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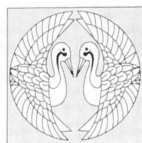
Front cover:

“Abū Zayd and al-Ḥārīth talking”. Fragment of a miniature from manuscript C 23 of the *Maqāmāt* by al-Ḥarīrī in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.
Illustration to *maqāma* 50, p. 349, 17.5 × 9.0 cm.

Back cover:

“Abū Zayd as a teacher in a school at Ḥims”. A miniature from manuscript C 23 of the *Maqāmāt* by al-Ḥarīrī in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.
Illustration to *maqāma* 46, p. 318, 18.0 × 19.5 cm.

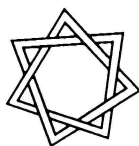
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TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

E. A. Rezyan

THE QUR'ĀN AND ITS WORLD:

IV. "RAISE NOT YOUR VOICES ABOVE THE PROPHET'S VOICE" (SOCIETY, POWER AND ETIQUETTE NORMS)

Our few sources on the history of Arabia in the sixth and early seventh centuries testify to a wide-spread feeling of tension and social unease. The reasons for this situation should be sought primarily in the particular features of the stage of social development which Arabia was then experiencing. The social and property relations which formed at this time in populated centres as a result of long-term developments came into conflict with the traditional patriarchal system of values and ideas. The primitive paganism which provided an ideological underpinning for society's traditional relations could not compete with world religions, which for many Arabians symbolised the flourishing civilisations of their neighbours. The ruin or serious weakening of intra-Arabian power structures linked to the "great states" of Persia and Byzantium led to a power vacuum. Moreover, the social practices of Arabian border principalities, which over centuries accumulated experience in new forms of socio-political relations, and long-standing participation in trade movement led to the erosion of some of clan society's most important institutions. Long-time ties to Persia and Byzantium and the experience of military success in conflicts with the forces of the "great states" demonstrated hitherto unseen possibilities in Arabia, and raised its prestige in its own eyes. A prophetic movement arose in Arabia in answer to this new reality — its most successful and far-seeing representative was Muḥammad.

Finding himself in this period at the centre of a religious and political movement which encompassed all Ara-

bia, Muḥammad reflected in his preaching, which forms the text of the Qur'ān, those new social relations which were already current in the settled society of Inner Arabia. They were not yet, however, buttressed by tradition, legal custom or institutions. In the Qur'ān, on the authority of Allah Muḥammad for the first time legalises as functioning social institutions the norms and ideas which had taken shape in the advanced, settled societies of Inner Arabia such as Mekka, Medina (Yathrib), and al-Ṭā'if. It is very significant that, in formulating new religious and socio-legal ideas, Muḥammad saw them as old ideas restored to their original form.

Modern methods of textual analysis allow us to reconstruct the system of ideas [1] held by representatives of a specific culture. The conception of power, its origin and limits is key in any society. Naturally, in the conditions of drastic social breakdown and shifting guideposts which accompanied the rise of Islam, these ideas appeared at the centre of the polemic Muḥammad conducted with his opponents.

The preaching contained in the Qur'ān has preserved for us a "snapshot" of a certain place and a time. What then seemed an insignificant incident (a supper shared by ten Arabians in a small, dusty city in distant al-Ḥijāz or the hosts' surprise at the unexpected request of a neighbour for some kitchen implement) was fated to enter the record of events set down for all humanity.

1

At the turn of the sixth and seventh centuries, certain social processes took place in Arabia which transformed clan institutions into the institutions of an estate-class society. In order to understand the mechanisms which operated within those social processes and to analyse the transformations which accompanied the emergence of Islam, the study of various relations based on dependence, protection and mutual assistance is of great interest. In the Qur'ān, in

pre- and early Islamic poetry, and in the early Islamic historical tradition, these relations are expressed for the most part through terms based on the roots *wly*, *jwr*, *hlf*, and *nsr*. These terms helped to define the relations which at that time formed the basis for the socio-political organisation of society.

In "The Social Structure in Northern and Central Arabia in the Fifth—Seventh Centuries", L. V. Negria cites at

least five meanings for the term *mawlā*, each of which expresses a corresponding variety of the institution of dependence or protection. These are: dependence/protection through kinship (*walā' rahm*); through service (*walā' khidma*); dependence/protection extended to someone of a different lineage with the inclusion of the stranger into the tribe (*walā' hilf*); to someone of a different lineage without the integration of the stranger into the new tribe (*walā' jiwār*), where he retained ties to his blood relatives [2]. The term *mawlā* was also used to indicate a slave or a freedman.

Of principal significance is that the relations expressed with the help of these terms (with the exception of dependence through slavery) were of a conditional, contractual nature. They designated a temporary state of dependence of an individual or clan group on another individual or clan group, which took upon itself the obligation of ensuring security, defence, assistance or support. It is essential to stress that these terms, as a rule, simultaneously presumed both a dependent person or clan as well as a person or clan which rendered protection. Hence, the ambiguity of the term *mawlā* and its synonym *jār*, which can mean a protector or one who is protected. Such terms could also indicate relations between a pagan divinity and his adept [3].

The Qur'ān mentions all forms of dependence/protection known in pre-Islamic Arabia. (see, for example, 4 : 36/40, 16 : 75/77—76/78 and others).

At various stages of his prophetic activity, Muḥammad relied on terms derived from the above-mentioned roots to express a number of fundamentally important ideas in his message. Furthermore, the formation of a new social organism in Arabia — the Muslim community (*umma*) — presents us with a history of trial and error in the use of traditional institutions of dependence/protection. These institutions aided the construction of a new social organisation and formed the idea of supreme power vested in a single person.

Before the boundless might of Allah and the terror of Judgement Day, the traditional system of social ties which ensured personal security (that is, kinship and protection) was declared irrelevant (44 : 41—42): "The day a master (*mawlā*) shall avail nothing a client (*mawlā*), and they shall not be helped (*wa lā hum yanṣarūna*), save him upon whom God has mercy ..." * (see also: 70 : 11—13; 22 : 11—13).

Or (70 : 11—13): "The sinner will wish that he might ransom himself from the chastisement of that day even by his sons, his companion wife, his brother, his kin (*faṣīla*) who sheltered him (*tu wihī*) ..."

Only absolute submission (*islām*) to the will of God could free a person from punishment on Judgement day. Consequently, the most indispensable people became those who ensured that His will be done — that is, those who tended to ties of the faith. For this reason, the only thing which guaranteed success in earthly affairs was the protection of Allah, earned through unflinching submission to his will, (72 : 22—23/24): "Say: 'From God shall protect me not anyone (*lan yujīranī*), and I shall find, apart from Him, no refuge, excepting a Deliverance from God and His Messages. And whoso rebels (*ya'ṣī*) against God and His messenger, for him there awaits the Fire of Gehenna ..."

Allah is the only protector (*mawlā, jār*) on whom one

can rely (6 : 62): "Then they are restored to God their Protector (*mawlā*), the True. Surely His is the judgement (*al-ḥukm*) ..." "Say: 'In whose hand is the dominion of everything (*malakūt*), protecting (*yujīru*) and Himself unprotected (*yujāru*) ..." (23 : 88/90).

After the *hijra*, which signified for Muḥammad and his followers a break with the traditional system which had ensured their personal security, the Prophet tried to unite his *muhājirūn* and *anṣār* with the help of sworn brotherhood (*mu'ākha*).

The functions and nature of pre-Islamic sworn brotherhood have not yet received sufficient study. In particular, its internal connection with the relations specified by the term *walā'*, about which Muslim authors wrote, have not been investigated satisfactorily [4]. We know that a contractual agreement of *walā' hilf* (protection for a stranger) presumed his inclusion into the tribe. Despite the fact that this agreement extended to him the set of rights and obligations of blood kinship, including the right of inheritance, he remained in the position of a dependent (*mawlā*) in relation to his contractual partner, who was also called *mawlā*. The formal equality of the contractual partners was underscored by the term "brother" (*akh*), which designated both the dependent and his protector [5].

Related tribes as well as tribes which had concluded pacts of dependence/protection were called "brothers" [6]. Naturally, with the establishment of relations of *walā' hilf*, a person became one of the "brothers" (*ikhwān*) who made up the group adapting him. In a number of cases, Qur'ānic usage and pre-Islamic poetry employ as synonyms the terms *qawm* (tribe) and *ikhwān* (brothers) (see, for example: 50 : 13 and 38 : 13/12) [7]. In this fashion, the pre-Islamic institution of sworn brotherhood expressed relations of *walā' hilf*. The textual resemblance between the formulas for concluding *walā' hilf* and concluding sworn brotherhood among the first Muslims confirm this similarity [8].

The term *mu'ākha* is absent in the Qur'ān, although a number of Qur'ānic contexts establish a meaning of *akh* (*ikhwān, ikhwa*) distinct from blood kinship. These contexts are of especial interest to us [9]. The most important of them are tied to the formation of the Muslim community in Yathrib.

"And as for those who came after them (the *anṣār* — *E. R.*), they say, 'Our Lord, forgive us and our brothers (*ikhwān*, that is, *muhājirūn* — *E. R.*), who preceded us in belief ..." (59 : 10). In an analogous context (8 : 72/73), the *muhājirūn* and *anṣār* are called each other's protectors (*awlīyā'*).

"And hold you fast to God's bond (*habl*), together [10], and do not scatter; remember God's blessing upon you when you were enemies, and He brought your hearts together, so that by His blessing you became brothers (*ikhwān*) ..." (3 : 103/98). And later (3 : 104/100): "Let there be one nation (*umma*) of you, calling to good ..." All members of the Median community were declared each other's protectors (*mawlā, jār*) [11], which in turn placed them under Allah's protection.

If in the pre-Islamic period the establishment of *walā' hilf* (sworn brotherhood) led to the conditional dependence of one person on another, now the tie between sworn brothers was premised on their absolute dependence on God,

* Here and below we used the Qur'ān translation of A. J. Arberry.

whom Muḥammad declared their "true protector" (6 : 62; 23 : 90, see above). At this stage, however, sworn brotherhood retained certain features of the pre-Islamic *walā' ḥilf*. In particular, a sworn brother had the right to part of his sworn brother's inheritance. This right of inheritance represented an intrusion into property relations within an individual family, the significance of which had grown immeasurably in settled Arabia at the beginning of the seventh century. Thus, competition and conflicts were unavoidable [12]. In essence, the "universal" sworn brotherhood of Muslims (*walā' ḥilf*) led to the establishment of patriarchal, levelling relations within the Muslim community, which was already impossible in settled Arabia of the seventh century. In 624, this right of inheritance was revoked (33 : 6): "Those who are bound by blood (*ūlū-l-arḥām*) are nearer (*awlā*) to one another in the Book of God than the believers and the emigrants ..." (see also: 8 : 75/76).

After the revocation of the right of inheritance for sworn brothers, relations between members of the Muslim community, who were considered brothers, were structured in accordance with relations established by an agreement of defence (*walā' jiwār*). This gave the parties defence without recourse to ties of blood kinship. Now, by accepting Islam and recognising the supreme protection (*jiwār*) of Allah, every Muslim took upon himself the obligation to help and defend his brothers in the faith; he became their *jar*. Tradition has it that the during his "farewell pilgrimage" the Prophet preached: "... Every Muslim is a brother (*akh*) to [every other] Muslim, and all Muslims are brothers (*ikhwa*), and no Muslim is allowed to demand [things] of his brother (*akh*), but only that which he gives him out of the goodness of his soul ..." [13].

Every person who accepted Islam became a sworn brother of other Muslims (9 : 11): "Yet if they repent, and perform the prayer, and pay the alms, then they are your brothers in religion (*ikhwān fī-l-dīn*) ...".

This clarifies why Muḥammad called upon his followers to consider the adopted sons of "brothers in the faith" protected (*jar*) as well, whereas before Islam they became *mawālī-ḥulafā'* (33 : 4—5): "... neither has He (Allah — E. R.) made your adopted sons your sons in fact. ... Call them after their true fathers; that is more equitable in the sight of God. If you know not who their fathers were, then they are brothers in religion (*ikhwān fī-l-dīn*), and your clients (*mawālī*)" (see also 2 : 220/219). This guaranteed them equal status in the Muslim community (*umma*), but left property interests in the "small family" (*ahl al-bayt*) untouched [14].

All Muslim sworn brothers were obligated to take part in campaigns against the "enemies of Allah" (3 : 156/150, 168/162; 33 : 18). This obligation stemmed from the concept of *naṣr* — mutual assistance in battle presumed by relations of *walā'* (protection) both before Islam and in the Qur'an (see, for example: 2 : 286). M. M. Bravmann has shown that before Islam the Arabians believed that their divinities could assist them in battle, which aid they called *naṣr*. This assistance was conceived of as mutual [15]. We find such a conception of *naṣr* in the Qur'an: "Assuredly God will help (*layanṣuranna*) him who helps Him (*yanṣuruhu*) ..." (22 : 40/41). Muḥammad considered it the obligation of Muslims to help each other in the struggle for Islam, thereby "helping Allah". If the necessity of rendering assistance in battle had earlier been dictated primarily by

the blood ties which bound participants in a raid, mutual assistance was now premised on "brotherhood in faith". The refusal to wage war between Muslims also stemmed from the idea of sworn brotherhood (49 : 10).

We know that the first instances of sworn brotherhood date to the end of the Meccan period of the Prophet's activity [16]. Faced with the Meccans' rising hostility toward the Prophet and his followers, Muḥammad attempted to unite the first Muslims. After the Prophet's move to Medina, obligations of sworn brotherhood were called upon to ensure the equality of *muhājirūn* and *anṣār*, which was of great importance at that time. However, the socio-economic factors noted above and mass conversion to Islam made the establishment of individual agreements of sworn brotherhood practically impossible.

The institution of sworn brotherhood as it existed before the rights of inheritance were revoked was, in essence, a stage in the transition to a new type of social relations [17] founded on ties of faith and absolute dependence on God. After the revoking of the rights of inheritance, it ceased to exist in its earlier form.

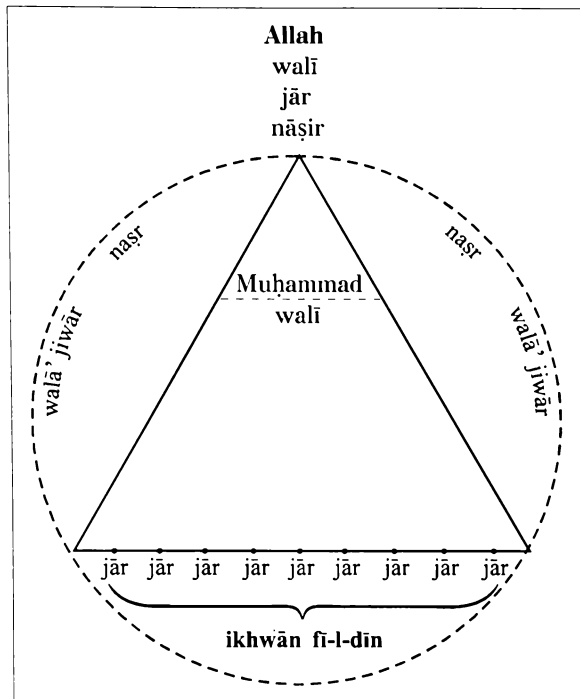
The analogous structures of relations based on *mu'ākha, naṣr* and *walā'* are noteworthy. One can picture them as a triangle with Allah in every instance at the top (Allah *nāṣir*, Allah *walī* and *jar*) (see *Scheme 1*). Along the base are people who are in corresponding relations with each other and with Allah (*jar*, *mawālā, nāṣir*), co-ordination of all sides in the triangle forms the necessary basis for a solid, successfully functioning new social organisation. It is important that in this system God's Prophet was also termed a "protector" (*walī*) of the believers (cf. 4 : 75/77).

Allah's "regal shadow" covered his Prophet as well. The constant use of the term *rasūl Allah*, found in official documents which have reached us, is reminiscent of the use of the names of Arabian kings. The oath, or assurance of *bay'a*, which the Prophet received, also confirms this [18]. In pacts between Muḥammad and tribes they were usually guaranteed the protection (*jiwār*) of Allah and that of his Prophet. We know, however, of cases in which the Prophet spoke only of his protection or of his guarantee of security (*dhimma*) [19].

In this connection, the verses of the pre-Islamic monotheistic poet Nābigha al-Dhubayānī in which he tells of Nu'mān the Fifth of al-Ḥīra are of interest:

"He was faithful in defence (*dhimma*) and
extolled those he protected (*jar*),
When the power of [another] king (*malik*)
begins to weaken" [20].

Thus, an analysis of the institution of sworn brotherhood in early Islam based on Qur'ānic materials shows that its appearance reflected the complex social and ideological processes which were taking place in Inner Arabia at the beginning of the seventh century. It has been noted that there was a tendency in pre-Islamic Arabia toward state formation through the creation of tribal alliances of *ḥilf*. A telling example of this is found in the case of the Kindites [21]. The development of this tendency, however, was interrupted and did not attain its logical fulfilment. The institution of *walā' ḥilf* could not serve as the basis for consolidating a society, primarily because it was, in essence, a form of fictive kinship. In unions based on the latter, centrifugal forces always predominated over centripetal forces.



Scheme 1

The institution of *walā' jiwār* was better suited to the aim of state formation, as it did not presume the integration of the stranger into the collective of blood kinship in guaranteeing him protection. Rather, it secured a consolidated community without interfering in the sphere of relations of blood kinship.

Ties of blood kinship — material bonds, in essence — as well as traditional relations of protection, gave way as the primary basis for collective existence to collectivity in faith, that is, to ideal ties structured with the help of reconceived traditional institutions of protection and sworn brotherhood. Additionally, the significance of ties of blood kinship among Muslims was strengthened in the context of individual families. New political relations were expressed as before with recourse to traditional categories. For a long time after the Arab conquests, non-Arabs were able to become Muslims merely by concluding a contract of protection with one or another Arab tribe.

2

The *Sūras* of the Medina period contain several orders to the members of the Islamic community concerning etiquette with regard to addressing the Prophet and behaviour in his presence. Several of the *āyāt* quoted below are well-known. But only a profound analysis and comparative study of all of these *āyāt*, pronounced between 5/627 and 10/632, as well as the corresponding *ḥadīth* and *sīra* accounts, material from pre-Islamic Arabic tribal traditions, contemporary poetry, Christian sources and archaeological material allow us not only to reconstruct important behav-

Although the idea of Muslim brotherhood was only retained as the ideological basis for Muslim unity after the revocation of inheritance rights for sworn brothers, its role in the development of the Prophet's social ideas and the social reality of that time was extremely great. With the introduction of the institution of sworn brotherhood, one can speak of the first attempts to create a new social body, which Muḥammad designated with the term *umma*. The viability of this new social organisation depended primarily on the maintenance of Muḥammad's essentially autocratic rule, which was, as we know, incompatible with the social organisation and social ideology of a clan-tribal society. The issue of power, obedience and submission was central. For this reason, the replacement of the term *ḥanifiyya*, originally used to designate the new faith, with *islām* (submission) is far from coincidental.

our stereotypes but also to determine several distinctive features of social psychology in the society of Inner Arabia during the rise of Islam.

"O believers, enter not the houses of the Prophet, except leave is given you for a meal, without watching for its hour. But when you are invited, then enter; and when you have had the meal, disperse, neither lingering for idle talk; that is hurtful to the Prophet, and he is ashamed before you; but God is not ashamed before the truth. And when you asked his wives for any object, ask them from behind the

curtain; that is cleaner for your hearts and theirs. It is not for you to hurt God's Messenger, neither to marry his wives after him, ever; surely that would be, in God's sight, a monstrous thing" (33 : 53).

"God and His angels bless the Prophet. O believers, do you also bless him, and pray him peace. Those who hurt God and his Messenger — them God has cursed in the present world and the world to come, and has prepared for them a humbling chastisement" (33 : 56—57).

"Hast thou not regarded those who were forbidden to converse secretly together, then they return to that they were forbidden, and they converse secretly together in sin and enmity, and in disobedience to the Messenger? Then, when they come to thee, they greet thee with a greeting God never greeted thee withal [22]; and they say within themselves, 'Why does God not chastise us with what we say?' Sufficient for them shall be Gahanna, at which they shall be roasted — an evil homecoming!" (58 : 8/9).

"Those only believers, who believe in God and His Messenger and who, when they are with him upon a common matter, go not away until they ask his leave. Surely those who ask thy leave — those are they that believe in God and His Messenger; so, when they ask thy leave for some affair of their own, give leave to whom thou wilt of them, and ask God's forgiveness for them [...] Make not the calling of the Messenger among yourselves like your calling one another [...]" (24 : 62—63).

"O believers, when it is said to you 'Make room in the assemblies', then make room, and God will make room for you; and when it is said, 'Move up' move up, and God will raise up in rank (*darajāt*) [23] those of you who believe and have been given knowledge. And God is aware of the things you do. O believers, when you conspire with the Messenger, before you conspiring, advance a freewill offering (*ṣadaqa*); that is better for you and purer. Yet if you find not means, God is All-forgiving, All-compassionate. Are you afraid before your conspiring, to advance freewill offerings; if you do not so, and God turns again unto you, then perform the prayer, and pay the alms, and obey God and His Messenger [...]" (58 : 11/12—13/14).

"O believers, advance not before God and his Messenger; [...] O believers, raise not your voices above the Prophet voice, and be not loud in your speech to him, as you are loud one to another, lest your works fail while you are not aware. Surely those who call lower their voices in the presence of God's Messenger, those are they whose hearts God has tested for godfearing; they shall have forgiveness and mighty wage. Surely those who call unto thee from behind the apartments, the most of them do not understand. And if they had patience, until thou comest out to them, that would be better for them [...]" (49 : 1—5).

To the above-mentioned *āyāt* one can add the ones pronounced at the beginning of the Medina period of Muḥammad's career:

"O believers, when proclamation is made for prayer on the Day of Congregation, hasten to God's remembrance and leave trafficking aside; [...] But when they see merchandise or diversion they scatter off to it, and they leave thee standing [...]" (62 : 9, 11).

As we can see, these *āyāt* set out the manner in which the Prophet should be addressed and required behaviour in his presence. For example, a person should not enter the Prophet's room without invitation, nor should he stay at his place longer than he wishes. According to tradition, during

the marriage of the Prophet with Zaynab, Muḥammad himself was unable to ask his guests to go away and had to suffer their extended presence. Only "an intervention of Allah" could ensure that this did not continue in the future. No one was able to enter the houses of the Prophet's wives to ask for kitchen utensils, as the stranger would see their faces. It was necessary to greet the Prophet and one could not leave without asking his permission. It was not allowed to address the Prophet in the form accepted among ordinary people (apparently one had to use the formula *yā rasūl Allah*). It was forbidden to speak louder than the Prophet, and to go before him when he or his companions appeared at the *majālis* [24]. It was necessary to make way for them and to stand up out of respect for them. Before a conversation with the Prophet one had to "make a freewill offering" to him [25]. It was forbidden to call the Prophet out of the inner rooms as was done by the members of the Banū Tamīm deputation. According to Ibn Hishām they simply cried: "Hey, Muḥammad, come out to see us!" (*An akhrija ilainā yā Muḥammad*) [26]. *Āya* 49 : 1—5 mentioned above seems to be connected with the incident. And finally, one should not leave before Muḥammad had finished his sermon, either to find out what caravan had arrived to Yathrib or to watch the bazaar performance. The sermon usually started after trade was finished [27].

Early Islamic historical tradition has preserved for us several similar episodes from the biography of the Prophet. The idea was to show the ascetic way of life of the Prophet to counterbalance the caliph court's "wallowing in luxury". For example, Ibn Hishām describes the visit of 'Adī Ibn Ḥātim, chief of the christianised tribe Tayyi', to Muḥammad. 'Adī was a *malik* and one fourth of the booty belonged to him. He decided that he would become a Muslim if he found that Muḥammad was a "real *malik*". Muḥammad received him and, on the way from a mosque to his house, the Prophet spent some time speaking with a poor old woman. "By God, this is no king!" (*Wa Allāhi ma hadhā bi-malik*), — decided 'Adī. When they entered the house of the Prophet, Muḥammad offered him a leather pillow to sit on, and himself sat on the ground. 'Adī, once more, thought this was not behaviour befitting a *malik*. When they began talking, Muḥammad told him that he knew that the poverty 'Adī witnessed was an obstacle to his conversion. After this, he predicted fabulous wealth for Muslims obtained in the course of conquests [28].

There are other traditions which, from the first glance, contradict the traditions mentioned above. They describe how Muḥammad prepared himself for meeting with the deputations. He put on his richest clothes, coloured his eyes with antimony, and so on [29]. In short, they describe how he tried to make himself conform to the stereotypes that his contemporaries entertained about a powerful and sovereign ruler. In reality, both groups of *hadiths* mentioned above are connected with the Prophet's modest way of the life as well as with his striving for the submission of all Arabia to the Muslims. The new etiquette requirements that we are concerned with here had to play an important role in the submission of the Arabian tribes and communities to his authority.

The process is reflected also in the traditions surrounding the visit of the deputation of the Banū al-Ḥārith to Muḥammad. It seems that Muḥammad felt that members of the deputation treated him without proper respect. The Prophet tried to force the head of the deputation, Yazīd

b. 'Abd al-Madan, to agree with the humiliating description of his tribesmen. Yazīd answered him: "We do not praise (*ḥamida*) you, and we do not praise Khālīd" (Khālīd b. al-Walīd, who was sent to Banū al-Ḥārīth with a proposal that it convert). The Prophet asked him: "Then whom do you praise?" "We praise Allah who guided us by you", — answered Yazīd [30].

The etiquette in the situations described above (except in *āya* 62 : 9, 11) occurred when the Prophet had already gained all-embracing personal power. It is impossible to find among the *āyāt* pronounced at that time something comparable with *āya* 3 : 159/153: "It was by some mercy of God that thou wast gentle to them; hadst you thou been harsh and hard of heart, they would be scattered from about thee. So pardon them, and pray forgiveness for them, and take council with them in the affair [...]".

Later, an almost contrary opinion was clearly expressed in 49 : 7: "And know that the Messenger of God is among you. If he obeyed you in much of the affair, you would suffer [...]".

Muḥammad was known to his followers as *rasūl Allah* and *nabī*. By that time he had won important victories, gained high respect, and not only within the Muslim community. According to the Qur'ān, Allah gave him "laudable station" (*maqām mahmūd*) (17 : 79/81), power (*sulṭān*) and support (*naṣr*) (17 : 80/82). He fulfilled the most important and socially significant roles (that of *shā'ir*, *khātib*, *ḥakam*, *kāhin*, *'aqīd*, *sayyid*) [31], as he was endowed in the eyes of his contemporaries with indubitable charisma [32].

Several episodes from *Ayyām al-'Arab* provide us with information concerning etiquette regulations in reference to the persons mentioned above, which were accepted by the contemporaries of the Prophet.

The pre-Islamic *shā'ir* as well as the *khātib* were fully respected by their tribesmen. A talented poet was considered to be of great value and the pride of the tribe. He could greatly raise tribal prestige in intertribal affairs. Nevertheless, he continued to be an ordinary tribesman and no special honours were paid to him.

The *ḥakam* was usually elected among respected and competent people. It was possible to invite him to solve only a single question. If he proved effective in fulfilling his functions, he was asked to play the role of *ḥakam* several times. No special respect was accorded him apart from that shown to ordinarily esteemed and elderly people.

One could easily reject predictions or advice given by the *kāhin*. Sometimes, if someone who had asked for a prediction was not satisfied, the *kāhin* could suffer insult not only to himself but also to the god he served.

The military head (*'aqīd*) was elected just before a raid, and a new one was elected each time. The *'aqīd* who appeared most successful and courageous could fulfil the functions of *'aqīd* several times. But this could not guarantee him special privileges beyond a larger part of the booty.

Just one example can illustrate the position of the *'aqīd*. Ziyād b. al-Habūba, who was head of a successful raid, stopped for the night on his way home. He shared the booty and handed out dates and oil among his people. When it was necessary to add firewood he could not order someone to bring it, but said: "One who brings a faggot will receive a pot of dates" [33].

The position of the *sayyid* in his tribe was nearly the same. Tribesmen allotted power to him, i.e. he would be able to carry out their common will. The limits of his power

were as follows: he could not order his tribesmen to do something for him personally. According to A. Vasilyev, who based his theories on the testimonies of the eyewitnesses who visited Arabic tribes: "The tribal chief has usually no external attributes of power. No special ceremonies exist between him and his tribesmen. Ordinary Bedouins behave towards him as equals" [34].

But the situation immediately changed if the person who held a high position among his contemporaries held the title of *malik*. This took place in the usually short-lived Arabian military and political, early state formations which arose from time to time and were headed by a single ruler, such as Nabatea, Kedar, Palmyra, Kīnda and the Ghassānid and Lakhmid states.

According to *Ayyām al-'Arab*, the encampment for Ḥujr b. al-Ḥārīth was prepared in advance. He was made *malik* of Kīnda, over Asad and Ghaṭāfān by his father. Usually, he sent some of his people ahead, and when he came to the place, everything there was prepared to his satisfaction [35]. In Arabia a lock of the captive's hair was usually cut to mark his position. But this practice did not extend to the captured *mulūk* [36].

Ghassānids and Lakhmids, the *mulūk* of borderlands of Arabia, which were dependants of Byzantium and Persia, tried to imitate their powerful neighbours. In 1939, J. Sauvaget [37] showed that al-Mundhir b. al-Ḥārīth, Ghassānid, had outside the walls of Sergiopolis a special building intended for audiences. It resembled similar buildings in Rome and Byzantium.

During the annual pilgrimage to the tomb of Saint Sergios, al-Mundhir used to grant audiences to the chiefs of allied kin and tribes in this building. He was also gave orders, reconciled quarrels, etc. He sat in the depths of special niche wearing his crown (*tāj*). Over the niche was a Greek inscription decorated by vegetable ornament — *nika he tychē alamundāru* ("Long live al-Mundhir!") [38]. It is interesting to note that the Umayyad caliphs gave audiences almost in the same way. In Grabar's view, we see here the influence of Persian tradition: the immobile, seated sovereign appeared before the eyes of the invitees when they were let into the "throne hall". Moreover, 'Abd al-Malik tried to forbid the premature entrance of invitees, and the ceremonies themselves did not yet have a systematic character. The conscious "iranization" of the ceremonies undertaken by the Umayyads in an attempt to counterpose their ways to Byzantine tradition had the character of a return and a re-thinking of the pre-Islamic legacy [39]. One need not doubt that the Lakhmids and Ghassānids strove to emulate Sassanian examples.

In the "History" of John of Ephesus one can find the description of the visit to al-Mundhir by the curate Magne, Syriac by origin. "He sent [to say to al-Mundhir] as I came to participate in the sanctifying of the temple and I had hard trip, it is not me, who came to honour you, but as I would like to know how are you, will you come to me at once" [40]. It means that al-Mundhir was aware that Magne had to visit him and that he was waiting for it.

In pre-Islamic Arabia there was a widely used special formula of address to the *malik*: *abayta al-la'na* — "Keep you from being damned". It can be found, for example, in the poetry of Nābigha al-Zubaynī and in the texts of *Ayyām* [41]. Usually, it was pronounced when someone was going to ask the *malik* a favour. On the one hand, the formula shows that it was possible to curse the *malik*,

which emphasises its archaic origin. On the other hand, it reveals that his power as well as his duties were extremely wide. The *malik* guaranteed here the existing world order.

The court of the Lakhmids, the rulers of al-Ḥīra, provided for the position of *radīf*. When a representative of a tribe held the position, this ensured its loyalty towards al-Ḥīra. The *radīf* sat to the right of the *malik* during audiences and feasts; he could drink from the *malik's* goblet and he rode directly behind the *malik*. He received one fourth of the *malik's* booty and a share of the tribute [42].

Representatives of numerous tribes came to al-Ḥīra to the *malik* al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir. Al-Nu'mān ordered the *malik's* clothes to be brought and he said to the envoys: "Return tomorrow morning and the noblest among you will receive those clothes" [43].

Another Lakhmid 'Amr sent in 567 a deputation of 40 people to the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II. The Emperor agreed to grant audience only to one of them. But the latter "thought this to be improper to appear before the Emperor alone" and refused the audience, believing that the tradition that all members of a delegation ought to be presented to the Emperor must be maintained" [44].

Hence, etiquette of this kind was well known in Arabia at the time of the Prophet. Existing material shows that the stereotypes of behaviour reflected in the *āyāt* we analyse here could be used only in respect for the *malik*. But the autocracy of the *malik* and his vice-regent (*khalīfa*), the basis and form of his rule, were totally rejected by the Prophet and his contemporaries and were associated with "doing harm and shedding of blood" (2: 30/28; 27: 34, but cf. Allah = *malik al-mulk* — 3: 26/25). Muḥammad's idea of royal power is reflected in the Qur'ānic tale of the Sabeen queen who turned to the nobility for advice after received a message from Sulaymān (27: 32): "'O Council (*al-malā'*), pronounce to me concerning my affair; I am not used to decide an affair until you bear me witness.'" It is important to note that the verses of many tribal poets of the sixth and early seventh centuries, who "shared the resistance of the mass of Bedouin to the impending changes", are filled with hatred for the very idea of authoritarian power and its bearers, the *maliks* [45].

Instead of the *malik*, in the Qur'an (cf. 4: 75/77), Muḥammad (and Allah as well) was declared as we saw above to be the *walī* (protector) of all the Muslims. This was in pre-Islamic usage very often connected with the functions of an autocratic ruler, but title *walī* contrary to *malik* seemed to correspond more perfectly to the call of Muḥammad to the restoration of the violated traditions [46].

Muḥammad sat on a throne (*minbār*) which was the prototype of the modern *minbār* in a Muslim mosque. Up through the end of the Umayyad dynasty, the *minbār* preserved its significance as a symbol of power similar to the throne (cf. *sarīr, kursī*) [47].

That is why Allah's sanction was necessary to introduce "new" etiquette requirements and to overcome the widespread negative attitude towards them. In Mecca, Muḥammad was accused of behaving like the *shā'ir*, the *sāḥir* or the *majnūn*, in Medina his enemies blamed him as the *malik*. One of them, calling Muḥammad *malik*, asked residents of Yathrib, how they could acknowledge his power, if they had fought other *mulūk*, and had not let them in the city [48].

So, in this period, the Prophet became an autocratic ruler even from the formal point of view, and the obser-

vance of special etiquette which corresponded to the position of the pre-Islamic *malik*, that is an autocratic ruler, was required in his presence.

The establishment of these regulations was explained by the necessity of politeness and respect towards the Prophet, but in reality it was the realisation of Muḥammad's new social functions. This fact betrays a change in key ethnic and cultural standards of intercourse. Members of the *umma* surely knew the regulations Muḥammad wanted them to follow, but they felt these regulations to be alien to them, foreign to the principals of their life organisation. Evidently, these patterns of behaviour were extremely stable in the society of Inner Arabia (sacred sanction was necessary to introduce new norms). On the whole, it is typical of primitive societies where traditional types of behaviour dominate. In the social psychology of such societies, form acquires its own meaning and procedure plays an even more important role than the norm itself [49].

It seems beyond doubt that in Arabian society of the sixth and early seventh century the institution of power in general and of supreme power in particular was acquiring ever greater significance. Therefore, the new norms introduced by Muḥammad were conditioned in the first place by the appearance of a new social situation. The etiquette stereotypes appropriate to the ideology and psychology of a clan society and "pre-state" were replaced by norms which responded to the needs of a class society and the nascent state which had united all Arabia under the power of the Medinan community, personified by Muḥammad.

In one of his Medinan sermons, Muḥammad pronounced (3: 33—34/30): "God chose Adam and Noah and the House (*āl*) of Abraham and the House (*āl*) of 'Imran above all beings, the seed (*zurriyya*) of one another ..." (cf. 19: 58/59, which speaks of the descendants of Isrā'il). In another place (6: 83—86), Muḥammad, after enumerating nearly all the Biblical prophets he knew, starting with Abraham, concludes (6: 87): "and of their fathers (*abā'ihim*), and of their seed (*zurriyyatihim*), and of their brethren (*ikhwānihim*); and We elected them, and We guided them to a straight path." Thus, Muḥammad says that Allah, having chosen the Prophet, also chooses his lineage (ancestors and descendants — *āl*) and his kinsmen, his brothers. *Āyāt* 11: 69/72—73/76 speaks of this as well, where after Allah's messengers have brought joy to Abraham and his wife with "glad tidings of Isaac, and, after Isaac, Jacob", they speak of "the mercy of God and His blessings" on the family (*ahl al-bayt*) of Abraham. In speaking of the Biblical prophets, Muḥammad more than once fashioned his narrative on the contemporary situation in Mecca and Yathrib. In our view, the words cited above testify to the Prophet's adherence to the family-clan principle of succession.

The situation was, however, no longer clear after the death of Muḥammad. What was possible for the messenger of Allah was hardly acceptable for the caliphs. In this connection, the series of traditions about 'Umar's unpretentiousness and asceticism are of interest. Especially popular was the tale of how Khurmuzān, a captive of the ruler of al-Ahwāz, was brought to the mosque where 'Umar was sleeping "in soldierly fashion", wrapped in a burmous. When the amazed Persian asked where the guard and gatekeepers of the caliph were, they proudly answered that the caliph of Allah's messenger had none, nor any office or secretaries [50]. A series of similar traditions connected to

'Umar's brief stay in Syria and Palestine is also typical. O. G. Bolshakov writes that, upon finding himself there, "'Umar felt like a complete provincial suddenly in the capital, which possibly compelled him to flaunt his asceticism, scorn superficial sparkle, and scold excessively those of his comrades who had gone over to the local way of life" [51]. This may also be linked to the fact that the norms of etiquette which Muḥammad tried to inculcate during his last years were for a certain time after his death unacceptable in contact with the caliphs of Allah's messenger. In our view, confirmation of this thesis is provided by the Medinans' displeasure at 'Uthmān, who, unlike Abū Bakr and 'Umar, permitted himself to sit not on the lowest step of the *minbār* but at the very top, as Muḥammad had done [52]. In any case, the appearance of traditions in this vein testifies to the continued existence of the problem as such. The later polemic against the Umayyads as typical *maliks* who adopted many of the customs of the Lakhmid and Ghassānid courts shows that ideas harking back to tribal democracy continued to be accepted by a significant part of society as most satisfactorily responding to the paths of Muḥammad's message.

In the intense political struggle which broke out in the caliphate over the issue of the right to supreme power, the supporters of 'Alī and his descendants advanced the following slogan in their bitter fight with the Umayyads: "To the book of Allah, the *sunna* of his Prophet and the most satisfactory of the Hashimites" (*ilā-l-riḍā min banī*

hāshim). Later, the concluding part of this formula was replaced by the expression *min āl Muḥammad* (fig. 1). It was in this form that it was accepted by Shi'ite propaganda, in which the initiative was seized by the descendants of al-'Abbās 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

As P. A. Griaznevich notes, "this was the decisive victory of the family-clan principle of succession, which had long been forging its way in Arabian nomadic and settled tribes through the prohibitions of clan-tribal social ideology. In the first half of the seventh century, this principle of receiving power was rejected by the companions of the Prophet and the majority of Muslims as contradictory to the spirit of Islam, but it was introduced into practice by the caliph Mu'āwiya in the 670s. From that time on, it was the main principal of succession in the Arab caliphate" [53].

All of the etiquette norms discussed above later entered into the ceremonies and court etiquette of the medieval Muslim East. Evidence for this is provided, in part, by Hilāl al-Ṣābī's "Practices and Customs of the Court of the Caliphs" — the only known work in medieval Arab literature dedicated to questions of court etiquette and the daily life of the caliph's court [54]. The carefully established norms of etiquette accepted at court go significantly beyond the Qur'ānic injunctions. The caliph's court inherited the age-old traditions of the states conquered by the Muslims. Hilāl al-Ṣābī's work records the emergence of that cultural symbiosis in which ancient and Hellenistic achievements were enriched and re-worked by Muslim civilisation.

Notes

1. "One of the most important aspects of traditional culture is the system of conceptions of the world and the place of an ethnos in that world. This is specific to each ethnos and plays an important role together with social factors in the non-biological adaptation of people (ethnos) to the natural environment" — *Yazyk i kartina mira. Rol' chelovecheskogo faktora v iazyke* (Language and the Image of the World. The Role of the Human Factor in Language) (Moscow, 1988), p. 18.

2. L. V. Negria, *Obshchestvennyi stroi Severnoi i Tsentral'noi Aravii v V—VII vv.* (The Social Structure in Northern and Central Arabia in the Fifth—Seventh Centuries) (Moscow, 1981), pp. 72—5.

3. This is supported by the existence of theophoric names with a component part based on the root *jwr*. See G. Lankester Harding, *The Index and Concordance of Preislamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1971), pp. 9, 911, as well as the direct mention of a divinity as a protector (*gr*) in one Nabatean inscription (of which I was kindly informed by I. Sh. Shifman).

4. J. Schacht, "Mirath", *EI* (Leiden, 1936), iii, p. 508. See also E. A. Rezvan, "Pobratimstvo v Korane (ot krovnno-rodstvennogo kollektiva k religiozno-politicheskomu soobshchestvu)" ("Fraternisation in the Qur'ān: from tribal group to the religious and political community"), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka*, Pt. 1 (Moscow, 1983), pp. 194—200.

5. Negria, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

6. W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (London, 1907), p. 13.

7. See also *āya* 46 : 21/20. Moreover, we know that the pre-Islamic tribute which Syrian peasants rendered to the Bedouins under whose protection they lived was designated by the term *khuwa*, derived from the same root (Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 15—6).

8. See Negria, *op. cit.*, p. 75 and I. Lichtenstaedter, "Fraternisation (*mu'ākhat*) in early Islamic society", *Islamic Culture*, XVI/1 (1942), pp. 47—50.

9. 15 : 47; 2 : 178/173, 220/219; 3 : 103/98, 156/150, 168/162; 59 : 10—11; 33 : 5, 18; 49 : 10; 9 : 11.

10. The term *hawl* was used before Islam to designate relations of protection. See Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 48, n. 3; W. M. Watt, *Companion to the Qur'ān* (London, 1967), p. 54; *The Poems of 'Amr son of Qami'āh*, ed. Ch. Lyall (Cambridge, 1919), No. 1 : 7.

11. Cf. the Medinan constitution, where Allah is termed the protector (*ḡar*) of all members of the Medinan community, who are in turn each other's protectors (*ḡar*, *mawlā*). See *Das Leben Muhammed's nach Muhammed Ibn Ishak bearbeitet von Abd el-Malik Ibn Hisham* ..., hrsg. Dr. F. von Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1858), pp. 341—4.

12. See the Qur'ānic interpretation of a New Testament episode: II. The miracle of the Book (The Qur'ān and pre-Islamic literature)", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/1 (St. Petersburg—Helsinki, 1997), p. 29.

13. *Das Leben Muhammeds*, p. 969.

14. L. V. Negria shows that "in the period which directly preceded the emergence of Islam, the institution of individual *walā'* predominated mainly among the farming tribes of Quraysh, where relations of *walā'* led to the establishment of personal, property dependence of the *mawlā-ḡalif* and *mawlā*-freedman on his protector, and to the formation of a class exploited in a feudal manner. In nomadic tribes, freedmen, as a rule, were adopted and acquired the rights of blood kin in their various gradations" (Negria, *op. cit.*, p. 81). Thus,

the Prophet avails himself not of the nearby practice of Meccan fellow tribesmen, but of the Bedouin tradition. As in many other cases, Muḥammad here acts as the renewer of forgotten traditions, although he significantly reconfigures them.

15. M. M. Bravmann, *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam* (Leiden, 1972), p. 74.
16. Lichtenstaedter, *op. cit.*, pp. 49—51.
17. Interestingly, thirteen centuries later, in the course of processes at a similar stage, the institution of sworn brotherhood was used in the struggle of the Saudis against feudal-clan dispersion, in which they hoped to create a unified state in Arabia. During the so-called *Ikhwān* movement (1912—1930), members of various tribes were declared each other's sworn brothers and as such made up the core of the Wahhābī community. They resettled in agricultural and cattle-breeding colonies (singular: *hijra*) where traditional clan-tribal mutual assistance was replaced by mutual assistance solely among *ikhwān*. These last were united by their adherence to a particular, Wahhābī interpretation of Islam. The result was the creation of the Saudi monarchy and the addition to tribal self-conception of the recognition of Saudi nationality, see A. I. Pershitz, "Ėtnos v ranneklassovykh osedlo-kochevnicheskikh obshchnostiakh" ("Ethnos in early class sedentary-nomadic communities"), in *Ėtnos v doklassovom i ranneklassovom obshchestve*, eds. Iu. V. Bromleĭ, L. E. Kubbel', and A. I. Pershits (Moscow 1982), p. 175.
18. W. M. Watt, "Ideal factors in the origin of Islam", *JQ*, II/3 (1955), p. 166.
19. *Idem*, *Muḥammad at Medina* (Oxford, 1956), pp. 246, 358.
20. H. Dérenbourg, "Nābīga Dhoubyānī inēdit", *Journal Asiatique*, IX/13 (1899), p. 55.
21. Negria, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
22. Cf. the Muslim tradition according to which they pronounced *al-sām 'alayk* ("Death to you!") instead of *al-salām 'alayk* ("Peace to you!"), see W. M. Watt, *Companion to the Qur'an* (London, 1967), p. 258.
23. One of the articles of the present series entitled "*Daraja* in the Qur'an. Social stratification of the settled population in Inner Arabia at the turn of the 7th century AD" is published in the *Proceedings of the 17th Congress of Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants* (St. Petersburg, 1997), pp. 229—39.
24. Cf. position of A. S. Yahuda who thought 58 : 11/12 to be devoted to the position in the *ṣalāt*, see A. S. Yahuda. "A contribution to Qur'an and hadith interpretation" in *I. Goldziher Memorial Volume* (Budapest, 1948), i, pp. 290—2.
25. Cf. Gen., 33 : 10; 4, 3, 11; 1; Kin., 17 : 18. Sometimes the offerings were made at the farewell (Gen., 33 : 11).
26. Ibn Hishām, *Al-Stra al-Nabawiyya* (Cairo, 1955), ii, pp. 561—2.
27. S. D. Goitein, "The origin and nature of Muslim Friday worship" in *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* (Leiden, 1966), pp. 118—9.
28. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, pp. 578—9.
29. Al-Fakhri, 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allah, *Kitāb talkhīṣ al-bayān fī zikr firaq ahl al-adyān*, ed. St. Prozorov (Moscow, 1988), p. 23.
30. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, pp. 578—9.
31. Political organisation can be defined as a system of culturally determined roles in the framework of society.
32. Charisma — a divine gift, the designation of mystical abilities which prophets, saints and seers must have in accordance with the views of religious communities. This is the origin of so-called royalty (*Koenigtum*) or state (*Herrscherium*). This means that in the view of his contemporaries, the ruler owes his power directly to divine appointment, and consequently is a representative of divine power, which grants him supernatural abilities — *Mayers neues Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1972), iii, p. 67.
33. *Ayyām al-'Arab fī jāhiliyya*, comp. by Muḥammad Aḥmad Jād Mawlā Bāk and others (Cairo, 1942), p. 43.
34. A. M. Vasil'ev, *Istoriia Saudovskoi Aravii* (History of Saudi Arabia) (Moscow, 1982), p. 46.
35. *Ayyām al-'Arab*, p. 114.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
37. J. Sauvaget, "Ghassanides et Sergiopolis", *Byzantion*, XIV/1 (1939), pp. 115—30.
38. N. V. Pigulevskaia in her *Araby u granits Vizantii i Irana v IV—VI vv.* (Arabs at the Frontiers of Byzantium and Iran in the Fourth—Sixth Centuries) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1964), p. 226, considers it more likely "that this building was a church and that the inscription in honour of Mundir (al-Mundhir — *E. R.*) represents the wish of one of his followers". She does not, however, introduce any arguments in support of this view. An inscription in praise of the *malik* above the altar of a church seems dubious.
39. O. Grabar, "Notes sur les ceremonies umayyades", in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. M. Rozen-Ayalon (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 54, 57—9.
40. See Pigulevskaia, *op. cit.*, p. 292.
41. H. Dérenbourg (ed.), "Le Diwān de Nābīga Dhoubyānī", *Journal Asiatique*, XII (Septembre 1868), 8 : 1; *Ayyām al-'Arab*, pp. 119, 137; A. Krymskiĭ, *Arabskaia literatura v ocherkakh i obratzakh* (The Arabic Literature in Essays and Samples) (Moscow, 1911), p. 302, n. 2.
42. M. J. Kister, *Studies in Jahiliyya and Early Islam* (London, 1980), iii, p. 149.
43. *Ayyām al-'Arab*, p. 137.
44. See Pigulevskaia, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
45. P. A. Griaznevich, "Islam i gosudarstvo (k istorii gosudarstvenno-politicheskoi ideologii rannego islama)" ("Islam and the state: on the history of the political ideology of early Islam"), in *Islam. Religii, obshchestvo, gosudarstvo*, eds. P. A. Griaznevich and St. M. Prozorov (Moscow, 1984), p. 191.
46. Such a notion could be found in Hellenistic-Syriac tradition and in pre-Islamic poetry as well. See, for example, I. Sh. Shifman, *Nabateiskoe gosudarstvo i ego kul'tura* (Nabatean State and its Culture) (Moscow, 1976), p. 27; *The Poems of 'Amr son of Qami'ah*, 15 : 18, cf. 1 : 8—10.
47. J. Pedersen, "Masjīd" (d. Minbār), *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers, 3rd edn. (Leiden—New York, 1991), pp. 343—5; Grabar, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
48. J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* (Berlin, 1889), iv, p. 8.

49. A. Ia. Gurevich, *Problema Genezisa feodalizma v Zapadnoi Evrope* (The Problem of the Genesis of Feudalism in Western Europe) (Moscow, 1979), p. 104.
50. O. G. Bol'shakov, *Istoriia Khalifata* (History of the Caliphate) (Moscow, 1993), ii, pp. 94—5.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 158, cf. p. 249, n. 13.
53. P. A. Griaznevich, "K voprosu o prave na verkhovnuiu vlast' v musul'manskoĭ obshchine v rannem islame" ("On the problem of supreme power in the Muslim community in early Islam"), in *Islam. Religii, obshchestvo, gosudarstvo*, p. 167.
54. See *Rusūm dār al-khilafa ta'rif Abī-l-Ḥusayn Hilāl ibn al-Muḥassin al-Šābī*, taṣṣiḥ Mikhā'il 'Awwād (Baghdād, 1964).
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