāl*, ed. Bashār Ma'rūf (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1988), iv, 326–8 (no. 800); Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyiz al-ṣaḥāba* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1328 A.H.), i, 183 (no. 837); Muḥammad b. Sa'd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir 'Atā' (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1990), vii, 286 (no. 3723); Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb nasab Ma'd wa'l-Yamān al-kabīr*, ed. Nājī Hasan (Beirut: Maktabat al-Naḥḍa, 1988); and 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-ansāb*, ed. 'Abdallāh al-Barūrī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1988), ii, 442.

⁵ Yahyā b. Abī Bakr al-'Āmirī al-Yamanī, *al-Riyād al-mustaṭāba* (Beirut: Maktabat al-Ma'ārif, 1979), 40; and Caskel, op. cit., ii, 543. On his supposed knowledge of Christianity (a rather frequent claim made for converts) see Ibn Jarīr al-Tabarī, *Jamī' al-bayān fī ta'wīl ayy al-Qur'ān* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.), xiii, 177; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī 'l-tafsīr bi'l-ma'thūr* (Cairo: al-Anwār al-Muḥammadiyya, n.d.), iv, 78; and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1985), ii, 444.

the Prophet Muḥammad. It will be noted immediately that there are several mutually exclusive accounts of this event which need to be dealt with separately.

The first involves a classical deputation story⁶ in which Tamīm al-Dārī and ten members of his clan come to visit the Prophet Muḥammad in Medina in 9 A.H./A.D. 629–30.⁷ The members of this delegation are all listed by name, though there is a good deal of variation as to the correct version (see Appendix), and they all, with the exception of Tamīm himself and his immediate family, remain shadowy characters in the biographical material. It is assumed that the delegation came from the area of Palestine, though this is not stated directly. Tamīm is said to have given gifts to the Prophet (including a horse, a skin of wine and an embroidered cloak), and to have converted to Islam, along with his clan.⁸ In his turn, Muḥammad assigns them shares from the spoils of the oasis town of Khaybar which he had recently captured from the Jews.⁹ As W. M. Watt noted, unlike most delegations, the Dārīs did not return to their native lands, but settled with the Prophet in Medina. During his audience with the Prophet Tamīm is said to have asked him for a deed to two, three or four villages or estates in the area of Palestine, close by the city (probably at that time destroyed) of Hebron.¹⁰ This aspect of the visit, while not unique to the Dārī clan, is unusual. They in this manner were given the absolute rights to a piece of territory then far distant from the Prophet's control, something for which there are few other extant examples.¹¹ One of the variant texts is quoted to give the general tenor:¹²

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Beneficent. Mentioned in this deed

⁶ On deputation stories see E. Landau-Tessaron, 'Asad from Jāhiliyya to Islam', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 6, 1985, 8–20; idem, 'Processes of redaction: the case of the Tamīmīte delegation to the Prophet Muḥammad', *BSOAS*, 49/2, 1986, 253–70; and F.M. Donner, *Early Islamic conquests* (Princeton, 1981), 101–11.

⁷ This account can be found in Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥī al-Dīn al-Hamīd (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1981), iii, 408–9; Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ṣāliḥ al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā wa'l-rashād* (= *al-Sīra al-Shāmiyya*), ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz 'Abd al-Hayy al-Ḥilmī (Cairo: Dā'irat al-Awqāf, 1990), v, 508–10; Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones, Oxford, 1966), ii, 794–5; Abū 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-muntaẓam fī 'l-ta'rikh*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir 'Atā' (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1992), iii, 326; idem, *'Uyūn al-ta'rikh wa'l-siyar* (Mecca: Multazim al-Tibā'ī, n.d.), 157; Ismā'īl b. Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa'l-nihāya* (Cairo: Matba'at al-Sa'da, 1932), v, 87; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. Aibek al-Safadi, *al-Wafī bi'l-wafīyat*, ed. 'Alī Amāra and Jacqueline Sublet (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1981), x, 408 (which does not mention the numbers involved); Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, iii, 531–2; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, ii, 443; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, i, 258–9; al-Maqrīzī, *'al-Daw' al-sārī fī ma'rīfat khabar Tamīm al-Dārī*, ed. Charles Matthews, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 17, 1939–40, 159–60; al-'Amirī, *Riyād*, 40; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba fī ma'rīfat al-ṣahāba*, ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Binā' (Cairo: Kitāb al-Sha'b, n.d.), i, 256–7 (no. 515); Ibn Hajar, *Iṣāba*, i, 183; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* (Cairo: Maktabat Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya, 1929), i, 120; Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adāb* (Cairo: Matba'at Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya, 1955), xviii, 104–5; Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-ishtiqāq*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn (Cairo: Mu'assasat al-Khānī, 1958), 155; and Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ansārī, *al-Misbāh al-mudiyy* (Beirut: Dār al-Nahwa al-Jadīda, 1986), 390; and see also L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam* (Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1907) ii/1, 288–90; W. M. Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina* (Oxford, 1956), 112; F. M. Donner, *Early Islamic conquests*, 105 (but correct 'embraced Islam in A.H. 10'); and M. Gil, *History of Palestine during the First Muslim Period* (transl. Ethel Broido, Cambridge, 1992), 129–30.

⁸ Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*, ed. M. de Goeje (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964 (repr.)), i, 1783; Ahmad b. Yahyā al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, n.d.), i, 510; Muḥammad al-Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, xvi, 111; al-Ansārī, *Misbāh*, 390; and Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, i, 380.

⁹ Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, i, 380; Mūsā b. 'Uqbā, *al-Aḥādīth al-muntakhība*, ed. Hasan Salmān (Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1991), 82 (no. 13); Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd*, i, 244; 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Khathā'mī al-Suhaylī, *al-Rawd al-unūf* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1989), iv, 223.

¹⁰ Not all of the sources cited in footnote 7 mention the land-deed.

¹¹ 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Māwardī, *al-Ahkām al-sultāniyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, n.d.), 239–41 gives some; and al-Hindī, *Kanz*, iii, 913–18 has a discussion of the competing traditions on the subject. Al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, xviii, 134ff. gives many more.

¹² All the variants are quoted in M. Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'at al-wathā'iq al-siyāsiyya* (Cairo: Maktaba al-Thaqafiyya al-Diniyya, n.d.), 51–6. The text translated above is located on p. 52.

(*kitāb*) is what the Messenger of Allāh [= Muḥammad] bestowed upon the Dārīs. Since Allāh gave to him [the Prophet] the earth,¹³ he (then) bestowed upon them [the Dārī clan] Bayt 'Aynūn, Ḥibrūn [or Ḥabrūn], al-Marṭūm and Bayt Ibrāhīm¹⁴—whoever is (living) inside them—forever.

'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Khuzayma b. Qays, and Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana witnessed this.

Several points should be noted about this version. First, the ultimate source of the story is one 'Ubaydallāh b. Yazīd b. Rawḥ b. Zinbā' al-Judhamī, who is the scion of a family with whom the Dārīs had close connections during the first century of Islam. Rawḥ b. Zinbā', this man's grandfather, was a local leader of the Palestinian Muslim aristocracy,¹⁵ and is recorded having dealings with Tamīm in the years after the Muslim conquest of Syria.¹⁶ The first witness to this deed is none other than the Prophet's uncle al-'Abbās, who was the ancestor of the Abbasid dynasty. This rather suggests a late date for this tradition, perhaps at the beginning of the second century. I will return to this issue later. It is also rather suggestive that according to the tradition the Dārī delegation came to the Prophet in the year 629–30, which was just as the Byzantines were reoccupying Syria-Palestine after defeating the Persians, who had ruled there from 614. The fact that in this account Tamīm and his companions did not return home, but stayed in Medina, could mean that they had been sympathetic to the Persians and thus could not continue to live under Byzantine rule (if we accept this version, that is).

Slightly different, but belonging to the same family of traditions, is the version in which the number of participants is said to have been six.¹⁷ Included

¹³ This idea comes from Quran 59: 6–7. The difference of verbs in the text (*wahaba* = gave, and *'atā* = bestowed) indicates that the source of the gift is God.

¹⁴ On Bayt 'Aynūn see C. Conder, *A survey of Western Palestine* (Jerusalem: Qedem, 1970 (repr.)), iii, 311, 351; and R. Zadok, 'Hirbet Bayt 'Enūn', *Israel Exploration Journal*, 29, 1979, 62. Ḥibrūn is probably the base village of the modern city and apparently carried its ancient name well into the Muslim period, since from the 800s/1400s we have the *nisba* of one Aḥmad b. Mūsā al-Ḥibrāwī al-Khalīfī: Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmī fī rijāl al-qarn al-tisā'* (Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, n.d.), ii, 230 (no. 651); and the village of Khirbet Ḥibra in Conder, iii, 281. Marṭūm is probably a village or a monastery (or perhaps a martyrrium) with the name Mar Thomas, see map in L. Massignon, 'Documents sur certains waqfs des lieux saints de l'Islam', *Revue des Études Islamiques* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1952), 79.

The variations on the place names are many: (1) 'Aynūn in Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, *Iṣāba*, i, 184; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, i, 256; and al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-muhādara fī mahāsin Miṣr wa'l-Qāhira*, ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Dār Iḥya al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, 1968), i, 177; (2) Bayt Ḥabrūn in Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1984), i, 449; (3) Ḥibra and Bayt 'Aynūn in al-Maqrīzī, 'Daw', 159; (4) Bayt Ḥibra and Bayt 'Aynūn in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab*, i, 207; (5) Athar Ibrāhīm in Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fī sinā'at al-inshā'*, ed. Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-'Ilmiyya, 1987), xiii, 126; and al-Maqrīzī, 161; (6) Bayt Laḥm (!) in al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, ii, 443; (7) 'Aynūn, 'Fulāna' and the place of Abraham's grave in al-Maqrīzī, 161; (8) Bayt Ḥabrūn and Bayt 'Aynūn in Ibn Hazm, *Jamharat al-nasab*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Ḥārūn (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1962), 422; and (9) Bayt 'Ayn and Jabrūn in Ibn Abī 'Asīm, *al-Āḥad wa'l-mathānī*, ed. Basīm Fayṣal al-Jubāra (Riyadh: Dār al-Zayāta, 1991), v, 112.

¹⁵ On Rawḥ see, P. Crone, *Slaves on horses* (London, 1980) s.v.; and I. Hasson, 'Le chef judhamite Rawḥ ibn Zinbā'', *Studia Islamica*, 77, 1993, 95–122.

¹⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, i, 257; Aḥmad b. al-Husayn al-Bayhaqī, *Shu'ab al-īmān*, ed. Muḥammad al-Sa'īd b. Bassouny Zaghlūl (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1990), iv, 33–4 (no. 4273); al-Musharraf b. al-Murajja', *Fadā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa'l-Khalīl wa'l-Shām*, ed. Ofer Livne-Kafri (Shfar'am: Dār al-Mashriq, 1995), 349 (no. 577); and Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, ed. Ḥamdī 'Abd al-Majīd al-Silfī (Mosul: Iḥya al-Turāth al-'Arabi, n.d.), ii, 51.

¹⁷ al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, xiii, 126; al-Maqrīzī, 'Daw' 160–61; Ibn Abī al-'Asīm, *al-Āḥad wa'l-mathānī*, v, 12 (no. 2548); al-Musharraf b. al-Murajja', *Fadā'il* 347–8 (no. 576), and note the emphasis on the half brother Abū Hind in al-'Amīrī, *al-Riyāq*, 41; Muḥammad al-Muṭī'ī, *Sīrat al-fatwa* (Būlāq: Dār al-Ṭabā'a al-Fu'ādiyya, n.d.), 4 (though biographical information about Abū Hind is sparse, he is probably mentioned in Abū Nu'aym al-Isfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānī, 1935), v, 187). Ibn Hazm, *Jamhara*, 422 appears to support this version without quoting it directly. In a related version, though one free from any familial influences, Tamīm comes from Syria with a select group of Christians who convert to Islam. These include such luminaries as Baḥīra the monk, and Abrahā (the Ethiopian governor of the Yemen?); al-Majlisī, *Bihār*, xxii, 47.

in this group is one Abū Hind, who is said to be the half-brother of Tamīm, and on whose authority his descendant, Saʿīd b. Ziyād b. Fāʿid b. Abī Hind al-Dārī (possibly this genealogy has been shortened by several links) relates the tradition. The two versions are quite close until we reach the point where the land deed is asked for. Tamīm then asks for some land in Syria and the Prophet agrees, but leaves the group to deliberate as to which territory they wish to ask for. During these deliberations Tamīm and Abū Hind are the only two members of the group to speak. Tamīm proposes various places (Jerusalem, Bayt Jibrīn and so forth), which Abū Hind rejects until they agree on the area of Hebron. There was no need to inform the Prophet of their decision since, though he was not physically present, he was fully cognizant of the result (as Tamīm discovered when he went to inform him) as a result of his prophetic abilities.

All in all, it is rather difficult to accept these deputation stories and, indeed, few Western scholars have.¹⁸ They can too easily be made to serve the obvious interests of the family of the Dārīs, which, as will be noted below, did not always have an uncontested hold on the area of Hebron specified by the deed. In addition, there existed (and still exists) a need to 'prove' that the Prophet knew about the conquests that were to take place shortly after his death, and for him to approve of them. What better way to accomplish this than to assign a piece of land not then in his possession, so showing that he saw (as it were) it falling into the hands of the Muslims soon after his death? A number of Muslim hagiographical sources mention this as one of the 'proofs of prophetic office' (*dalā'il al-nubuwwa*), and even modern Muslim scholars have not hesitated to use it as an example of Prophetic foreknowledge.¹⁹ The second tradition especially, would seem to belong to the genre of tribal 'praise' traditions designed to strengthen the hold of the Dārīs on their property.

In one of the optional endings of the second delegation story there is an attempt to harmonize the two versions (the 'ten' delegation and the 'six' delegation), by assigning the latter to the Meccan period of the Prophet's ministry (!), and the former to the Medinan period.²⁰ For some unknown reason, according to this version, the land deed needed to be reconfirmed. This account has to be dismissed since it does not seem very likely that any delegation would have visited the Prophet before the Hijra in 622. If this is not an attempt to harmonize accounts, then the aim is to establish a very early conversion date for Tamīm and his clan, which would add immensely to their prestige.

The second family of conversion traditions is quite different from the first.

¹⁸ F. Krenkow, 'The grant of land by Muḥammad to Tamīm al-Dārī', *Islamica*, 1, 1924–25, 530–32; Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, 112; i. Hasson, 'The penetration of the Arab tribes in Palestine during the first century of the Hijra', *Cathedra*, 32, 1984, 61 [in Hebrew]. Donner alone, (*Conquests*, 97) appears to accept the idea of Muḥammad granting a deed to somewhere far outside his control, for which he has been criticized by E. Landau-Tessaron, 'Review of Donner's *Early Islamic conquests*', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 6, 1985, 508–9, 31 (a similar case). M. Gil, 'Processes of settlement: Arab tribes in the first Muslim century', *Cathedra*, 32, 1984, 67 claims that Tamīm received tax collecting rights from the Prophet, not a deed to land.

¹⁹ For example, al-Suyūṭī, *al-Khasā'is al-kubrā* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1985), II, 45–46; and among modern scholars: ʾIḥsān ʾAbbās, 'Fath Bilād al-Shām', in *Fourth International Conference on Bilād al-Shām* (Arabic section, 2nd. symposium, part 2; ed. Muḥammad ʾAdnān Bakhtūt, (Amman: al-Jamīʿa al-Urdunniyya, 1987), 17, and Ṣāliḥ Dārādka, *Muqaddimāt fī Fath Bilād al-Shām*, l.c., pp. 116–17, among many examples.

²⁰ al-Maqrīzī, 'Daw', 161; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ghayṭī, *al-Jawāb al-qawīm ʿan al-suʾal al-mutaʾlliq bi-iqtāʾ al-sayyid Tamīm*, ed. Ḥasan ʾAbd al-Raḥmān Salāwādī (Jerusalem: Markaz al-Abḥāth al-Islāmiyya, 1986), 34–5 (who gives the tradition the mark of *munkar* (despicable)); and Ibn ʾAsākir, *Taʾrīkh*, III, 534. In addition there are other variations: see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 286; and Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. ʾAbdallāh Anīs al-Ṭibāʿa (Beirut: Muʾssasat al-Maʾārif, n.d.), 176.

These are to be found in the exegetical tradition connected to the quranic verse 5:110. It is unfortunate that the details are tantalizingly few, but the situation given is that Tamīm is a merchant who travels between Mecca and Syria. It is not clear, however, in what exactly he trades.²¹ His partner on the trip in question is one 'Adī b. Badā',²² and they are both said to be Christians at the time of the story.²³ They are accompanied in their travels by a Muslim called Budayl b. Abī Marya (or Maryam)²⁴ whose name suggests that he, too, was a convert from Christianity. This man is a *mawlā* (a client) of the Qurashī clan of Banū Sahm, whose official patrons are said to be 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ (the future conqueror of Egypt)²⁵, and al-Muṭṭalib b. Abī Wadā'a²⁶ (both of Sahm). Tamīm, 'Adī and Budayl travel to Syria. During the course of the journey Budayl becomes ill, makes out his will (orally) and dies. Tamīm and 'Adī then make free with his goods, and when they return to Medina (where Budayl's family is said to have lived), his heirs complain to the Prophet that a silver cup (sometimes other goods are mentioned as well) is missing from the deceased man's possessions. Nothing, however, can be proved until Tamīm feels guilty about the matter, converts to Islam, confesses, and returns his half of the stolen goods. Budayl's two patrons then 'extract' from 'Adī the other half. These connections reveal what may have been a group of business partners.

We find evidence to support this in a rare tradition that Tamīm was accepted into the family of al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib by means of a *ḥilf* alliance.²⁷ This is a most interesting tradition because it connects Tamīm with a first cousin of the Prophet. As al-Ḥārith died before the Prophet was born,²⁸ which makes it unlikely that Tamīm was his contemporary, perhaps we might understand from this that Tamīm made the alliance with the descendants of al-Ḥārith, to whom he was also connected by his marriage to Umm Ḥakīm bint Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith.²⁹ This, of course, shows that the family accepted him as more than just a client; he was literally a member of the family. At the same time we find that Abū Wadā'a (the father of Budayl's patron) also married a member of the family of al-Ḥārith, Budayl's daughter 'Arwa.³⁰ Thus Tamīm became an in-law of his travelling companion's patron, which suggests that the relationship between them was more than just casual. Later on, after the

²¹ One should note that one possible interpretation of Tamīm's *nisba*, Dārī, is that it is connected to a perfume manufacturing house in Mecca: al-Sam'ānī, *Ansab*, II, 443. See in general, P. Crone, *Meccan trade and the rise of Islam* (Princeton, 1987).

²² On him see Ibn Hajar, *Isāba*, II: 467. Muslim scholars in general denied him the rank of *ṣahābī* since he died a Christian.

²³ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād al-masīr fī 'ilm al-tafsīr* (Damascus: al-Maktaba al-Islāmiyya, 1985), II, 444; al-Maqrīzī, 'Daw', 167; al-Qurtubī, *Tafsīr* (Cairo: Dār al-Sha'b, n.d.), III, 2344; Ibn Bashkawāl, *Ghawāmid al-asmā' al-mubhama*, ed. 'Izz al-Dīn al-Sayyid (Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1991), V, 337–9; Ibn Hajar, *Isāba*, II, 467; 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Wāhidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1988), 142–3; al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, II, 382; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, III, 538; Abū Ya'lā al-Mawṣilī, *Musnad*, ed. Husayn Sālim Asad (Damascus: Dār al-Mā'mūn li'l-Turāth, 1987), IV, 338–9; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, II, 444; and Aḥmad b. al-Husayn al-Bayhaqī, *Ma'rifa al-sunan wa'l-athār*, ed. 'Abd al-Muṭī' Qalā'jī (Beirut: Dār al-Wa'i, 1991), XIV, 281 (no. 19949). Compare the Shii version, in which Tamīm is himself the victim, and the perpetrator one Ibn Banda: 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī, *Tafsīr* (Beirut: Mu'ssasat al-'Aṭā', 1993), I, 196; al-Majlisī, *Bihār*, XXII, 65–6; and al-Husayn b. al-Hakam al-Hibārī al-Kūfī, *Tafsīr*, ed. al-Sayyid Muḥammad Ridā al-Husaynī, Mu'ssasat Al al-Bayt li'l-Ihya al-Turāth (Beirut, 1987), 335.

²⁴ Ibn Hajar, *Isāba*, I, 140–41.

²⁵ *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ' (A. J. Wensinck).

²⁶ Ibn Hajar, *Isāba*, III, 425.

²⁷ Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-munammaq fī akhbār Quraysh*, ed. Khurshīd Aḥmad Farīq (Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1985), 244. *Ḥilf* is defined in Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-hadīth*, ed. Tāhīr Aḥmad al-Rāzī (Beirut: Dār Iḥya al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, n.d.), I, 424 as a 'brothering'.

²⁸ al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dūrī (Beirut: Dār al-Nashr, 1978), III, 294–95.

²⁹ *ibid.*, 302.

³⁰ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 65; and al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III, 301–2.

conquests, 'Amr b. al-Ās took estates close by those of the Dārīs.³¹ Further possible connections are revealed by Tamīm's other recorded marriage, to the sister of Abū Bakr (the future caliph), Umm Farwa.³² Abū Bakr's eldest son, 'Abd al-Rahmān, is said to have delayed his conversion to Islam because he used to travel to Syria on business, and married a woman from the Christian Arab tribe of Ghassān.³³ Budayl's status as a *mawlā* is not a problem since M. J. Kister has proved that it was the custom of the tribe of Quraysh to allow foreigners with this status to rise to a certain level of prestige, and the clan of Sahm was noted for its wealth and the fact that a number of its clients became Muslims at an early stage.³⁴ The wealth that Budayl is described as having would indicate a certain amount of independence, as does the fact that he was a Muslim client to non-Muslim patrons (though given that he lived in Medina, the independence was perhaps due to other factors).

If this story is historical, then Tamīm's connections to the Prophet long predate the Hijra. It would be possible, though not very plausible, to harmonize this sub-version with the delegation accounts above, since Tamīm here is a Christian and the story clearly takes place after the Hijra. That would at least explain why the Prophet gave Tamīm and his companions shares in the spoils of Khaybar, and why they stayed on in Medina after their 'delegation' was over. However, there is another version of this story that is not so easily reconciled. In this account, Tamīm and 'Adī accompany Budayl to Ethiopia, Budayl dies at sea and is thrown overboard.³⁵ After completing their business the pair return to Medina, where they are caught red-handed trying to sell the pilfered items. The Prophet then remonstrates with Tamīm ('Adī somehow drops out of the story) and tells him to convert to Islam, which he does. This obviously cannot be harmonized with the deputation accounts since no one can convert to Islam twice. The group of business connections described earlier appears to be strong evidence that Tamīm was indeed in the Hijaz some years before the Hijra and probably knew the Prophet personally (given that he was related to him by marriage and married to Abū Bakr's sister).

Tamīm's life after his conversion is just as vague as before it. It is said that he stayed on in Medina, until the Muslims conquered Palestine, whereupon he pressed 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to give to him the estate which the Prophet had

³¹ M. Lecker, 'The estates of 'Amr b. al-Ās in Palestine', *BSOAS*, 52/1, 1989, 24–37; and it should be noted that 'Amr is recorded as regularly journeying to Ethiopia: 'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak, *Kitāb al-jihād*, ed. Nazih Ḥammād, (Beirut: Muḥammad 'Afif al-Zu'abī, 1971), 158 (no. 203).

³² A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammeds* (Berlin: A. Effert, 1869), i, 408, who does not mention his source; and Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-muḥabbar*, ed. Ilse Lichtenstadter (Beirut: Dār al-Afāq al-Jadida, n.d.), 452. Tamīm is the first of her listed husbands, so the marriage must have been early.

³³ Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, *Kitāb nasab Quraysh*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1953), 276.

³⁴ M. J. Kister 'On strangers and allies in Mecca', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 13, 1990, 113–54, especially 135, 147.

³⁵ al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, ii, 444; Naṣr b. al-Layth al-Samarqandī, *Baḥr al-'ulūm* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1993), i, 465 (where he is called Budayl b. Warqā', a mistake); Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ*, ed. Zuhayr Ju'ayd (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1992), iv, 389 (correct 'Adī b. Zayd to 'Adī b. Badā'); Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr*, ed. Maḥmūd Shahāta (Cairo: al-Ha'ya al-Miṣriyya, 1983), i, 511–13; al-Maqrizī, *'al-Daw'*, 169; al-Qurtubī, *Tafsīr*, iii, 2344; Ibrāhīm b. 'Umar al-Bīqā'i, *Nizām al-durar* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmī, 1992), vi, 328; Muḥammad b. al-Hasan al-Tūsī, *al-Tibyān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, iv, 42 (where 'Adī appears as his brother); al-Ḥusayn b. Mas'ūd al-Baghawī, *Ma'ālim al-tanzīl*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abdallāh Nimr (Riyadh: Dār Tayba, 1412h), iii, 111; al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, ii, 382; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh*, iii, 539; and see M. Godefroy-Demomboynes, *Mahomet* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1959), 578. There are harmonizing versions in Ibn Ḥayyān; and al-Bayhaqī, *al-Ma'rifa*, xiv, 279. The story appears in a very garbled form in the *Tafsīr* ascribed to Hasan al-Basrī, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥīm (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, n.d.), i, 345–6, even though the source listed is Muqātil b. Sulaymān.

deeded to him.³⁶ After the murder of 'Uthmān he is said to have gone to Jerusalem,³⁷ to Palestine in general,³⁸ or to Damascus,³⁹ and to have participated in the conquest of Egypt.⁴⁰ He is said to have died in the year 40/660 and was buried in Bayt Jibrin.⁴¹

II: *The Tamīmī waqf*

No account of Tamīm would be complete without mention of the famous *waqf* (inalienable land concession) that his family received in the city of Hebron, whose basis is discussed above. It is rather difficult to trace the history of this property because the city of Hebron is rarely mentioned in the Muslim historiographic literature.⁴² None the less, there are several notices of individuals or groups who contested the rights of the Dārīs to the area. The first recorded instance concerns the Umayyad caliph Sulaymān (715–17), about whom it is said that he wished to harass the Dārīs,⁴³ but was frightened off by a curse mentioned in one of the versions of the land deed from the Prophet.⁴⁴ This is rather a revealing story and would seem to indicate that the curse was perhaps designed to fend off greedy rulers. One hundred years later, during a visit to Damascus, the caliph al-Mā'mūn (813–33) summoned the then proprietor of the fief, Sa'id b. Abī Zayyād (*sic*) Fā'id b. Abī Hind (mentioned above), and ordered him to produce a copy of the deed, which he did.⁴⁵ Presumably the version given to al-Mā'mūn was the one quoted above in which the name of al-Mā'mūn's ancestor, al-'Abbās, figures prominently as a witness. It would seem likely that it was for this very purpose that this version was put into circulation as it seems hardly likely that the name of al-'Abbās would carry much weight with the Umayyad dynasty.

Especially during the years after the Seljuq Turks began to be dominant in Palestine (466/1073), the Dārīs' claims to the area of Hebron began to face serious challenges (reflecting, in certain cases, the desire of the new rulers to dispossess them). In the years just before the Crusaders conquered Palestine one Abū Ḥatīm al-Harawī al-Ḥanafī,⁴⁶ the qadi of Jerusalem, issued a fatwa stating that since the area of Hebron was outside the Prophet's jurisdiction at the time of the grant, he did not have the legal right to give it to the Dārīs in the first place.⁴⁷ This is an extremely audacious argument whose legal basis would seem to rest upon the political exigencies of the time rather than on Muslim jurisprudence, and it has been refuted at length by everyone who has

³⁶ Abū 'Ubayd, *Kitāb al-amwāl*, ed. Muḥammad Khalīl Harās (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1986), 274–5.

³⁷ al-'Amirī, *Riyād*, 41.

³⁸ Ibn Hajar, *Iṣāba*, i, 184.

³⁹ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vii, 286; al-Safadī, *al-Wāfi*, x, 408; and Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, i, 256.

⁴⁰ al-Maqrīzī, 'Daw' p. 166; and Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, iii, 532–3. The sources also note that he maintained a connection with the father of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr (the future conqueror of Spain): Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-buldān* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.), iv, 471; and Ibn Khālikān, *Wafīyat al-a'yān*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1977), v, 318.

⁴¹ al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, ii, 442. Some correct this to Jerusalem; see Krenkow, 'Grant of land', 531, or to Damascus: al-Bakrī, *Nuzhat al-anām fi mahāsīn al-Sham* (Beirut: Dār al-Ra'id al-'Arabī, 1980), 224.

⁴² *Encyclopedia of Islam* (new ed.) s.v. 'al-Khalīl' (M. Sharon). See now Musharraf b. al-Murajja', *Faḍā'il*, 331ff.

⁴³ al-Ghayṭī, *Jawāb*, 34; and al-Maqrīzī, 'Daw', 166.

⁴⁴ al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 176; al-Maqrīzī, 'Daw', 164; 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Bakrī al-Andalusī, *Mu'jam mā sta'jama*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Sāqī (Cairo: Lajnat al-Ta'līf, 1947), ii, 420; and al-Ghayṭī, *Jawāb*, 34.

⁴⁵ Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, viii, 229; and al-Ghayṭī, *Jawāb*, 38 (correct *dimash* to Dimashq).

⁴⁶ Despite a search in the relevant bibliographical material, I was unable to locate this man.

⁴⁷ al-Maqrīzī, 'Daw', 174; al-Ghayṭī, *Jawāb*, 44–5; and Muḥr al-Dīn al-Hanbalī, *al-Uns al-jalīl bi-ta'rikh al-Quds wa'l-Khalīl* (Amman: Maktabat al-Muḥtaṣib, 1973), ii, 82.

written on the subject since then. At the time, the Dārīs' case was taken up by none other than the great mystic and scholar al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), who happened to be in Jerusalem during this period. From this time forward we find a pattern emerging: the Dārīs are continually defended by Shāfi'īs (al-Ghazālī, of course belonged to this rite as well), while their rights are contested by Hanafīs (who were frequently instigated by Turkish rulers). For example, David Ayalon states that 'as early as 660/1262 Sultan Baybars I ordered the return to their original status of those parts of Abraham's *waqf* in Hebron which had been turned into military fiefs'.⁴⁸ He further points out the 'existence of a constant antagonism between the financial interests of the army and the institution of religious endowments'.⁴⁹

These factors led to a constant stream of pamphlets during the Mamluk period (1250–1517) and the early Ottoman period defending the rights of the Dārīs, all from Egyptian Shāfi'īs. These included al-Maqrīzī's *al-Ḍaw' al-sārī* (written 841/1437), Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's *al-Binā' al-jalīl* (written before 853/1449), Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *al-Faḍl al-'amūm* (written before 911/1505) and the Ottoman al-Ghayṭī's *al-Jawāb al-qawīm* (written before 963/1555). It must be assumed, though it cannot be proved, that each of these pamphlets was a response to some adverse situation. The Tamīmī family responded to this by strongly supporting the Shāfi'ī rite—all members of the family that could be traced were described as Shāfi'īs. In all likelihood, the Shāfi'īs, being the inveterate defenders of Muslim tradition, were drawn to the defence of the Tamīmī family because of the fact that the land deed provided a unique precedent dating from the time of the Prophet, in writing, for the system of the *waqf*, which is so central to Islam. Therefore, the Shāfi'īs needed to uphold the Tamīmī family's absolute territorial rights in the face of the greed of the Turkish Mamluk overlords. This is a unique case of a family both supporting the framework of Muslim tradition and being supported by it at the same time.

APPENDIX

The names of the delegation members

[Those names with no sources attached to them are generally attested.]

1. Tamīm al-Dārī.
2. Nu'aym b. Aws al-Dārī.
- 3(a) Abū Hind b. Aws al-Dārī: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vii, 240; (b) Abū Hind b. 'Abdallāh al-Dārī: al-Maqrīzī, 'Ḍaw'', 160; (c) Abū Hind b. Barr: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, iii, 409; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab*, i, 208; (d) Abū Hind b. Dharr: al-Ṣāliḥī, *Subul*, vi, 508; (e) Barīr b. 'Abdallāh (?): al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, ii, 442; (f) Burayr: Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, 422.
- 4(a) al-Fākih b. al-Nu'mān: Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, ii, 198–9 (no. 6954); Ibn Hishām, *Sīra* iii, 409; (b) al-Fākih b. Safāra: Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab*, i, 208.
5. Yazīd b. Qays.
- 6(a) al-Ṭayyib b. Barr (the Prophet changed his name to 'Abdallāh): Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, iii, 409; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab*, i, 208; (b) al-Ṭayyib b. Bara: Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, ii, 236 (no. 4300); (c) al-Ṭayyib b. Dharr: al-Ṣāliḥī, *Subul* vi, 508;

⁴⁸ D. Ayalon, 'Payment in Mamluk military society', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 1, 1958, 292 (quoting from Muḥī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Sīrat al-Zāhir Baybars*). One of the few times when the Tamīmī Dārī family is mentioned is in a quote in Ibn al-Athīr, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Tornberg (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1864- repr.), x, 560, whose source is stated to be Ḥamza b. Asad al-Tamīmī, and it is said there that he composed a *Ta'rikh*. It is rather curious, though, that the incident mentioned (the discovery of the non-decomposed bodies of the Patriarchs) must have taken place during Crusader rule when the Tamīmī family was not present (they went into exile).

⁴⁹ Ayalon, 291.

(d) al-Ṭayyib b. ‘Abdallāh (the Prophet changed his name to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān): Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, II, 236 (no. 4300); al-Maqrīzī, ‘*Daw’*’, 160.

7(a) ‘Urwa b. Malik (changed to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān): Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, II, 477 (no. 5523); (b) ‘Arfa b. Malik (changed to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān): Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, III, 409; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab* I, 208; (c) ‘Uzza b. Malik: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, III, 409; (d) ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Malik: Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, II, 421 (no. 5194); Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd*, III, 491 (saying that his name was Marwān); (e) ‘Azīz b. Malik: al-Maqrīzī, ‘*Daw’*’, 159.

8(a) Jubayla b. Malik: Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, III, 566 (no. 8768); (b) Jabāla b. Malik: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, III, 409.

9(a) Murra b. Malik: al-Maqrīzī, ‘*Daw’*’, 159; (b) Murrān b. Malik: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, III, 409; (c) Marwān b. Malik: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, III, 409; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab*, I, 208; (d) Mirār b. Malik: Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd*, V, 134 (no. 4813).
10. Hānī’ b. Ḥabīb: Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, III, 595 (no. 8918).

11. Qays b. Malik: Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, III, 566 (no. 8768).

12. Rafā’a b. Nu’mān: Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, I, 519 (no. 2680).

13(a) Wāhib b. Malik: Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab*, I, 208; (b) Wahb b. Malik: Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, 422.

14. Suwād b. Malik b. Suwād: Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd*, II, 485 (no. 2335).