BAHRAIN SINCE THE PROPHET'S TIME TO THE ABBASID PERIOD

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THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF WALES IN FULFILMENT OF THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

1998

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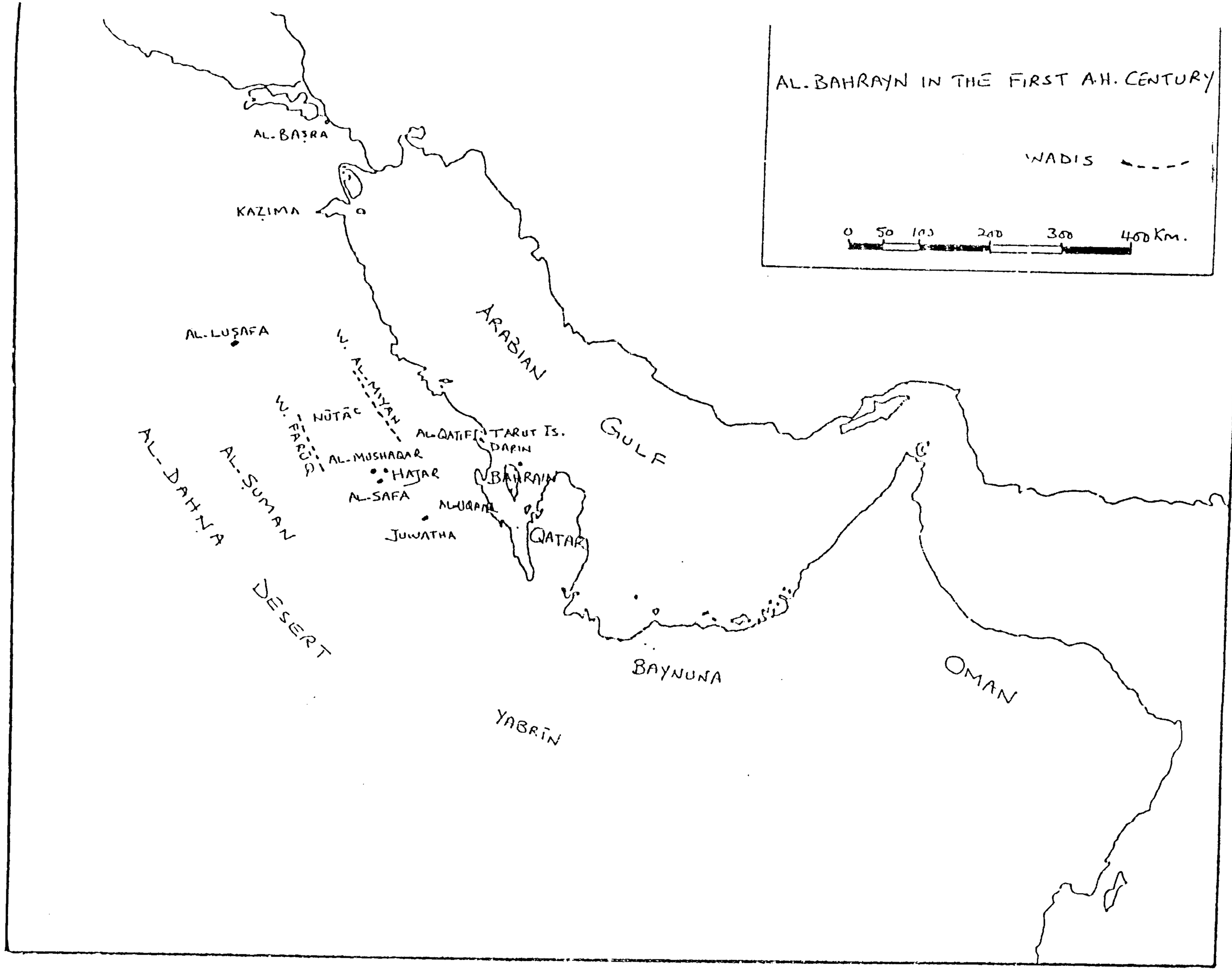
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express thanks to my parents and family as well as my supervisor Dr . Mashuq Ibn Ally for his invaluable assistance and encouragement. I also gratefully acknowledge the staff of the British Records Office in London as well as the Indian Office in London. My profound thanks to the staff of the Bahrain Historical Museum for their co-operation and assistance.

ABSTRACT

This study deals with the history of the territory of Bahrain from the advent of Islam to the end of the First Abbasid period. The study has been divided into five sections: first section deals with the framework of the research; the second, naming of the territory of Bahrain geographically; third section, Bahrain during the life time of the Prophet; fourth section, Cultural Life; five section, Source of Economic Life in Bahrain. Appendices include the letters written by the Holy Prophet to Bahrain, the names of the Governors of Bahrain of the First Century of Hijra, followed by a bibliography.


AL-BAṢRA
KAZIMA
AL-LUṢAFA
W. AL-MIYAN
W. FARIDI
NŪTAC
AL-MUSHAQAR
HAJAR
AL-SAFA
AL-QATIF
TARUT Is.
DARIN
BAHRAIN
MUHARRAQ
QATAR
JUWATHA
ARABIAN
GULF
AL-DAHNA
AL-SUMAN
DESERT
BAYNUNA
YABRĪN
OMAN
AL-BAHRAYN IN THE FIRST A.H. CENTURY
WADIS
0 50 100 200 300 400 Km.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Hajj : Pilgrimage to Makkah

Islam : Submission to the will of Allah

Jami' Masjid : Congregational prayer mosque

Jizya : Protection money paid by non-Muslims living in a Muslim States

Khutba : Friday prayer sermon

Masjid : Muslim place of prayer

Muslim : Believer in Islam

Salat : Five daily prayer

Saum : Fasting during month of Rammadan

Umra : Visitation to ka'ba and Prophets Mosque

Zakat : Obligatory payment by the rich to the poor

LIST OF TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC CHARACTERS

b	t
t	dh
th	a
j	gh
h	f
kh	q
d	k
d	l
r	m
z	n
s	w
sh	y
s	h
dh	

VOWELS

a	u	i

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Preamble

This study bears on the history of the territory of Bahrain spanning the years from the advent of Islam to the Abbasid period. Historically Bahrain represented the territory extending and including what are known today as Kuwait, Al Hasa, Qatar and the present day islands of Bahrain known in the past as Awal. The status of Bahrain is rated high among the States of the region since ancient times. It attracted the attention of covetous eyes for its pearl-rich waters and its vital location straddling the important trade routes of the old world.

The Islamic historical heritage is considered one of the important pillars of the Arab-Islamic civilisation. Hence, in the course of this study, it is possible to have a comprehensive understanding of the various facets of the Arab-Islamic civilisation prevailing in all Arab countries. There is paucity of scientific studies on Islamic civilisation and hence it opens up a virgin field for study and research. There is an acute need for undertaking fresh studies on the early Arab-Islamic heritage in the different countries of the Arab world, particularly in the region of the Gulf and the Arabian peninsula because of their distance from the capital of the Caliphate in Madina.

I studied the social phenomena in this territory, its local markets, its town planning, the important tribes which were there, and the various creeds and religions which prevailed there. I then studied the cultural aspect of this society its poets and literateurs, the message of their poetry and the impact of this culture on the society of the Bahrain territory. A major difficulty faced by the researcher was the very few archaeological treasures investigated so far in Bahrain. What the historians of this region wrote about in this region were nothing more than passing references to them, incidental to the discussion of other topics.

I therefore had no other option but to gather together all these small pieces of scientific information scattered indiscriminately in various heritage books despite their scarcity and despite their being very old publications. I resorted to a field study in Bahrain to obtain the greatest possible historical information and relied on the Bahrain National Museum and the Historical Documents Centre.

The other difficulty was the ambiguity of the texts quoted by the historians and the interspersed historical passages in other texts. The extraction of historical information from these varied sources proved to be a time consuming process. It had to be presented in a coordinated and easily understandable manner in the thesis if the reader was to benefit.

I also had some difficulty in specifying the exact geographical locations of certain places, their description and their importance and whether they accorded

with the current day concepts. While it is conceded that some of the Arabic source material is not very accurate in this context, there has been no serious effort to compile a comprehensive historical atlas of these places.

Therefore this research must be seen as seminal from which further research can be undertaken.

1.2. The Problem of the Research.

The problem was to deduce historical facts behind the political, social and cultural circumstances of Bahrain since the Prophet's (PBUH) times to the Abbasid period, a matter which rendered the study painstaking to an extent. One had to highlight the role of Bahrain in political, social and cultural fields at that early period in the history of Islam. The available historical sources concentrated on the political and social events of these two reigns as seen from the capitals of the Caliphates; Madina and Damascus. They did not particularly view the events directly from the perspective of Bahrain. Hence it became necessary to recast and follow the sequence of political events in this important period of the history of the Islamic State and the serious developments which highlighted this period in its political history marked by the transfer of the centre of rule from the Arabian Peninsula to Syria.

From the methodological perspective the effort was greater as it involved searching and collecting pieces of information from a wide variety of sources

dispersed all over the Arabian region. There were no historical sources dealing directly with the general aspects of civilization in particular. The difficulty was even greater when dealing with the cultural perspective since none of the sources dealt with the cultural perspective of Bahrain independently and hence I had to suffice with the material scattered in different historical locations.

1.3. Evaluation of the Sources.

There is no exhaustive book dealing with the subject-matter of this thesis. Hence there was no alternative before the researcher except to refer to a myriad set of manuscripts and books of different kinds. It is known that the important old historians who wrote about the events of the early Islamic period were as follows: Muhammad Bin Ishaq, (d.151H) wrote *Kitab al Sira wal Mubtada wal Maghazi*. Hisham Bin Al Kalbi (d. 204H) wrote *Kitab al Tarikh* and *Akhbar al Khulafa.* Muhammad Bin Umar Al Waqidi (d. 207H) wrote several books among which are: *Kitab al Sira*, *Al Ridda,* and *Al Tarikh al Kabir*. Al Haitham Bin Ada (d. 207H) wrote several books among which is *Al Wufud,* and Al Khawarij Ali Bin Hasan Al Madayini (d. 25H) wrote *Rasa'il al Nabi*, *Kutub al Nabi ilal Muluk*, *Al Wufud*, *Tarikh al Khulafa wal Khawarij*, and *Al Ridda.*

Some of them wrote independent books about Bahrain such as the following two books by Al Madayini: *Khawarij al Bahrain wal Yamama*, and *Amr al Bahrain*. However, none of these books have survived except for what has been

quoted by later writers from their writings such as Al Tabari, Blazeri, and Al Jahiz. As for Al Tabari (d.310H) his book *Tarikh al Rusul wal Muluk* is important from the angle of Islamic history as he has presented much material covering the events of the First and Second centuries of Hijra. In it, there is important information about the spread of Islam in Bahrain, the correspondence between the Prophet (PBUH), and the Bahraini people and the Abdul Qais deputation. This book also contains brief important references to the people, the administration and the Kharijite movement.

As for Al Blazeri (d.279H) he has arranged his book *Futuh al Buldan* according to the regions and the districts. His other book, *Ansab al Ashraf* has been arranged on the basis of prominent families and personalities. The book *Al Futuh* contains important information though briefly about the relations between Bahrain and the Persians, the population, the economic conditions and the letters exchanged between the Prophet (PBUH) and the people of Bahrain.

The book *Ansab al Ashraf* contains valuable information about the Kharijites of Bahrain and their movements. Blazeri has devoted more attention than others to the financial, economic, social and housing matters. Yaqut has borrowed much from what Blazeri has mentioned in *Futuh al Buldan* about Bahrain.

There are other historians such as Al Denwari (d 281H) who wrote *Al Akhbar al Tiwal,* and Al Yaqubi (d. 346H) who wrote two books *Muruj al Dahab* and *Al Tanbih wal Ashraf.* He has discussed relations between Fars and Bahrain even

as he has referred to certain economic, social and administrative matters. Although the two books contain brief information without being particular about its source, nevertheless they have important references to Bahrain, its relations with Fars, its economic, social and administrative circumstances and the spread of Islam therein.

In geographical books there are useful information about the location of Bahrain, its borders, its waters, towns and cities, its villages, the population, transportation and its administrative divisions. The oldest of these books is *Bilad al Arab* by Al Ghada Al Asfahani of the 3rd century of Hijra. In this he has dealt with the dwellings of tribes and derived his information from the narrators and poets of those places. To Al Harbi (d.285 H) is attributed *Kitab al Manasik, Amakin Turuq al Haj*, and *Ma'alim Al Jazira*.

The book *Al Alaq al Nafisa* by Ibn Rusta (was alive in 290 H) has information about towns and Islamic regions taken from ancient literary and geographic sources. Ibn Khardazaba (d.300 H) wrote *Al Masalik wal Mamalik* which was used by Qudama (d.320H) for writing his book *Al Khiraj wal San'at al Kitab* apart from other books such as *Sifat Jazirat al Arab* by Hamadani (d. 334H.), *Masalik al Mamalik* by Astakhri (d.364 H), and *Kitab al Buldan* by Ibn al Faqih Al Hamadani (d.356H). He included much valuable administrative information borrowing his information from a number of writers such as Al Jahiz. The book *Surat al Ardh* by Ibn Huqal (d. 367H) contains much useful information.

Al Maqdisi (d. 375H) in his work, *Ahsan al Taqasim fi Ma'rifat il Aqalim*, has brought in much information derived from his own observations in the course of his many travels in Islamic countries. The late geographers among whom Yaqut is the most important, in his book *Mu'jam al Buldan* has given much information about Bahrain derived from other sources in addition to valuable information on it's own.

Among the geographical travelogues are those of Naser Khusro (d.481H), Ben Yamin Al Tatili (d.569.H), and Ibn Batuta (d.779H). Their works have important information concerning geographical descriptions, communications and economic conditions. Generally speaking the geographical sources are rich in content. In the books on *Al Ansab* there is rich information on the Arab tribes which constituted the population of Bahrain. The oldest of these is *Jumhurat al Nasab* by Ibn al Kalbi (d.204H). It has much to say on the tribes and clans and has been a reference material. It was used as the basic reference material by Ibn Farid (d. 321H) in his book, *Al Ishtiqaq* ; by Ibn Hazm (d. 456 H) in his book *Jumharat Ansab il Arab*, and by Ibn Abdul Birr (d. 463 H) in his book *Al Anbah Ala Qabayil il Ruwat*. The books on *Ansab* have information on the political and economic conditions prevailing in Bahrain.

The earliest work with some material on Bahrain available to us is the book, *Al Tabaqat* by Ibn Sa'd (d. 230H). Ibn Sa'd derived his information from the older books mostly by writers like Al Waqidi. His book contains very valuable material on the conquest of Bahrain, the correspondence between the Prophet

(PBUH), and the people of Bahrain and deputations to the Prophet. There is a book on *Al Tabaqat* by Khalifa Bin Khayyat (d.240 H). Among the other books on interpretation and explanation there is one by Ibn Abdul Birr (d.463H) who wrote *Al Isti'ab fi Ma'rifat il As'hab*; another by Ibn al Athir (d.630H) titled *Asad al Ghaba fi Ma'rifat il Sahaba,* and the most in circulation among them being *Al Isaba fi Ma'rifat il Sahaba* by Ibn Hajar Al Asqalani (d. 52 H).

The above quoted interpretational books contain important information about the conquest of Bahrain, the exchange of letters between the Prophet (PBUH) and the people of Bahrain, the deputation waiting on the Prophet and important material on economic conditions.

Among the source material which I used in this thesis are books on Hadith (oral traditions) and Fiqh (religious jurisprudence). The important and reliable books on Hadith are *Sahih Bukhari*; *Muslim*; *Sunan al Drami* ; *Abu Dawud*: *Ibn Maja*: *Tirmizi: Nisa'i:* and *Al Masnad* by Ahmed Bin Hanbal. These books have valuable material on the conquest of Bahrain, the correspondence between the Prophet (PBUH) and the people of Bahrain, economic and administrative affairs and ideological matters concerning faith. Among these books are *Al Khiraj* by Abu Yusuf, and *Al Amwal* by Abu Obaid al Qasim Bin Salam. The biographical books on the Prophet (PBUH) contain much valuable information on the conquest of Bahrain and the deputation of Abd al Qais to the Prophet.

The oldest book on biography is by Ibn Ishaq (d. 151 H). Important information

about the Kharijites of Bahrain is contained on books in the various sects and their beliefs. In them there are essays by Islamists such as Al Ash'ari (d.324 H) and in *Al Firaq Bain al Firaq* by Baghdadi (d.429 H).

Important source material for the thesis was found in literary books which contained much information on the various places in Bahrain, its water resources and its economic and administrative conditions . These books could be divided into the ones dealing with living conditions. These books could be divided into the ones dealing with language, poetry and prose. The prominent ones on language are *Jumhurat al Lugha* by Ibn Darid, *Tahzib al Lugha* by Azhari, *Al Sihah* by Jauhari, *Al Mukhassas* by Ibn Sayyida, *Lisan al Arab* by Ibn Manzoor, *Al Qamus al Mohit* by Firozabadi, and *Taj al Arus* by Zubaidi. Among the poetical works are *Diwan Imra ' il Qais*, *Diwan al Farzadaq*, *Diwan Jarir*, *Diwan al Hazalain*, *Diwan Bashar Bin Abi Dhazim*, *Diwan Turfa Bin Al Abd*, *Diwan al Hatiya*, *Diwan al A'sha*, and *Naqaidh Jarir wal Farzadaq* by Abu Obaida. The commentaries and explanations on the books of poetry contain valuable information on places and their economic circumstances. Among these books are *Sharh al Qasayid Al Sab*, *Al Tiwal al Jahiliyyat*, by Ibn al Anbari; *Sharh al Mo'allaqat al Sab* by Al Zorny (d. 468 H), Al-Tabrizi (d. 528 H), and *Al Shi'r wal Saho'ara*, by Ibn Qutaiba (d.276 H).

The literary works which I made use of include *Al Bayan wal Tabyin*, *Al Hayawan*, and other books by Al Jahiz (d.256 H); *Al Ma'arif wa Uyun al Akhbar* by Ibn Qutaiba; *Al Aqd al Farid* by Ibn Abd Ribbih; *Thimar al Qulub*, by

Thaalabi (d. 429 H); and *Al Amta ' Wal Mu'anasa* by Al Tawhidi (d. 414 H). The manuscript by Blazeri, *Ansab al Ashraf* deals with the history of the Arabs in the periods of ignorance and Islam. Its style is a combination of the styles of *Al Tabaqat*, *Al Akhbar*, and *Al Ansab*. Its main feature is its concern with military matters such as the surveillance of hostile movements such as the 'Khawarij'.

1.4. Methodology and Structure of the Thesis.

The method of study is analytical and deductive based on the original matter, both manuscript and printed. The historical facts were deduced by a critical comparative study. These were the original Arabic sources, books of Muslim geographers, and travelogues, and the tracing of genealogy.

I commenced with collecting scientific material, ascertaining their authenticity, fixing the identity of the writer, determining the period of authorship and place, examining the historical texts and exposing it to an outer and inner critical examination for establishing the authenticity of the text, checking against any error of judgement by the author, comparison, proving historical facts, organizing and collating information and critically imparting to it a historical and scientific garb in an acceptable historical mould.

Chapter one is an overview of the thesis. The problem in carrying out the research. The sources that have been used, and the structure of the thesis.

Chapter two describes the geographical divisions of the region into villages, towns.

Chapter three looks at the early administrative system of Bahrain during the period of the Prophet (PBUH) ever since he addressed letters to the people of Bahrain inviting them to embrace Islam and this being accepted and the people of Bahrain entering the folds of Islam. The study includes a discussion of the role of Bahrain in Islamic conquests made during the reign of the Orthodox Caliphs as also the position of Bahrain in regard to certain opposition movements such as the Kharijite Movement, the Carmathian Movement and the Zenj Revolt.

Chapter Four deals with the eminent personalities that forged the cultural direction of social life in Bahrain.

Chapter five identifies the Arab tribes inhabiting Bahrain such as Qais Bin Tamim, Bakr Bin Wayil, Bani Hanifa, etc., and the places where they settled down in Bahrain and their interrelationship. The study also deals with non-Arab elements which settled down in embracing of Islam by the Arab and non-Arab tribes. The study takes into account the classes of people among the citizens of Bahrain such as the governing elite, religious scholars, traders, industrialists and craftsmen. The chapter deals with social life and the commercial practices.

I chose the region of the territory of Bahrain as the subject for this theses with a view to uncover the political, social and cultural history of Bahrain of the period

extending from the advent of Islam to the First Abbasid period. Despite the fact that this period was noted for its civilizational and historical importance it did not receive much attention at the hands of scholars and researchers in focussing their studies on it particularly on the political, social and cultural aspects. Hence I selected it as a subject of this thesis with the aim of complementing the scholastic endeavours of students and scholars.

Therefore I recommend at the very outset, paying attention to manuscripts and rare books in view of the fact that the construction of Islamic history for this region requires many studies and researches because its political impact continues to be felt to this day. Secondly, there is need for the Centres of Historical Studies in the Gulf region to carefully preserve those documents which deal with the Islamic region considering the continuous changes that are taking place in the names of cities and other regions at present.

Thirdly, there is need for the historical centres functioning in the Gulf and for its museums to take great care and attention to the documents and manuscripts which deal with the Islamic history of this region. Even there is need for seeking the assistance of international museums and libraries in recording the names of Islamic books available there to facilitate the work of scholars from this region and of those who desire to study Islamic history.

Fourthly, the universities of the Arab Gulf States should concentrate on Islamic history of this region and not confine themselves only to the modern period.

Lastly, there is need to attempt the preparation of an Islamic Historical Atlas of this region as it was in the ancient times and co-relate it to modern times.

CHAPTER TWO

DELIMITING BAHRAIN

2.1. Delimiting Bahrain

Bahrain is situated within the context of the Arabian Island which the historians have divided into different parts, the most famous of them being the Yemen, Al Hijaz, Al Yamama and then Bahrain.[1] Al Yamama and Bahrain, in the eyes of some scholars, were counted as appended to Iraq but in the opinion of the researcher they were extensions to the town of Hajr[2] and thus they come within the fold of Yamama.[3]

The eastern territory of the Arabian peninsula may be divided into two parts. One part, the coastal plains which were named Bahrain. In the past, the Arabs gave the name of Bahrain to the territory extending from the coast of the Arab Gulf between Basra and Oman.[4] The other part includes the Heights of Saman and

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1 Yaqut, *Mu'jam al Buldan*, reviewed by Salahuddin Al Munjid, *Matba'a Nahdat Misr*, 149H/1939, Vol.1. p.206.

2 *ibid.* Vol 1 p.507. Hajr was a town of Yamama.

3 The territories under the Arabian Island were: Tihama, Hijaz, Najd, Al Aroodh, and the Yemen.

4 Al Bakri, *Mu'jam ma Ustu 'jim*, Reviewed by Mustafa Al Saqa, in *Matba'a Lajnat Talif wat Tarjama Wa Nashr*, Cairo, 1364H-1945, p. 288; Al Qazwini: *Asar al Bilad we Akhbar al Imad*, Dar Sadir, Beirut 1380H/1960. pp.77- 78. Ibn Abdul Haq: *Marasid al Ittila* ' Cairo, 1852 Vol 1 p. 130. Ibn Khaldun: *Al Ibar*, Manshoorat Dar il Kitab il Lunani, Beirut 1391H/1971, Vol 4 p. 197.

extends between the coastal plains and the sands of Dahna with its width varying between 80 and 250 metres.[5]

Despite its small size Bahrain acquired unique importance in history and remained for long periods the centre of attention because of its pearl wealth. It lay on the ancient commercial route of the old world. It was an oasis rich in its sweet water resources situated in the centre of the Gulf not far from the parched sands of the desert. Bakri[6] while describing the spread of Bahrain stated that it was a vast land east of which was the sea-coast and to the west linked with Yamama, to its north with Basra and to its south with Oman.

Bahrain had 7 main towns: Qatif, Zara, Aqir, Awal, in addition to Al Ahsa, Kuwait and Qatar.[7]

Baghdadi says[8] that the name of Bahrain was comprehensively applied to the eastern coast of the Arabian Island extending from Basra upto Oman, Bahrain Town and Hajr. What is notable is that the sources did not specifically refer to the dividing boundary between Bahrain and Yamama or between Bahrain and

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5 Al Bakri : *Al Masalik Wal Mamalik*, Review by Abdullah Al Ghunaim, in *Matba'a* Kuwait 1965, p .110.

6 *ibid.* p. 129.

7 Laghda Al Asfahani, *Bilad al Arab*, review by Hamad Al Jasir & Dr. Salah Al Ali Publication of Dar al Yamama for Research, Riyadh 1388H/1968, p. 325.

8 Ibn Abdul Haq, *Marasid al Ittila Asma'il Ambika wal Biqa*, Vol 1, p. 167.

Basra.

But from the northern side it extends until it reaches the end of the Arab Gulf including within its borders Kazma.[9] The boundary dividing it from Oman is the town of Jurfar,[10] which is counted in the second territory, the territories of the Arabian Island consisting of Bahrain and Yamama.

Ibn Manzur [11] says the following about Bahrain: "Bahrain is a location between Basra and Oman. Bahri and Bahrain are attributed to it." Yaqut[12] says that "Bahrain despite its 3 different vowel endings remains a single mode." But Zamakhshari says that it could be in dual mode as ' Bahran, ' [13] salt water.

Here there is a difference of opinion on this part of the Arabian Island over looking the Arab Gulf. Sometimes it is said "its name is Bahrain and it is Khatt, Qatif, Ara, Hajr, Bainuna, Al Zara, Juatha, Sabur, Darain, Al Ghaba, Qasba, Hajr,

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9 It is Jaun on the coast of Bahrain between Basra and Qatif. Between it and Basra is a distance of 2 days and between it and Qatif a distance of 4 days. It is called *Kazima al Buhur* which has plenty of rastures and wells. Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol.1. p.347.

10 *ibid.* Vol.2. p.222. It is a fertile town near Oman and mostly called Jurfar.

11 Ibn Manzur: *Lisan al Arab*, Bulaq, Cairo, 1374H, Vol. 1, p. 166.

12 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol.1, p . 247.

13 *ibid.*

Al Saga and Al Maqshar.[14] Sometime it is named Hajr.[15] In one respect all Bahrain is called Hajr.

Says Bakri[16] it is a town in Bahrain and its origin is Persian.[17] Al Hamadani says[18] it is one of the biggest towns of Bahrain, a *suq* (market) of Bani Muharib. Abdul Qais Ibn Huqal[19] counted Hajr as a town in Bahrain. However, Maqdisis[20] has stated that the Hajr was the name of Bahrain and Al Ahsa, a view which is supported by Yaqut [21] in his *Mu'jam*.

This researcher is inclined to agree with Al Maqdisi[22] that Hajr was the name applied to Bahrain and its capital Al Ahsa. What supports this opinion is that Al Bakri [23] did not specifically say whether this name was applied to the town as such or to the suburb of Bahrain in general. He did not expand on his statement that

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14 *ibid*, Vol.2. pp. 72 - 73.

15 *Al Hajr bi Lughat Hamir, Wal Arab Al A'ariba Al Qarya minha Hajr al Bahrain - wa Hajr Najran*, Hajr was a town with the base of Bahrain.

16 Al Bakri : *Mu'jam ma Ustu'jam,* Vol. 4, p 346.

17 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol. 5. p. 392.

18 Al Hamadani: *Sifat Jazirat il Arab*, review by Mohammed Bin Abdullah Bin Bilhid al Najdi, *Matb'a al Sa'ada*, Cairo, 1953.

19 Ibn Huqal : *Surat al Ardh*, Manshurat Dar Maktabatil Hayat, Beirut, 1967, p.33.

20 Al Maqdisi: *Ahsan al Taqasim fi Ma'fifat al Aqalim*, Leiden, 1956, p. 93.

21 Yaqut, *op. cit.* p. 345.

22 Al Maqdisi, *op. cit.* p.95.

23 Al Bakri, *op.cit.* p.184.

"it was a well known town of Bahrain," he stated this while talking of Qatif.

Yaqut stated that [24] "Bahrain was a town of Hajr, and Hajr a town of Bahrain." It appears that the town of Hajr became a ruin and in its place al Ahsa sprang up. Nasser Khusro[25] has mentioned that Al Ahsa was a rural town but he did not mention the name of Hajr at all in his travels which indicates its nonexistence.

Ibn Batuta[26] has stated that he travelled to the city of Hajr which during his days was called Al Ahsa and the name Bahrain came to stay for indicating all these other names. This is what has been stated by Nasser Khusro who said that he had travelled to Hajr but could not find it, but in its place he found Al Ahsa. Perhaps Ibn Batuta said this on the basis of what was current among the people then, except that Nasser Khusro did not mention it. If we remember that he preceded Ibn Batuta then he was more authentic and this yields the fact that the mention of Hajr ceased when the Carmathians established themselves in Al Ahsa.

From the evidence there is every indication that the historical fame of Hajr is what has been stated by Al Bahrani [27] as an environ for housing many mosques therein. What attracts our attention is that Bahrain and Hajr were existing independently

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24 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit*. Vol. 5, p.346.

25 Nasser Khusro: *Safar Nameh*, translation: Yahaa Al Khashhab, Beirut 1970, p.142.

26 Ibn Batuta, *Travels of Ibn Batuta titled Tuhfatul Nazzar fi Gharayib il Amsar*, Dar Sadir wa Dar Beirut lil Tiba'a wal Nashr, Beirut, 1379H, 1960, p. 280.

27 Al Bahrani, *Anwar al Bahrain*, Cairo, 1959, p. 39.

of each other as is evident from the letters that the Prophet wrote to the two rulers. [28] It appears therefore that Hajr was directly under Fars while Bahrain had an indirect relationship with it.

To summarise, none of the old Arab writers have clearly described Bahrain's position. Yaqut says that Bahrain was a comprehensive name applied to the Indian Ocean coast extending from Basra to Oman. Then he becomes doubtful and switches over to say that it is a town of Hajr, and Hajr is a town of Bahrain. At other times he says that some people add Yamama to it when he maintains that Yamama existed independently on the road from Makka to Bahrain.

It is to be noticed that Abul Fida[29] has bought in an expression in which, for the first time, he speaks of a separating line between Bahrain and its neighbours and the end of Bahrain from the northern Hajr.

Ibn Khardazaba[30] defines Bahrain by saying that "Bahrain is Katt, Qatif, Ara, Hajr,

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28 Ibn Sa'd, *Al Tabaqat*, Leiden, 1324H, Vol. 2 p.19; Yaqut : *Mu'ajam al Buldan*, Vol. 4, p. 270; Al Blazeri, *Futuh al Buldan*, Al Matba ' Al Sa'ada, Cairo, 1951; Ibn Qutaiba: *Al Ma'arif*, research by Sarwat Okasha, Matba'a Dar al Kutub, Cairo, 1969 p.353; Khalifa Bin Khayyat : *Tarikh Khalifa Bin Khayyat*. Research by Akram Dhia al Aamiri, Adab press, Najaf, 1883H/1967 Vol. 1 p. 299; Al Yaqubi : *Tarikh al Yaqubi*, Brill, Leiden. 1368H, Vol 2 , p. 99.

29 Abul Fida: *Taqwim al Buldan*, Research McCockene Dislain, Darul Tiba'a il Sultania Press Paris, 1840, p.99.

30 Ibn Khardazaba : *Al Masalik wal Mamalik,* Brill, Leiden, 1889, p. 47; Quoted by Ibn al Faqih, *Mukhtasar Kitab al Buldan*, Brill, Leiden, 1302H. p.30 but he deleted Furuq and Shunun and added Safa and Shab'an. It was also quoted by Qudama Bin Jafar in *Khitab al Kharaj,* but with the deletion of Ara, Hajr, Furuq, Bainuna, Al Zara, Shunun and the addition of Rumaila and Som. *Khitab Al*

Furuq, Bainuna, Mashqar, Al Zara, Juatha, Sabur, Darain, Al Ghaba and Shunun."

The conflicting and confusing descriptions of Bahrain may be traced to two causes: firstly, there were many ideological revolutions in Bahrain which burst forth every now and then; secondly, these historians relied more on hearsay than on direct observation. As for the derivative of Bahrain there are two considerations first, it could have been derived from an Arab saying : "*Baharat at a Naqa iza Shaqqaqat Udhumuha,* meaning "the camel is let loose if its ear is split."

Al Buhaira: the split ear is an expression appearing in the Qur'an : "It was not God who instituted superstitions like those of a slit-ear she -camel let loose for free pasture, or idol sacrifices for twin-births in animals, or stallion camels freed from work." [31] It could be that Bahrain was derived from an Arab proverb: "*Qad Bahara al Bairu Iza Uli'a Bil Ma fa Asabahu minhu Da'un,*" meaning, " the camel is bound for the sea if he has a thirst for water but it is afflicted with a sickness." It is said: "The garden became a lake for excess of stagnant water and vegetation grew in it." Hence the garden is called a "Bahra " or a lake.[32]

Kharaj, Brill, Leiden, 1889, p.249; Maqdisi has mentioned Sabon, Ogair, Al Ahsa, Awal and Zarqa, Maqdisi: *Ahsan al Taqasim.* p.71. The sources have merely quoted the number of places without a mention of the administrative districts and their relationship to one another. However, Maqdisi has mentioned that Al Ahsa was a town of Hajra, Al Maqdisis: *Ahsan al Taqasim*, p.71.

31 Surat al Mai'da, Verse 106.

32 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 2 p. 225.

What seems correct is the view of Abu Mansur Al Azhari who said:[33] "They named it Bahrain because in the vicinity of its villages there is a lake at the entrance of Al Ahsa. The villages of Hajr are located at 10 Farsukhs from the Bahr al Akhdar. This lake was estimated to be 3 miles and it water does not flow; its water is stagnant."

The sources differ in their interpretation of the name of Uwal. According to Bakri[34] it is a village of Bahrain, some say an island but probably it is an island in the area of Bahrain. At the advent of Islam the name of Uwal was applied with different interpretations. Al Ahsai said[35] that the name Uwal was that of an idol of the tribe Bani Wayil of Abdul Qais in Bahrain. Shaikh Al Bahrani has said that the name of Uwal bears relation to a brother of Aad Bin Shaddad.[36] There is a third opinion suggested by Ibn al Kalbi.[37] He says that Sana in the Yemen was originally called Uwal in olden days. Its beauty was preserved until it was devastated by the army of the Persian Hormuz and the tribes of Yemen migrated

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33 Al Azhari: *Tahzib al Lugha*. Research by Ibrahim al Abyari, Dar al Kitab il Arabi Cairo, 1975, Vol. 4 p. 30.

34 Al Bakri, *op. cit.* p.209.

35 Al Ahsai: *Tuhfatul Mustafid,* Riyadh 1978, Vol. 1 p.115.

36 He came from Yemen to found a good town with a good climate to compete with his brother who had constructed *Iran Za al I'mad*. Uwal on the Island of Bahrain was suggested to him. When he came he found it a town with sweet water, springs, vegetation and date-palm suitable for inhabitation. Al Shaikh Ali Al Bahrani: *Anwar al Badrain*. Cairo. 1959. p.39.

37 Al Bakri, *op. cit.* Vol.1. p.209.

to Bahrain and revived the name of Uwal.[38] There is an opinion which says that Uwal was the name of a fish[39] which was in abundance in these waters.[40] Perhaps the more correct would be the view that Uwal was the name of an idol worshipped by Bani Wayil of Abdul Qais as mentioned by Ahsai.

As for Qatar, Al Bakri says[41] that it was a location between Bahrain and Oman. Azhar[42] has described it as a Village between Oman and Ogair. In fact it was a peninsula and according to Ahsai [43] it was in the north of the Arab Gulf and south of the salt marshes adjacent to the Empty Quarter, with the Gulf in the east and Al Ahsa in the west.

Bahrain was within the provinces of Iraq during the Umayyad reign[44] and related to Basra whose Amir also supervised the administration of Iraq and also Khurasan and the territories located on the Arab Gulf. However, Bahrain had a

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38 *ibid.*

39 *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* Vol.3, p.392.

40 It was said: "it had a length of 100 arm-lengths, more or less," Shaikh Al Ramwa, *Nikhbat al Dahr fi Ajayib il Barr wal Bahr*, Cairo 1923, Vol. 1 p.166.

41 Al Bakri, *op. cit.* p.183.

42 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 4 p.135.

43 Al Ahsai: *op. cit.* Vol. 1 p. 507.

44 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol.1 p. 24; Al Tabari: *Tarikh al Rusul wal Muluk*, Brill, Leiden, 1883. Vol. 1 p. 73.

separate governor.[45] The governor represented the sovereignty in the country and lorded over the people's affairs, looked into their grievances and appointed regional governors and army commanders.

Bahrain was divided into administrative zones.[46] However, historical sources have mentioned the names of the governors of Bahrain but stopped short of mentioning the names of the regional governors perhaps because their powers were limited and they had little influence outside the scope of limited administrative supervision. They were intimately connected with the Governor of Bahrain as their direct authority who held responsibility for all that happened. The Umayyads depended on the Arabs for Bahrain's administration particularly from the Umayyad branch. This region acquired economic importance and retained it within the Islamic world. The Bureau of Basra was responsible for the upkeep of the Arabs of Bahrain.[47] As for the Abbasids [48] Yaqut says : "When Banu Abbas assumed responsibility they made Oman, Bahrain and Yamama into one unit with the headquarters of the Emirate being in Hajr.[49]

It seems that the functions of the governors of Bahrain were the same as in all

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45 Ibn Sa'd: *Al Tabaqat*, Vol. 2. p. 27; Cairo, 1930, Vol. 6, p. 41.

46 Ibn Khardazaba: *Al Masalik wal Mamalik*, p. 152.

47 Al Tabari: *Al Umam wal Muluk*, Vol.1, p.232.

48 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit*. Vol. 1 p. 346; Al Tabari, *op cit* Vol. 1. p. 73.

49 Al Blazeri: *Futuh al Buldan*, p. 95.

parts of the State. The Governor had the authority to supervise his province such as in matters of taxes and security. He used to collect protection tax from the non-Muslims and the tenth part from the Muslims. Bahrain used to send what remained surplus to its requirements to the treasury in Hijaz. It used to send only what remained in the balance after payment of all local dues as otherwise the locals would have revolted against him.

The land of Bahrain is divided into three parts, first, the coastal stretch extending along the coast, the widest coastline is along the western coast of Bahrain. Among the important characteristics of the coast is that it tends to extend prominently though it does not prevent the presence of heights here and there sometimes exceeding 10 metres. The second part consists of central plains and occupies the major part of the area of Bahrain. It has a sharp slope from the west to the east and includes a great number of sand dunes and deserts. The third Part consists of sand dunes and the desert,[50] this represents the natural obstacle. It is be noted that these sand-dunes are mobile by the action of storms and winds which are plentiful in this region.[51] The most famous of these dunes is Marda Hajr which is desolate and fallow, lacking in any tracks, it lies near Hajr.[52] Yaqut has described it's dunes consisting of soft sands, it is fallow land near Al Ahsa (Hajr).[53]

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50 Al Ahsai, *op. cit.* Vol. 1, p. 10; Al Bakri, *op. cit*, p 82.

51 *ibid.* p. 218.

52 *ibid.* p. 212.

53 Yaqut Al Hamwi, *op. cit.* Vol. 4. p. 740.

2.2. The Towns[54] of Bahrain.

2.2.1. HAJR.

It is a town in the interior away from the coast[55] and Bahrain's most important town so much so that the writers applied this name to Bahrain itself.[56] Hamadani has described it as the biggest town of Bahrain.[57] Ibn Hawqal has called it the best part of its territory and its biggest town.[58] The Persian Marzaban lived therein and it was an important trade centre with an annual Arab market being held there before Islam.[59] Al Hatam Ibn Jani'a came there when he turned an apostate in the year 11H.[60] Al Ala Bin Al Hadhrami[61] fought him there. It is identified as a commercial base known today as Al Hofuf.[62] In the region of Hajr there were a number of villages subordinate to it.

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54 A town in Bahrain is normally an urban centre with a settled community of clans and tribes, a *jami'ah* (congregational mosque), a major market, and a municipality responsible also for a number of villages.

55 Bakri, *op.cit.* p. 218 "Hajr is about 12 leagues away from the coastline." Probably this is not correct because Al Ahsa nearby is 8 leagues away from the coast as mentioned by Khusro.

56 Al Maqdisi: *Ahsan al Taqasim*, p.71.

57 Hamadani, *Sifat Jazirat il Arab*, p. 136; Al Astakhri : *Masalik Al Mamalik*, p.19

58 Ibn Hawqal: *Surat al Ardh*, p.31; Al Bakri, *Mu'jam ma Ustu'jim*, p.146.

59 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p.153.

60 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p. 197; Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.* Vol. 3 p. 283.

61 Al Afghani: *Aswaq al Arab fil Jahiliyya*, Vol. 4. p.46.

62 "Dairat Ma'arif Al Bustani", Vol. 7 p.187; Al Hamadani, *op.cit.* p.12; Al Dabbagh, *Jazirat al Arab*, Vol. 1 p. 183.

2.2.2. AL MASHQAR

It is a bastion of Hajr[63] lying in its north and close to it.[64] It seems that Al Mashqar was an administrative centre because there was a congregational mosque.[65] It was an important trade centre and before Islam an annual trade fare used to be held there.[66] A battle took place in it between the Arabs and the Persians.

2.2.3. AL SAFA

It was a fort near Al Mashqar [67] and a borough of Hajr[68] and Safa today. It is a township of Al Mubraz in Al Ahsa.[69]

2.2.4. AL ZARA

It is a port on the Arab Gulf close to Qatif.[70] It is counted as one of the famous

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63 "Diwan al Gharzadaq", Vol.1. p.235; Al Azhari: *Tahzib al Lugha*, Vol. 7 p.214; Al Quzwin: *Aasar al Bilad,* Vol. 11. p. 110.

64 Yaqut Al Hamawi: *Mu'jam al Buldan,* Vol. 4 p.241; *Marasid al Ittila, op.cit.* Vol. 3 p. 105.

65 Ibn Al Faqih: *Al Buldan,* p. 30; Yaqut al Hamawi: *Mu'jam al Buldan*, Vol. 4. p. 241; *Marasid al Ittila* Vol. 3 p. 105.

66 Ibn Al Faqih: *Al Buldan*, p. 35.

67 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol.1. p. 285; Yaqut al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol.3 p. 218.

68 Ibn Abdul Haq, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.159.

69 Al Masudi: *Muruj al Dhahab*, Vol.1. p.111; Al Zubeiri: *Taj al Arus*, Vol.3, p. 230.

70 Al Harbi: *Al Manask,* p.221.

towns of Bahrain.[71] During the Caliphate of Abu Bakr it was encircled by Al Ala Bin Al Hadhrami. Later it was conquered during the Caliphate of Umar Ibn Al Khattab in 13 H.

2.2.5. JUATHA

A town in Bahrain[72] in which there is fort of the same name.[73] Bukhari states on the authority of Ibn Abbas as having said; " On the first Friday when I assembled in the Prophet's mosque of Abdul Qais in Juatha in Bahrain."[74] They selected it as their main base and administrative centre.

In 11H. the apostates surrounded the Muslims in Juatha for a long time until they were on the verge of being starved to death.[75] They were given a fight by Al Ala Al Hadhrami at that place and a large number of them were put to death. The Muslims captured whatever there was in their camp by way of equipment and arms in the year 12 H.[76]

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71 Blazeri, *op. cit.* pp. 85 - 86.

72 Al Masudi: *Al Tanbih wal Ishraf,* p. 392; Al Bakri, *op.cit.* p. 41.

73 Ibn Sa'd: Vol. 4. p.78; Al Qalqashandi: *Nihayat al Irab fi Ansab il Arab*, p.248.

74 Ibn Bukhari: *Al Jami' Al Sahih*, Vol. 3 p.165; Abu Dawud: *Al Sunan* Vol. 1 p.264.

75 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p. 261; Al Aghani, *op.cit.* Vol. 4 p. 45; al Asqalani: *Al Ijaba fi Tamiz il Sahaba*, Vol. 3 p. 88.

76 Ibn Khaldun, *op. cit.* p.382; Al Dhahabi: *Tarikh al Islam*, Vol. 1 p. 373.

2.2.6. AL SABON

It is a town of Bahrain which has been mentioned in the course of the war against the apostates.[77] It was captured by Al Ala Bin al Hadhrami during the Caliphate of Umar Ibn Al Khattab in 13 H.[78]

2.2.7. AL GHABA

It is a town of Bahrain in which there was a Persian population lived. They opposed Islam and were put to death by Al Ala Bin Al Hadhrami[79] in the year 13 H.

2.2.8. DARIN

A famous port in Bahrain[80] which was captured by the apostates in 11 H. It was a famous Arab market known for musk trade.[81] Today Darin is a village in the district of Qatif.[82]

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77 Ibn al Faqih: *Al Buldan,* p.30; Yaqut al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 30 p. 60.

78 Blazeri, *op.cit.* p. 85; Yaqut, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p. 11 (Under the title *Bahrain*) and in 3/6 under the title *Sabor*.

79 Khalifa Bin Khayyat: *Al Tarikh*, Vol. 1 p. 93; Blazeri, *op.cit.* p. 85.

80 Al Nuweirei: *Nihayat al Irab,* Vol. 12 p. 155; Firozibadi, *Al Qamus al Muhit,* Vol. 2, p. 132.

81 Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.* Vol.2. p.348; Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 4 p. 173.

82 Al Ahsai, *op.cit.* Vol.1. p. 130, Al Dabbagh: *Jazirat al Arab,* Vol.1. p.179.

2.2.9. AL QATIF

A town of Bahrain near the coast situated about a mile[83] northeast of Al Ahsa.[84] It has plentiful date-palm[85] with fences around it, a trench and four gates.[86] Its coast is called Qarah[87] and is known for quality dates.[88] At the advent of Islam it was one of Bahrain's two major townships.

The other big town was Hajr.[89] In the third century of Hijra there was a ' dais [90] in it. Al Hatam reached Qatif when he became a renegade to Islam.[91] Al Ala Bin Al Hadhrami fought the Persians there and killed some of them while the remainder fled to Al Zara,[92] the fort formed a part of the town.[93]

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83 Hamadani, *Sifat Jazirat al Arab* p. 136; Al Bakri: *Al Masalik wal Mamalik*, p.217.

84 Abul Fida, *op.cit.* p. 99; Naser Khusro, *op.cit.* p. 94.

85 *Sifat Jazirat al Arab,* p. 136; Ibn Batuta: *Al Rahla,* p. 280.

86 Al Qalaqshandi: *Subha Al A'sha fi Sina'at il Insha,* Vol. 5 p. 56.

87 Al Azhari: *Tahzib al Lugha,* Vol. 4 p. 430; Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p. 44.

88 Ibn Bilhid: *Sahih al Akhbar,* Vol. 2 pp. 72 - 73.

89 Al Bakri: *Mu'ajam ma Ustu'jim,* p. 183.

90 "Diwan al Arzadaq". Vol. 1 p. 51.

91 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.196; Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.* Vol. 3, p. 183.

92 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 4 p. 78.

93 Wahba: *Jazirat al Arab,* p. 73; Kahala: *Jughrafiyyat Jazirat al Arab,* p275.

2.2.10. AL KHATT

It was an ancient town of Bahrain and descriptions vary as to its location. Thalab described it as a island of Bahrain.[94] Ibn al Sakit described it as a jetty.[95] Al Sakri called it a village.[96] At another place he described Khatt as lying between Oman and Bahrain.[97] Ibn Darid called it the sea coast of Bahrain and Oman.[98] According to Ibn Al Arabi Juatha was a town of Khatt.[99] Azhari attributed the name Al Khatt to the coastline of Bahrain with Qatif, Uqair and Qatar being its villages.[100] Ibn Al Anbari considered Khatt to be the seacoast of Bahrain.[101] Ibn Khaldun has placed Al Khatt by the side of Darin.[102]

What is probable is that Al Khatt was a port of the Arab Gulf through which the ships returning from India passed. Al Kahtt is noted for its spears which were imported from India by sea and sold in the rest of the Island.[103] These spears

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94 Thalab: *Sharh Diwan Zuhair Bin Abi Salmi*, Cairo, p.115; Al Afghani: *Aswaq al Arab fil Jahiliyah*, Damascus, Vol.9 p.146.

95 Ibn Mazur, *op.cit.* Vol. 7 p. 290.

96 *Mu'jam ma Ustu'jim, op.cit.* p.103; Yaqut, *op.cit.* Vol. 2 p. 207.

97 *Diwan al Hazaliyin,* Vol. 2 p. 66.

98 Ibn Manzur, *op.cit.* Vol. 7 p. 290.

99 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 2 p.136.

100 Al Zubeiri, *op.cit.* Vol. 5 p. 139; Ibn Abdul Haq, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p. 258.

101 Al Bakri, *op.cit.* p. 203; Shaikh Al Ribwa: *Naqbat al Dahr fi' Ajayib il Barr was Bahr*, Leizig, p.220.

102 Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.* Vol. 4 p. 197.

103 Al Dainuri: *Al Nabat*, Vol. 5 p.166; Hamadani, *op.cit.* p. 179.

constituted the famous Arab weapon of war of proverbial fame.[104] It seems that Khatt was an administrative unit at the time of the advent of Islam[105] and was inhabited by the Jats and the Siyabija who joined the ranks of the apostates of Bahrain in 11H.[106] The vanquished groups from Juatha sought refuge here but it was conquered by Al Ala Bin Al Hadrami.[107] In 67H, Najda Bin Amer Al Hanafi sent a force of Kharijites to Al Khatt who subdued the local population.[108] After this incident there is mention of Al Khatt no more which shows that it must have lost its importance. Al Baida was located within the limits of Al Khatt east of Thaj[109] and was linked to the Valley of Al Sitar.[110] There was much date palm there as also sweet subterranean water and fortresses built of stone.[111] Today Baidha Al Khatt is the name attributed to a place near Jubail.[112]

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104 Al Thalabi: *Thimar al Qulub, p.* 234.

105 Al Tabari: *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p. 238.

106 Ibn Al Athir*: Al Kamil fi Al Tarikh,* Vol. 3 p. 268.

107 Blazeri, *op.cit.* p.86; Yaqut al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p.211.

108 Al Tabari, *op. cit.* Vol. 4 p.196.

109 Al Azhari, *op.cit.* Vol.12. p.88; Ibn Mazur, *op. cit.* Vol. 11 p.129.,

110 Yaqut al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol.1 p.136.

111 Al Hamadani, *op.cit.* p. 136.

112 Al Ahsai, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p.10.

2.2.11. AL AHSA

A town of Bahrain near the coast[113] about 2 miles from Hajr.[114] It is in the south - west of Qatif two stages away [115] and has a market.[116] Al Ahsa is famous for its plentiful water resources and its many hot springs.[117] Nasser Khusro who visited in the year 443H has described it as a town surrounded by vast deserts. It is a town with a thick population and has a fort in it. It has four successive rings of strong fences built of strong bricks at an interval of about a league between them. There are big springs in it which meet requirements of 5 market- places. All this water is consumed within the town. Within the town and within the fort is a beautiful city with all facilities and conveniences which are seen in big cities. There is no congregational mosque in it, no prayers are held and no sermons delivered in it. There is plentiful growth here of a kind which is suitable for animal fodder.[118]

Al Ahsa became the capital of Bahrain during the reign of the Carmathians and their most important city after the old capital Hajr was ruined. The town was rebuilt and fortified by the Carmathian leader Abu Taher Al Hasan Bin Abi Said Al Jannabi in 314H. The new township was named "Al Mu'miniyya " but the old

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113 Laghda: *Bilad al Arab,* p.243; Yaqut, *Mu'jam al Buldan,* Vol. 1 p.148 .

114 Al Maqdisi, *op.cit.* pp .93 - 94.

115 Abul Fida, *op.cit.* p. 99.

116 Ibn Abdul Haq, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p.30.

117 Al Qalqashandi: *Nihayat al Irab fi Ma'rifat Ansab il Arab*, p. 197.

118 Nasser Khusro, *op.cit.* pp. 93 - 94.

town and its territory continued to be called Al Ahsa.[119]

Today the name Al Ahsa is applied to the territory extending from the west coast of the Arab Gulf starting from the southern borders of Kuwait to the borders of Qatar, Oman and the Jafura Desert. In the west it is bordered by Al Saman which is very fertile and is known for its plentiful water and its warm and hot springs. It produces plenty of different kinds of crops.[120]

2.2.12. UQAIR

It is a port of Bahrain on the Arab Gulf[121] south of Qatif[122] facing Hajr.[123] Between them is Laila[124] which has date - palm. It is a staging point between Oman and Basra.[125] Uqair was an important commercial centre in which cargo ships from China, Oman, Basra and Yemen[126] and it had a dais[127] which meant that it was an

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119 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1 p.148; Al Muslim: *The Black Gold Coast,* p.123.

120 Wagba: *Jazirat al Arab fil Qarn il Ishrin,* pp. 68 - 69.

121 Al Harbi: *Al Manasik,* p.620; Al Bakri: *Al Masalik wal Mamalik,* p.217; Al Azhari, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p. 221.

122 Al Hamadani, *op.cit.* p.136.

123 Al Azhari, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p.221; Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.*, Vol. 3, p.699; Ibn Abdul Haq, *op.cit.* Vol. 2 p.168.

124 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3 p.199.

125 Qudama Bin Jafar: *Al Khiraj,* p.193.

126 Al Harbi: *Al Manasik,* p.330.

127 Yaqut al Hamawi: *Mu'jam al Buldan,* Vol. 3 p. 210.

administrative unit.

Today Uqair is a port on the Arab Gulf south west of Qatif at a distance of 64 miles. It is considered a port of Al Ahsa and southern Nejd but it has suffered neglect after the establishment of the port of Dammam.[128]

2.2.13 AL ZARQA

Maqdisi has mentioned it as a town of Bahrain[129] but there is no mention of it in any other source .

2.2.14 AL QALI'A

A big town which had an administrative unit (dais) in the third century of Hijra according to Al Harbi.[130]

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128 Al Muslim: *Sahil al Dahab il Aswad*, p. 30; Abul Ala: *Jughrafiyya Jazirat il Arab* p. 325.

129 Al Maqdisi, *op.cit.* p. 71.

130 Al Harbi, *op.cit.* p. 221; Ibn Abdul Haq, *op.cit.* Vol. 3 p.147.

2.2.15 The Other Villages of Bahrain.[131]

The sources speak of a large number of villages without a mention of their locations in most cases. Many of them have become ruins and disappeared. Among the southern villages are the following:

a) *Shatt Bani Jazima*

It is a coastal village close to the Oman borders.[132]

b) *Al Sabkha*

It lies between Oman and Bahrain and a staging camp between Oman and Basra.[133]

c) *Al Qara* [134]

It is still inhabited and located at the norheast of Hofuf.[135] A general market is held

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131 These are listed in accordance with their locations. There are villages whose locations are not known and these are listed according to their population. There are others about which neither their locations are known nor their population. A village is normally denoted by an oasis, a tribe, the chief of whom is the headman of the village. The village is smaller unit than a town, which is more cosmopilitan. The village is not responsible for dispensing with law, but, responsible to the administration of the nearest town.

132 Al Masudi: *Muruj al Dhahab*, Vol. 1 p.110; Ibn Al Fagih: *Mukhtasar Kitab il Buldan*, p. 231; Qudama Bin Jafar: *Al Khiraj*, p. 193.

133 Qudama, *op.cit.* p.193. Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3 p.30.

134 Yaqut al Hamawi, *op.cit.* p.139.

135 Al Dabbagh, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p. 189.

there for the people of Al Ahsa on Sundays. Its population consists of farmers.[136]

d) *Yebrin Abrin* [137]

Al Sukkari has mentioned it as a village with many springs and date trees.[138] There are forts in it and also swamps. It lies southwest of Bahrain[139] close to Al Hasa.[140] Between the tow there are two staging posts and the Haj.[141] Route from Oman passes through it.[142] It has access to Yamama as well as to Bahrain.[143] It is situated southeast of Yamama[144] involving a march of 3 days[145] between them. It seems that Yebrin was an administrative unit. According to al Harbi there were two pulpits (daises) in it in the third century of Hijra.[146] It was destroyed by Abu Sai'd al Jannabi, the Carmathian in 687H. Today the name Yebrin is applied to an

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136 Al Ahsai, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p.39.

137 Yebrin: Here the village is meant and not the sands. Laghda: *Bilad al Arab*, p.276

138 *Diwan al Hati'a,* p.128; Al Hamadani, *op.cit.* p.137.

139 Al Hamadani, *op.cit.* p.137.

140 Al Masudi, *op.cit.* p.294.

141 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 4 p.105; Ibn Abdul Haq, *op.cit.* Vol. 3 p. 225; quotes the distance between them as 3 days.

142 Hamadani, *op.cit.* p. 165.

143 Abul Fida, *op.cit.*, p. 221.

144 *ibid.* p. 85.

145 Al Masudi, *op.cit.* p. 294.

146 Al Zubeiri, Vol. 3 p.225; Ibn Abdul Haq, Vol. 2 p.232.

Oases southwest of Al Ahsa.[147] Water and dates are plentiful therein.[148] Its area is 7,500 feddans with an average height of 720 ft. above mean sea level.[149]

e) *Jabala*

It is a village[150] located in the north of Hajr. Between Jabala and Uqair there are two stages and it is one of the two seats of administration of Hajr.[151]

f) *Daharan*

Masudi has described it as a city of Bahrain.[152] Today it is a town situated west of the coastal town of Al Khubar at a distance of ten km., and is well known for its oil wells.[153]

g) *Al Ayun*

It is a township bearing relationship to the poet Ali Bin Muqarrib Al Ayuni,[154]

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147 Fuad Hamza: *Qalb Jazirat il Arab*, p. 49; Al Dabbagh, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p. 180; Ibn Bilhid, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p. 89; Al Ahsai, *op.cit.* Vol 1 p. 30.

148 Al Dabbagh: *Jazirat al Arab*, Vol. 1 p.180.

149 *ibid.*

150 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 2, p. 270; Ibn Abdul Haq, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p. 239.

151 Al Harbi, *op.cit.* pp. 620, 621.

152 Al Masudi, *op.cit.* p.292.

153 Al Muslim: *Sahil Al Dahab il Aswad*, p.32.

154 Yaqut al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 3 p.166; Ibn Abdul Haq, *op.cit.* Vol.2. p. 298.

Today it is a group of villages[155] north of Qatif.

h) *A' far*

It is situated in the interior at a distance of 4 farsakh from[156] Qatif.

i) *AL Jonan*

It is close to Ayn Mahlam.[157]

j) *Aslaj*

It is a village with dates and other crops which is irrigated by a branch of the River Mahlam.[158]

k) *Tarif*

It has been described by Al Bakri as a village[159] known today as Al Taraf. It is a well known village of Al Ahsa and rich in dates and rice fields.[160] It is east of Al Hofuf.

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155 *Sahih Al Akhbar*, Vol. 5 p.214; Al Ahsai, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p.22.

156 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p.64; Ibn Abdul Haq, *op.cit.* Vol. 1, p.70.

157 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol. 2 p.160; Al Zubeiri, *op.cit.* Vol. 9 p.168.

158 *ibid.* Vol. 3 p.177; Al Zubeiri, *op. cit.* Vol. 2 p.258.

159 Al Bakri, *op.cit.* p.291; Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2 p.236.

160 *Sahih al Akhbar*, Vol. 4 p.52; Al Ahsai, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p.91.

l) *AL Sahla*[161]

This is a ruined village with its venue being the west of Al Taraf.[162]

m) *Najba*[163]

It is waterpoint which is uninhabited,[164] now it is known as Al Najabiyya.

n) *Aynain*

It is a centre of date palm. The poet Khalid Aynain[165] is associated with it.

o) *Ank.*

Al Masudi has mentioned that it is a coastal town under Qatif.[166] It is situated southeast of Qatif.[167]

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161 Ibn Al Fagih: *Al Buldan*, Vol. 30; Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.*, Vol. 3; p.198.

162 Al Ahsai, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p.16.

163 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 4 p.245; Ibn Abdul Haq, *op.cit.* Vol. 3 p.198.

164 Al Ahsai, *op.cit*, Vol. 1 p.29.

165 *Al Naqayis*, Vol.1. p.144; *Majam' Al Amsal*, Vol. 2 p.203; *Al Shi'r wal Shu'ara*, p.282. His name was Abdullah Bin Darim Bin Malik of Abdul Qais.

166 Al Masudi, *op.cit*, p.294. According to Yaqut it is a village near Bahrain, Vol.12. p.237.

167 Wahba, *op.cit.* p. 75;

p) Dara

It is a village.[168] Yaqut has mentioned it as a famous place and flourishing.[169] Today it is known as Ayn Daa of the oil-wells of Al Ghazia.[170] It is situated northwest of Al Hofuf.

q) *Al Rumai*

It is a province of Bahrain.[171] Today it is an inhabited place of Hofuf with a peasant population.[172]

r) Yutal

A village of Bahrain with water and date palm.[173] It is situated in the vicinity of Tuwaila[174] north of Bahrain.[175] It belonged to Tamim Ali Bakr Bin Wayil.[176]

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168 Also Known as Jauf Dara.

169 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.216; Ibn Abdul Haq, *op.cit.* Vol.1. p.281; It is a province of Bahrain.

170 Al Ahsai, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.13.

171 Qudama, *op.cit.* p.249; Ibn al Fagih, *op.cit.* p.31.

172 Al Dabbagh, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.189; Al Ahsai, Vol.1. p.40.

173 Abu Ubaida: *Al Naqais*, Vol. 1. p.205; Laghda: *Bilad al Arab*, p.348.

174 Laghda: *Bilad al Arab*, p.348.

175 Al Bakri, *op.cit.* p.192.

176 Abu Ubaida: *Al Naqais*, Vol. 2 p.123; Al Bakri, *op.cit.* p. 192.

s) *Al Ajwaf*[177]

It is situated in the north of Al Ahsa.[178] As'hahi has described it as a group of villages with water. Today it is known as Al Jawf. The Amir of Al Ahsa used to protect it for Abla.[179] It lies to the north of Al Ahsa.[180]

t) The other sources mention other villages without stating their locations. Hence these are mentioned according to their population. However, it is not necessary that a single tribe or clan should live in an area or in nearby areas.

Villages of Bani Amer Bin Abdul Qais:

Yaqut has mentioned many villages in each of which the Bani Amer lived without stating their specific places.These are: Al Sadir,[181] Hurran Al Kubra,[182]Hurran Al Sughra, Al Dabira,[183] Aujar,[184] Kanbut,[185] Al Radam,[186] Al

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177 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 2 p.157.

178 Laghda: *Bilad al Arab*, p.344.

179 Al Ahsai, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.11.

180 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p.211.

181 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 3, p. 260. It could be Suweidara, the well known province east of Al Hofuf.

182 *ibid.* Vol. 2 p.232.

183 Ibn Abdul Haq, *op.cit.* Vol. 2 p.290.

184 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.297.

185 *ibid.* Vol. 1. p.288.

186 Ibn Abdul Haq, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p.87.

Mazeera'a,[187] Al Naqiyya,[188] Naha,[189] Al Murida,[190] Al Jar,[191] Al Ramal,[192] Al Farda, and Siwar.

The villages of Bani Moharib Bin Abdul Qais: Ibn Al Fagih has mentioned several villages in which the Muharib lived without specifying their locations. These are: Al Rajraja,[193] Al Matla,[194] Al Torbal,[195] Al Arja,[196] Ard Noah,[197] and al Nabta.

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187 Ibn al Fagih, *op.cit.* p.35.

188 Al Ahsai, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.35.

189 Yaqut al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 4 p.222.

190 *ibid.* Vol. 1 p.60.

191 Ibn Abdul Haq, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.5.

192 Al Bakri, *op.cit.* p.246.

193 Ibn al Faqih, *op.cit.* p.31; Al Ahsai, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.14.

194 Ibn Balhid, *op.cit.* Vol. 4 p.246.

195 Ibn al Faqih, *op.cit.* p. 31.

196 *ibid.* p. 31.

197 Ibn Abdul Haq, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.47.

Qura Bin Atarid of Tamim.

Among them Yaqut has mentioned Al Salit,[198] Al Rafiqa,[199] Zalama,[200] Uneeza,[201] Daquqa,[202] Dakhla,[203] Taba,[204] Al Shinun,[205] and Al Aara.[206]

2.3. The Villages of Bahrain

The villages of Bahrain mentioned by Yaqut are as follows:

1. Ardh Noah.[207]
2. Asbaz.[208]
3. Ojar: of Bani Amer of Abdel Qais.[209]

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198 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 2 p.239; Al Zubeidi says that it was a township of the Abd al Qais, *Taj al Arus,* Vol. 5.5, p.229.

199 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 4 p.235. It is believed that Al Rafiqa is the area of Al Raqiqa joining the south of Al Hofuf where its traces are visible as being a very big city.

200 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p.280.

201 *ibid.* Vol. 3. p.238.

202 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* p.181.

203 Ibn Abdul Haq, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p.295.

204 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 3, p. 385.

205 Al Bakri, *op.cit.* p.246.

206 Ibn Khardazaba, *op.cit.* p.152.

207 Abul Fida, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.208.

208 Ibn al Faqih, *op.cit.* p. 30.

209 Ibn Khardazba, *op.cit.* p. 60.

4. Al Badw - A village of Hafar between Zarayeb and Al Houza.[210]

5. Thaj.[211]

6. Anjar: A village of Bani Abdel Qais and then of Bani Amer.[212]

7. Jabala: A village of Bani Amer Bin Abdel Qais.[213]

8. Jarib: A diminutive form of Jarab of the villages of Hajr.[214]

9. Al Jiaz: two villages in Bahrain.[215]

10. Haran: Kubra and Sughra (Greater & Smaller).[216]

11. Al Dabira: a village of Bani Amer Bin Al Harith.[217]

12. Al Rafiqa: a village of Bahrain from where the Nasr emigrated as a group of learned men with a history. Among them was Mohammed Bin Khalid Bin Bajila. Rafiqi Uwed to come there. Mohammed Bin Ismail Al Bukhari has spoken of Al Rafiq.[218]

13. Al Rajraja: a village of Abdel Qais.[219]

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210 Ibn Huqal: *Surat al Ardh*, p. 27.

211 Yaqut al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 2 p.237.

212 Ibn Srusta: *Al Alaq al Nafsiyya*, p.96.

213 Ibn Khardazaba, *op. cit.* p.39.

214 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol. 2 p.67.

215 Ibn al Fagih: *op.cit.* p.30.

216 Al Bakri, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.458.

217 Al Bakri, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.248.

218 Ibn Huqal, *op. cit.* p.38.

219 Al Astakhri, *op.cit.* p.19.

14. Ramila: a diminutive form of Ramla of Bani Bani Moharib Bin Umro.[220]

15. Riman : a village of Abdel Qais.[221]

16. Al Zara : a big village among whom is Marzaban Al Zara. It has a mention in Al Futuh. Al Zara was conquered in 12H.[222]

17. Al Sabkha.[223]

18. Al Sahla.[224]

19. Al Sadir: a village of Bani Amer Bin Abdel Qais.[225]

20. Al Tarbal.[226]

21. Zalama.[227]

22. Al Zahran: a Bahrain village of Bani Amer of Abdel Qais.[228]

23. Aduli.[229]

24. Al Arja : a village of Bani Moharib of Avdel Qais. [230]

25. Al Uqair : a village on the sea coast near Hajar.

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220 Al Masudi, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.56.

221 Al Hamadani, *op.cit.* p.4.

222 Ibn Rusta: *Al Alaq al Nafsiyya,* p.96.

223 Al Maqdisi, *op.cit.* p.71.

224 Ibn al Faqih: *op.cit.* p.30.

225 Ibn Khardazaba, *op. cit.* p.39.

226 Ibn al Faqih, *op. cit.* p.30.

227 Shaikh al Ribwa: *Nakhbat al Dahr,* 220.

228 *Mu'jam*: Vol. 3. p.300.

229 *ibid.*

230 *ibid.*

26. Shabak.

27. Uneza.

28. Al qarda: a village of Bani Amer Bin Al Harith with links to Ahmed Bin Hibat Allah Bin Muhammad Bin Ahmed Bin Muslim Al Qardi Abu Abdullah Al Maqir: was from Basra but lived in Daskara Nahr al Malik, lived there until death.

29. Katib: 2 villages of Bahrain, the big and the small.

30. Kanabut: a village of Bani Amer Bin Abdel Qais.

31. Al Marzi: a village in Bahrain where 'Id prayers were offered. It was Ramla of Bani Muharib.

32. Al Murida: with no vegetation, A village of Bani Amer Bin Al Harith Bin Abdel Qais.[231]

33. Al Matla: a village of Bani Moharib Bin Umro.[232]

34. Nabata: a village of Bani Moharib Bin Abdel Qais.

35. Najba: a village of Bani Amer Bin Abdel Qais.[233]

36. Al Naqiya: a village of Bani Amer Bin Abdel Qais.[234]

37. Naha: a village of Bani Amer Bin Al Harith.[235]

38. Wajra: a village near Hajr.[236]

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231 Yaqut: *op. cit.* Vol. 4 p.145.

232 Abul Fida: *op. cit.* Vol. 4 p.275.

233 *ibid.* p.275.

234 *ibid.* p.180.

235 *ibid.* p.226.

236 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 4 p. 105.

Yaqut has applied the name "Al Nawahi" to some places; Adam; Hawar; Al Sitar;[237] Sara. He has applied the term to some localities such as: Babain, Burqan, Bark, Al Ghamad, Bainuna, Tawam, Jiyar, Ra'an, Saboor, Silmi, Al Saidan, Shibr, Sahsah, Tareef, Qasr Juatha, Murabb'a, Hudan.[238]

It is curious that some localities were big including a large number of villages[239] while some were towns in the 4th century of Hijra such as Ainuna and Sabur.[240] Yaqut has not clarified what was meant by Al Mawadi and may be Al Nawahi (localities) were bigger than Mawadih and consisted of several inhabitations.

2.4. The Important Towns of Bahrain.

1. *AL Ahsa*: Ahsa Bani Sa'd; Hajr Ahsa Al Qatif - was well known and famous. The first one to establish it, fortify it and make into a settlement was Abu Taher Al Hasan Bin Abi Said Al Jannabi Al Qaruti. It continued until the times of Yaqut to be famous and populated.[241]
2. *Awal*. The most famous of Bahrain cities.[242]

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237 Al Bakri, *op.cit.* p.169.

238 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p. 88.

239 *ibid.* Vol. 3 p.48.

240 Ibn al Faqih: *op. cit.* pp. 30 - 31.

241 Yaqut, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1. p.148.

242 *ibid.* Vol. 2. p.437.

3. *Baranjan.* A town in Bahrain conquered by Abul Ala Bin Al Hadhrami in 13H or 14H during the times of Umar Ibn al Khattab.[243]

4. *Juatha.* According to Yaqut it was the fortress of Abd al Qais conquered by Al Alz Al Hadrami during the period of Abu Bakr around 12 H. According to a text of Ibn al Arabi Juatha was a township of Al Khatt and Al Mashqar was a township of Hajr. Juatha was the first place where the congregation assembled on Friday after Madina. [244]

5. *Hawarain.* A town in Bahrain conquered by Ziyad Bin Umro Bin Al Mundhir. It came to be known as Ziyad Hawarain.[245]

6. *Darin.* (A jetty) It is said that the Muslims captured Darin under Al Ala Hadrami: the Gulf was legitimized. [246]

7. *Safar.* A town of Bahrain. [247]

8. *Al Shaba*: a township known as Kharba in Awal that is the land of Hajr

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243 *ibid.* Vol. 1. p.465.

244 *ibid.* Vol. 2. p.136.

245 *ibid.* p.354.

246 *ibid.* Vol. 2. p.537.

247 *ibid.* p.59.

and Bahrain.[248]

9. *Al Qatif*. During the times of Yaqut it was the chief town. Before this period it was known as Kut.[249]

10. *Al Mashqar*. According to Ibn al Faqih it was a fortress between Najran and Bahrain . It was a big fortress of Abd al Qais. They occupied another fort known as Al Safa before Hajr and a mosque at Mashqar. According to Yaqut Al Safa was a town of Hajr.[250]

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248 *ibid*. p.347.

249 Yaqut, *op. cit*. Vol. 4. p.143.

250 Yaqut, *op. cit*. Vol. 4 p.541.

CHAPTER THREE

BAHRAIN DURING THE TIME OF THE PROPHET.

3.1. Deputation of Al Ala Bin Al Hadrami to Bahrain.

Bahrain is one of those countries where Islam spread peacefully without any violence. History narrates many episodes which show that the people of Bahrain were anticipating the arrival of a new prophet. For instance, Al Ashba' Al Mundhir Bin Ayez was said to have been the friend of an ascetic with whom he used to have an annual meeting. Once he met him at Zara when the ascetic told him: "A Prophet will appear in Makka who will partake of a gift offering but will not accept charity. Between his shoulders will be a mark of prophethood and piety."[1]

After a period the ascetic passed away and Al Mundhir waited for his prediction to materialise. When he heard of the Prophet (PBUH) in due course he sent his nephew Umro Bin Abdul Qais to Makka. He carried with him some merchandise such as dates, sheets etc. He arrived in Makka during the year of the migration (*hijra*). He met the Prophet and saw for himself the marks on his body to which the ascetic had alluded and was satisfied. He embraced Islam and the Prophet (PBUH) taught him the opening chapter of the Qu'ran, and "Read ! in the name

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1 Ibn Hajar: *Al Isaba fi Tamiz il Sahaba*, Vol. 1. p.44.

of the Lord " and said to him: "invite your uncle to it."[2]

When Umro returned he concealed his conversion to Islam and performed his prayers in secret. His wife informed her father Al Mundhir about it whereupon he came to Umro and learnt the news. Mundhir also was converted but kept it a secret for a time.[3]

The Prophet (PBUH) sent a letter to the people of Bahrain through Al Ala Bin Al Hadrami,[4] his representative to Al Mundhir Bin Sawi and other Bahraini rulers inviting them to enter the fold of the religion of God. There is some difference of opinion about the date of the Prophets (PBUH) letter to the people of Bahrain. Some say it was in the sixth year after the Truce of Hudaibiyya while some others attribute it to the seventh year before the conquest of Makka. Yet a third source places it after the conquest of Makka in the eighth year. A fourth source traces it to the ninth year.[5] What is notable is that most of the letters which the Prophet (PBUH) sent were not dated.

It is thus that the historians consider the conquest of Bahrain to be peaceful without involving fighting. There were those in Bahrain who accepted Islam, and there were those who reconciled with Al Ala on the basis of an equitable share of

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2 Al Ahsai: *Tuhfatul Mustafid*, Vol. 1. p. 60.

3 *Tahzib al Tahzib*, Vol. 3. p.68.

4 Ibn Sa'd: *Al Tabaqat*, Vol. 4. p.259.

5 Ibn Hajar, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.164.

food grains, dates,[6] and the Magians paid the jizya tax.[7] Al Ala Bin Al Hadhrami wrote out a charter of peace between him and the people of Bahrain. It stated:

"In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful !

The basis on which Al Ala Bin Al Hadrami has made reconciliation with the people of Bahrain on condition that they will not object to us and share with us the date - produce. One who does not abide by its terms will attract God's scorn and the curse of the angels and all men.

the Jizya tax was fixed at a dinar." [8]

Al Mundhir Bin Sawi responded to the call and became a Muslim. He invited all of the people of Hajr to embrace the new faith but there was a mixed response. The Arabs accepted Islam but the Magians and the Jews refused and the jizya tax was imposed on them[9] at the scale of half of their food grains produce and dates and allowed to remain in their old faith.[10]

Al Ala Bin Al Hadrami thus settled with them on these terms. When Al Jarud returned to Bahrain he invited his community to enter the fold of Islam. They responded to his call without any hesitation. Thus they affirmed their faith in him.

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6 Blazeri: *Futuh Al Buldan*, p. 94.

7 Ibn Kathir: *Al Bidaya wal Nihaya*. Vol. 4. p. 165.

8 Blazeri, *op.cit*. p. 99.

9 Ibn Al Athir: *Al Kamil Fi Al Tarikh*, Vol. 2. p.146.

10 Ali Al Bahrani: *Anwar al Badriyin*, p.26.

After a short period the Prophet (PBUH) breathed his last. The people of the tribe of Abdul Qais said: "If Muhammad was a Prophet then why did he die?" When Al Jarud heard this he collected his people and spoke to them thus: "O People of Abd al Qais ! I am going to ask you a question. Tell me if you know it and if you don't know it do not answer."

They said : "Ask what you may."

He said : "You know that God has had Prohets before ?"

They replied: "Yes."

He asked: " Do you know it or did you see it ?"

They replied: "We know it."

"What happened to those Prophets ?"

"They died."

"And so it is that the Prophet (PBUH) died like other prophets before him. I bear witness that there is no God besides Allah and that Muhammad is his servant and Prophet."

They said: "You are our leader and the best of us." Then they remained steadfast in their faith.[11]

There are two very famous accounts. The first says that his name was Al Jarud Bin Al Mundhir. The second says that Al Jarud Al Ma'ani was Ibn Bashar Al Ma'alli. According to this account Al Jarud Bin Al Mundhir remained for sometime then taken over by Al Hasan Bin Sirain. As for Al Jarud Bin Al Ma'alli

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11 Al Tabari: *Al Umam wal Muluk*, Vol. 2. p.155; Ibn Kathir, *op.cit.* Vol. 5, p.148; Ibn Sayyid il Nas: *Uyun al Asar*, Vol. 2. p.234.

he died during the caliphate of Umar and was buried in Qubbat al Tin with Nu'man.[12]

We see that the reversion of the Abd al Qais once again to their faith after they heard Al Jarud was because of their absolute conviction. This may be explained in terms of the situation that existed then and that the Abdul Qais wanted to stabilise themselves in the midst of confused surroundings when Bahrain was beset with a number of conflicts involving the Persians, and other Arab tribes who had decided to become apostates.[13] They wanted to realise some of their interests in Bahrain and Al Jarud was able to mobilise them in support of the religion of God. They joined the war against those who had retracted from Islam and helped Al Ala.

3.2. Deputation of Abdul Qais to Madina.

Historical sources speak of two deputations led by the Abdul Qais to the Prophet (PBUH). One of them was by Al Ashajj and he was so named because of a scar on his forehead. When the Prophet (PBUH) met him and asked him his name he said it was Al Mundhir. The Prophet said: "You are Al Ashajj,"[14] and since then

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12 Al Dhahabi: *Tajrid Asma Al Sahaba*, Vol. 1. p.75; Ibn Hisham: *Al Sirat al Nabawiyya*, Vol. 4. p.175; Ibn Al Athir: *Asad al Ghaba*, Vol. 1. p.151.

13 After a long struggle one of the leaders of Bin Bakr, Al Muthanna Bin Al Haritha joined Al Ala and contributed a great deal to subsequent conquests. Mahmood Ali Fayyadh: *Al Tarikh al Islami*, p.115.

14 Al Qalqashandi: *Subha Al A'sha*, Vol. 1. p.138.

he was known as Ashajj. He set out in 9H, which was the year of deputations by a number of Abdul Qais. The sources differ as to their number but they proceeded to Madina to meet the Prophet (PBUH) and swear allegiance to him.[15]

The historical sources are not agreed on the date of the first Abdul Qais deputation to Madina.[16] What seems correct is what was stated by Ibn al Athir[17] and other historians. According to them the delegation reached Madina in 9H and consisted of 25 men. The call of Islam had received a tremendous response and scored many triumphs after the conquest of Makka. Delegations started waiting on the Prophet (PBUH) seeking his protection and safety.

The deputation was treated to the hospitality of the Prophet (PBUH) at the house of Ramla Bint il Harith[18] where it stayed for ten days under the leadership of Al Mundhir Al Ashajj.[19] After the return of Al Ashajj to Bahrain the deputation visited Basra and stayed there.[20] The Prophet looked at the horizon on the morning when the deputation was due and said: "A column will arrive from the east who are not inimical to Islam. They joined the riders and have finished their provisions. They come to me and do not seek wealth. They are the best people in

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15 Ibn Al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.103.

16 Al Suhaili: *Al Rowadh Al Anf,* Vol. 1. p.133.

17 Ibn Al Athir, *op. cit.* Vol. 2. p.103.

18 Al Wafidi: *Al Maghazi*, Vol. 2. p.312.

19 Ibn Hajar, *op. cit.* Vol. 2. p.347.

20 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p. 86.

the east."[21] When the deputation arrived they were told that the Prophet (PBUH) was in the mosque whereupon they proceeded to present themselves to him in their travel apparel.[22] The Prophet (PBUH) greeted them warmly saying: "Welcome to the people who have no blame on them nor any remorse."

The Prophet (PBUH) made Al Ashajj sit next to him, and Al Ashajj started asking questions about *fiqh* (Islamic Code) and the Qur'an. The Prophet asked Ubai Bin Ka'ab to recite it to him.[23] The deputation included Al Jarud who was a Christian at the time. The Prophet (PBUH) invited him to Islam and endeared it to him which he accepted. The deputationists told the Prophet (PBUH): "O Prophet ! to him which he accepted. Between us and you stand the polytheists . We cannot reach you except during the holy months." He spoke to us very kindly and said that if we did that we would enter Paradise and usher in those who came after us.

All this questioning makes it plain to us that the Abdul Qais was serious about knowing the principles of Islam. They accepted it from the very beginning seeking the path to paradise and preaching the faith among their people. This is borne out by the Prophet (PBUH) when in answer to a question, he told them about four Do's and four Don'ts.[24]

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21 Al Nuwairi: *Nihayatul Arab,* Vol. 5. p.66.

22 *ibid.* Vol. 2. p. 82.

23 Ibn Al athir: *Asad al Ghaba,* Vol. 2. p.62.

24 *ibid.* Vol. 2. p.63.

He said: "I order you to observe four acts and forbid you from four. I order you to have faith in God. Do you know what faith in God means? To bear witness that there is no God but Allah; to offer prayers; to pay the poor - due and to fast during the month of Ramadan. You should gift away a fifth of your sheep. I forbid you four acts: consuming wine extracted from dry gourd,[25] bitumen,[26] green jars,[27] coated with onyx."[28]

The deputation asked for more and more of information and guidance from the Prophet (PBUH). According to Ibn Hajar, Al Mundhir Bin Al Ashajj Al Abdi said: "O prophet of God! We came peacefully without a fight, in obedience and not in defiance. Please write for us an epistle which we can carry as an honour among all Arabs." The Prophet (PBUH) was pleased and preached to them what they should do and what they should avoid and wrote a letter for them. He requested them to "swear allegiance to him and on behalf of their people." The people affirmed and said "Yes". Al Ashajj replied: "O Prophet of God! You will never overbid a person over a matter more pressing than his religion. We swear our faith and allegiance. Send with us a representative who will issue the call. Those who accept the faith will be one of us and those who refuse will be

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25 Dry pumpkin.

26 Onyx, according to some coated with bitumen.

27 Green jar.

28 Coated with asphalt: *Sahih Al Bukhari* , Vol. 16. p.188.
Al Asqalani : *Irshad al Sari Ala Sharh il Bukhari* Vol 1. p . 247.

fought.[29]

This dialogue shows how Al Ashajj was supremely aware of the heavy responsibility which was involved in the propagation of faith. Hence it was because of that he requested the Prophet (PBUH) to send with them a representative to convey the word. For the time being they affirmed the new faith for themselves. This proves the second point that Al Ashajj was not the supremo in his community for if he was then he would have affirmed the faith on behalf of all of them by virtue of his position with them. The Prophet (PBUH) accepted their request and sent Al Ala Bin Al Hadrami with them and wrote a letter for them. He gave them gifts and gave to Al Ashajj a gift of 12 ounces of gold. Ibn Sa'd considered it the greatest prize given to any delegation.

The delegation returned to Bahrain in the company of al Ala Bin Al Hadrami whereupon Al Mundhir Bin Sawi was handed over the letter of the Prophet (PBUH). Al Mundhir accepted Islam and totally agreed with the delegation and called upon his community to embrace Islam as a whole. A mosque was built at the place where the conversion ceremony was held and the first prayer call issued forth from it.[30] What is notable is that the sources are silent about the news of the delegation after it returned to Bahrain. They do not mention its role in promoting the Islamic call there. This is due to the weakness of Al Ashajj for

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29 Ibn Hajar: *Al Isaba,* Vol. 3. p.138.

30 *ibid.* Vol. 2. p.171.

despite his heading the people of his community he did not enjoy the support of all the tribes. The greatest evidence of this lay in the fact that he declared his allegiance to the Prophet (PBUH) personally and not on behalf of his people. Moreover, he went to Basra thereafter and all news about him ceased until his death.[31]

In addition it appears that for most of Abd Al Qais, Bahrain was not agreeable as a place to live in and they migrated to Basra under the leadership of Umro Bin Al Marjum.[32]

3.3. The Second Delegation.

The second deputation was led by Al Jarud Al Abdi[33] in the 10th year of Hijra. According to Al Nuwariri[34] and Ibn Hisham[35] Al Jarud was in the first deputation of the Abd al Qais and was a Nestorian then. The Prophet (PBUH) offered to him Islam and he embraced it. The delegation was said to consist of 16 men.[36]

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31 Ibn Al Athir: *Asad al Ghaba*, Vol. 2. p. 240.

32 Ibn Hajar: *Al Usaba*, Vol. 3. p. 151.

33 Al Dahabi: *Tajrid Asma il Sahaba,* Vol.1. p.74; Ibn Qutaiba: *Al Mz'arif*, Vol.1, p .74. Ibn Al Athir, *Asad Al Ghaba*, Vol.1. p. 260.

34 Al Nuwairi: *Nihayat al Arab,* Vol. 8, p. 65.

35 *Sirat al Nabi*, Vol. 4, p.142.

36 Al Jali: *Al Sirat al Tayyiba*, Vol. 3, p.149.

Al Jarud said to the gracious Prophet (PBUH) "O Muhammad! I was following my religion and I leave it to accept yours. Do you guarantee to me my faith?" Replied the Prophet (PBUH) "Yes. I guarantee that God has rightly guided you to something better." Thereupon he embraced Islam and so did his colleagues.

Al Jarud stayed for a considerable time in Madina to learn the tenets of the Islamic Faith. When he decided of travel back to his country he asked the Prophet (PBUH) for animals to cart them. These were not to be found. He asked the Prophet (PBUH) whether it was permissible to pick up animals on the way which did not belong to any of the people. The Prophet (PBUH) warned him against it and said it would plunge him into fire.[37] Al Jarud continued to remain steadfast in his faith and stuck to the right path and was considered one of the most trustworthy people.

3.4. Bahrain's Administration.

At the advent of Islam Bahrain was an appendage of the Sassanid Empire.[38] As is well known, the big state which stood up against the Sassanids and threatened them was the Byzantine Empire which, in addition to its acquisitions in North Africa and Europe also ruled Asia Minor and Syria. In other words all the north western region of the Sassanid Empire and the inhabitants of Central Asia

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37 Ibn Hisham, *op. cit.* Vol. 2. p. 575; Ibn Kathir, *op. cit.* Vol. 5, p. 48.

38 Al Blazeri, *op. cit.* p.68; Ibn Al Athir, *Al Kamil*: Vol. 2, p. 215; Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p. 222; Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit* Vol. 1. p. 208.

constituted a threat to it. No wonder, therefore, that the Sassanids devoted their attention to the strengthening their armies in the Northwestern Region facing the Roman Empire and confronting the dangers posed by the tribes in Khurasan. As for the region of the Arab Gulf it was not exposed to any danger and hence the Sassanids did not deploy any large forces there particularly before the advent of Islam when various debilitating and fissiparous tendencies had begun to assert themselves within the Sassanid State in the years following the death of Chosroe Anushirwan in 6H. Many leaders from outside the ruling family made many attempts to usurp the throne and many provincial governors behaved as if they were independent of any central authority.[39]

It is known that under the Sassanid regime a Marzaban was appointed to rule over the border regions with a considerable military power placed under him and he exercised both civil and military authority.[40] However, the situation in Bahrain and the Sassanid State was such that, as referred to earlier, the forces committed to the Marzaban of Bahrain were meagre. He was, in fact, required to look after the interests of the Persian Empire alone and his authority over the Arabs was weak and limited.

The Islamic sources have mentioned that the Marzaban of Bahrain at the advent

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39 Christenson: *Iran During the Sassanid Period*, p. 481; Translation by Yahay Al Khashab and Abdul Wahab Azzam, Cairo, 1957.

40 Al Yaqubi: *Al Tarikh*, Vol. 1. p.203; Al Masudi: *Al Tanbih wal Ishraf*, p.104.

of Islam was Sibakht [41] and his seat of power was in Hajr. The Holy Prophet (PBUH) wrote to him at the same time that he wrote to Al Mundhir Bin Sawi inviting him either to enter the fold of Islam or pay the *jizya* tax.[42] According to Blazeri he embraced Islam as a result of it.[43] However, it is probable that he did not accept Islam because the Islamic sources do not mention any role that he may have played in defending the new faith against the apostates who became active after the death of the Prophet (PBUH) and surrounded the Muslims.[44]At the same time it has to be conceded that he did not indulge in any overt anti-Islamic activity. The sources do not mention anything other than the letter of the Prophet (PBUH) to Sibakht which shows that the Persians were not happy with his position in regard to Islam and deposed him.

The sources mention that Al Muka'bar[45] Firoze Bin Jashish[46] was the Sassanid Force Commander in Bahrain and was also the Marzaban of Bahrain.[47] It is rather incongruous to maintain that the Sassanids appointed a Marzaban over Bahrain

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41 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.70; Ibn Hajar, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.115.

42 Yaqut al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.208; Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.* Vol.2, p. 227.

43 *ibid.* Vol. 1. p.208.

44 Caetani, Vol. 6. p.122.

45 The Arabs named him Al Muka'bar as he was known to chop off limbs such as hands and legs. Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.285.

46 Al Isfahani: *Tarikh Muluk il Ardh wal Anbiya*, p.116; *Mujma ' al Amthal*, Vol.1. p. 95.

47 Abu Ali Al Hajari, *op.cit.* p.232; Blazeri, *op. cit.* p .85. Al Tabari has described him as an agent of Chosroe over Bahrain.

after deposing Sibakht. It is quite likely that Seebakht was deposed because of his soft attitude to Islam. Firoze made Al Zara his headquarters.

This could be attributable to the fact that Al Zara was located on the coast where the Sassanid Fleet could lay anchor and the troops could assemble there with its rear flank secure. On the other hand, if the Muslims established their control over Hajr it would no more be a safe base for the Sassanids. Moreover its location in the interior could expose its Sassanian ruler to the danger of encirclement. It was linked to the Sassanian capital by[48] Boute. He resisted Islam and was killed in the year 13H.[49]

Understandably the Sassanids depended on the Arabs themselves to ensure the security of their western borders and for the control of the Arab tribes. In the vicinity of Iraq they supported the Manadhira State which based itself on Al Hira[50] and was able to control most of the tribes inhabiting the eastern part of the island. It spread its influence around Bahrain.[51]

In Bahrain they followed a similar policy and strengthened their military forces there and made use of the Arabs in running the administration. The Arabs of

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48 Al Jahiz: *Rasayil al Jahiz*, p.292.

49 Al Marzuqi: *Al Azmina wal Amkina*, Vol. 2. p.162.

50 About the State of Hira: *Ghanimat al Jira il Madaniyya wal Mamlakat al Arabiyya;* Al Ali: *Muhadharat Fi Tarikh il Arab*, Vol. 1. p 64.

51 Al Tabari: *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.198.

Bahrain naturally followed their traditional tribal organisations. They had their tribal chiefs and Shaikhs selected by the tribesmen themselves and not those imposed by the Persians. The weakness of the Sassanid authority and the prevalence of tribal tradition brought about differences and division among the tribes. Nevertheless the commercially flourishing towns of Bahrain demanded administrative organisations to run the system smoothly even though these differed from the tribal modes. The Persians, however, depended on the Arabs for running this administration.

The ruler of Bahrain at the advent of Islam[52] was Al Mundhir Bin Sawi of Bani Tamim. Ibn Habib states that Suq al Mashqar in Hajr (whose kings were from Bani Tamim Bin Abdulla Bin Zaid were from the family of Al Mundhir Bin Sawi) and most probably Al Mundhir was only nominally under the Sassanids and he wielded his power over the towns though it was not so in the case of the tribes over whom he had but limited control. His authority did not extend to all parts of Bahrain as is borne out by the letters which were sent by the Prophet (PBUH) to different groups of people and a number of its leading personalities.[53]

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52 Al Marzuq: *Al Azmina wal Amkana*, Vol. 2. p.162; Abul Fida: *Al Mukhtasar fi Akhbar il Bashar*,, Vol 1 p . 47.

53 Al Nuwairi, *op.cit.* Vol. 8. p.166.

3.5. Islamic Administration in the First Year of the Hijra.

After Islam established roots in Bahrain during the time of the Prophet (PBUH) Al Mundhir and the tribal leaders remained. After the revolt of the apostates was crushed and the Islamic State became stable by spreading its hegemony over all parts of the Arabian peninsula Bahrain became a part of this State and was placed under Hijaz for its administrative.[54] During the reign of Caliph Uthman Bin Affan Bahrain was affiliated to Basra.[55] When, later, Basra became a base for the conquest of Fars and South Iran[56] their governors were placed under the Amir of Basra.[57] This strengthened the bond between Bahrain and Basra and was instrumental in the migration of Abdul Qais and Azd to Basra.

Bahrain continued to be appended to Basra during the Umayyad period of rulewhen the Amir of Basra also supervised the administration of Iraq and the eastern areas including Khurasan and the territories situated on the Arab Gulf.[58] Yet Bahrain had a governor of its own and the list of names of these Governors

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54 Ibn Abd Rabbu: *Al Aqd Al Farid*, Vol. 5. p.8; Abu Naim Al Asfahani: *Tarikh Isfahan* Vol. 1. p 29.

55 Khalifa Bin Khayyat: *Al Tarikh*, Vol. 1. p.136; Al Dhahabi, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p. 81.

56 Al Ali: *Al Tanzimat al Ijtimaiyya wal Iqtisadiyya fil Basra fil Qarnil Awwal Al Hijri.* p. 42.

57 Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.109; Al Dhahabi, *op.cit.* Vol. p.81 - 82.

58 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.73; Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.207.

is available.[59] Their functions were similar to those of the governors of earlier times who had complete authority over their provinces. Their chief responsibility lay in collecting taxes and[60] preserving security and public order. The sources mention the presence of the police in Bahrain, Al Madayin has referred to one Abal Baha as being the head of the police in the year 80H.[61] Surely there would be police in other areas too but the sources do not mention them.

The Governor exercised his authority representing the Caliph and was the primary source of reference in all administrative matters. However, the extent of the area and the diversities which prevailed in the country made it incumbent that it was divided into smaller units. A few geographers of the third and fourth centuries of Hijra have described the administrative divisions of Bahrain.

There is no doubt that this description is based on the situation prevailing at that time and they must have derived their information from the records kept in Baghdad or from what they heard about the conditions in Bahrain as they existed. Most probably these administrative districts or at least most of them dated back to the First Century of Hijra if not to an earlier period.

In the book named *Al Mamalik wal Masalik* by Ibn Khardazaba there is a list of

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59 The list of Governors, see *Appendix V*, p.307.

60 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2. p.19; Ibn Hajar, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p. 239; Al Nuwaeiri, *op.cit.* Vol. 18. p. 167.

61 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.*, Vol. 6. p. 41.

names of the administrative districts of Bahrain. It is the oldest and the most comprehensive list which has reached us. That is the list on which the other geograhers have depended with a few additions or deletions. According to Ibn Khardazaba the Bahraini villages consisted of Al Katt, Qatif, Al Ara, Hajr, Al Furuq, Bainuma, Mashqar, Al Zara, Juwasha, Sabur, Darin, Al Ghaba, And Al Shinun.[62]

Ibn al Faqih has quoted these except that he has deleted Al Furuq and Al Shinun while adding Al Safa and Al Shab'an.[63] Qudama Bin Jafar has also quoted them but with the deletion of Al Ara, Hajr, Al Furuq, Bainuna, Al Zara and Al Shinun and the addition of Rumaila and Al Som.[64] As for Hamadani he has mentioned Hajr and Qatif among the villages of Bahrain and added the names of Uqair and Al Hasa.[65]Ibn Hawqal has only added the name of Awwal[66] to the list of Hamadani whereas Al Maqdisi has mentioned Al Sabon Uqqih, Al Hasa, Awal and Al Zarqa.[67] Perhaps these variations are due to deficiencies in the original texts of the printed books, printing errors and a change in the situation in Bahrain.

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62 Ibn Khardazaba, *op.cit.* p.152.

63 Yaqut al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p. 207.

64 *Al Khiraj*, *op.cit.* p. 249.

65 Al Hamadani: *Sifat Jazirat il Arab*, p. 168.

66 *Surat al Ardh*, p.25, He has added to the list Bee'a and Al Kharaj either mistakenly of it may refer to a later development.

67 Ibn Khardazaba, *op.cit.* p.152.

Some sources have referred to the presence of 'Manabir' in Bahrain or ' Dais ' and in other parts of the Arabian Island. There is no doubt that by ' mimber ' is meant the place where Friday congregation is held. The scholars of *fiqh* are agreed that such a dais or pulpit is justified only when there is a resident community with a sufficient number of people. Some others feel the need in such cases for a governor[68] to be there without mentioning the place. Al Harbi has mentioned that there were two ' mimbers ' or big platforms with a gap of several leagues of distance between them. One of them was in the kingdom of Ibn Ayyash of Abdul Qais Muhim Ahjar and the other in the Kingdom of Musa Bin Umran Bin Al Rajaf at Jabala where the inhabitants were from Abdul Qais.[69]

There was a dais in Uqair of the Bani Rajaf of Abdul Qais as also one in Thaj and another in Qalia.[70] There were two daises in Yebrin and one in Qatif. It appears from the context that the author, by this term, meant seats of governors except that he has not said if these administrative units were under ' Hajr ' or there were a number of smaller administrative units under a larger unit placed under Hajr. In fact the sum total of information contained in the lists of geographers does not prove that all the places mentioned by Al Harbi were administrative centres since these do not consider Thaj, Al Qali'a, or Yebren administrative centres.

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68 Al Ali: *Idarat al Hijaz*, p. 8. Lectures delivered to the students of the MA. class in Islamic History in 1968 - 69.

69 Ibn Khardazaba, *op.cit.* p. 221.

70 *ibid.* pp.220, 221.

Some of the administrative phrases used by certain sources perhaps indicate administrative divisions (*Al Masjid al Jami'*). Ibn Al Faqih says that the *Al Masjid al Jami'* is in Al Mashqar.[71] Ibn Abbas is quoted to have said "The first Friday I assembled and after a week I assembled in the Prophet's Mosque of the Abd Al Qais in Juatha in Bahrain".[72]

3.6. Bahrain Participates Against The Wars of the Apostates.

After the death of the Prophet (PBUH) the Arab tribes revolted[73] against the rule of Madina and in this context the Abdal Qais[74] tribe revolted against the Islamic State and its systems. It was not so much as a revolt against the Faith in the sense that its allegiance was affirmed to the person of Muhammad (PBUH). This is borne out by the fact that it returned to the fold after a brief meeting and dialogue with Al Jarud.[75]

The tribes of Bahrain were 'apostates' and this may be traced to their tribal beduin instinct and 'lack of any deep religious feeling' among their ranks.[76] In these

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71 Yaqut al Hamawi, *op.cit.*, Vol. 4 p.105.

72 Al Bukhari: *Al Jami' al Sahih*, Vol. 3. p.165; Abu Dawud, *Al Sunan*, Vol. 1 p. 264.

73 Thomas Arnold: *Al Sawa ilal Islam, p.* 61.

74 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p.171.

75 *ibid.* p.187.

76 Mahmud Ali Fayyaz: *Tarikh al Islam*, p.11.

circumstances Abu Bakr did not hesitate to send commanders to smother this intrigue. So he wrote a letter to the apostates bearing a single draft.[77]

Its only terse content was an order for them to return to the fold. Abu Bakr deputed Al Ala to Bahrain and gave him two letters.[78] One was addressed to him and the other to the apostates so that these helped him and his commanders in putting down revolt.[79]

Perhaps the reason that drove the people of Bahrain to apostasy was the death of Al Mundhir Bin Sawi after the death of the Prophet. Ibn Khaldun says[80] that Al Mundhir perhaps was an apostate but I think he remained steadfast in his faith until the last.[81] Another reason was the misunderstanding of the people of Bahrain in having to pay Zakat or the poor due. They thought that they were paying the tax to the Prophet personally and were not bound to pay to any other person.

The first to revolt in Bahrain were the Bani Bakr Bin Wayil.[82] The Rabia joined them under the leadership of Al Hatam Bin Dabia. Al Jarud Bin Umro Bin Al

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77 Ali Hasan Al Khafbotli: *Awamil Qiyam Harakat il Ridda,* p. 55.

78 Ahmed al Doumi & Hasan Saleh: *Abul Ala Al Hadhrami.* p 22.

79 Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.181.

80 *ibid.* p.190.

81 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p.184.

82 Ibn Al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.138.

Ma'alli of Rabia did not join the apostates,[83] but by virtue of his strong faith and mental prowess he brought them back to Islam. Bakr, some of Al Bawadi, a few from the people of Al Khatt,[84] Qatif, [85] and some Zatts and Sababaja [86] of Hajr also joined the revolt. Abu Bakr sent Al Ala Bin Al Hadrami at the head of one of the eleven armies to fight the apostates.[87]

The danger of this task lay in the great distance between Bahrain and Hijaz and because of the Rabia joining Al Hatam. Al Ala came to Bahrain by way of Al Dahna. It was a desolate desert without any water or pasture in it.[88] Ibn Sa'd[89] has stated that Al Ala started from Madina with 16 horsemen and a guide.[90] He carried Abu Bakr's letter addressed to the tribes living in the eastern islands asking them to join Al Ala to crush the apostates of Bahrain. Tabari[91] has described how Abu Bakr raised the troops from Madina and despatched them to be at the command of Ala in Bahrain. When Al Ala neared Yamama he was joined by Thamama Bin

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83 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p. 155.

84 Al Bakri, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.103.

85 Abul Fida, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p. 99.

86 Al Kharbotli: *Awamil*, p. 20.

87 Al Ahsai, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p. 76.

88 Ahmed al Doi & Hasan Al Anani: *Al Ala Bin Al Hadhrami,* p. 85.

89 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p.161.

90 *ibid.* p.171.

91 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p. 121.

Athal Al Hanafi,[92] Maslama Bin Dabi'a and Qais Bin Asim Al Manqari Al Tamimi from Bani Tamim.[93] Al Ala and his people faced great danger when they crossed Al Dahna but Al Ala's pluck and courage and the steadfastness of his team bore all trials and tribulations with patience.[94]

He faced a great trial when the army reached the middle of the desert and the camels were disturbed bolted with their loads. They had neither food nor water and out of sheer hopelessness they started appointing mutual testators fearing the worse.[95] Al Ala gathered them and scolded them but gave them some inspiration and courage.[96]

The people swung between hope and despair resigning themselves to fate. They spent the night praying and when the streaks of dawn appeared on the horizon they saw water springs. They washed themselves and quenched their thirst. When the sun rose the camels returned with their loads intact.[97]This proved the genius of Ala and his faith in God which carried the day and they emerged victorious

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92 Ibn al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p. 249.

93 Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.183.

94 Mahmud Khatab: *Qadat Fat'h Bilad Fars,* p. 251.

95 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p. 257.

96 *ibid.*

97 *ibid.*

from the test.[98]

When Al Ala overcame the situation he rushed to Bahrain but he found the circumstances even more appalling than he could imagine. Most tribes had gone back on their faith and their revolt was armed this time. The few Muslims who remained had been surrounded. The siege was protracted and vicious. As soon as they reached Bahrain he sent for Al Jarud, informing him of his arrival and seeking his support against Al Hatam. Ala went to Hajr where the Muslims gathered in his support and entrenched themselves. Al Hatam gathered his forces and the infidels joined him except for the people of Darin. They also entrenched themselves. The Prophet (PBUH) had sent Abu Huraira with Al Ala Hadrami and entrusted to him good advice.[99]

What attracts attention is that in Bahrain Islam spread quite smoothly because Mundhir Bin Sawi responded to the Prophet's call without any resistance.[100]Hence when the Prophet (PBUH) sent Al Ala Bin Al Hadrami to Bahrain the call of Islam found a receptive climate and a fertile soil therein. It spread fast and all Arabs entered the fold of Islam.[101]

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98 Abu Huraira said to him: "I saw three things of Ala. He crossed the sea on horseback on the day of Darin. At Dahna he prayed for water which came to be provided. When he died and we had no water, God sent down rains and thus we washed his body and dug for him a grave with our swords and buried him according to custom." Al Dahabi: *Sair al Nubula*, Vol. 1. p. 192.

99 Ibn Hajar, *op. cit.* Vol. 3. p.105.

100 Ibn Al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p. 119.

101 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p. 158.

3. 7. The System of Rule and Administration.

Before the advent of Islam Bahrain was administered through a Persian Government.[102] The representative of the Persian Governor was called Marzaban. He was invested with vast powers in administering the territories which were placed under him. In order to make his authority palpable to the ruled subjects a largish military force fully equipped with its armaments was placed at his disposal.[103]

Despite the presence of this Persian armed force we find that the Marzaban wielded little power even with the Arabs who were spread out all along the western coast of the Arab Gulf. It seems that the task of the Persian Marzaban was restricted to supervise the possessions of the Persian state while the Arabs looked after the organisation and administration of the principalities which they supervised.[104]

The Arabs joined the Persians in the administration of the territories which were under their supervision in Bahrain. In the light of these facts it may be stated that Bahrain was nominally under the Persians particularly during the period of rule of Al Mundhir Bin Sawi. It proves the nominal authority of the Persians because Al Mundhir wielded power over all areas which were under his rule. What further

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102 George Hurani : *Al Arab Wal Milaha*, p. 173.

103 Al Masudi, *op.cit.* p. 104.

104 George Hourani, *op cit*, p. 174.

lends credence to this conclusion is the fact that when the letter of the Prophet of God (PBUH) reached Mundhir Bin Sawi inviting him to enter the fold of Islam he did not waver and embraced Islam and remained steadfast until his death.[105]

One who follows the letters which were sent by the Prophet (PBUH) to Bahrain finds that there were many than one[106] showing conclusively that Bahrain was being run by more than one ruler. It also shows that the authority of Mundhir Bin Sawi in Bahrain was restricted to certain towns, and the administration of the Arab tribes was in the hands of their Shaikhs.

It seems that most of the towns in Bahrain were under the tribal system which vested authority in tribal leaders who had the final say in the selection of the young men of the tribes who were entrusted with the responsibility of running the administration. This process of selection took place far away from the seat of Persian authority. It is noteworthy that the many towns that sprang up in Bahrain and its flourishing trade had much to do with bringing into being a fairly well developed system of administration capable of conducting its tasks with competence.

Abul Fida has narrated[107] how Bahrain was under Arab rule at the time of the advent of Islam functioning on behalf of the Persians. Hence it was that the

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105 Abul Fida, *op. cit.* Vol.1. p. 46.

106 see the *Appendix I,* p.289.

107 Abu Fida, *op.cit.* Vol.1. p. 46.

letter of the Prophet (PBUH) was directed to Mundhir Bin Sawi who was the Ruler of Bahrain functioning for the Persians.

The Governor of Bahrain represented the sovereign power in the country. He dealt with people's affairs, looked into their grievances, whether general or personal, appointed regional rulers, commanders of the army etc. It appears that Bahrain was within the framework of political unity, divided into several administrative units as indicated by Ibn Khardaziba.[108] The earliest list of such units refer to Khatt, Qatif, Ara, Hajr, Al Faruq, Bainuna, Maqshar, Zara, Juwatha, Sabur, Ghaba and Shinun. These unit names have been mentioned by some Arab geographers with a few additions in some cases and some deletions in others. We thus find that the geographers have spoken of the Administrative Divisions of Bahrain though with differences. The divisions mentioned by Ibn Khardazaba are the most authentic as they happen to be the oldest mentioned by Arab geographers about Bahrain.

Historical sources have mentioned the names of the Governors of Bahrain since its Islamic conquest but they are silent over the names of the heads of its administrative divisions. Perhaps the reason is traceable to the fact that their powers were limited and did not go beyond local supervision of administration in a narrow field. Their close link with the Governor of Bahrain restricted their own individual roles as the Governor was the one who was directly responsible

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108 Al Bakri, *op.cit.* p. 152.

for them. The Governors of Bahrain during the times of the Prophet (PBUH), Abu Bakr and Umar and during the Caliphate of Ali Umro Bin Abi Salma, a foster-son of the Prophet (PBUH) but very soon he was replaced by Nu'man Bin Al Ajlan Al Zarqi Al Ansari.[109]

When the affairs of the Islamic State was devolved on Muawia Bin Abu Sufian he started appointing Umayyads to the post in various countries. He sent Al Ahwadh Bin Umayya [110] to Bahrain. Mu'awia tried to limit the governorship of Bahrain to Bani Umayya alone. The Umayyad State started attaching great importance to Bahrain and it used to send Governors there sometimes solely for Bahrain and sometimes in conjunction with Yamama or Yemen. In most cases the governors were Hijazi Arabs.

The fact that the Umayyads depended on the Hijazi Arabs, particularly from the Umawi branch to administer Bahrain may be explained by the economic importance which this region had acquired and which had become a vital commercial entrepot. It retained its importance in the Islamic world even after the establishment of Wasit and Baghdad. This region had become one of the biggest administrative centres in the middle of the First Century of Hijra.

It should be noted that Basra had become a big administrative centre during the

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109 Al Ahsai, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p. 74.

110 Ibn Al Khayyat: *Al Tarikh*, Vol. 1. p. 224.

reign of Abdullaah Bin Amer (25- 36 H). It, therefore, became the directing bureau responsible for serving the interests of Bahraini Arabs and perhaps he prevailed upon the tribes of Abdul Qais to migrate to Basra finally.[111]

When matters of the Islamic State devolved to the Abbasids and Abul Abbas Al Saffah became the Caliph, he appointed his uncle Dawud Bin Ali governor over Makka, Madina, Yemen and Bahrain. Thereafter his uncle Uthman became the governor on the death of Dawud and presided over Basra and Bahrain. Thus the successive Abbasid Caliphs took great care in securing Bahrain for themselves and subjecting it under their influence. They also arranged to ensure that the governors were Arab linked closely with the House of Abbas. They were careful to keep Bahrain away from the Persian conflict.[112]

When Abu Jafar Al Mansur assumed the Caliphate he deputed Al Sirri Bin Abdulla Al Hashimi to Yamama and Bahrain. In 139 H, Sufyan Bin Mu'awia Bin Abi Safra was appointed the Governor. In 140 H the governor was Qasham Bin Al Abbas Ibn Abdullah in 152 H. He was succeeded by Nafi Bin Ghalaba and later by Tamim Bin Said Bin Da'laj In 175H. Thereafter Hamzat Al Katib became the Governor.

When Al Mahdi assumed rule he sacked Hamza and gave the charge to Abdulla

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111 Saleh Al Ali: *Al Tanzimat al Ijtimaiyya,* p. 19.

112 Al Ahsai, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p. 80.

Bin Mas'ab Wasawid, the Khurasani leader. Then he removed him and appointed Saleh Ibn Dawud Bin Mohammed in 164H whom he removed and appointed in his place Al Ma'alli in 165/169 H.[113]

However, during the Caliphate of Musa Hadi the governorship of Bahrain was held by Muhammad Bin Suleiman Ibn Ali Bin Abdulla. When Harun Al Rashid assumed the Caliphate, Saif Bin Bakr revolted and was liquidated and Suleiman Bin Abdul Malik appointed to govern Bahrain. When the management of Muslim affairs passed into the hands of Al Mu'tasam he appointed Ishaq Bin Hamisa over Bahrain.[114]

When Al Mutaeakkil Ala Allah assumed control over the Abbasid State he appointed Muhammad Ibn Ishaq Ibn Ibrahim over Bahrain. Thus, Bahrain remained throughout the period of Abbasid rule under Arab governors appointed by the Caliph in accordance with the qualifications which appealed to him in the appointed individual for running the affairs of Bahrain.

The Prophet (PBUH) used to send scholars of Islamic jurisprudence to teach the tribes and explain to them the Qur'anic injunctions. He was laying down the rudiments of administrative organization with a religious overtone. Then came the organization of labour and of civil servants in certain towns and big tribal

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113 Al Ahsai, *op.cit.* Vol.1. p. 89.

114 Blazeri, *op.cit.* p. 95.

units.

The duty of the governor of Bahrain was to head the Muslim community in prayer and issue orders for the collection of *zakat* (tax) and tribute. The governor's salary during the times of the Prophet (PBUH) was a dirham each day.[115] The region of Bahrain was considered a single province [116] with all administrative department present in it. The governor had wide powers for carrying out at his discretion all utilities and services whether religious or temporal.

The administrative system during the period of the Umayyads remained very simple where the functions and the jurisdiction were not as multifarious as they became during the Abbasids. The Governor of the Bahrain Region used to organize financial affairs, the judiciary, post and communications.[117]

3. 8. Al Imam in Bahrain.

One of the important acts which were accomplished during the period of Caliph Uthman Bin Affan was the compilation of the Book of God, a copy of the Qur'an which was called *al imam*. The aim of this was to prepare a single, united, authentic and faultless text for the Islamic community to rely on and recite. This

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115 Ibn Hisham, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.500.

116 *The Social Structure of Islam,* p. 82.

117 Abu Yusuf, *op.cit.* p. 20.

noble act was completed in the year 25H. Once the authenticated copies were ready, Caliph Uthman Bin Affan, after obtaining the consent of the community, ordered all other manuscripts, texts and other bits on which the sacred texts were written and which were with the Companions to be destroyed by burning.

There are different versions about the number of copies of the Qur'an prepared under the supervision of Caliph Uthman Bin Affan. There was a difference of opinion on the number of copies produced: the first is that there were four and these were sent to Kufa, Basra and Syria with one retained by the Caliph himself; Second that there were seven copies which were sent to Syria, Yemen, Bahrain, Basra and Kufa and one was left at Madina.[118]

The version which says that Caliph Uthman Bin Affan got seven copies prepared looks correct and logical. It does not stand to reason that the Caliph would select some and ignore some other centres of the Islamic State particularly because Makka, Yemen and Bahrain were important Islamic centres at that historical period at the advent of Islam. Moreover the Muslims were anxious to have authentic copies from the original source which was prepared by Caliph Uthman, certified and sealed by him. This copy *al imam*, was the original from which other copies were made to serve other regions. It was also for official reference fully certified and from which comparisons could be made of the correctness of the original copies.

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118 Muhammad Yusuf, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.225.

3. 9. The Distinguished Companion Al Ala Al Hadhrami.

It is but moot that we tarry a while to get to know the personality of the envoy of the Prophet, his illustrious companion, Al Ala Al Hadhrami. He was the scribe of the Revelations, the ambassador of the Prophet and the commander of the army of Abu Bakr Al Siddiq. He was efficient and capable, wise and logical and was associated with Bahrain since the year 6H.[119] He lived here for a long time at different intervals until the assumption of the Caliphate by Umar Ibn Al Khattab.

The full name of Al Ala Hadhrami was Al Ala Bin Abdulla Bin Amad Al Hadhrami allied to Abd Shams.[120] He passed away in 21.H (642 AD). He was originally from Hadhramaut but was born in Makka where he grew up and flourished. He embraced Islam at the beginning of the mission.

He embraced Islam even when his two brothers Amer and Umro did not. He was a very close companion of the Prophet and close to the Book of Revelation.[121] He was a unique and distinguished companion, eloquent in his expression showing wisdom and logic.

Al Ala Al Hadhrami was the first Muslim to launch a seaborne expedition and the

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119 Al Blazeri, *op.cit.* p.150.

120 Abdulla Al Khalifa: *Al Bahrain abr Al Tarikh*, Vol. 1. p.100.

121 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.218.

first to build a mosque outside the Arabian Island. It is believed that the mosque was the al Khagmis mosque in Bahrain. He was first too impose the *jizya* tax on the non- believers as also the first to design the engraving of the seal of the Caliph. During the times of the Prophet Al Mundhir Bin Sawi was the ruler of Bahrain on behalf of the Prophet and Al Ala Al Hadhrami was a commander very close to him helping him in both religious and secular matters. He was appointed the Governor of Bahrain after Mundhir Bin Sawh's death.

This appointment was done by Caliph Abu Bakr Al Siddiq. This was continued by Caliph Umar Bin Al Kahttab. However, there is some difference of opinion on this score. It is said that he continued to be in Bahrain until his death and was buried there. The second account has it that Caliph Umar made him the Governor of Basra but he died on his way there at a village belonging to the Tamim close to Kuwait of the present day.

He was prompted in his response to the call, was well loved by his people, established justice and spread the message of Islam. The fact that Al Ala continued as a governor during the period of two successive Caliphs shows that he was on a good wicket with both the Caliphate and the people. He is one of the foremost personalities of Islam who raised its banner in various countries by virtue of his strength, persistence, capability and efficiency.

3. 10. Tribute to be Paid by Bahrain.

The Prophet (PBUH) wrote to Al Mundhir Bin Sawi asking him to send the tribute due from Bahrain through Qudama and Abu Huraira, the two envoys of the Prophet (PBUH) who were to receive these amounts and return with the collections. Blazeri talks of the amount sent to the Prophet and says: "Al Ala Al Hadhrami sent Dinars 80,000[122] to the Prophet. None exceeded this amount either before him or after him. Some of it was given to Al Abbas his uncle." It is said that the first ever tribute to reach Madina was that of Bahrain. It is learnt that the *jizya* tax imposed on Bahrain was one dinar per adult if he did not embrace Islam.

3. 11. Defence and War Systems.

There is no doubt that Bahrain nurtured the need for soldiers to defend its borders. Perhaps the army hierarchy was lucky in having an official organization. At first the army was based on a voluntary force but during the times of Umar Bin Khattab the Bahrain Army became a conscript army as rules were framed for it and for providing subistence to the Muslims. Salaries and other benefits were fixed for regular soldiers and they were paid by the Muslim Treasury.[123]

When Uthman permitted Mu'awiya to undertake a seaborne expedition he

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122 Muhammad Hussain Haikal: *Hayat Muhammad,* p.99.

123 Ibn al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.159.

enjoined on him to be good to the people and no hate them and select a chosen group for this kind of operation. However, during his period conscription was imposed to complete the conquests and the regulars received their pay and subsistence. We may estimate the number of cavalrymen in the army to be[124] ten thousand apart from the foot-soldiers and volunteers.

Umar Ibn Khattab laid down a punishment for those who avoided war by removing their turbans. He instructed all his representatives to announce this punishment to all. This was enforced in Bahrain[125] so that they be adversely noted by the society.[126] During the times of the Prophet the ranks which were known in Bahrain were those of captain and corporal. The rank of *khalifa* was known during the times of Umar Ibn Al Khattab and a *khalifa* commanded 50 soldiers. The commander of 100 men was called a 'Qaid", "Amir al Kardos " commander 1,000 and Amir al Jaish or army commander had 10,000 more troops under him.[127]

The functionary in the territory of Bahrain used to supervise the training of the soldiers himself, particularly the horsemen. He used to watch military parades or war manoeuvres and accompany the daily practises. There were specialists in horses who knew the hybrid from the pedigree ones, knew their diseases and

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124 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 4 p. 196.

125 Tawfiq al Azam: *Mashahir al Islam*, p. 316.

126 Ibn al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p.158.

127 Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p. 299.

how to provide veterinary care. The military organizations in the territory of Bahrain did not undergo many changes during the Umayyad and Abbasid reigns but the perks were diversified, pay increased and weapons renovated.

The Prophet (PBUH) did not prescribe any age for entry into soldiering. During the reign of Umar it was ruled that the entrant should be an adult Muslim of sound mind and body who is not frightened of fighting.[128] Bani Umayya and Bani Abbas added to these the minimum age of 15. The commanders and soldiers of Bahrain enriched themselves during the times of Umar in particular as they captured much booty and other gifts and rewards given by the Commander of the Faithful.

During the Umayyad period the pay scales were sometimes increased and sometimes decreased according to the political circumstances and intrigues of the times. The increases more often compensated the decreases because the State wanted to keep the soldiers in good humour. The State desired to respond favourably to their demands and wants by increasing their privileges.

The army of Bahrain is known to have had a number of commandoes. In wars the army is said to have used shields including leather shields for defence, dug trenches, built forts, and fences and used coats of armour made of light metal rings known as *sabigha*. It covered the entire body and it had long sleeves with

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128 Al Idrisi: *Al Taratib al Idariyya*, Vol. 1. p.357.

an apron reaching half the leg length. The more daring horsemen made light of the ones who wore them showing off their pride. The soldiers in front ranks usually wore them.[129]

The Arabs learnt from the Jews how to build fortresses who inturn had learnt from the Romans and had excelled in them. They put their women, children and old men in these forts. The Bahrain army used many weapons and were famous for some of them such as swords, spears, bows and arrows.

There in no doubt that the sword has been the most popular of Arab weapons. As for spears they used many kinds of heads including those made from certain kinds of hard wood. There were many sizes of spears; the short one less than 4 arms lengths and bearing different names such as *naizak*, *ghazza*. There were many names for the same type of spear. The Muslims used to clear up the canal and smear it with oil to make it remain soft.[130] They used to train on throwing the spear by blocking the stabs with an iron ring called *al watra* . The bow was made from a hill - grown strong wood strongly curved and stringed with leather lace round the neck of a camel.

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129 Al Waqidi: *Futuh al Sham,* Vol. 1. p.33.

130 Al Bustani: *Dairatul Ma'arif,* Vol. 16. p. 699.

3. 12. The Judicial System.

a) Judiciary

The Abbasids ever since the establishment of their state, attached great importance to the judiciary. The Caliphs selected the judges and posted them to different provinces.[131] They also used to follow their work and the orders issued by them through the post.[132]

The Abbasids instituted the post of chief Justice. This incumbent lived in the capital of the Caliphate and supervised the judicial affairs in all parts of the State such as the appointment and the discharge of judges, ensuring their qualifications and following up their decrees and actions.[133]

As for the condition which had to be fulfilled for becoming a judge it was stipulated that a judge should be a male,[134] an adult, wise, a freeman, a Muslim, just, with all his senses working properly such as his eyes and ears,[135] and should

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131 The selecting of judges was left to the discretion of the governors during the Omayyed reign. Al Kindi: *Al Wulat wa Qudhat*, p. 311.

132 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 9. p. 315.

133 Muhammad Salm Madkur: *Al Qada fil Islam*, p.31.

134 Al Mawardi: *Al Ahkam al Sultania*, p. 44.

135 Ibn al Jouzi: *Al Muntazam fi Tarikh il Muluk wal Umam*, Vol. 6.

know the laws of *Shari'a*.[136]

The ceremony of the assumption of the judge's post in the Provinces was sometimes held in the capital of the Caliphate. However, if a judge nominated for a province happened to be in the capital he was interviewed by the Chief justice to assess his competence and if found fit was given his charge. He then proceeded to his province. If the person concerned was already in the province the charge was sent to him.[137]

The judges wore black dress.[138]The dress consisted of sandals, a long robe and a large cap. The judges cared for their uniform while sitting on the bench so that they maintained awe and dignity. The sources do not mention their rates of pay It could have been around 500 dinars a month. In the provinces their pay was not fixed but it varied around 4,000 dirhams.

Ordinarily the court held its sessions in a mosque since the Muslims came there to perform their ritual prayers. The judge sitting in a mosque maintained the sanctity of the place. However, Caliph Al Mu'tadad (279H) ruled that the judges should not hold their sessions in mosques.[139] Hence they started holding the sittings in their houses. After a short while they returned once again to the

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136 Al Mawardi, *op. cit*. p. 65.

137 *ibid*. p. 70.

138 Ibn Khalkan: *Wafiyyat al A'yan*, Vol. 6. p.379.

139 Abul Mahasin: *Al Nujum al Zhira*, Vol. 2. p. 87.

mosques.[140] The sittings were open.[141] The adversaries presented their respective cases in the first place in front of the judge in standing position thereafter the system changed to sitting positions.

b) Judicial Duties

When the judge could not perform his task by himself there was need to induct many assistants.

c) The Clerks

The clerks collected the papers concerning the dispute to be presented to the Judge before his arrival.[142]

d) The Usher

He arranged the entry of the litigants and prevented fracas between them.[143]

3. 13. The Police.

The police are the soldiers who were pledged to the ruler to ensure security, protect order, arrest the criminals and antisocial elements etc, and such other

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140 Al Baghdadi: *Tarikh Baghdad*, Vol. 14. p. 322.

141 Adam Metz: *Al Hadarat al Islamiyya*, Vol. 1. p. 415.

142 *ibid.* Vol. 1 p. 412.

143 Al Mawardi, *op. cit.* p. 204.

administrative functions as may guarantee the security of the people and their confidence through recognized procedures and emblems.

Umar was the first to introduce the system of night patrolling[144] and during the reign of Ali Bin Abu Talib the police force was organized. Its head was chosen from among the leading people of the society with plenty of nerve and strength.

The police were subservient to the law and the judiciary in the first instance and enforced judicial orders. Its chief laid down the scale of punishments but soon the executive was separated from the judiciary. The Police Chief became free to look into crimes exclusively.[145]

3. 14. The Invasion of Fars From Bahrain.

In the year 17.H, the Muslims invaded the land of Fars from Bahrain. During the reign of Abu Bakr, Al Ala Bin Al Hadrami was the Governor of Bahrain but he was dismissed by Umar who put Qudamam Bin Al Mazun in his place. There was rivalry between Al Ala and Sa'd and Al Ala triumphed over Sa'd in the Battle of the Apostates. Later Sa'd won a victory in Qadisiyya when he turned out the Akasira from Al Dar and captured boundaries beyond Al Sawad. He thus achieved prominence more than Al Ala. Al Ala was eager to do something

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144 Al Qalqashandi, *op.cit.* Vol. 14. p.367.

145 Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.* p .217.

against Sa'd. In this rivalry Al Ala overlooked the difference between obedience and disobedience. Abu Bakr had employed him and given permission to him to fight the Apostates. Umar employed him but forbade him to venture across the seas. Al Ala did not appreciate the difference between obedience and the consequences of disobedience. He goaded the people of Bahrain against Fars and they were convinced of its necessity. They formed various soldier groups to mount the invasion. One group was under Al Jarud Al Ma'alla, the second under Sawwar Bin Hammam; the third under Khulaid Bin Al Munzir Bin Sawi while Khalid was the overall commander who launched the attack by sea against Fars without Umar's permission. Umar did not permit any one to make rash invasions which would put the lives of soldiers at risk, a policy practised by the prophet.

Abu Bakr also followed in the footsteps of the Prophet and was cautious in committing troops to war recklessly. Contrary to this spirit the troops from Bahrain crossed the sea to assault Fars. They went out to Istakhr to challenge the people of Fars headed by Harbaz. They rallied their forces and stood between the Muslims and their ships. Khulaid stood up among his people and exhorted them to gird up their loins and throw themselves into the battle, as the ships and the land would belong to whoever won. He asked them to exercise patience and pray to God except those who were afraid. They rallied to his call and fought a fierce battle at a place known as Taoos in which Sawwar and Al Jarud were both killed. The Persians killed a large number of the attackers who wanted to repair to Basra. Their ships had been sunk and they could not move by sea. Shahrak took on the Muslims and cut their routes. When the news of the debacle reached Umar

he was very angry with Al Ala and wrote to him sacking him. He was harsh with him by setting Sa'd against him.[146]

Now he ordered him to go to the rescue of Sa'd with available men which he did. Umar Ibn Al Khattab wrote to Ataba Bin Ghazwan. "Al Ala Bin Al Hadrami made a scapegoat of the Muslims who were cut off by the Persians. He disobeyed me and hence I was concerned lest they should suffer defeat."[147] Ataba lamented and informed the people of the letter of Umar. The Muslims received reinforcements and they fought bravely. God granted them success; the infidels were crushed and the people of Hajar returned home to their tribes who had been rescued from Abd al Qais at a place known al *Suq al Bahrain*.

3. 15. 300 Horsemen Participated in the Battle of Basra and Siffin.

Imam Ali Bin Abu Talib did not function as a Caliph for more than 5 years and this period was noted for long spells of war. Thus it did not leave any margin for the Commander of the Faithful to spread stability and prosperity in the various parts of the Islamic world. However, the people of Bahrain were the supporters of this just and pious Imam. They stood by him in the wars of Basra and Siffin. Hakeem Bin Jabala Al Abdi along with 300 hourse men of Abd al Qais and Rabi'a joined Imam Ali Bin Abu Talib in the three wars waged by him.

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146 Al Tabari, op.cit. Vol. 2. p. 499.

147 *ibid.*

Caliph Ali Bin Abu Talib selected a group of Bahrainis to be his senior companions and among them were Sa'sa' Bin Sauhan Al Abdi, Rasheed al Hajari and Al Harith Bin Murra. The last named invaded Sind during the reign of Al Imam Ali Bin Abu Talib. Among his other Bahraini supporters were Aban Bin Said Bin Al Aas, Umar Bin Um Salma and Ma'bad Bin Al Abbas Bin Abdul Muttalib.[148]

3. 16. The Personality of the Governor of Bahrain during the Tenure of Umar Ibn Al Khattab.

He was Abdul Rahman Bin Hanhar Al Dosy,[149] a companion of the Prophet who embraced Islam and remained in his native place of *Dos* until 6.H. Then he headed a large delegation of his people to the Prophet (PBUH) at Madina. He was a prominent figure during the times of the Prophet (PBUH) though poor. He loved the Prophet (PBUH) greatly and endeared himself to him more than anyone else.

Abu Huraira constantly kept company of the Prophet (PBUH) and was the foremost among those who quoted his oral and other traditions (*hadith*), with the recorded number reaching 5,374. Abu Huraira outlived the Prophet (PBUH) by 60 years thus being a contemporary of both Rashidite as well as most of

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148 Ibn Hisham, *op.cit.*

149 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p.339.

Mu'awiya Caliphates. He used to recite to the Prophet (PBUH)[150] as he divided his nights into three.

3. 17. The Kharijites.

The historians associate the emergence of the Kharijites with the incident of arbitration in the Battle of Saffin. Originally the Kharijites obtained their identity when they revolted against Imam Ali when he accepted arbitration at Saffein. They did not acknowledge arbitration based on rational discussions.[151] They adopted their slogan, "No rule but of God." Imam Ali tried to convince them of the correctness of his action but failed and was driven to fight against them and kill a number of them at Nahrawan.[152]

Then a group of the Kharijites selected Yamama to settle because they thought that the conditions prevailing there would be conducive to their ideas. There they had support and concurrence as well as sympathy probably because of tribal ties as they were a clan of Yamama. In 65.H the Kharijites of Yamama elected Aba Talut as their chief. They however, made a provision to have the right to change

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150 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.370.

151 Wihausen: *Al Khawarij wa Shi'a*, Vol. 1. p.31 Translated by Abdur Rahman Badawi; Irfan Abdul Majid, *Dirasat fil Firaq wal Aqayid il Islamia*, pp. 66 -76 Coldseir: *Al Aqida wal Shari'a fil Islam*. p. 170. Trans by Muhammad Yusuf.

152 Al Mibrad: *Al Kamil fil Lugha wal Adab wal Nahw wal Tasrddf* , Vol. 3 p.192. Al Tabari, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1. p.60.

him and swear allegiance to someone better if they found one.[153]

Abu Talut established his control over Al Khadarim in Yamama. They belonged to Bani Hanifa originally but were adopted by Mu'awia Bin Abi Sufian who turned 4,000 out of them into slaves and arrested them. Abu Talut distributed these slaves among his followers. This was contrary to the principle of equality which the Kharijites preached. It seemed that equality applied only to free men and not to salves. Abu Talut established estates and added to the number of his followers.[154] Some of them were Arabs who looked forward to some booty to fall to their share. Some others were from Bakr and Hanifa who supported the Kharijites due to tribal susceptibilities as they resented Umayyad rule. The Kharijites psyche was that of the Beduin glorifying fighting.

When Nafi' Bin Al Azraf and his followers left Basra for Ahwaz in 64.H he adopted many extremist beliefs one of which was that piety was not permissible. Another was that those who opposed them were infidels and it was forbidden to intermarry with them or inherit from them or eat the animals sacrificed by them. It was forbidden to return their things held in trust. It was proper to kill their women and children who did not subscribe to their faith, all their agreements were void and one who went to them was to be subjected to tribulation. These extremist views were not accepted by a number of Kharijites who were with him.

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153 Al Tabari, Vol. 6. p. 126.

154 Ibn Al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p. 201; Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.*, Vol 3, p. 313; Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. pp. 150.

Najda Bin Amer and his friend left him and turned their backs on him as they considered the doctrine which he propounded to be contrary to the Qur'an and the Sunnah and to the beliefs of ancient Kharijites. They were called "The People of Inquiry " as they doubted the doctrine. They said to Nafi, you have enjoined things which were not done by the ancient people of Al Nahrawan and the men of faith. He said: "This is based on me and not on them."[155] Najda considered piety to be in order. When possible Jihad was preferable; it was obligatory to return one's trust. He rejected the killing of children.[156]

The harsh views adopted by Nafi' Bin Al Azraq was described by the Kharijites as the beginning of a dangerous phase. It opened a vast vista for a long running ideological debate with the iconoclasts among them resulting in a widely differing points of view and positions . It brought about a cleavage among them. There is no doubt that the moderate views represented by Al Najdan were closer to the general Muslim opinion.

The Kharijites group which bifurcated from Nafi' Bin Al Azraq under the leadership of Najda Bin Amer Al Hanafi went over to Yamama and settled down in Abadh.[157] Surely the reason for their selecting Yamama was its isolation and its discontent population, its ancient culture and its wealth. Perhaps the tribal

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155 Al Mibrad, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p. 103; Al Shihrastani: *Al Mulk wal Nahl* Vol. 1. p. 93.

156 Al Tabari, Vol. 4. p.201.

157 Abadh: It is a village in Yamama. Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p. 72; Ibn Abul Hadid: *Sharh Nahj al Balagha,* Vol. 2. p. 10.

feeling was also a factor as they were a clan of Yamama.

Najda was confronted near Jabala.[158] A caravan from Basra was on its way to Makka which was under Ibn Zubair. He gained control over it and brought the booty to Abi Talut at Al Khadarim where it was distributed. Najda advised the Kharijites to return the slaves who had been distributed to them.

He asked them to return the slaves to their land to be tilled for their benefit.[159] In other words he retained slavery and did not abolish it. In this manner he affirmed that equality could only be between the free people. But he wanted to follow the policy of Caliph Umar Ibn Al Khattab of establishing the sovereignty of State than of individuals. The Kharijites approved this opinion and pledged their loyalty to him. Abu Taluq also pledged his loyalty to him and selected him to be the Caliph and he was not to be deposed except for apparent oppression. That was in the year 66H.[160] His age was 30 years then.[161] These Kharijites were known as Najdat of Najdiyya in relation to the name of the leader they chose for themselves.[162]

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158 Jabala in a part of Tamim about 5 nights from Hajr. Al Tabari, Vol. 6. p.15.

159 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p. 15. ; Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.* Vol. 3 p. 213.

160 Al Mibrad, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p. 103.

161 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p.15.

162 Al Baghdadi: *Al Farq Bein Al Firaq,* p. 87; Ibn Hazm: *Al Fasl fil Malal wal Ahwa Wal Nahl,* Vol. 4. p. 190; Al Qalqashandi, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p. 80.

After the swearing in, Najda stayed several months in Yamama during which his followers increased and naturally most of them were from Bakr Bin Wayil and Hanifa. They were the two major tribes of Yamama. Nasr Bin Malik Al Hanafi along with 300 men marched to Bahrain But Saeed Bin Al Harith Al Ansari of Bahrain held their attack. Najda mounted another assault with Qudama Bin Al Mundhir Bin Al Nu'man and 300 men.[163] The attack launched by Bani Ka'b Bin Rabi'a Bin Amer Ibn Sa'sa' on *Suq zil Majaz* near Arafa and its plunder made Najda change his mind about attacking Bahrain. He wrote to Qudama Bin Al Mundhir and Abi Sa'da Al Ajali and others who had been directed to Bahrain and withdrew them and directed Bin Wayil and Qudama Bin Al Mundhir Al Nu'man along with 300 men to Bani Ka'b Bin Rabi'a who were in Zil Majaz. Najda followed them with 400 men[164] where the encounter took place. Najda defeated them and killed a large number of them.[165] Then Najda returned to Al Yamama. On the way a large number of people joined him until their number reached 3000.[166] He appointed Imara Bin Salma as his successor in Yamama.[167] He was the son of the famous Bin Hanifa of the Amirate of Wayl[168] and headed for Bahrain in 67. H. The Al Azd welcomed him and joined him but Abd al Qais did not submit to him and decided to fight him out. The encounter took place in

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163 Al Tabari, *op. cit.* Vol. 6. p. 15.

164 *ibid.* 500 men. Vol. 6. p. 15.

165 Ibn Al Athir, *op. cit.* Vol. 4. p. 202; Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.* Vol 3 p. 213.

166 *ibid.* Vol. 4. p. 201; Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.* Vol 3 p. 213 .

167 Al Baghdadi, *op.cit.* p.87.

168 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p. 35.

Qatif but they were defeated and a large number of them were killed. Najda took a number of captives form among the people of Qatif.[169]

After its conquest Najda stayed in Qatif and directed his son Al Matrah to pursue the defeated columns of Abdul Qais. He overtook them in Al Thuwair[170] but Al Matrah was killed along with a number of his followers.[171] Then Najda despatched a detachment to Al Khatt under the command of Dawud Al Akali[172] who was able to emerge victorious over the people[173] and thus his authority extended to a great part of Bahrain and Al Khatt.

It seems from the foregoing that the Kharijite Movement started in Yamama and it depended on Bakr and Hanifa.[174] The people of Bahrain did not support the Kharijite during this phase and hence they subdued Bahrain by force of arms. Bahrain did not participate in the movement in its initial phases launched from Yamama and the Abdul Qais were opposed to it at that time.

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169 Ibn Al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p.202; Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p.144; Al Dhahabi, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p.33.

170 Al Thuwair: *Abairaq Abyad of Bani Abi Bakr Bin Kilab* in near the mountains of Huma Dariyya. Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.139, p.139 - 1440.

171 Ibn Al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p. 202.

172 In relation to Bani Akl Bin Auf Abd Manat Bin Aad Bin Tabikha Bin Ilyas. Bin Mudir Bin Nazzar Bin Mo'id Adnan; Ibn Hazm: *.Juhrat Ansab il Arab, p.280.*

173 Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.*, Vol. 3. p.314; Ibn Al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p. 202.

174 Welhausen: *Ahzab al Mu'aradat il Siyasiyya al Diniyya fi Sadr il Islam*, Al Khawarij wa Al Shia. p. 75.

The reasons are based on several factors such as:

1. The local sentiment: Bahrain opposed it for preserving its personality and independence as the Kharijite of Yamama tried to impose their authority on it. Bahrain was a geographically separate unit from the Arabian Island by the sands of and most of its people were from Abdul Qais.

2. The Tribal Spirit: The Abdul Qais put up resistance motivated by tribal sentiments to the KharijiteMovement of Al Yamama which rested on Bakr Bin Wayil and Hanifa. As for the Azd they supported the Kharijite movement in this phase on the basis of Najda's call against injustice and tyranny.[175] No doubt this was because of the tribal spirit and the desire to realise their goals and to strengthen their position as they were in a minority in Bahrain.

What helped Najda in conquering Bahrain was the internal schism therein even as the general trend in the Islamic State was conducive to his extending his power and authority. The internal division and discord in Iraq had weakened the Government of Ibn Zubair but the Umayyads of Syria were concerned at that time only with liquidating the movement of Ibn Al Zubair and nothing else.

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175 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p. 36; Ibn Al Athir, *op .cit.* Vol. 4 p.202; Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.*, Vol. 3. p. 313. p. 314.

3.17.1. *The War Between Najda and Ibn Al Zubair*

The increasing power and influence of Najda in the Arabian Island directly threatened the authority of Abdulla Bin Al Zubair. Hamza Bin Abdulla Bin Al Zubair who was the governor of Basra on behalf of his father tried to throw out Najda from Bahrain. Accordingly he sent an army of 14,000 soldiers[176] under the command of Abdullah Ibn Omair Al Laithy against him. These soldiers were from Basra.[177]

In 67.H, when they neared the army of Najda, Dawud Al Alaky and a group of Kharijite abandoned fighting for reasons not mentioned by the sources. Perhaps this had something to do with their differences with Najda. However, Najda and those who remained with him attacked the forces of Ibn Umair without much planning. The fighting continued for a long time and then they dispersed. Ibn Umair was appalled by the number of casualties in dead and wounded around him, and he and his remaining soldiers pretended to be busy with the dead and the wounded. Najda launched a surprise attack against him and soon it was all over and the camp fell to Najda with its booty.[178] Thus Najda extended his authority and power.

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176 According to another account there were 20,000, Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p. 45. Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.*, Vol. 3. p. 314.

177 *Diwan Al Farzadaq,* Vol. 2. p. 47; Al Tabari, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2. p.251; Al Yaqubi, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2. p. 325.

178 Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.*, Vol. 3. p. 314.

After the defeat of Ibn Umair and the conquest of Bahrain by Najda al-Zubeir sent an army under Atiyya Bin Al Aswad Al Hanafi to Uman which was under the rule of Ibad Bin Abdulla Al Julandi. His two sons Said and Sulaiman used to collect a tenth part from the ships and other taxes. Atiyya attacked Oman and killed its ruler and imposed his authority over it.

He stayed there for a number of months and then returned to Bahrain leaving behind his assistant Abal Qasim who was subsequently killed by the Omanese.[179] At this time differences arose between Atiyya Bin Al Aswad Al Hanafi and Najda[180] and Atiyya returned to Oman but could not enter it because of Omanese resistance to him. So he headed for Kirman where he met with success and he minted Atawiyya Dirhams there.[181] Al Mahalb sent an expedition against him and he fled to Sind where he was killed by the soldiers of Mahlab in Qandabil.[182]

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179 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p.50; Ibn al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p.201; Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.*, Vol. 3. p. 314.

180 About the differences between Najda and Atiyya Bin Al Aswad see the differences between Najda and his followers.

181 A number of these coins are available and have been referred to by Walker in Part 1 of his book: *A Catalogue of the Muhammadan Coins*, see p. 196 about the places where these are to be found and the articles written about them. P.111 describes the Attawi Dirham as being dubbed on the Sassanid pattern in the Pehlawi language. They contain the Arabic inscription *Bismillah Wali Al Amr*.

182 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p.183; Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p. 214. Qandabil is a town in Sind in a province called Sind'ha.

3.17.2. *Subjugation of Northern Bahrain*

In 68 H, Najda brought the northern parts of Bahrain under his subjugation and fought Bin Tamim in Kazima and Tuwaila and forced them to pay tribute to him. Thus his authority extended to the surroundings of Iraq. He then marched with a small force to San'a and when he entered it, the people declared their allegiance to him out of fear. Those who opposed him had to pay the tax. Yemen was weak and it is mentioned that at the time of the appearance of Islam there were many dwindling groups of fighters. When it it entered the fold of Islam a large number of its people joined the Islamic army launched for the northern conquests.

Then Najda headed for Taif where Asim Bin Urwa Bin Masud Al Thaqafi along with his people swore allegiance to him. Thereafter he went to Tabala from where he returned to Bahrain. On his way back he imposed his power and authority on the areas that came in the way.

3. 17. 3. *Differences Between Najda and his Followers.*

Despite the fact that Najda achieved success and spread his influence there were forces which were bent on demolishing his authority. Differences arose between him and his followers. These are traceable to many factors such as:

1. Inequality in the distribution of the booty among his followers.[183]

2. Correspondence between him and Abdul Malik Bin Marwan.

3. Not punishing one of his followers for the offence of drinking liquor.

4. Returning a daughter of Abdullah Bin Umro Bin Uthman Bin Affan.

5. There was indignation against him for his pardon of offenders out of wrongdoing and ignorance.

The accusations levelled against Najda were motivated by a desire to topple him and to get rid of him. The element of tribal jealousy between Qais Bin The'laba and Hanifa also had a hand in it. Aba Fadik Abdulla Bin Thor of Bani qais Bin Tha'lab played a major role in divesting Najda and in killing him.

The main aim of Bani Qais Bin Tha'laba in doing so was to assume the leadership of the movement and shifting its base of operations to Bahrain as most of them resided there. This shows the role that Bahrain played in steering the differences prevailing among the Kharijites of Yamama. Banu Qais Bin Tha'laba actually achieved their aim when Abu Fidik assumed the leadership of the Kharijites and moved his headquarters to Bahrain. The Mawali (slaves) also played an important role in fanning the differences between Najda and his followers for gaining control over the Kharijite movement to their own advantage.[184] Most of his followers asked him to repent and accordingly he repented. A group among them thought

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183 Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.*, Vol .3. p.215.

184 For details see under, The Ousting of Najda and his murder and the swearing in of Abu Fidik, section 3.17.4.

his repentance to be an error as he was their Imam and was competent to exercise his own discretion and judgement and that it was wrong on their part to ask him to repent. On the other hand he was asked to go back on his repentance and ask his accusers to repent instead, or else they would be boycotted. He did exactly that and this brought about a division among his followers. The enemies of the Kharijites exploited the differences between Najda and his followers and the resulting division in their ranks[185] and revolted against his agent rulers.

The people of Taif revolted against their ruler Al Harooq Al Hanafi who fled but ultimately he was killed in Aqaba[186]by Abdulla Bin Nu'man Al Dos the Chief of Azd al Sarat. Sa'd Al Talayi, his nominee as the ruler of Najran was killed by Najih Al Jarami after refusing to pay him his doles.[187]

3.17.4. *The Ousting of Najda and the Swearing-in of Abu Fidik*

The differences between Najda and his followers led to his deposition. They asked Thabit Al Tamar (a Mawali) to take charge and select a Caliph for them. He selected his sister's husband Abu Fidik. Najda got frightened of Abu Fidik and hid himself in one of the villages of Hajr afraid for his life. Abu Fidik felt the need for getting rid of Najda and killed him since his remaining alive posed a danger

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185 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p.16.

186 Aqaba: A station on the road to Makka after Waqisa. It is a water point for Bani Akrama Bin Bakr Bin Wayil. Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p. 193.

187 Ibn Al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p. 205.

to him.[188] He sent a group of his followers to seek Najda,[189] and announced a prize of 10,000 dirhams to anyone who would direct the party to the place where he was in hiding. Najda escaped to his uncles of Bani Tamim and hid himself among them. Then he wanted to seek shelter with Abdul Malik and swear allegiance to him but he was killed in 72H. by a group of Abu Fidik's friends who included Abu Talut and Thabit Al Tamar.[190]The murder of Najda provoked resentment among the friends of Abu Fidik who left him. He was then stabbed by one of the followers of Muslim Bin Jubair but survived it.

Abu Fidik went from Yamama to Bahrain and made Juwatha his headquarters,[191] that was in 72H,[192] after an attempt on his life was made and out of fear of Bani Hanifa who supported Najda Bin Amer Al Hanafi and who had been killed by Abu Fidik.[193]

Mas'ab Bin Al Zubair who had placed Iraq under his brother Abdulla tried to put an end to the activities of the Kharijites of Bahrain taking advantage of the differences which had sprung up between their ranks which had resulted in the

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188 *ibid.*

189 *Al Tabari, op.cit.* Vol. 6. p. 16; Al Baghadi, *op.cit.* p. 90.

190 Al Dhahabi, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p.111; Khalifa Bin Khayyat: *Al Tarikh,* Vol. 1. p. 263.

191 Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.*, Vol. 4, p.316.

192 Khalifa Bin Khayyat, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p. 264; Ibn Tughri Pervi: *Al Nujum al Zahera,* Vol. 1. p.187.

193 Al Tabari , Vol. 6. p. 45.

murder of Najda and the arrival of Abu Fidik. Hence he sent an army in 72.H formed from the people of Basra under the command of Muhammad Bin Abdul Rahman Bin Al Iskaf against them.[194] Abu Fidik had defeated them.[195] He defeated another army made up of men from Bahrain and Basra sent by Al Mus'ab under the command of Ziyad Bin Al Qursh.[196] When Al Mus'ab was killed and the Umayyads regained their control over Iraq they turned their attention towards the Kharijites with the intention of crushing the movement altogether in 73.H.[197] The Governor of Basra, Khalik Bin Abdulla Ibn Asid sent to Abdul Malik an army under the leadership of his brother Umayya Bin Abdullah comprising about 12,000 men to fight against Abu Fidik who had 700 followers under him. However, Umayya and his army were ambushed by Abu Fidik and dispersed.[198]

Thereafter Abdul Malik Bin Marwan sent another expedition from the people of Syria under Umar Bin Ubaidallah Bin Mu'ammar against Abu Fidik.[199] It reached Hajr and entrenched itself in Juatha. Abu Fidik was in the area of Mashqar along with 12,000 of his followers. A large number of Arabs had joined him after the

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194 Al Dhahabi, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p.107; Ibn Tughri Pervi, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.187.

195 Khalifa Bin Khayyat, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.264.

196 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p. 45.

197 Ibn Kathir, *op.cit.* Vol. 8. p.248; Al Tabari, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2. p.229; Al Dhahabi, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p.311.

198 Blazeri, *op.cit.* p. 150; Yaqubi, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.325.

199 Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.*, Vol. 3. p.222.

defeat of Umayya Bin Khalid, but greedy of booty they dispersed with only about a thousand remaining with him. They battled against the troops of Umar Bin Ubaidallah at Mashqar. At the beginning Abu Fidik seemed to outweigh his opponent but ultimately the courage and experience of Umar turned the tables. He killed Abu Fidik and carried his head to the Caliph. The slaves were killed and the Arabs were liberated.[200] This was in 74 H,[201] and thus ended the hegemony of Najda over Bahrain.

When the Karijite movement entered Bahrain the Banu Abd al Qais joined it and took an active part in the later phase. All insurgencies at that time were conducted by the men of Abd Al Qais at that time. Repeated Kharijite revolts in Bahrain led Al Hajjaj to capture a group of their leaders and mete out harsh punishment to them by chopping off their limbs and by incarceration.[202]

In 78.H, Banu Muharib Bin Umro Bin Wadi'a Bin Abd al Qais revolted in Bahrain. The ruler of Bahrain Muhammad al Kilabi sought support from Al Hajjaj whose soldiers were drawn from Basra and Kufa and engaged in fighting the Azariqa under the leadership of al Mahlab. Therefore the Caliph was asked to order Ibrahim Bin Arabi, the Governor of Yamama to fight the Kharijites, he crushed

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200 Ibn Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p.363;

201 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p.50; Al Yaqubi, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2. p.115.

202 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p. 42.

the rebels and returned to Yamama.[203]

During the next year i.e. 79H, the Tyan Al Nakari [204] at the Village of Tab[205] in Al Khatt of Bahrain revolted. They were joined in by Maimun[206] whose followers were from Oman, they reached Darin and advanced to Al Zara with Ryan ahead of them.

Hence Muhammad Bin Sa'sa, Al Hajjaj's ruler over Bahrain, called upon the people of Bahrain to fight Ryan and his followers but the Abd al Qais supported the Kharijites at this juncture and rejected the call of the Governor. So Muhammad sent a force composed from Azd against the Kharijites but this force was defeated and its leader died. Muhammad thereupon left Bahrain. Differences arose between Ryan and Maimun leading to the latter leaving Bahrain only 40 days after the departure of Muhammad. He went to Oman whereas Ryan stayed in Zara. Despite that Muhmmad did not try to benefit from this situation and did not return to Bahrain to exploit the differences between his enemies. Al Hajjaj, then, sent Yazid Bin Abi Kabasha with 12,000 men of Syria who clashed with Ryan who had with him 1,500 soldiers at Zara. Ryan

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203 *ibid.* The sources do not mention the name of the leader of the revolt.

204 Refers to Nakira Bin Lakiz Bin Aqsa Bin Abdul Qais.

205 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p.42. A few leagues away from the obstacle of Al Khatt.

206 The sources do not say who Maimun was nor who were his followers.

was killed along with a large number of his follwers in 80.H.[207] Then came the revolt of Dawud Bin Muhriz[208] from Abd al Qais who selected Qatif as his headquarters. The people of Bahrain helped him in unloading the corpse of Ryan and the bodies of his followers who were slain.

They buried them and he succeeded in inflicting defeat on the army sent against him under the leadership of Abil Baha, the commander of the Qatif Police. He also defeated Abd al Rahman Bin Al Nu'man Al Awzi of Azd and this defeat had a great bearing on bringing about unity between the Azd and the people of Qatif in ganging up against Dawud and Abd al Qais. Thus came about the defeat of Dawud and his supporters who were killed.[209]

In 86.H[210] Masud Bin Abi Zainab Al Mahazi of Abdul Qais revolted against Bahrain [211] and its ruler Al Ash'as Bin Abdullah Bin Al Jarud fled from Bahrian. Masud held his sway for nearly 19 years and killed Abd al Rahman Bin Al Nu'man Al Awzi and Mansur Bin Abi Raja Al Awzi both of Azd.[212] He invaded Yamama

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207 Kahlifa Bin Khayyat, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.276; Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p.42; Al Dhahabi, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p.126.

208 Kahlifa Bin Khayyat says that it was Dawud Bin Amer Bin Al Harith. *Al Tarikh* Vol. 1. p. 278.

209 Khalikfa Bin Khayyat, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.278.

210 According to another account it was in the year 96H. Khalifa Bin Khayyat. *Al Tarikh,* Vol. 1. p. 224.

211 *Diwan Al Farsadaq,* Vol. 1. p. 226, A slave of Abd al Qais.

212 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.250.

when its ruler Sufian Bin Umro Al Aqeeli along with Bani Hanifa joined Al Khadrama to give him a fight.[213] Masud was killed,[214] the leadership was assumed by Hilal Bin Madlej. Many Kharijites were killed and dispersed. The remainder barricaded themselves in the fort castle. Banu Hanifa climbed up to them and killed Hilal and ill treated the rest.[215] After the death of Masud his brother Said revolted in Hajr but he was opposed by Aun Bin Bashir of Bani Harith Bin Amer Bin Hanifa and one of their leading men. This resulted in a cleavage with one group remaining in Hajr with Said and another with Aun at Qatif as its base. A large number of the Kharijites supported Aun but Said plotted against him and killed him and remained in Hajr.[216] As for the group supporting Aun not much is known about their fate after his passing. It was tribal passion which caused a split between him and Said whose position was weak and who did not support the Kharijites.

The Kharijite activity of Bahrain spilled over to Basra during the reign of Abd al Malik. This supports their impression that the conditions prevailing in Basra favoured them. There were elements there who supported them and sympathised with them, the tribal sentiments had much to do with it since some of the Abd al Qais lived in Basra and it was close to Bahrain. Hence a number of them

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213 *Al Khadrama Balad Bi Ard il Yamama*; Yaqut: *Mu'jam al Buldan*, Vol. 2. p. 251

214 According to Yaqut Masud was killed in Burqan. Vol. 1. p.251.

215 *Diwan Al Farsadaq*, Vol. 1. p. 119; Yaqut Al Hamawi: *Mu'jam al Buldan*, Vol. 1. p. 270; *Ansab al Ashraf*, Vol. 6. p.50.

216 *Ansab al Ashraf*, Vol. 7. p.35.

indulged in sponsoring rebellion abroad. Among these sponsored rebellions was the one staged by the Kharijite of Abd al Qais called Abu Ma'bad Al Shanni in the year 78.H. He came from Bahrain and took up his residence at Mouqu ' close to Basra[217] but Al Hakam ibn Ayub of Basra liquidated him and dispersed his supporters.[218]

In 86H,[219] Dawud Bin Nu'man, one of the Bani Anmar Ibn Wadi'a Bin Abd al Qais staged a revolt in Basra having arrived from Bahrain and again basing himself at Mouqu'. He proceeded to Basra with 40 men and a large number of Kharijites joined them but Al Hakam Bin Ayub was able to overcome him and kill him along with a number of his followers after a stiff resistance from them.[220]

From the foregoing it seems that the Abd al Qais joined the Kharijite movement when they moved to Bahrain and played an active role in the latter day Kharijite movements and fought for them. The reasons which goaded them to join the Kharijites at this stage were as follows:

1. The local spirit (regional attachments).

After the advent of Islam Bahrain lost its position as a trade entrepot leading to

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217 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p.188..

218 Al Yaqubi, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2. p.328. According to another account he revolted during the reign of Al Walid Bin Abd al Malik.

219 Khalifa Bin Khayyat says that Dawud Bin Ju'man revolted in 75H. *Al Tarikh*, Vol. 1. p.269.

220 Khalifa Bin Khayyat, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.260; Blazeri, *op.cit.* p.182.

its impoverishment.

2. The Tribal Spirit (Tribal Passions).

In view of the cultural heritage of Bahrain and the awareness of the Abd al Qais to the dangers that faced them because of economic stagnation, and not receiving their share the wealth that was being sent into Basra, they were goaded to fight it out and join the Kharijites to put an end to the Umayyad rule. Evidently some of them were Arabs but their Islam was only skin deep.

3. The Religious Consciousness.

All The Islamic political groups bore a religious tinge. When the Kharijites expressed their adherence to religious faith, a large number of Abd al Qais joined them as they were tired of the Umayyad rule and wanted to topple it and replace it with a just rule .

4. Disillusionment with the central authority.

The Kharijite movement gave them freedom of action in their land without the imposition of a Sultan over them.

5. There is no doubt that there were others among them who hankered after booty.

As for the Azd they steadfastly stood against the Kharijites during the later stages and mostly resisted their rebellion as happened in the case of Ryan al

Nakari and the revolt of Dawud Bin Muhriz. This owed it to tribal passions which goaded them to adopt postures inimical to those of Abd al Qais. A number of slaves joined the Kharijites in resisting the Umayyad rule. Some of them reached leading positions such as Abu Talut Salim Bin Matar, the slave of Bin Zaman Bin Malik Bin Sa'b Bin Ali Bin Bakr Bin Wayil who led the movement in its initial stages in Yamama; and Thabit Al Tamar who was elected leader by the Kharijites after the deposition of Najda Bin Amer. However, he was sacked soon enough. They fought against Abu Fidik Abdalla Bin Thur at Mashqar and killed him there.

A very meagre number of names of slaves has come down to us and it is not possible to paint an accurate picture of their distribution among the clans particularly because their original loyalties were multi-pronged. Perhaps the tribes which participated in the early conquests had a more liberal share of slaves from the prisoners. Hence it could be said that the distribution of slaves was not equitable among the clans nor was there any definite plan of allotment.[221]

The slaves (Mawalis) could be divided into two categories:

Al Ataqa: they were originally slaves but were liberated for economic or religious reasons but remained faithful to the clan to which their master belonged. Their freedom was restricted in some matters and they pursued various trades and

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221 Al Ali: *Al Tanzimat Al Ijtima'iyya wal Iqtisadiyya fil Basra fil Qarn il Awwal Al Hijri*, p. 81.

professions after they were drafted into this category. The other category was that of *non-Arabs* who were freemen and came to these countries for different reasons such as trade, industry etc., and attached themselves to various clans by choice. Their status was better than that of the first category and the Arab society accorded to them a better deal. There is no doubt that the slaves were anxious to better themselves and circumstances and hence joined the Kharijites in considerable numbers. The latter gave them hope as they espoused the cause of equality among the Muslims and gave them doles.[222]

The end of Najdat's authority over Bahrain did not affect the power of the Kharijites. Their later movements were very powerful and their wars were ferocious more than any others because of their power of ' Faith' and the dedication of their youth as most of their leaders were young men. This accounts for the power of the Kharijites in Bahrain. The support of the Abd al Qais to the movement rendered all the attempts of the governors to crush it infructuous. The troops who came to crush their revolts came from outside Bahrain.

Most of the latter day revolts of the Kharijites in Bahrain did not succeed and were put down with a heavy hand. There were several reasons, for one the power of the Umayyad State. Their movement lacked proper planning, coordination, and deliberation. There was also the factor of distance between

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222 Al Mibrad says : He was from the Magians who had embraced Islam and Joined the ranks of the Kharijites. Each one was allotted 500. *Al Kamil Fil Lugha*, Vol. 3. p.108.

Bahrain and the capital of the Caliphate.

3. 18. The Zenj Movement

If the Kharijite Movement was considered essentially a religious revolt, the Zenj Movement[223] was considered within the fold of social movements because the economic development which was witnessed by the third century of Hijra when the Abbasid society as a whole transformed itself from an agricultural movement to a mighty green revolution, brought about a tremendous development in trade. This in its turn created a stratification in society of haves and have nots giving rise to a sharp class conflict and a violent economic confrontation between the rich and the poor. Perhaps what accompanied this economic movement by way of ideological propaganda widened the gap between the classes and crystallised itself in an explosion in the from of the Zenj Movement and the Carmathian Revolution.[224]

They were looked upon with contempt and hatred.[225] It appears that the Zenj gravitated to Iraq since the First Century of Hijra supported by the fact that their revolt had broken out in Basra during the days of ' Mus'ab Bin Al Zubair.[226] They

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223 In Arabic the word "Zenji" signifies an individual. However, Zunj is the name of a country in the vicinity of Nisapur. Firozabadi: *Qamus al Muhit*, Bab al Jim, Fasl al Zay, Vol. 1. p.192.

224 Feisal al Samir: *Thawrat al Zenj*, p. 21.

225 Al Jahiz: *Al Bukhala*, p . 253.

226 Faisal al Samir, *op.cit*. p.19.

brought along with them Muslim traders from Zanzibar on the East African coast. This coast was known to be under Arab influence since ancient times.[227] The Zenj were endowed with the qualities of simplicity, uprightness, courage and patience in hard work. Therefore, the traders organised sea expeditions to Africa to conscript them as a work-force for the lands which needed cultivation. The basic work done by the Zenj was the removal of the surface layer of the land.

The upper surface of land covered the soil and reduced fertility. Its removal was hard work and in course of time it became a source of torture to them on the banks of the rivers of Basra.[228]

This social movement was led by [229] Ali Bin Muhammad Bin Abdul Rahim, the Zenj leader who was concerned with the standard of living of the Zenj. He had noticed how these slaves were persecuted and oppressed by their masters. The Zenj leader therefore, called upon his followers to revolt to realise their aspirations and prepared for them a tempting programme in the nature of a working paper with the aim of raising their esteem, securing for them the ownership of land and property.[230]

Ali Bin Muhammad, the Zenj leader was truly the originator of this movement

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227 Al Jahiz, *op. cit.* p.264.

228 Feisal Al Samir, *op.cit.* p. 23.

229 *ibid.* p.50.

230 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p. 250.

which raised itself in Basra in 255.H. and continued for 14 years (255H-270H) or (869 to 992CE). When he went to Bahrain in 249H he changed his genealogy so that he can claim descent from the Prophet (PBUH), he called himself Ali Bin Muhammad Bin Al Fadhl Bin Hasan Bin Abdulla Bin Al Abbas Bin Ali Bin Abu Talib.[231]

The Zenj leader appeared in Iraq when he arrived in Samurra, the new capital of the Caliphate since 221H. There he made contact with a courtier of the Sultan, one of the uncles of Bani Abbas.[232] To start with he announced himself as an astrologer and magician and then switched over to teaching calligraphy and grammar to students to earn a living.

He then came to Bahrain in 249H and claimed to be Ali Bin Muhammad.[233] He was appalled at what he saw in the capital of the Caliphate by way of political, economic and social chaos. By coming to Bahrain he perhaps intended to do some serious work which could not be done in Samurra .

That is because the ruling authority were vigilant and hence the situation was not congenial for his work. He was encouraged by the good atmosphere prevailing in Bahrain socially and economically for propagating his views. He started inviting the people of Hajr to follow him. A large number followed while

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231 Al Tabari, *op.cit.*, Vol. 12. p.143.

232 Feisal Al Samir, *op.cit.* p. 42.

233 Al Tabari, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.174.

some opposed him. What meets the eye is that most of his followers were craftsmen, servants and minor traders.[234]

In Bahrain he claimed to be from the "House of the Prophet" but this created a conflict between those who followed his call and those who opposed him leading to bloody battles between them which claimed a large number of lives. This made him migrate from Hajr to Al Ahsa when he found that the conditions in Hajr did not favour him. He had a better reception in Al Ahsa. In Al Ahsa he found supporters and the tribes of Banu Tamim and Banu Sa'd joined him.[235]

Ali Bin Muhammad tried his utmost in Al Ahsa to capture power when he left Samurra.[236] His claim of high family lineage won him solid ground and distinct success. Even tax was paid to him. The people of Bahrain absolved him of the charge of taking the place of the Prophet.[237] He was able to become a nucleus of military power and when he felt sure of stabilising himself in Bahrain and that his mission had established firm roots he thought of going into the desert with his followers hoping that there would be beduins who would listen to him.[238]

He built a halo of divinity around himself and claimed to be Yahya Bin Umar

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234 Feisal Al Samir, *op. cit.* p. 42.

235 Al Tabari, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. 12. p.174.

236 *ibid.* Vol. 11. p.147.

237 *ibid.* Vol. 11. p.174.

238 *ibid.*

Al Alawi who had been killed near Kufa. He also claimed to be the promised Messiah (*mahdi*) who would return to the world after his death. He used to say that one of the signs of being an *imam* was his knowledge of the occult. He made propaganda about these claims and spread them among the Beduins then he went to a place in Bahrain known as Al Radm.[239] but its inhabitants fought against him bitterly. He was surrounded by adversities and most of his followers were killed and the beduin Arabs abandoned him.[240] When the Zenj leader despaired of the Bedouins who hated him and rose in revolt against him he went to Basra in 254H. When the functionary in Basra Muhammad Bin Raja Al Hadhari learnt of his arrival he sought him out but could not arrest him as he fled towards Baghdad. It may be noted that the leader of the Zenj, though he stayed in Basra for a short period, he acquired a large number of followers. This was because he knew the political and social circumstances of Basra at close quarters. Ali Bin Muhammad reached Baghdad and stayed there for a year.

Ali Bin Muhammad's emigration to Bahrain is not supported by any historical sources except for certain historians' statement that the Zenj leader belonged to Abd al Qais. This is, however, denied by the Abd al Qais who stated that they never attended his secret discourses and, in fact, tried to topple him several times.[241] This has been referred to by Al Masudi.[242] He has stated that Ali Bin

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239 Al Masudi, *op.cit.* p. 293.

240 Al Tabari, *op. cit.* Vol. 11. p. 175.

241 Feisal Al Samir, *op. cit.* p. 43.

242 Al Masudi, *op. cit.* p.293.

Muhammad was himself repeatedly annoyed and angry with Abd al Qais when he learnt of their ill-feelings towards him. It had reached a level of belittling him and denigrating his mission.

If stated correctly the relations between Ali Bin Muhammad and Abd al Qais were clouded by much doubt and disbelief. It is not logical that he could be from Abd al Qais or that he went to help them when they confronted him with strong opposition; they were from the same tribe, and they know how to stand by their kith and kin.

If we reject this theory stated earlier then we may be able to explain the motive behind Ali Bin Muhammad's going to Bahrain. It was to take advantage of the revolutionary spirit that was generated there by the Kharijite Movement. This is supported by his claiming high genealogy immediately after reaching Bahrain. What we notice is that his claim of belonging to the Prophet's lineage was nothing but a fraudulent attempt to gain entry into Bahrain. What is surprising is that his call did not evoke any response from the people of Bahrain.

3. 19. The Carmarthians.

Iraq is considered the cradle of Shia' factionism and Kufa was the biggest Shia' centre until the 4th century of Hijra.[243] We see that the Shia' were split into many

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243 Abul Hasan Al Malti: *Al Tanbih wal Radd Ala Ahl il Ahwa wa Al Bid'a*, p.25.

factions and the factional thought gained ground rapidly and many schools of thought emerged in their power hierarchy. This explains the diversity of their principles and teachings which is the distinctive characteristic of the many Shia' factions.

One of their extremist factions was that of the Carmathian and they first emerged among the masses of Kufa.[244] In the first decade of the second half of the third century of Hijra. From them emerged the Ismailis who swore by the religious leadership of Muhammad Bin Ismail Bin Jafar Al Sadiq.[245] As a result of the weakness which struck this State not an inconsiderable number of various groups chose to reject allegiance to it.[246]

It seems that the failure of the Alawites helped in the emergence of new kinds of missions, and the Ismaili faith,[247] began to spread its influence in Iraq secretly, and the foremost of its exponents on whose shoulders the burden fell was Maimun Al Qaddah who is considered the originator of the Ismaili sect.[248] There is no doubt that the political and economic conditions which prevailed in Iraq

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244 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p. 174. By *sawad* is meant the rural areas of Iraq which were captured by the Muslims during the reign of Umar Bin Al Khattab. The *sawad* (or the blacks) farmed the date palm. The Arabs used to call the green ' black ' and the rural areas as green.

245 Al Nuwairi, *op.cit.* Vol. 3, p. 56. What attracts us is the fact that the Alawites and the Abbasids formed a single front to oust the Umayyads.

246 Ibn Al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p. 259.

247 Al Nuwairi, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p.56.

248 *ibid.*

during the third century of Hijra profoundly influenced the success of the Carmathian movement.[250] That was because the financial classes tried to exploit the small farmers thus engendering class conflict and giving it an economic edge.[251]

Historians disagree about the origin of the name of Carmathians and these differing views have been mentioned by Ibn al Jowzy[252] attributing them to six persons. The first founder of this mission was named Mohammed Al Warraq Al Muqarmat of Kufa and Carmathian originated from it. Second, the Carmathians had a chief from the masses of Kufa from Al Anbaat with the title of Qarmatawiyya thus giving rise to the title. Third, Qarmata was the name of a servant of Ismail Bin Jafar. Fourth, some of their protagonists hired a bull from a person by the name of Qarmat Bin Al Ash'ath and the name stuck. Fifth, one of the missionaries was a man who bore the name Karame but when he migrated his name was shortened before its adoption which became Qarnat.[252] Sixth, they named one of their own group "Hamadan Qarmat". Ibn Al Ather [253] has narrated that the leader of the Carmathians was a man who came from Khuzistan to Kufa and settled down at a place called al Nahrain. He pretended to be a great pious and ascetic person living a life of self-denial.

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250 Josey Blendley: *Tarikh al Jarakat* .

251 Ibn Al Jowzy, *op.cit.* Vol. 5. p.160.

252 *ibid.* Vol. 5. p.111.

253 Khalifa Bin Khayyat, op.cit. Vol. 2. p. 69.

It is said that the Carmathians invoked Muhammad Bin Ismail Ibn Jafar Bin Ali and what calls for attention is the fact that it was not the Carmathians who opted for this name themselves[254] but it was their enemies who thrust this name on them intending thereby to insult them and lower their dignity in public estimation because the word had sinister connotations.[255]

The most probable explanation is that the very first to espouse this movement in Iraq was Hussain Al Ahwazi who came to Iraq as a missionary and met Hamadan Bin Al Ashath Qarmat in the rural settings of Kufa. Hamadan was impressed by the piety and asceticism of his visitor whom he took home and the two lived together drawing around them a great number of people.

When Al Ahwazi felt that when the degree of confidence between him and Hamadan on the one hand and between him and the people on the other had stabilised he would proclaim his mission to the public at large.[256] Qarmat issued his clarion call for the Ismailiya faith and put Al Ahwazi to head the mission. He carried out his task with all seriousness and dedication. A large number responded to the call, many being the poor and wretched farmers of Nabat.[257] Perhaps the obvious poverty among the ranks of the Carmathians led Hamadan Al Qarmati

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254 Al Maqrizi : *Alfaz al Hunafa*, p 194.

255 Aref Tamir: *Al Qaramita*, p. 41; Aliyan: *Qaramitat al Iraq*.

256 Al Tabari, *op.cit*. Vol. 1. p. 238.

257 Al Nuweiri, *op.cit*. Vol. 2. p.58.

to impose taxes on his first followers for distribution among the poor.[258]

As for the Carmathians of Bahrain its first appearance is traced to one of the Jannaba family living in Qatif and dealing in foodstuff. He was known as Abu Said Al Jannabi. According to Baghdadi[259] Mamun, a brother of Hamadan, began to spread the Carmathian doctrine in many surrounding countries and popularised it in Fars. His suppoters named it Maimuniyya and he despatched Abu Said Al Jannabi to the south of Fars. However, he escaped from there due to the persecution by the police, a matter which made Hamadan call him for a personal meeting with him. After his meeting with Hamadan and once his enthusiasm was noticed for the cause, he was asked to proceed to Bahrain equipped with funds and ideas.[260]

It received a warm welcome there at the hands of the tribes of Abdul Qais.[261] A religious capital was raised for them at what was named as Al Mu'mina instead of Hajr.[262] It was possible to gain control over it after much sweat and labour and the blockade continued for years. Thereafter Al Ahsa was selected as the new capital of the Carmathian State and it was established as such in 286.H.

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258 *ibid.*

259 Al Baghdadi, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.267.

260 Karl Brockleman: *Tarikh al Shu'ub il Ilsamiyya*, p. 230.

261 Muhammad Jamal Surur: *Siyasat al Fatimiyin al Kharijiyya*, p. 42.

262 *ibid.* p 41.

Abu Said Al Jannabi was able to establish a powerful state in Bahrain with a system of hereditary monarchy. He sought the help of a council made up of 12 members[263] in his rule the ruler represented absolute power. He was the Commander of the Army, he declared war and his army consisted of mainly the Arab rural masses. Their enlistment in the army helped him in strengthening his power.[264]

Abu Said laid down a rigid party system in all its details until he was able to raise a strong army capable of coping with the crises which he was likely to face. He laid down a training programme for the young boys including horsemanship and appointed caretakers over them to prepare them in a new mould so that they could use different war weapons competently according to their upbringing.[265] This military policy which Abu Said Al Jannabi followed emphasised an important fact which was that he was far sighted and looked forward to the establishment of a State in Bahrain bearing his family name. There was no alternative to be in total readiness to face his adversaries in Arab lands as he was ambitious to take the Arabian Island from the Abbasids and merging it into one territory. Perhaps it was this trend which drove the Abbasid Caliph, Mu'tadhid to send a force under the leadership of Abbas Bin Umro Al Ghanavi[266] to fight Jannabi.

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263 *ibid.*

264 *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 1. p. 255.

265 Al Maqrisi, *op.cit.* p.164.

266 The Abbassid Caliph sent an army in 289H and its commander took Al Yamama and Bahrain. Ghanavi was the Governor of Fars. Ibn Al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 6 p. 94.

A war broke out between the two sides in which the army of Al Ghanavi suffered an ignominious defeat and the was captured. After a while Al Jannabi released him on condition that he would deliver a letter to Al Mu'tadhad.

He stated in his letter: "You sent your military expedition without justification. This land is beyond your control nor can you overpower it. I am destined to keep it and none else. I did not covet your possessions nor did I cause any harm to your citizens. Why then did you send your troops against me ? Beware that I shall never quit this land and you will never reach it. I have a dedicated band around me and you should not expose yourself to desiring what will not benefit you. You will never realise your goal except by winning the hearts of men."[267]

When Mu'tadhad read the letter of Abu Said he said: "It is true that he has not taken any worldly treasure from me." Then he thought for a while, raised his head and said: "He is an infidel who has spread apostasy in the land of God. If I have a chance in life I shall myself proceed to Basra, collect all the youngsters and raise a considerable force against him to defeat him, I shall go before the commanders and the army and let God decide between him and me."[268]

From the letter Abu Said wrote to Mu'tadhad it was clear that he smoothly announced his independence from the Abbasid authority when he said: "This

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267 Al Maqrizi, *op.cit.* p. 163.

268 *ibid.* p.163.

land is beyond your control." This letter constitutes an important document in drawing a broad outline of the Carmathian State in Bahrain where it showed its independence from the Abbasids as a practical proposition.

Perhaps what the Caliph Mu'tad had stated was the strongest proof of the depth of weakness of the Abbasid State since some of its provinces, among them Bahrain, had slipped away from its control. It was his duty as the Caliph of the Muslims to spread the power of the Islamic State over all Muslim countries. Hence Al Mu'tadhad eagerly waited for the day when he could get rid of Abu Said. He detested the very name of Abi Saeed and never even mentioned his name from his lips. He expressed his yearning that before his death if he could get at him and put him to the sword, from then onwards one could look forward to great events.[269]

Abu Said was able to establish an independent state with a firm political base after scoring a number of successes against the Abbasid State. His influence began to spread and expand polarising all parts of Bahrain such as Al Ahsa, Qatif and Taif. All his internal and external efforts were aimed at extending his influence and spreading his authority over all corners of the Arabian peninsula and would have achieved it but for his untimely death.[270]

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269 Al Mu'tadhad was occupied with the war against Abu Said Al Jannabi and Hanif Ghulam Abi Al Saj. He died in the Spring of 289H. Al Maqrizi, *op.cit.* pp.163 -164.

270 He was killed by one of his slaves whom he had taken from the army of Al Abbas al Ghanavi . He saw that he never prayed nor did he fast during the holy month

Dr. Hasan Ibrahim[271] has stated that Abu Said had started to placate the Abbasids in his last days because the Abbasid Caliph, Al Muqtadar had listened to the advice of his minister Ali Bin Isa who had recommended to him to bear with Bahrain and get closer to it so that he could contain its evil potential. This is a fact which is confirmed by the attitude which was adopted by Jannabi towards the Fatimids, the traditional enemies of the Abbasids. When he went to conquer Egypt, Abu Said's attitude to them was negative. He did not give them the least help which is conclusive proof that he was sympathetic to the new Abbasid rulers' attitude towards him. Perhaps this position adopted by Abu Said Al Jannabi towards the Fatimids led to the idea that his murder at the hands of a servant was at the instance of Ubaidullah Al Mahdi. We do not subscribe to this version because Abu Taher Bin Abu Said had established close fatherly relations with the Fatimids and it does not stand to reason that such close relations could develop between him and his father's murderers. After the death of Abu Said control passed on to his son Said as per his will and testament.[272]

However, Abu Taher was killed by Abu Said's son. Said, the son, continued the same policy as his father in getting close to the Abbasids and maintaining a distance with the Fatimids. We might say that Abu Taher Al Qarmati was able to lay a firm foundation for his state close to the town of Hajr in (317H) and named

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He entered his household as a servant at Al Ahsa in 301H and killed him. *ibid.* p.163.

271 *ibid.* p. 229.

272 Before his death Abu Said had assembled his chiefs and entrusted charge to his son Said, until his younger brother Abu Taher grew up.

it Al Ahsa.[273]

At the end of the 4th century of the Hijra the Carmathian State weakened and its authority began to dwindle. The power struggle between Jafar and Ishaq hastened the fall. Ibn Khaldun has narrated how they faced oblivion and lost their mission when Al Asghar Ibn Al Hasan Al Taghlabi 398H. came to power and took Al Ahsa from them which spelled doom for their state.

Briefly the fall of the Carmathian State can be traced to the following:

1. The Carmathian Call challenged Islamic traditions.

2. Internal dissensions broke out among them particularly after the death of Abu Taher resulting in a change in the system of rule from the (Council of Faith) to (Council of Elders) which curtailed the power of the central leadership.

3. The various wars and battles fought during the reign of Abu Taher and Al Hasan Al A'sam cost the exchequer a terrible drain and depleted the strength of their army. Repeated defeats suffered by them led to a number of their units breaking away such as Oman and Yemen.

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273 The location of this town is near the village of Al Bitaila and it housed the Carmathian Castle. The Arabic word for castle 'Qasr' denotes diminution used sarcastically to belittle it. Nasser Khusro, *op.cit.* p. 99.

4. The niggardliness of fund made the Arabs hate them since they could not spend on them. This persuaded the Beduins to turn to the Abbasids and raised their tribes against the Carmathians.

5. The Bahrain tribes like Banu Aqil and Bani Tha'laba revolted against the Carmathians and established their control over Qatif and its surroundings.[274]

The repeated Carmathian attacks on the *haj* pilgrims were a source of their income and the captured booty became the regular source of funds for the State. Thus it became a pattern with them to attack the Jaf caravans and pilgrims. Their greed drove them to repeatedly attack the Holy Kaba and the Hajis which exposed the weakness of the Abbasid State in its inability to defend its citizens. Hence the Carmathians concentrated their effort on attacking the Jaf caravans both incoming and the outgoing. They threatened the security of the Muslims, they looted and murdered with impunity. Their increasing greed led them to make light of the Abbasids and raid Makka in Dhil Hajja 317H in total violation of Muslim sentiment. Abu Taher Al Qarmati staged his attack on the day they were supplying themselves with water[275] after he failed to get at the pilgrims from Baghdad who were under the command of Mansur al Dailami.[276]

Abu Taher who led 900 soldiers launched a vicious attack against Makka as soon

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274 Al Ahsai, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p. 91.

275 Ibn al Jowzi, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p.223.

276 Ibn Sinnan & Ibn al Adim: *Tarikh Akhbar al Qaramita*, p. 251.

as he reached there, plundered the pilgrims and killed them even inside the shrine.[277] In violation of the sanctity of the House of God he filled up the Zamzam Well with dead bodies. Brandishing his sword towards the gate he shouted:

"I am with God and with God am I
He creates the beings and I destroy them."[278]

Then he ordered one of his followers to climb up and pluck the water spout but he fell down in the process and died immediately.[279]They buried the remaining bodies within the courtyard of the mosque without coffins, a wash or prayers.[280] They were treated as non-believers and the number of the dead reached 30,000. He then removed the Ka'ba shroud and distributed it among his followers.[281]

He then plundered the Makkan houses and captured a number of women. Boys and girls were taken captive whose number exceeded those killed. He then extracted from the Qadi of Makka, Yahya Bin Abdur Rahman Bin Harun, more than a 100,000 dinars.

Abu Tahir did not restrict himself only to these barbarous acts but went to the

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277 Ibn al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p.203.

278 Ibn Sinnan: *Tarikh Akhbar al Qaramita*, p.52.

279 Ibn Al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p.203.

280 Al Masudi, *op.cit.* p.286.

281 Ibn al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p.203.

extent of removing the Black Stone against the resistance of the Amir of Makka, Muhammad Bin Ismail known as Ibn Mujlab. He took away the Black Stone and all other relics found in Ka'ba. Abu Taher Al Qarmati remained in Makka for 11 days and on his departure took away all these items to Hajar where he installed them in a mosque in a village named Al Ja'ba near Qatif intending to make it into an new *qibla* or the ' Direction of prayer'.[282]

This doctrine of the Carmathians aroused the hatred of the Islamic world. Abu Taher went on imposing a tax on every pilgrim for protection[283] with the intention of exposing the utter helplessness of the Abbasid State and hence its unfitness to remain. However, the circumstances did not favour Abu Taher Al Qarmati to realise his dream as he possessed only the land from where he had ventured out and no other. The Black Stone remained with the Carmathians for 22 years[284] despite the numerous threats and appeals for its return. Ultimately the Black Stone was returned only in *Dhul Hijja* of 339H.

The Carmathian attacks on the Holy Ka'ba provoked violent reactions within Hijaz A number of nobility from the Prophet's clan offered strong resistance and demanded the return of the Black Stone but the Camathians had no compunction in liquidating them ferociously.[285]

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282 Al Ahsai, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p. 90.

283 Muhammad Jamaluddin Surur: *Siyasat al Fatimin Al Kharjiyya,* p. 47.

284 Abul Mahasin : *Al Nujum al Zahira,* Vol. 3. p.226.

285 Ibn al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 11. p. 161.

When the Carmathians were returning to Bahrain with the Black Stone they were accosted by the Tribe of Huzail in the Hijaz mountains and engaged them in a severe trial of strength. Thus when the Carmathians were busy fighting, a large number of their men and women prisoners made good their escape. These were the ones whom they had captured in Makka.

It is to be noted that this event evoked only a feeble response from the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad. It made no military effort to force the return of the Black Stone. This may be attributed to the fact that the Abbasid State had several encounters in the past and lost every time to the Carmathians and the would not take any chances again. Moreover the Abbasid State in Baghdad had become soft and sluggish because of the glitter of a prosperous civilisation at that period of history comfort and luxury was undermining any religious enthusiasm.

From the point of view of the Carmathian society its decay covered even the financial aspect in addition to the social. Al Maqrizi[286] stated that they had fixed nights when there was free mixing between the sexes without any restrictions and with total promiscuity. Hamadan Qarmat used to say : "it was the most intimate and the height of friendship and brotherhood." When Qarmat saw that he had become the leader whose writ was followed he started leading them towards another path. He divested them of consciousness of religion. He exempted them from all kinds of worship and piety and permitted to them loot and plunder.

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286 Al Maqrisi, *op.cit.* p. 157.

Ordered them to loot the properties of their enemies and kill them with impunity.

It is believed that the Carmathians were able through the system of *Alfa*, a system of intimate comradeship, whose members were to function as labourers in the world, and be the first to supervise the organisation of workers' guilds.

The Carmathians exploited the workers for their own purposes noted by Arif Tamur[287] who stated that the Carmathian ranks were divided among four classes. The first group, consisted of young men between 15 and 30 years. The second group, between the age group 30 to 40. These were named "The News Brothers" whose job was to supervise the people of the first group. The third group, in the age group from 40 to 50. They were known as "The Divine God Group." The fourth group, were over 50 and were above the ordinary groups and the third group. They were close disciples and close to God.

Ever since their institution was established, the Carmathians established every where "A House of Migration" for themselves. For this purpose they established a village in the rural area of Kufa called *Mahmabaz* and surrounded it with a fence eight arm lengths behind which was a big trench. Buildings were then constructed within the fence where their men and women lived. Similarly when they established their state in Bahrain they created a town for themselves

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287 Arif Tamir: *Al Qaramita,* p.76.

and called it Al Ahsa,[288] that became their "House of Migration."[289]

If we look at the condition of women in the Carmathian society we find that they enjoyed a distinctly good position. This is obvious since the women took a leading part in founding the *Al Alfa Society* of the Carmathians. They paid equal taxes with men to the Society. For instance they paid 1/5 th. of their earnings from weaving and their total ornament holdings and participated in war with the men along with other activities in different walks.[290]

It is noteworthy that despite a spirit of cooperation and affinity prevailing in the Carmathian society many social and economic malpractices corroded it. We have already referred to the permissive sex practised by them[291] and to extortion of money. Al Malati has stated that the Carmathians believed that the womenfolk of some were permissible far more than some others.

We see that the prevalence of permissive sex among the Carmathians could not be considered improbable because they were highly influenced by Mazdec and Magian practices which had gained currency in Fars from very early times

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288 Inside Al Ahsa they built a castle known as "Migration House" of "Dar al Hijra" and made it their capital.

289 Ibn Sinan: *Tarikh Akhbar Al Qaramita,* pp. 100 - 101.

290 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 8. p. 244.

291 On a specific night their men and women got together and there was promiscuous mixing among them. Al Hamadi Al Yamani has described it as (The Great Honey) or (The Grand Witness) in *Kashf al Asrar il Batiniyya*, p.15.

particularly during the Sassanid period when. Licentiousness with women and men was openly practised. What lends currency to this view is what has been stated by Naser Khusro[292] about the Carmathians when he visited Al Ahsa and found them in a state of utter degeneration and disintegration. As evidence of their degeneration he has mentioned how they ate the flesh of such animals as cats, dogs, and donkeys etc. The law required the butchers to display the hide of the animal slaughtered by the side of the carcass for the buyer to know what meat he was buying.

It is notable that the system of *Alfa* initiated by the Carmathians in Iraq was not really a government in ordinary terms but it opened up a possibility before them to found a political state in Bahrain with a body of laws and principles. It seems clear from what Ibn Huqal[293] has said that their state was a kind of oligarchic republic whereby there would not be a tyrant ruler over them but a council to assist him composed of his followers bound together by close kinship and an ideological identity.[294]

Naser Khusro[295] has emphasised that this state was stable but the rule of the family of Abu Taher Al Jannabi and those close to him was such that it became a despotic tribal rule. However, the ideological Council had been given certain

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292 Naser Khusro, *op.cit.* p.92.

293 He visited Bahrain in the second half of the 11th century AD. *Surat al Ardh,* p.34.

294 *ibid.* p. 193.

295 He visited Bahrain two years after Ibn Huqal. Naser Khusro, *op.cit.* p.92.

powers in respect of some subjects such as the army command and Prime Ministership and supervision of certain other matters. This some what reduced the picture of despotism and arbitrariness. This Council was assisted by another one with executive authority. With this brief narration it may be stated that the social life of the Carmathians was based on the principle of joint possession and all the Ismaili movements strove to realise this aim. What seemed to be paramount was the concern for social justice, and this was achieved through system of communal rule.

The first step taken by the Ideological Council in introducing reform was the abolishment of all levies and taxes, purchase of land and its distribution among the farmers. Naser Khusro said: when he was in Bahrain, one day he saw 30,000 farmers from the tribe of Sudan working in fields and orchards under the management of the Ideological Council. These fields had been purchased by public funds and the people were no longer paying any taxes to the government nor the[296] 1/10th. If anyone was stricken by poverty of debt he had no means of repaying it and the Ideological Council used to loan him a few dirhams to tide over until his situation improved. If he borrowed any dirhams there was nothing extra to be paid back at the end of the period but the exact borrowed amount without profit. He said at another place that in Al Ahsa the flour mills were government mills where wheat was ground for the common people free because

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296 Naser Khusro, *op.cit.* p. 92 .

the government itself paid the charges.[297]

If we compare this account with the Arab accounts of the Carmathians we find one of them saying "they had everything to be commonly shared except the swords and ammunition."[298] We may infer that the life of the Carmathians was based on principles resembling communism of modern times. These are the same principles which are propagated by the Ismaili Movement.

What lends credibility to this assessment is that the Carmathian mission was spread among the peasants who faced hard times because of the greed of the landlords as it became popular with craftsmen and the urban classes whose standard of living was very low to the point of destitution. They were ignorant people and knew nothing of their religion. This ignorance made them easy victims of the Carmathian call,[299] Ibn Huqal states [300] that the Carmathian leaders and their offspring separately ride out to Al Ahsa where they play the throwing of spears from the horsebacks. Then they separately disperse in absolute peace and tranquillity. They only wore white, and by practised consultation with one another over important matters. As for celebrations and festivals the sources are silent and there is little information forthcoming on the subject. We know very little about their marriage and funeral rites. The ceremony of marriage passed

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297 Mahmud Abul Nasr: *Qala'at al Maut,* p. 193.

298 *ibid.*

299 Muhammad Ali Hyder: *Al Duwailat al Islamiyya Fil Mashriq,* p.37.

300 *Surat al Ardh*, p. 34.

through the familiar stages of engagement, matrimony and consummation. Other details of the marital celebrations are missing. Islam fixed the dowry (*mahr*) but did not fix any specific bridal dower. As for funeral rites the dead body was washed, embalmed and covered with a white shroud. According to tradition of the Prophet's, the body is covered with three pieces of smooth white dress and did not include the shirt and the turban.[301]

The success of the Carmathians was due to their emphasis on social justice, and communalism. This could be equated with contemporary socialism. The concern for spreading wealth and concerning itself with the peasents and their well being is what was attractive to many even from amongst the Muslims, who converted to this view of life.

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301 Saleh Al Ali: *Al Tanzimat al Ijtima' iyya,* p.204.

CHAPTER FOUR

INDIVIDUALS WHO CONTRIBUTED TO BAHRAIN CULTURAL LIFE

4.1. Cultural Life.

Culture had a great role to play in the region of Bahrain as it had a very useful effect on the social life of Bahrain. The Bahrain traders were very learned and cultured people. Many of them achieved fame as scholars of *fiqh*, linguistics, literature and *sharia*' ever since the first century of Hijra. Yaqut al Hamawi[1] has mentioned that he associated scholarship with the people of Bahrain. Some of them were Muhammad Bin Mu'ammar Al Bahrani (Al Bukhari and Harith has spoken about them): Ibn Aynaye and Yazid Bin Zari', about whom Al Baghandi and Ibn Sa'd and Ibn Mukhallid have spoken; he was from Al Thaqat and died in 458H; Zakariya Bin Atiya and others.

Al Jarud was from the nobility of the pre-Islamic days of ignorance. He was a Christian. The Prophet (PBUH) invited him to embrace Islam which he did.

Sohar Bin Abbas Al Abdi of Bani Murra Bin Zafra Bin Alail known as Aba Abdul Rahman. He asked the Prophet (PBUH) thrice about the wine dripping from the dates. The Prophet asked him to pray with him first. After the prayers the

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1 Yaqut al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol. 2. p.208.

Prophet (PBUH) told him that if he was asking him about the intoxicating liquid then it was forbidden nor should it be offered to one's brother. If one intended the evil of the taste of intoxication then he would be called to account for it on the Day of Judgement. He narrated several of the Prophet's sayings.[2]

Khazima bin Umro. He was from Bani Asr Bin Auf Bin Jazima Bin Asr Bin Wadi'a of Basra. He had quoted traditions of the Prophet.[3]

Munqiz Bin Haban : He was a nephew of Al Ashajj al Abdi. He was the one who massaged the face of the Prophet.[4]

Joudan al Abdi.[5] He has narrated the Prophet's certain "Traditions."

Salma Bin Ayad.[6]He was Ayad al Asadi: He uttered a verse on seeing the Prophet, it purport was, "I saw you as the best of all creation. As a teacher you brought the Truth and propagated it. You legislated for us guidance after we had turned from it and it had become dark."

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2 Ibn Hajar, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p. 49.

3 Al Ahsai, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.62.

4 Al Dahabi, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p. 93.

5 Ibn Hajar, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p. 257.

6 Al Dahabi, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p. 213.

Jauri Al Asry.[7] It is said that his name was Jawiya. He was the one who quoted the Prophet's saying about Al Ashajj. According to his narration the Prophet said of Al Ashajj "You have two qualities dear to God and the Prophet; humility and patience."[8]

Abu Khibra Al Abdi. His name was Al Abdi Al Sabahi. He narrated certain Traditions of the Prophet (PBUH). He is the one who fixed the number of the deputationists to be 40 riders.[9]

Al Muraqqash Al Akbar and his antecedents.[10] He was a poet and was given the poetic name. His name has been mentioned as Abu Umro Al Sha'bani Umro. Some others have said: ' Auf Bin Sa'd Bin Malik Bin Dabi'a Bin Qais Bin Thalaba Al Hisn Ibn Akaba Bin Sa'b Bin Ali Bin Bakr Bin Wayil. He was infatuated by his cousin Asma Bint Auf Bin Malik Bin Dabi'a.

Al Muraqqash al Asghar[11] was the son of the elder brother Al Muraqqash Al Akbar. His name has been mentioned as Abu Umro Rabee'a Bin Sufiyan Bin Sa'd Bin Malik. Some others have said : his name was Umro Bin Harmala Bin Sa'd Bin Malik. He was also infatuated by Fatima Bint al Mundhir Al Malik and wrote

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7 Ibn Hajar, *op. cit.* p.226.

8 Ibn Al Athir, *op. cit.* Vol.2. p.62.

9 Al Qurtubi, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p. 53.

10 *Al Muraqqash Al Akbar*: (Died: 75 Before H. 550).

11 Al Muraqqash Al Asghar: (d. 50 Bh/570); *Al A'lam*: Vol. 3. p.16.

poetry in her praise. He participated in the wars of Bakr Bin Wayil against Bani Taghallub with great courage and bravery. He was greatly annoyed and irritated by the enemy.

Auf Bin Malik Bin Dhabi'a was the uncle of Al Muraqqah Al Akbar.[12]He was from the cavalry of Bakr Bin Wayil and took part in some of the skirmishes of Bakr and Taghllab and was taken prisoner in one of the battles to a suburb of Hajr.[13] His condition in captivity improved. A wine merchant from Hajr used to meet him who was a friend of Muhalhal and who used to buy liquor from him. He became addicted to drink. Banu Malik used to meet him and he was provided with a house to live by himself.[14]

Al Muraqqash Al Asghar. As stated earlier, he was Abu Umro-Rabi'a Bin Sufiyan Bin Sa'd Bin Malik Bin Dhabi'a. The elder Muraqqash was his uncle. Al Asghar was the uncle of Turfa bin Al Abd and loved Faima bint Al Mundhr. She bore a daughter called bint Ajlan and had a castle at Kazima[15] with a guard post.[16]

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12 Auf bin Malik bin Sabi'a bin qais bin Thalaba of Bakr bin Wayil: *Al A'lam.* Vol. 5. p.96.

13 Hajr: A village near Madina in a area with Safa as a town. Between it and Basra was a distance of 15 days on the back of a camel. *Yaqut Al Hamawi, op. cit.* Vol. 5. p.393.

14 Al Isar: taken a prisoner but not necessarily harshly treated. Ibn Sayida : *Lisan al Arab*, Vol. 4. p.19.

15 Kazima: On the coast on the road from Bahrain to Basra. Many poets have described it. Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol. 4. p. 431.

16 Al Asfahani, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p.145.

Qatari Bin Al Faj'at (d. 78H/697). His name was Jauna Bin Mazan Bin Yazid Al Kannani Al Mazani Al Tamimi. Was a chieftain of Azariqa and one of their heros. He was a horseman, orator and poet. He fought and struggled for 13 years and was duly titled with many epithets. In war he was called by the title of Aba Na'ama: (*na'ama* was a mare) and in peace time he was called Aba Muhammad, the historians differ about his place of death.[17]

One of the famous poetesses of Bahrain was Anan.[18] She was born and brought up in Bahrain. Was considered to be one the most beautiful women of her time and who possessed great charm.[19] Her prose and poetry were lucid and she was quick on the uptake. Was a leading poetess who picked up the gauntlet. Al Abbas Bin Al Akhaff was said to be in love with her.[20] There was on open debate between her and Abi Nuwwas.[21]

Among the poets of Bahrain were al Shammakh of Abu Khalifa Muhammad Bin SalamAl Shammakh[22] Bin Darrar Ibn Sitan Bin Umayya Bin Umro Bin Jahash Bin Bajala Bin Mazan Bin Tha'laba Bin Sa'd Ibn Ziban and Al shammakh Mukhdaram both lived through the pre-Islamic and post Islamic periods. He wrote satire with

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17 Zarkali: *Al A'lam*, Vol. 5. p.200.

18 Died 226H/841.

19 Coquettish and flirtatious.

20 A lyrical poet who died in Basra in 192/808.

21 Al Asfahani, *op.cit.* Vol. 8. p.85.

22 Al Shammakhdied in 22H/643. Al Aghani, *op.cit.* Vol. 9. pp. 184 - 209.

a nickname Al Shammakh while his name was Ma'qal, some say Al Haitham.

Bahrain did not have schools like the Baghdad Schools where public education could be had. There were libraries where general education and culture were taught to the boys and where the Qur'an could be learnt. They also taught them writing, arithmetic etc. and the teacher drew his salary for his labours.[23] Paper and papyrus were used for writing, and the place for selling paper was called *Darb al Qaratees*. Thin, parchment and a thin variety of soft tissue were also used.[24]

There were also study circles in mosques where different sciences were taught by learned Shaikhs such as *fiqh*, interpretation, Tradition, prosody etc. The student could attend the section of his choice. The Shaikh of each study circle got his remuneration.[25] If the teacher was well off then he performed his task without remuneration as a divine service. The Shaikh laid down the syllabus to be taught to his students in the mosque.[26]

4.1.1 Food.

In the beginning the lifestyle of the people of Bahrain was very simple. At the advent of Islam they lived on meagre food with meat being a side dish. The town

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23 *ibid.*

24 Al Yaquby, *op.cit.* p.235.

25 Ibn Khalkan: *Wafiyyat al A'yan,* Vol. 5. p. 525.

26 Ibn al Nadim: *Al Fahrist,* p. 341.

dwellers cared more for sophistication in food than the desert dwellers. [27]

Favourite food in Bahrain was a kind of bread known as *sarid* which was steeped in broth with meat placed on top of it. Another kind of bread was known as *lamza* which was baked up in bits in fat. Then there was *koshan* which was rice with fish and seasoning looking like vermicelli. There was also coarse wheat semolina which was put in a utensil and cooked with meat of dates on top. Another food item was shreds of meat dried in the sun known as *qadid* [28] and there were also dates, camel milk and cow's milk.

4. 1.2. Marriage.

Marriage celebrations were held for two days; the first day being a day of drawing up a contract. On this day the girl's relatives gathered in the house and introduced themselves to the relatives of the bridegroom. After the session is assembled the guardian of the boy made a tender address. It was replied to by the guardian of the girl briefly incorporating consent. Then a camel was slaughtered, tables were spread and the sound of music emanated from the ladies' section. The day was termed *walima* or banquet day.

The second day was the day of consummation of marriage at which the Arabs

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27 Dr. Hasan Ibrahim Hasan: *Tareekh al Islam il Siyasi wal Dini wal Thaqafiq wal Ijtimai,* Vol.1. p.556.

28 Al Fahkri: *Fil Adab il Sultaniyah*, pp.70-71.

compared with each other in celebrating it with eclat. The boys threw spears and raced on horses. They spread woolen rugs in the houses and on walls. Women sat on leather seats while the bride appeared wearing her ornaments and walked through her friends. She was then treated to songs by the ladies eulogizing the deeds of her ancestors and the virtues of her community. At the end of celebrations the ladies departed after bidding goodbye to the bride.[29]

4. 1.3. Entertainment.

The people of Bahrain, in their spare time, pursued certain kinds of pastimes such as hunting, horse-racing etc . Hunting was aimed at getting them used to soldiers' exercises such as running and assaulting and riding.[30] They gained expertise in archery and the use of swords. They preferred meat obtained from hunting to any other kind of meat. Horse-racing was their most favourite pastime among all classes of people.[31]

They were particularly fond of hunting for its several advantages. The writer of the book, *al adab al sultaniya* says[32] that training young boys in jogging, combatmanship, horsemanship, archery, fencing and spearing led them to understanding horses and racing. Among the various layers of the population of

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29 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 8 p.15.

30 Al Fakhri, *op.cit.* p.54.

31 Al Masudi, *op.cit.* Vol. 3 pp.188, 189.

32 Al Fakhri, *op.cit.* p.54.

Bahrain horse racing was very popular.[33]

Among the various types of entertainment popular with the people of this region was the ball played with poles and a bat. The boys used to throw the ball up and hit it with the rod to keep it in the air. It was a wooden rod a meter long. The ball was kept in the air by the two sides all along.[34]

4. 2. DID UTHMAN BIN AFFAN SEND ONE OF THE COPIES OF THE HOLY QUR'AN TO BAHRAIN?

There has been some controversy over the number of copies of the Holy Qur'an distributed by Caliph Uthman. According to some there were in all four copies out of which three were sent to Kufa, Basra, and Syria one was left with himself. Some claim the number to be seven and this opinion has been discussed by Abu Bakr Abdulla Bin Abi Dawud Al Sajistani (d.316 H) in his famous manuscript *kitab al masahif*. He said that he had been told by Abdulla that he had heard Aba Hatim Al Sajistani saying: "when Uthman collected the holy texts of the Qur'an, he wrote out seven copies of it and sent one copy each to Makka, Syria, Yemen, Bahrain, Basra and Kufa and left one copy in Madina."

The fact is that those who claim the number to be seven are closer to truth. It

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33 Al Masudi, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. pp. 188 - 189.

34 Ibn Sayida, *op.cit.* Vol. 3 p.17 - 19.

does not stand to reason that the Caliph would have selected any particular Islamic centres and left out others, particularly because at that time Makka, Yemen and Bahrain were important Islamic strongholds and the Muslims anxiously aspired to have the Holy Qur'an come to them from its original source. The Qur'an as prepared by Uthman was authentic and was under his seal. It was the original and regional copies that could be copied from it. It was the attested version which could be used for comparison and authentication of the other regional manuscripts. Bahrain was an important region from the very beginning of Islamic history. The Prophet (PBUH) approved the writing of the Qur'an and various materials were used such as; thin delicate leather, tree barks, bones, papyrus, leaves, pen and ink, guild etc. It is certain that the Qur'an was being written in different Islamic countries irrespective of their location. Bahrain was familiar with calligraphing the Holy Qur'an at the advent of Islam and many copies of it were prepared and compared with the copy sent to Bahrain by the third Caliph Uthman bin Affan for authentication. Many copies of the Holy Qur'an written on hide have been found in this blessed country. The Al Khamis mosque was an ancient Islamic structure which was renovated during the reign of the ascetic Caliph Umar Bin Abdul Aziz. No doubt these copies of the Qur'an were placed in this magnificent mosque so that the people could have ready access to it for study, recitation and reflection.

4. 3. Deputation of Abd Al Qais to the Prophet.

The sources say that the Abd al Qais sent two deputations to the Prophet (sal); the

first one led by Al Ashaj.[35]

Ibn Sa'd states that Al Ashaj sent his brother - in - law and nephew Umro Bin Abd Qais with a caravan carrying dates to Makka for sale. He advised him to collect sufficient information about the Prophet (PBUH). The deputation arrived in the year of Hijra and Umro duly embraced Islam. The Prophet (PBUH) asked him to invite his uncle Al Ashaj to enter the folds of Islam. He returned to Bahrain and informed his uncle of what he saw and heard. Al Ashaj embraced Islam but kept it a secret. He went along with a caravan of the people of Hajar to Madina to wait on the Prophet where they embraced Islam.[36]

Al Ashaj and his group concealed their conversion when they left Hajr as they were afraid of the infidels of Yamama and Tamim. The sources quote Bahrain's trade and cultural relations with Hejaz and also the intellectual apprehensions that prevailed in Bahrain. They throw light on the beginning of the conversion of Abd al Qais and their contact with the Prophet (PBUH).

The deputation reached in 8H, i.e., before the conquest of Makka.[37] Ibn Sa'd states that the Prophet accommodated the deputation in the house of Ramla Bint Al Harith where they stayed for 10 days. During this period Al Ashaj asked the Prophet all about the Qur'an. Abi Bin Ka'b used to read over to him some of the

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35 His name was Al Mundhir Bin Aydez.

36 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 15. p. 411.

37 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p. 54; Ibn Hisham, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p. 70.

chapters.[38] The members of the deputation learnt a few chapters of the Qur'an[39] and most probably as stated by Ibn Hajar they remained there until after the conquest of Makka in the year 8 H.[40]

The members of the delegation told the Prophet that because of the presence of the infidels in Madar they cannot go to him except during the forbidden month when the fighting ceased. They asked him to teach them the religion of Islam so that they could act by it and call their people to embrace it.[41]

Ibn Hajar states in *Tharjamatal Mundhir Bin Al Ashwa Al Abdi* that he "came with the deputation of Abd al Qais who said " 'O Prophet of God, We have come peacefully, not for war. And we are obedient and not insubordinate. So please give us a letter which will be an honour for us over all Arabs.' The Prophet (PBUH) was pleased with them and taught to them the permissible and the forbidden and a delivered a sermon to them. He wrote for them a letter too."[42]

Al Ayni says : "Then the Prophet (PBUH) said ; Affirm your faith in me on behalf of yourselves and your people. The people said 'yes'. Al Ashaj said : ' O Prophet of God ! You will never have one separated from his firm faith in religion. You

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38 Ibn Sa'd, op. cit. Vol. 2. p.54.

39 Ibn Hanabal : *Al Masnid* : Vol. 3. p. 432.

40 Ibn Hajar, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p. 171.

41 Abu Ubaid, *Al Amwal*, p.12; Al Bukhari, *Al Sahih*, Vol.1. p.22.

42 Ibn Hajar, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p.438.

may send with us those who will call upon the people to embrace the new faith. One who accepts will be one of us and we shall fight those who refuse."[43] After the conquest of Makka in 8H the deputation returned to Bahrain along with Al Ala Al Hadhrami who was sent by the Prophet with a letter to Al Mundhir Bin Sawi. The place of pledge of allegiance was made into a mosque.[44]

There is a difference of opinion on the number of people in the deputation. According to Ibn Sa'd : " Al Ashaj embraced Islam and left ... 17 people of Hajr waited on the Prophet (PBUH) in deputation. Some say there were 12 people.[45] According to Al Waqidi there were 20 with Abdulla Bin Auf Al Ashaj at their head. There were 3 from Bani Ubaid, 3 from Bani Ghanam and 12 from Bani Abd al Qais along with Al Jarud.[46]

According to the version of Abi Khaira al Sabahi, he said that he was in a delegation which waited on the Prophet (PBUH) and there were 40 riders in it.[47]

Al Suhaili has mentioned the names of 8 persons quoting that these were out of the 9 persons constituting the Abd al Qais deputation.[48] According to Al Nawawi

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43 Sahih : *Al Bukhari* : Vol. 1. p. 310.

44 Ibn Hajar, *op.cit.* Vol. 2 p. 171.

45 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 5. 5. p. 411.

46 Ibn Kathir, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.170.

47 Ibn Al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 5. p. 183.

48 *Al Raudh al Anf :* Vol. 2. pp. 333 - 334.

there were 14 riders in the delgation.[49] According to Ibn Kathir there were 13 riders.[50]

Ibn Hajar states that Al Ashaj started with 16 men from the people of Hajar as a deputation to the Prophet.[51] The different versions about the Abd al Qais deputation make it difficult to fix the exact number since there is a possibility of falsification and forgery. Most probably the version of a 40 member delegation is not correct for it is difficult for one house to accommodate this number. It is likely that the number varied between 13 and 20. Their names according to Ibn Sa'd were from Bani Asr: Al Mundhir Bin Al Harith [52] Known as Al Ashaj.[53] He was the leader. Then Umro Bin Al Marjum.[54] Shahab Bin Al Matruk;[55] Hamam Bin Rabi'a;[56] Khuzaima BinAbd Umro;[57] Jariya Bin Jabir;[58] Amer Bin Abd al Qais;[59]

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49 *Sahih Muslim; Sharh al Nawawi* : Vol. 1 p. 181.

50 Ibn Kathir, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p. 170.

51 Ibn Hajar, *op.cit.* Vol. 2 p. 171.

52 Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.* Vol. 1 p.60.

53 The Prophet stroked his face and named him Al Ashaj Ahmed Bin Hambal, *Al Masnad*, Vol. 3. p. 432.

54 In Sa'd, *op. cit.* Vol. 1 p. 54.

55 The name was Al Matruk Ubaid Bin ubaid Bin Shaab Bin Abdulla Bin Asr. Ibn Sa'd, *op cit.*

56 Ibn Hajar, *op. cit.* Vol. 1 pp .230, 231.

57 Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.* Vol. 5 p.412.

58 *ibid.*

59 *ibid.*

Umro Bin Abd al Qais[60] and Umro Bin Shaith.[61]

From Bani Sabah Bin Abd al Qais:

Abu Khaira; Aqaba Bin Jarwa; Matar Bin Hilal Al Anazi, brother of Laqaba Bin Jarwa by the same mother and Anza Ally; Al Zari' Al Abdi and perhaps went to Basra.

From Bani Ayesha Bin Al Auf Bin Al Dail:

Al Harith Bin Jandab.

From : Bani Murra Bin Zafar Al Dail:

Sohar Bin Al Abbas Al Abdi.

From : Bani Ijl Bin Umro Bin Abd al Qais:

Sufyan Bin Kholi of Bani Zalim Bin Dhahal Bin Ijl Faqz Bin Hayan.

From Bani Moharib Bin Abd al Qais:

Hamam Bin Muawiya Bin Shababa[62] and his grandson Ubaida Bin Malik Bin Hatma Bin Umro Bin Muharib;[63] Muharib Bin Mazida Bin Malik;[64] Aban Al

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60 Blazeri, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.80.

61 *ibid.*

62 Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.* Vol. 5 p. 412.

63 Ibn Hajar, *op. cit.* Vol. 2 p.171.

64 Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.* Vol. 5 p.410.

Mohazi.[65]

Bani zafar Bin zafar Bin Moharib :

Sufay Bin Hamam; Umro Bin Sufyan.[66]

From the delegation of Jabir Bin Abdulla Bin Jabir Al Abdi[67] from Bani Asr :

Al Harith Bin Shuaib.[68]

Mazida[69] and Juwaira.[70]

From : Bani Sabah :

Isa Bin Abdulla;[71] Abu Sinan, who was the one who gave the call for prayers in the Bani Sabah mosque,[72] and Al A'war Bin Malik Bin Umar Bin Auf Bin Amir Bin Zubyan Bin Al Deil.

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65 Al Bukhari: *Al Tarikh al Kabir*, Vol. 1. p.106. Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.* Vol. 5. p.10 .

66 Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.* Vol. 5 p. 412.

67 Al Bukhari, *op. cit.* Vol. 1 p.59.

68 Al Nawawi, *op. cit.* Vol. 1 p.181.

69 Ibn Al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p.304.

70 Al Qurtubi, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p. 278.

71 Ibn Al Athir, *op. cit.* Vol. 3 p.51.

72 Yaqut al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 3 p.105.

4. 4. The Second Deputation.

The second Abd al Qais delegation come over in 9H. under the leadership of Al Jarud [73] Al Abdi who was from Bani Anmar Bin Umro Bin Wadi'a Bin Lakix Bin Aqsa Bin Abd al Qais.[74]

Al Jarood was a nobleman during the age of ignorance before Islam.[75]He was the leader of his people and their chief. He was a Christian but accepted Islam along with his people. He stayed in Madina for a while until he learnt all about religious laws. He was a dedicated Muslim. After the death of the Prophet in 11 H. Abd al Qais retracted from Islam in Bahrain but due to the efforts of Al Jarud they returned to the fold. Al Jarood led the Abd al Qais to help Al Ala Bin Al Hadhrami in his battle against the retractors from Islam in Hajar. After these wars of retraction he lived in Basra.

4. 5. Intellectual Life.

Intellectual life flourished in Bahrain both before and after the advent of Islam.

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73 His name was Bashar Bin Umro Bin Hansh with the title of Al Harood because his camel was infected by a disease and he went with it to his uncles from Bakr Bin Wayil where the infection spread to other camels. The Arabic word 'Jarada' means loss of hair. Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 5 p.407. Al Maidani: *Majma Al Amsal*, Vol. 1 p.198.

74 Ibn Hisham, *op.cit* Vol. 4 p.221; Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.* Vol. 2 p.262.

75 Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.* Vol. 1 p.61.

Ibn Kathir has mentioned that Jarud[76] Bin Al Ma'alli Bin Hansh Al Abadi was a Christian who was well-versed in interpretation and drawing inferences even as he was a scholar of the history of the Persians, their philosophy, medicine eloquence and literature.

The people of Bahrain drank deep at the fountains of knowledge and science. This led to the phenomenon of the spread of Christianity in this region. Among these eminent scholars of Bahrain were Sa'as Bin Sojan Al Abdi[77] and Hakim Bin Jabala Al Abdi. It was he who sent Uthman Bin Affan to Sind to test it. In the field of poetry of many Bahrainis excelled, the most prominent among them being Al Mashgab Al Abdi.[78]

The poets who left a mark on the literary life of Bahrain were the two Abdis. Similarly, Turfa Bin Al Abd is considered the most famous poet of Bahrain.[79] The other notable Bahraini poet is Ziyadat Al A'jam. He was from the Mawalis of Bani Amer Ibn Al Harith Ibn Abdul Qais.

When pearl diving was an old Bahraini industry many poets of Bahrain made it their theme both before and after the advent of Islam. Among these was Al Musayyab Bin Ali, a poet of Bakr Bin Wayil. One of his poems contains a

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76 Al Ahsai, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.3.

77 Ibn Hajar, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p.192.

78 Al Ahsai, *op.cit*, Vol. 2. p.11.

79 *ibid*, Vol. 2. p.17.

description of the Gulf 's leading personalities. From among the Bahrainis Al A'sha Mainum Ibn Qais achieved fame. He was a son of the soil and was a indefatigble traveller. In his verse he has described as many as twelve pearl-diving operations in the area of Darin.

Another Bahraini poet was Al Mokhbal Al Saudi from the Tamim Tribe. He used to move around within the precincts of his tribal habitations.[80]

During the Umayyad rule a few poets gained prominence in Bahrain among whom the most notable one was Al Farzadaq Hamam Bin Ghalib who enriched Arabic with his poems and verses particularly during recitation competition between him and Jarir.[81]

4. 6. The People of Bahrain and the Group of Apostates.

Al Ala Al Hadhrami started towards Bahrain. The word went round in Bahrain that the Prophet (PBUH) and Al Mundhir had both complained during the same month of certain developments. Shortly after the death of the Prophet Al Mundhir also died and that was when the people of Bahrain retracted from Islam. Later Abd al Qais relented and Bakr put an end to retrograde action. It was Al Jarood who prevailed upon the Abd al Qais to desist from apostasy.

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80 Al Baghdadi, *Khizanat al Adab*, Vol. 1. p. 243.

81 *Diwan al Faddhliyyat*, p.113.

It is said that Al Jarud Bin Al Mu'alla went to the Prophet as an infidel and the Prophet asked him to accept Islam whereupon he said : "I have my own religion." The Prophet said : "Your religion is nothing and it is not a religion." Al Jarud replied: "Then I accept Islam." Then what is followed in Islam will be binding on you! He said: "Yes." Then he stayed on in Madina and studied religious law. When he decided to return he said to the Prophet: "Are there any deserters about whom information may be passed by us?" He said : "There are no such here." He replied : "O Prophet! If we find such on our way ? Beware! it is fire." When he came to his people he invited them to Islam, and they responded. Only a short while after he died. If Mohammed were a Prophet he would not have died and the Abd al Qais went back on Islam. He gathered them and said: "O people of Abd al Qais ! Tell me if You know the answer and do not reply if you don't know it." What is it? -- "Do You know that God had His Prophets in the past?" -- They said "Yes " --- "Did you see or you knew ?" --- " We knew " -- " What happended to the Prophets?" ---- "They died " --- "And so died Muhammad as other Prophets"-- -- "he said : "I bear witness that there is no other but Allah and Muhammad is his prophet." - They said: "You are our leader and the best of us. We stay in Islam." They did not leave and go away to safety but stayed among the apostates Rabee'a and Al Mundhir and the Muslims. Al Mundhir worked for them as long as he lived. When he died his followers gathered in two centres until they were rescued by Al Ala. Abu Jafar says: "when Khalid Ibn Al Walid finished with the Yamam campaign, Abu Bakr sent Al Ala Bin Al Hadhrami." Al Ala was the one who was sent by the Prophet to Al Mundhir Bin Sawi Al Abdi. Al Mundhir embraced Islam and Al Ala became the special envoy of the Prophet. Al Mundhir died in Bahrain

after the Prophet's death and the Rabia of Bahrain retracted from Islam as also some tribes of Arabia except Al Jarud Bin Umro Bin Hansh Bin Ma'alli who remained steadfast along with some of his people. When the news of the death of the Prophet and of apostasy reached him he said: "There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is his Prophet. I disown those who do not affirm it." The Rabi'a collected in Bahrain.

They repudiated Al Mundhir as king and selected Al Mundhir Bin Al Nu'man Bin Al Mundhir titled Al Ghurur. When he was ultimately to accept Islam with most others overcome by the sword he said: "I am not Al Ghurur but Al Maghrur." (Not conceit but conceited).

Al Hatam Bin Dhabi'a the brother of Qais Bin Tha'laba along with his followers from Bakr Bin Wayil and the infidels who had not yet embraced Islam landed in Qatif and Hajr and seduced The Zatts of Al Khatt, Al Siyabja and Darin. He sent for Al Gharur Bin Suwaid the brother of Nu'man Bin Al Mundhir. He sent him to Juatha and said: "Stay put. If I win I will own Bahrain and you will be like Al Nu'man of Al Hira. He sent him to Juatha were the Muslims were surrounded. Among the surrounded Muslims there was one by the name of Abdulla Bin Hazaf of Bani Abi Bakr Bin Kilab. He and others were starved until they were close to death. Al Ala advanced against them and ordered the people to come down. Their camels got scared in the depth of darkness and fled. None remained with them nor did they have food, and they started consulting and advising one another. They started offering prayers until the camels came. Abu Huraira was

with them. They marched until Hajr. Al Ala sent for Al Jarud and they together disposed Al Hatam.

The infidels gathered at Al Hatam except the people of Darin. The Muslims gathered under Al Ala bin Al Hadhrami. Both the Muslims and the infidels entrenched themselves. The battle was joined sometimes and sometimes they reverted to the trenches. This went on for a month. One night the Muslims heard a great noise among the infidels. They appeared to be drunk. So The Muslims attacked them and liquidated the infidels and captured Afif Bin Al Mundhir Al Gharur Bin Suweid. Al Ala asked him to embrace Islam and he complied and remained in Hajr. His name was Al Ghurur. Al Ala Bin Al Hadhrami wrote to those among Bakr Bin Wayil who had continued to remain steadfast in Islam. When Al Ala was no longer among the infidel camp, the letters which he had written to Bani Wayil started coming back saying they had established the commandment of God. When he ascertained that nothing untoward would happen to the people of Bahrain he repaired to Darin where he gathered the people and spoke to them. Thereafter they departed and Al Ala reached the sea - coast with his people. Between the sea coast and Darin it was a journey of a day and a night to reach the boats. They joined the boats. A fierce battle ensued with the Persians whose strength was 6,000. Al Ala scored. When he returned to Bahrain he brought strength and glory to Islam and ignominy to the infidels. With the Muslims there was an ascetic in Hajr who embraced Islam.

Then Al Ala wrote to Abu Bakr : "May Allah bless a glorious dawn for us and

show us reward after gloom and testing times. All praise and glory to Allah ! May Allah help his soldiers and his religion. Praise to Abu Bakr." Then Al Ala wrote to him about the defeat of the people of trenches and the death of Al Hatam.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOURCE OF BAHRAIN'S ECONOMIC LIFE

5.1. The Migration of Arab Tribes to Bahrain.

Before the Islamic conquest Bahrain was inhabited by a motley group of citizens of whom the Arabs constituted the overwhelming majority, they were the strongest as is borne out by the population density and their very many towns and villages.[1]

The tribes of Abdul Qais lived on the soil of Bahrain along with some of their clans among whom were Bakr Bin Wayil and Azd. Their entry could be traced to the migration of Arab tribes from Yemen.[2] The tribe of Jadis[3] and the Tasam[4] tribe made their mark and according to the sources these two inhabited Yamama east of Nejd.[5] As for the tribe of Banu Tamim, it was, according to historical sources one of the biggest Arab tribes to inhabit Bahrain.[6] After the entry of Islam into Bahrain many changes took place in the citizenship of these tribes perhaps due to the many wars which often broke out among them.

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1 Al Ahsai: *Tuhfatul Mustafid, op.cit.* Vol. 2. p. 46.

2 Al Bakri: *Mu'jam am Ustujim*, Vol. 1 p.86.

3 Jarji Zaidan: *Al Arab Qabl al Islam*, p. 210.

4 Al Masudi: *Muruj al Dhahab*, Vol. 2, p.35.

5 Abdul Mun'im Al Fallahi, *Al Ansab Wal Usar*, Vol. 1. p.11.

6 Al Bakri, *op. cit.* p. 387.

5. 2. Non - Arab Elements in the Population of Bahrain.

Many minorities lived in Bahrain among whom were the Sababija who lived alongside the tribes and clans of Bahrain. Blazeri [7] has mentioned that they existed before Islam on the shores of the Arab Gulf even as they existed during the days of Caliph Abu Bakr.[8] Though Tabari and Qalqashandi have mentioned that they lived in Hajr and Qatif, it seems that they lived in Khatt before the Islamic conquest.[9] However, after the entry of Bahrain into the Islamic fold they moved on to Hajr and Qatif as Islam gave rise to many such groups such as these minorities. What seems to confirm this fact is the presence of a garrison at the appearance of Islam and their participation the Apostatic movements.[10]

When certain Bahrain tribes turned their backs on Islam the Sababija took part in the Apostatic movements and after the liquidation of the Apostates when Bahrain reverted to the Religion of God we do not find any further reference to the Sababija in historical records. It appears that they migrated to Iraq.[11]

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7 Al Blazeri: *Futuh al Buldan*, p.373.

8 *ibid.* p.373.

9 *ibid.* p.374.

10 *ibid.* p.268.

11 Saleh Al Ali: *Al anzimat al ijtima'yya wa liqtisadiyya Fil Basra fil Qarnil Awwal Al Hijri*, pp. 70, 6 .

Among the tribes which settled in Bahrain was the Zatt.[12] The Zatt were an Indian community and there are three factors which point to this fact. Firstly, the term Zatt has appeared in the agreement which was signed between the Azd and the Asawira.[13] Secondly, the Zatt clothing is associated with them. This clothing was known to be of Indian origin.[14]

Thirdly, they had knowledge of the seas, particularly of the Arab Gulf waters wherein they conducted their trade. It shows their proximity to the Gulf waters. Even though the sources quoted about the Zatt are scanty, nevertheless, they show them to be an Indian community in origin who lived in Baluchistan and its surrounding areas.[15]

The Zatt participated in the wars of Apostasy.[16] Tabari said: "When the Prophet (PBUH) died Al Hatam Bin Sabi'a moved out and reached Qatif and Hajr and seduced Al Khatt. Among them were Zatt and Sababija.[17] After the conquest they departed for Iraq and settled down in Basra.[18]

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12 Al Zubeidi: *Taj Al Arus*, Vol.5, p.146.

13 Blazeri, *op.cit.* p.267.

14 Al Zubeidi, *op.cit.* Vol. 5. p.147.

15 *Thaafatul Hind*, Vol. 16, p.101.

16 Blazeri, *op.cit.* p.266, It was in they year 11 H.

17 *Al Umam Wa Mulook*, Vol. 3. p.255.

18 They were rehabilitated by Abu Musa Al Ashari who entrusted to them the Administrative Affairs of the Emirate and the Mosque. Blazeri: *Futuh al Buldan.* p.269.

They caused a great ordeal for the Abbasid State, carried through the reign of Al Ma'mun and saw no end till the reign of the Caliph Al Mu'tasam, who bore the brunt of liquidating their hold.[19]

5. 3. Religious Life of Bahrain before Islam.

Many diverse religions prevailed in Bahrain before Islam due largely to its geographical location which lay astride the meeting point of several ancient world civilisations, and because of its importance as a trade centre. The various sources speak of several creeds of idol worship sweeping Bahrain but these accounts were sketchy and mere passing references. It appears that each tribe adopted an idol for worship. We find that Bakr Bin Wayil and Taghlab had adopted an idol whose name was Awal.[20] Hence it was that the biggest island in the Bahrain group was called Awal. There were groups of Magians too. Idolatry took many shapes and forms and the tribal deities multiplied. As for Judaism's entry into Bahrain there are no authentic historical sources. It seems that the Jews infiltrated into Bahrain through trade as well as migration.[21] They remained in Bahrain until the Islamic conquest. They were offered Islam for adoption but did not accept it. Instead they paid *jizya*.[22] They plied trade which had a major role in the economy of the Gulf.

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19 Blazeri, *op.cit.* p.269.

20 Yaqut Al Hamawi: *Mu'jam al Buldan*, Vol. 1. p.395.

21 *ibid.* Vol. 6. p.127.

22 Blazeri, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.97.

Idol Worship.

Idol worship was the formal religion of Bahrain for a long period of time[23] in the pre-Islamic era of ignorance. Its remnants are still visible in the ancient burial mounds of Aali. The Bahrain Islands were named Awal in relation to the biggest deity which the Arabs worshipped. The Arabs used to come here for pilgrimage and offer their animal sacrifices. Another island in the Bahrain group was named "Sanam" or the deity. It was the "Sanam" of Muharruq which had been installed on the Island of Muharruq as a centre of idol worship. So was the case with the Christian village, Deir of Muharruq.

Magianism.

The Magian faith also spread in Bahrain, it believes in two gods; one for the 'good' and the other for 'bad'.[24] It postulates an eternal conflict between them. The Magians had Fire Temples with a perpetual sacred flame burning in them. Magianism branched off into a number of cults. In Bahrain there were a number of agents of Fars. The word 'Al lakma' was of Persian origin and was Arabicised as Majjus which in Persian meant (maghus) or ' fire - worshipper'.[25]

The Majjus (Magians) have found a mention in Arab poetry.[26]

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23 Blazeri, *op.cit.* p. 102.

24 Hasan al Sandavi: *An Annotation of the Dewan of Imra'il Qais,* p.84.

25 Jawad Al: *Tarikh al Arab Qabl al Islam*, Vol. 6. p.292.

26 Al Zubairi, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p.245.

In fact the Magians of Bahrain never had any political influence whatever when Bahrain entered the fold of Islam. We, therefore, find them willing to pay the protection tax, *jizya* like the Jews and Christians. Nevertheless, some of them embraced Islam among whom was the Ruler of Hajr (Sibakht). Ibn Sa'd has narrated[27] that the Prophet (PBUH) wrote to the Magians of Hajr offering them Islam but they refused and hence *jizya* was collected from them. Their women were not taken on marriage, nor were the animals slaughtered by them treated as permissible food. Magianism was never a force of importance in Bahrain. On the contrary it steadily declined as its beliefs and practices were in conflict with those of the Arabs. Although, Magianism spread in Bahrain, the Magians had no political influence at all when Islam entered Bahrain. It remained weak and inconsequential in Bahrain. Later many Magians converted to Islam.

Many types of worship gained currency in Bahrain such as "horse worship" which was called *Aspaziyya* derived from the Persian word *Asp* meaning a horse.[28]According to Yaqut [29] *Aspaz* was the name of a Persian king. We do not find any link between *Aspaziyya* of horse worship and Magianism. Jawad Ali says that *Aspaziyya* meant knight hood and Al Mundhir Bin Sawi was an *Aspazi* or a horseman (knight) which was a title of honour and respect.[30]

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27 Ibn Sa'd: *Al Tabaqat*, Vol. 1 p. 263.

28 Blazeri, *op.cit.* p.78.

29 Yaqut Al Hawami, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.172.

30 Jawad Ali: *Tarikh al Arab Qabl al Islam*, Vol. 6. p.294.

Judaism.

The sources do not mention any definite date for the entry of Judaism into Bahrain. It seems that the Jews infiltrated Bahrain through trade and migration.[31] We notice that the Jews migrated to Bahrain from Iraq.[32] That is because a section among them continued to live in Iraq and pursued trade, agriculture and other professions.[33] The Jews remained in Bahrain until the Islamic conquest and when the new faith was offered to them they preferred to stay out of it and paid the 'protection tax' Blazeri quoted Ibn Abbas saying. "The Holy prophet (PBUH) wrote to Mundhir Bin Sawi who promptly embraced Islam. Then he invited the people of Hajr, some of whom were willing and some opposed to the new religion. However, the Arabs embraced Islam but the Magians and the Jews refused refused even to pay the protection tax. It was then imposed upon them. They continued to remain in Bahrain until Umar Ibn al Khattab expelled the Jews from the Arabian Island.[34]

Benjamin Tateely has[35] spoken of there being 5,000 Jews in Qatif and from this

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31 We do not have any sources mentioning it except Islamic sources and the reason is attributable to the Jews openly confronting Islam. Both the Holy Qur'an and the "Tradition" bore references to them. Jawad Ali: *Al Arab Qabl al Islam*, Vol. 6 p. 212.

32 Jawad Ali, *op.cit.* p. 235.

33 *ibid.* Vol. 1. p.171.

34 Al Bakri: *Mu'jam ma Ustu'jim*, p.12.

35 *Al Rahla*. p.164.

figure we may gather that a large number of Jews lived in Qatif which does not preclude their being in other towns and inhabited areas of Bahrain. The Jews worked as merchants, the most prominent among them being Benjamin who even owned a commercial fleet plying in the Gulf waters and became a proverbial figure among Arab poets.[36] In this manner the Jews continued to live in Bahrain even after the spread of Islam while pursuing trade and agriculture as their profession.

Christianity.

Christianity spread through trade and the slaves.[37] Similarly Nestorianism attracted many tribes which entered its folds. These were from the clans of Rabi'a, Ghassan and Quda'a.[38] In Bahrain the tribes, Abdul Qais and Bakr Bin Wayil adopted it.[39] Considerable effort was made by the proselytisers in Bahrain, Qatar, Hajar and some other islands in the Gulf before Christianity spread in this

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36 Benjamin was a Jew of Hajr and was engaged in sea - trade. He enjoyed reputation as a merchant of calibre and was mentioned by Turfa Bin Al Abd in one of his celebrated poems: "Adulia of from Saffain, Benjamin. The sailors sailed by them time and again rightly guided." Ibn al Anbari: *Sharh al Qasaid il Sab'a.* p.137.

37 Jawad Ali, *op.cit.* Vol.3, p.87.

38 Ibn Qutaiba, *Al Ma'arif,* p.221.

39 Jawad Ali, *op. cit.* Vol. 6. p.122.

region.[40] Most of Abdul Qais converted to Islam after Al Jarud entered its folds.[41] The tribes who refused conversion remained Christian and paid the protection tax of *jizya*.[42] Certain Christian congregations have mentioned the names of bishops who joined up at Hajr[43] and Darin.[44] Among those who had the title of Bishop in Qatar was (Thomas) who usurped the title of Archbishop even without recognition by the Diocese of Fars. The mention of the names of some of the Bishops in Christian assemblies presided over by Jarjis I, and the existence of certain churches in Qatar, Hajr, Bahrain, Khatt, and Darin which contributed to the revival of the religious rites therein confirms to us that there were many followers of this faith in these regions. It also shows that Christianity continued to hold its sway in Bahrain even after the advent of Islam.

They continued to observe their own religious practices under the protective umbrella of Islam and with complete freedom. However, their numbers dwindled when many entered the fold of Islam wherein they found their long-cherished goal of love, cooperation and peace.

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40 Ibn Qutaiba has mentioned that some from Rabi'a and Quda'a embraced Christianity. *Al Ma'arif*. p.621.

41 Yaqut Al Hawami, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.208.

42 *ibid.* Vol. 1. p.208.

43 Jawad Ali, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p.229.

44 *ibid.* p.235. In the Nestorian meeting held in the year 576 H a Bishop by the name of Shal participated, and another by the name of Laus partcipated in the meeting held in 676 and both were from Hajr.

5. 4. The Azd Tribe.

It was an Arab tribe which had settled down in Bahrain before the advent of Islam but we do not know for certain when exactly it took place. Al Yaquby has stated that the Azd emigrated from Yemen after the Mareb dam was destroyed and reached Al Sirat. Certain clans moved out of them such as Al Rabia, Umran Banu Umro Bin Ada Bin Haritha Bin Amir, and they were Bariq and Ghalib. They subsequently spread out in Bahrain and Hajr.[45] According to Al Hamadani the Azd settled in Tihamam but differences arose among them and each clan went its own way either to Oman, Yamama or Bahrain. It seems that the Azd settled down in Bahrain before the arrival of Abd al Qais. Some came to Bahrain after the advent of Islam and after the migration of Abd Qais to Basra.[46] The sources have mentioned the areas in which they settled down "Awal : there were Banu Ma'an therein."[47] "Qatif: along with Abd al Qais."[48]

5. 5. ABD AL QAIS.

According to genealogists the Abd al Qais came to Bahrain from Tihama[49] and soon overcame those who were already there such as the Ayad, and Al Azd etc.

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45 Al Hamadain: *Sifat Jazirat il Arab*. p. 136.

46 Ibn al Faqih: *Mukhtasar Kitab il Buldan*, p.30.

47 Al Bakri, *op.cit.* p.88.

48 Al Harbi: *Al Manasik, op.cit.* p.620.

49 Al Bakri, *op. cit.* p. 86.

It expelled the Ayad from the fold.[50]

Jazima Bin Auf settled in Al Khatt and its adjacent areas. Abd al Qais settled in the centre of Qatif and the surrounding areas between Hajr to Qatar and Bainuna. The Abd al Qais retained these areas until the advent of Islam.[51] Certain other areas have been associated with Abd al Qais without the exact details of its clans and their locations. These locations were Mashqar, Safa,[52] Juatham Mahlam and Qubba.

The sources have mentioned the other villages where the Bani Amer Bin Al Harith Bin Anmar settled. Ibn Fagih has mentioned that these areas were many times more than the villages of Bani Muharib. He has stated that their houses were in Qatar and Jabala as well. The villages and towns of Bani Muharib were very many including the towns of Hajr[53] and Al Uqair.[54] Awal belonged to Mismar Bin Juzaima.[55] Certain changes occurred in the dwelling places of some tribes after the advent of Islam. Qatif became a place of settlement of Jazima Bin Abd al Qais and remained there when the Carmathians entered it in 287 H.

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50 Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.262.

51 Yaqut al Hamawi, op. cit. Vol. 4. p. 541.

52 Al Bakri, *op. cit.* p. 89.

53 Al Hamadani: *Sifat Jazirat al Arab,* p.136.

54 Ibn al Faqih, *op.cit.* p.30.

55 Al Hamadani, *op. cit.* p. 89.

The Abd al Qais possessed most of Bahrain and hence it was counted as belonging to Abd al Qais.[56] The large number of towns and villages where the Abd al Qais lived according to the sources shows the extent of their dispersion and their settlements in the region of Bahrain. Among their clans were the famous " Nakra" who have been described by Ibn Qutaiba as the people of Bahrain among whom were Al Adad and Al Sharq.[57]

5. 6. BAKR BIN WAYIL.

The Bakr Bin Wayil settled in Bahrain before the advent of Islam particularly after the 'Qada' Day which was the last day of the Basus War. The dwellings of Bakr extended to Al Yamama and the adjacent areas of western Iraq. Among the Bakr clans which settled down in Bahrain were Banu Qais bin Tha'laba Bin Okaba.[58] Their dwellings were said to be in Hajr,[59] Al Sayyidan,[60] Al Shayatan,[61] Thaj,[62] and Abaib.[63] They were not exclusive in these places. After the advent of Islam certain minor changes occurred in the places of settlements of Qais Bin

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56 Ibn al Faqih, *op. cit.* p.28.

57 Al Masudi: *Al Tabnih wal Ashraf*, p.392.

58 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 15. p. 411.

59 Al Bakri: *Al Masalik wal Mamalik*, p. 105.

60 Ibn Hajar: *Al Isaba*, Vol. 2. p.171.

61 Al Masudi, *op.cit.* p.392.

62 Yaqut al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p.143.

63 Al Ahsai: *Tuhfat al Mustafid*, Vol. 1. p.256.

Tha'laba.

5. 7. TAMIM.

Tamim was one of the biggest Arab tribes who dispersed all over the Najd plateau from Hijaz to the vicinity of the eastern peninsula.[64] Their clans which inhabited Bahrain were Banu Sa'd Zaid Manat Bin Tamim and their houses extended in the south to Yabrin and in the north to Safwan.[65] In Yabrin Banu Auf Bin Sa'd settled down along with a few from Bani Auf Bin Ka'b. As for Al Ahsa their mixed breed settled down and were known as Ahsa Bani Sa'd and Al Ajwaf. Clan Izz and its water point Kanhal.

Wadi al Sitar: including its villages, water points belonged to Afna Sa'd and Imrail Qais Bin Zaid.

Al Qa'a : Known as Qa'a Bani Sa'd.

Al Tariqa: belonged to Bani Malik Bin Sa'd which they stole from Bani Auf Bin Ka'b. Al Niyaj belonged to Bani Malik Bin Sa'd and Al Sayyidan. The sources have also mentioned the Houses of Bani Sa'd Bin Zaid Manat as Al Maqar, Al Furuq and Al Qali'a.

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64 Al Hamadani: *Sifat Jazirat al Arab*, p. 204.

65 Ibn al Fagih: *Mukhtasar Kitab il Buldan*, p.28.

Among their other clans were Banu Darim Bin Malik Bin Hanzala Bin Malik Bin Zaid Manat. To Bani Manaf Bin Darim belonged Al Darim. The water points were in Qanur, Thabra and Rakya in Tuwaila. The Tamim clans residing in Bahrain were beduins as the sources do not mention their participation in trade or industry or civil institutions. It seems that they did not have any towns and the majority lived in the desert.

5.8. Mawali.

In the eyes of Muslim historians the Mawalis were non - Arab Muslims. Every one of them who entered the fold of Islam became an equal of other Arab Muslims by virtue of their accepting Islam without a shade of difference between them. None had any superiority over the other except through piety. However, in the Islamic *Shari'ah* the Mawalis are of two types:

a. *Moula Ataqa* (The freed slave). He was a slave who was freed by his master. The freed one was tied by his allegiance to his old master who freed him. This was known as the allegiance of being granted freedom. It was a devotion of blessing or favour.

b. *Moula al Muwalat* (An ally). He belonged to the other through the bond of mixing or through service or alliance. He could attach himself to a tribe and belong to it.

After the advent of Islam such persons multiplied in their types and kinds because Islam strengthened the Arabs and raised their status until they became masters. The people of other countries trusted them and allied with them.[66]

When some historians refer to the Mawalis, they mean every non-Arab Muslim, that is because they were originally prisoners of war, and then were enslaved and subsequently freed. They thus became Mawalis. They could either remain the citizens of the conquered lands, or on their embracing Islam, enter the Arab fold, enter into their service and align themselves with their glory and power as Mawalis.[67] The term Mawali was also applied to the Persians whose lands were conquered by the Arabs by force. The Arabs enslaved them and if they freed them they were manumitted Mawalis.[68]The Mawalis staged the first revolt against the Islamic state directed against the Caliph Umar Ibn Al khattab.

We may say that most of the bloody conflicts at the individual and collective levels during the era of the Orthodox Caliphs from the days of Umar Ibn Al Khattab to the days of Ali Bin Abu Talib, took place either through the intrigue or the assistance of the Persian Mawalis. The Mawalis became a thorn in the side of the Umayyad State who participated in most revolutions staged against the

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66 Al Kharbutli: *Al Arab wal Hadara*. pp. 93 - 94.; Al Najjar: *Al Mawali fil Asr il Umawi*, p.14.

67 Al Najjar: *Al Mawali fil Asr il Umawi*, p.14.

68 Ahmed Amin: *Fajr al Islam*, p.9.

Umayyad rule. Some of them even reached positions of importance.[69]

It seems that the Mawalis of Bahrain had distributed themselves among the various clans such as Mawali Ataqa and Mawali Islam. The Mawali Ataqa sometimes operated under restrictions, and after their manumission they were given the freedom to follow certain modest trades. As for the phenomenon of the alignment of the Mawali with the Kharijites the justification is stated to be the wretched social conditions of the Mawalis. The Kharijites gave them hope that these conditions would be changed for the better, and will ensure equality among all Muslims and will secure for them remunerative wages.[70]

There was much talk that the Umayyads collected the *jizya* tax even from those who had accepted Islam. The *jizya* tax was a specific amount imposed per head which was cancelled as soon as the person embraced Islam. It was subject to the commandment of the Holy Qur'an.[71] In regard to *jizya* and *khiraj* (Tribute) some of them bore witness to what Al Tabari had said, purporting that the workers paying tribute wrote to Al Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf that the tribute was refused and that the people under protection had become Muslims. Al Hajjaj wrote to Basra and other places. He ordered that those who had their roots in the villages should return to them. Thus he withdrew them from the cities and returned them to their

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69 Abdul Rahman Al Najm: *Al Bahrain fi Sadr il Islam,* p.37. From these Abu Talut were Salim Bin Matar Moula of Bani Zaman Ibn Sa'b Bin Malik Bin Sa'b Bin Ali Bin Bakr Bin Wayil. Thabit al Namar who adopted the Karijites as their leaders.

70 Al Mibrad: *Al Kamil Fil Lugha*, Vol. 3. p.108.

71 *Surat al Tauba*: Verse 29.

villages.

Alongside these Mawalis there were another kind of Mawalis who deserved appreciation and respect and led a virtuous life compared to Ataqa. They were the free Persians whom the force of circumstances had compelled to migrate to other countries for the purposes of trade and industry. When the living conditions became difficult for them they ventured into tribes and clans and joined them. This secured for them certain rights which distinguished them from the Ataqa.[72]

The Umayyads showed lack of confidence in the Mawalis particularly in important and sensitive posts in the early stages of the establishment of the Umayyad empire. We can notice a clear difference in the Umayyad dependence on the Mawalis at their inception and towards the end of the period. We notice that towards the end the Umayyad empire depended a great deal on the Mawalis and sought their help in all kinds of activites whether in clerical work, or leadership roles, or in the judiciary. The Mawalis had grafted themselves onto the Islamic spirit and traditions and won the confidence of the rulers. There is an important point to which attention needs to be drawn. The Mawalis had given no assistance to the Umayyads in establishing their empire when compared to what they had done in the case of the Abbasids, at least not to the same extent. We find that there were many Persian revolts against the Umayyad empire. The most serious

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72 Abdul Rahman Al Najam: *Al Bahrain fi Sadr il Islam*, p. 38.

of these came in the wake of the great Arabisation movement launched by Caliph Abdul Malik Bin Marwan after his victory over Ali Abdulla Bin Al Zubair and his achievement of the unification of all Islamic territories and peoples.

One who follows the movements of the Mawalis and their revolts finds that they always seized the opportunity to put an end to the Umayyad empire and accepted into their fold every opponent of that empire . This is because they not only hated the Umayyads but the Arab element as a whole.[73] The Mawalis, as a rule, persisted in helping the enemies of the Umayyads irrespective of their creed of faith. After the Al Mukhtar Movement was launched, the Mawalis joined the Kharijites. In this new atmosphere the Kharijites changed their views and beliefs to suit Mawali disputes. The Kharijites said that the Caliphate should not be restricted to only the Quraish among the Arabs. In fact anyone whether Arab or non-Arab should be eligible for it as long as he was just. Whenever the Kharijite danger and power increased, the Mawali interests also were served. The situation became so serious that Hajjaj Bin Yusuf Al Thaqafi had to be sent to Iraq to secure the eastern frontier of the empire.[74] Among the Mawali poets of Bahrain, the name of Ziyadat al A'jam has been mentioned.[75] He was from the Mawalis of Bani Amer Ibn al Harith Ibn Abd al Qais though he was originally from Fars (Astakhr). His expressions took a Persian strain and hence he was known as Al A'jam. He wrote

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73 Al Najjar: *Al Doulat al Umawiyya fil Mashriq*, p.113.

74 Muhammad Maher Hamada: *Al Wathaiq al Siyasiyya wal Idariyya Al Ayida lil Asr il Umawi*, Published by Mu'ssassa al Risala Dar al Nafayis, 1974.

75 Al Ahsai, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.45.

an elegy condoling Al Mahlab Bin Abi Safra.

As for the free non-Muslims enjoying Muslim protection the geographical position of Bahrain had a great effect on them. There were Christians in Bahrain since very early times who had arrived from Iraq. The very first community to embrace Christianity was that of Al Munadhira. The rule over Bahrain fell to their lot who spread their religion in a desirable way among the tribes of Abd al Qais and Bakr Bin Wayil.[76] Directly after the entry of Islam into Bahrain the spread of Christianity dwindled.

As for the Jews of Bahrain the historical references are silent about when actually they entered its fold. It appears that they embraced it through trade and migration because they had migrated from Iraq. They adopted agriculture and trade alternately even as they plied certain simple crafts.[77] After the entry of Islam the Jews preserved their religion and like others they agreed to pay the *jizya* tax. Certain historical references state that there were about 5,000 Jews in Bahrain mostly concentrated in Qatif.[78] The Jews exploited the commercial prosperity of Bahrain by undertaking the ship-building industry. They also planted dates and enriched the economic circumstances of the country.[79]

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76 Jawad Ali, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p.62.

77 Al Blazeri, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p.92.

78 Benyamin Al Tatily: *Al Rahla*, p.164.

79 Al Dinwari: *Al Akhbar al Tiwal*, Vol. 5. p.198.

5.9. Slaves.

The slaves formed a part of the society of Bahrain. When Islam entered Bahrain slavery was prevalent among the people and so it worked to bring about relief by encouraging manumission. Freeing of slaves was considered a virteous act, and The Holy Qur'an and the Hadith (Tradition) provides for kindness towards slaves[80] most of whom were war prisoners[81] or counted against the *jizya* tax imposed on certain districts of through their purchase after the laws were laid down for slave trade during the reign of the Abbasids.[82] In important Islamic cities there were special slave markets where entry was restricted either to buyers of sellers alone.[83]

The slaves were from different races. There were the black negroes who staged a revolt during the Abbasid regime which was known as the Zenj Revolt. It lasted from 270H to 270 H (868 - 883). Most of them were from Eastern and Central Africa and Nuba. They were employed to clean up houses and tend the cattle. Among the Muslim countries extending from the Caspian Sea to the Adriatic there was a third element known as the saqaliba, a derivative of the English word 'slave' who played an important role in the armies of Morocco and

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80 Anwar al Rifai: *Al Nuzum Al Islamiyya*, p.218.

81 Al Maqrizi: *At'az Al Hunafa*, Vol. 2, p.169.

82 Al Jahiz: *Al Tabsir Bhttijara*, p. 26.

83 Ibn Sa'd: *Al Nujum al Zahira*, p. 61.

Andalus.[84]

There were women slaves who were slaves drawn from a myriad of nationalities among whom were Indians, Romans, Kurds, Abyssinians, Negroes etc. The price of a female slave and her status with her master depended upon her personal qualities such as good manners, physical beauty and a good voice.[85]

The slaves worked in the houses of their masters[86] and sometimes State Officials sought their help in serving their interests. They were enrolled in the army as soldiers on payment of specified wages by provinces for countering various movements. Their potential in actual warfare was limited.[87] If dependability and confidence was the hall mark of certain tribes then the society used to belittle this group despite the fact that the nobility took as wives the widows of husbands killed in war.[88]

The slaves had their rights which differed from those of freemen. Generally speaking the slave was the property of the master and had to obtain the permission of his master for everything. According to the Islamic *Shari'ah* he could not marry except with the permission of the master. Some slaves sought

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84 Al Taha' labi: *Yateema al Dahr*, Vol. 4. p.184.

85 Al Sayuti: *Tarikh al Khulafa*, p.148.

86 Al Samhudi: *Wafa al Wafa bi-Akhbar Sar il Mustafa*, Vol. 2. p.197.

87 *Tarikh al Umam wal Mulook*, Vol. 9. p.181.

88 Al Mibrad, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.13.

out work to earn enough money to buy their freedom in accordance with an agreement concluded with their masters. Once the agreed amount was paid to the master at the specified time and place he could win his freedom.[89]

5.10. Caravans of Family Provisions.

People gathered together to proceed to the provisions market, perhaps the heads of the families to get provisions for their people by way of food and clothing. Al Mazani (Al A'sha) was the poet who used to proceed to the markets of Hajr for this purpose. Once he went out for buying provisions in the month of Rajab from the market of Hajr. His wife ran away from him due to disharmony with him. She sought the shelter of one of the men called Mutrif Bin Nahsal. When Al A'sha came he was informed of his wife's desertion and seeking the protection of Mutrif. So he went to him and said: "O my cousin! my wife has sought your protection. Hand her over to me." Mutrif refused as he was stronger than him. He appealed to the Prophet (PBUH) and sought his help and composed a verse in his praise. The Prophet wrote a letter to Mutrif asking him to return the wife of Al A'sha to him and he did.[90]

Some people started exploiting the routes leading to the markets to make a living

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89 Al Zahabi: *Tazkirat al Hifaz*, Vol. 1. p.234.

90 Ibn Hajar: *Al Isaba*, Vol. 2. p.267.

out of it. They dug wells on these routes and provided means of comfort to the traders along them. Scores of residential houses were built to accommodate the caravans as well as the travellers.[91] The routes thus became one of the means to provide subsistence to those who otherwise did not have a means of living.

5.11. The Routes.

If the people of Bahrain desired to go to Yamama they selected the route with Kharshim on their right which was all a series of mounds, the desert of Mutarraha up to Al Hafrain and Al Salahain, Al Habisiyya, Muzallaqa, Al Mawarid, Lower Al Furuq, Al Furuq Al Tani, Al Khawwar, Khawwar al Thala' and Al Salib and then on there right Al Sulb salb Al Maei', Al Barqa Barqa Al Taur, Al Samman and from there return to the route Zari, and on your left Al Bubaib and on the right Al Dahraz, cut through the middle of Qu, then Al Samra, Al Dahna and from Al Shajara to Al Khall, Khall al Rami, Khall al Raml, Qalt Habi and then Al Nazim, Nazim al Jufna, Shubbak al Arma, Sathi'ia, then through Al Sahba, the Jabila intersection known as Anqad, Al Rouda, then came Al Khadhrama, Jau Al Khadarim which was the first Al Yamama before Bahrain.[92]

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91 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.278.

92 Al Hamadani: *Sifat Jazirat il Arab*, p.138 and thereafter.

5. 12. The Means of Transporting Goods.

Camels, horses and the mules were the animals used for transportation overland, the use of horses was usually very little. It is well known that the horse was considered too distinguished to be used for transferring loads as it had a special place in the psyche of the Arabs.[93] Camels were used for long distances as they had endurance for bearing the rigours of the desert. Hence they were used for carrying most merchandise and they moved in a long caravan whose numbers reached 1,700 sometimes.[94] The Arab lands came to be known for camels with a single hump. The camels were considered the best means for carrying mail and the fastest and the best of them were the Hijaz camels.[95]

5.13. The Markets.

The market is a place where trading, buying and selling too place. The market was either fixed for certain times in the year or held seasonally, in fixed markets buyers and the sellers sell their merchandise while in the seasonal ones they are held for the season and lifted when the season is over. The market was also known as "Al Qasima."[96]

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93 Wil Durant: *Qissat al Hadhara,* Vol. 2. p.109.

94 Hasan Ibrahim Hasan: *Tarikh al Islam,* Vol. 4. p. 404.

95 Al Dauri: *Tarikh al Iraq il Iqtisadi,* p 144.

96 Al Qasima is a market. *Al Qamus:* Vol. 4 p.165. Taj al Arus: Vol. 9 p.27.

The people sit in the markets selling their merchandise as they are displayed in front of them either on the ground or on a bench. This happens when the sellers are with modest means and have limited goods to sell. The big sellers sit in shops to sell their wares and the shops are equipped with doors which can be closed until they are opened the following day. The shop (*hanut*) is also called the place of selling (*al Mabi'a*). All sellers in the past did not own any shops or had their own goods to sell. Some worked for others as slaves charged by their masters to run the shop for them and hand over to them the sale proceeds. Some worked for a fixed wage agreed to before hand. The markets sold all kinds of goods of all variety.

When Hajr was popular and Al Mashqar in it was attractive some Arabs preferred to remain there. Many groups of people went to Hajr from all parts of the Arab world and also other parts.[97]

The Al Mashqar Market was visited by the Arabs living in Eastern Arabia and Arabs living close by. The traders of Fars came to this market to sell their goods after a sea journey. They traded with those tribes and townsmen who were bound for this market. Their neighbours were Banu Tamim and Abd Al Qais. Those who exercised their supervision were the leaders of Tamim from Bani Abdullah Bin Zaid Rahat Al Mundhir Bin Sawi.[98]Al Mashqar was protected by an old fort, one

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97 Al Mazruqi : *Al Azmina wal Amkina*, Vol. 2 p.163.

98 Al Bakri, *op. cit.* Vol. 3, p. 232.

which protected the villages of the Gulf coast from the Arab travellers. It had a big protective garrison.[99]

5.14. Organisations of Markets.

The Inspector of Weights and Measures exercised supervision over the Markets and all crafts whose main difficulty was due to the nonexistence of standard unified weights and measures. The Islamic countries had different standards. The unit of measure in Bahrain was known as Sa'a.[100] In the beginning the role of the inspector was limited to the supervision of weights and measures. If he suspected any seller of cheating in weights and measures he had the units tested for their veracity. Later he became responsible for general standards of probity and to prevent fraud, double - dealing and betrayal among the members of the public.[101] Cheating was punished with flogging and jail and dismissal from the market.[102] The tools of punishment were kept on the bench of the Inspector who usually had a special register containing the names of manufacturers and the merchants. Against each name there was reference to the location of the shop just in case it was needed. The inspector could order the extension of the market and disallow any constructions or arrangement which could obstruct the people or

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99 Al Marzuqi, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.162.

100 Sa'a was a unit of weight used in Bahrain and Madina. 4 amdad equalled a 'Sa'a' and a Madd was a quarter Sa'a. Ibn Sayyida: *Al Mukhassas*, Vol. 12. p.264.

101 Ibn Taimiyya: *Al Haba fil Islam*: p. 80.

102 Al Mawari: *Al Ahkam al Sultaniyya*. p. 450.

cause them any injury.

The slave trade commission agents and rent collectors had to be of good character and religious integrity so that they did not indulge in corruption in transacting business in respect of slaves.

As for the bakers of bread the inspectors laid down instructions for hygiene and sanitation thus showing the health awareness standards reached by Muslim societies. The inspectors did not permit the butchers to hang up the carcass outside the mast so that the people were not be disturbed by the blood of the slaughtered animals. The Inspector was supported in his work by the official authorities so as to maintain cleanliness and hygiene and prevent injustice, pollution and tinkering with weights and measures.

5.15. Supervision of Markets.

The markets during the Umayyad period were supervised by an official[103] who had certain judicial and executive powers. A few assistants were also appointed to help him inspect the weights and measures[104] and settle disputes among the sellers.[105] The market functionary was appointed by the Governor and was considered a government official drawing salary from the Treasury. Any

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103 Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.* Vol. 5 p.99.

104 *ibid.* p.102.

105 Al Asfahani, *op. cit.*, Vol. 8. p.277.

discrepancy was considered a violation of public interest. One of the tasks of the supervisor was to check owners of crafts and industries so they did not absconed with people's money or their goods.[106]

The traders used to go to the markets carrying with them their merchandise. If it took a long time to do so they used to go to the commodity markets where a single type of commodity was traded. Darin was a jetty in Bahrain where musk from India was traded[107] just as Hajr was famous for dates.[108] By the side of the markets there was a small inn with a roof where the merchants would stay.[109]

The most important and famous market of Bahrain was of pearls which was held at the end of the diving season when the traders would come to a fixed spot where the divers assembled, and because acquainted with the names of their masters. The Bahrain markets were flooded with all kinds of goods, local industries and imported items from India, Sind, China, Africa, Fars and Egypt and all that the merchants desired.

The prices varied in different markets such as that of animals whose prices varied according to their age and size. There are certain references stating the price to

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106 Malik, *Al Mudawwana,* Vol.11 p.383.

107 Al Bakri, *Al Masalik wa Mamalik,* p.63.

108 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* p.92.

109 Al Idrisi, *Nuzhat al Mushtaq,* p.34.

be in the range of 7 Dinars.[110] As for clothes their prices differed according to the material from which they were made and the technical skills used and the average price varied from 5 to 20 dirhams. Expensive garments were made from silk and hide. The price of slaves also varied according to their origin, race and skills, and also their appeal. Sometimes they were bartered.[111]

The barter system could also apply to the sale of property.[112] The Arab bows varied in prices between one dinar and 10 dinars depending on their make and the material from which they were made.

The types of trade in Bahrain are diverse such as in food grains, dates, fruits and vegetables,[113] or cattle and animals such as camels, horses and sheep,[114] or garments of various kinds.[115] The slave trade centred around cattle trade as the owners of cattle gave the animals to the slaves to sell and frequented these slave trade centres.[116] All kinds of craftsmen gathered together there and formed branch markets within the big markets such as for tailors, perfumists, oil

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110 Ibn al Jouzie, *Safwat al Safwa*, Vol. 3 p.51.

111 Al Zubair, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.115.

112 *ibid.* Vol.1. p.296.

113 Al Harbi, *Al Manasik*, p.349.

114 Ibn Al Fagih, *op.cit.* p.39.

115 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 5 p.46.

116 Ibn Al Athir: *Al Kamil*, Vol. 1. p.155.

merchants etc.[117] and owners of corium.[118] The fish - sellers had a market. Among the perfumers there was a merchant by the name of Abdulla Bin Kathir who used to bring scents from Darin in Bahrain.[119]

The markets located on the sea-shores were noted for the foreigners who frequented there, and extended their influence on the locals, and secured food and security. Near the markets there were inns where traders could stay for a rent.[120]Markets which were open without a roof did not attract any taxes except after the arrival on the scene of Mu'awiya Bin Abu Sufyan.[121] When Umar Bin Abdul Aziz took over, he abolished this tax on the ground that a market was a benefaction and none should be exposed therein to an offence.[122]

5. 16 . Trade.

Al Masudi says [123] that Chinese ships used to visit Oman, Sairaf, the coast of Fars, Bahrain, Abla and Basra. The types of ships differed according to the places visited as mentioned here. This points out to the conduct of regular trade

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117 Al Azraqi, *Akhbar Makka*, p.460.

118 *ibid.* p.474.

119 Ibn al Jouzi: *Al Muntazam*, p.492.

120 Al Samhoudi: *Wafa al Wafa*, p.352.

121 *ibid*, p.250.

122 *ibid*, p.249.

123 Al Masudi: *Muruj al Dahab*, Vol. 1. p.103.

between Bahrain and China. Bahrain used to import musk from China. In the beginning of the Islamic period Darin was one of the Arab commercial centres and the sellers of musk were associated with Darin.[124]

The location of Bahrain in the Arab Gulf gained a lot of importance as vital trade routes passed through it ever since the advent of Islam. It led to Bahrain's contact with the outside world by land and sea routes. Bahrain is linked by sea to India, China, Fars and the Far East.

Abul Fida [125] has stated that the people of Al Hasa and Qatif used to bring dates to Al Khazaj (Wadi al Yamama). The sources have referred to the export of dates by Bahrain to Makka at the advent of Islam.[126] It seems that this continued during the Umayyad period as there are references to the export of Hajr dates to Hijaz at that time.[127] Bahrain also provided provisions to Hijaz.[128]

Al Hijaz also imported Qatari textiles from Bahrain. Ibn Sa'd says that Abdulla Bin Umro Bin Al Aas used to wear striped Qatari garments.[129] As for Najd it

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124 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.537.

125 Abul Fida: *Taqwim al Buldan*, p.83.

126 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 5. p.14.

127 Al Asfahani: *Al Aghani*, Vol. 2. p.389.

128 Ibn Al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p.352.

129 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 5. p.12.

imported textiles from Bahrain particularly those manufactured in Hajr.[130]

Bahrain used to export Arabian steed, camels, pearls and hides to Iraq.[131] The merchants of Bahrain used to often visit Egypt to offer their goods to them and get other merchandise from them.[132] Among the important Bahrain exports to its neighbours were dates, citron, cotton textiles and pottery. Bahrain traders frequented Iraq and stayed in places provided by the rich merchants there on rent until they finished transacting their business.

The business community thrived in Bahrain and their prosperity reached the zenith. On the one hand Bahrain had intimate commercial relations with Muslim countries and with the Christian world on the other. This had a great influence in promoting trade both internally and externally. Business was sought after by those who wanted to get rich.

The merchants wore coloured silken clothes, embroidered pants and shirts, loose garments with a slit in front.[133] Kaftans, robes[134] long dresses,[135] turbans

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130 Al Jahiz: *Al Tabassur BitTijara,* p. 26.

131 *ibid.*

132 Al Blazeri, *op.cit.* Vol. 7, p.158.

133 Dira'a was the name given to this type of cloth. Ibn Sayyida: *Al Mukhassa*, Vol. 4. p. 99.

134 *ibid.* p.86. This was known as Al Qaba.

135 Tailisan: a kind of garment.
ibid .

and headgear. Some wore silken of woollen socks and sometimes two shirts, a pant and a robe. They paid great attention to their external appearance and turnout.[136] The houses of traders were to be seen all over the region of Bahrain. They played a vital role in social life.[137]

5.17. Commercial Transactions.

Among the documents used for commercial transactions were letters of credit (*Safatij*) and bank cheques. The letter of credit was either a promissory note of credit advice executed by the money dealers of Islamic countries after receiving the cash for the amount. It was issued to the order of the person specified in it.[138] The letters of credit were known since the beginning of the Abbasid reign.[139] The increasing volume of trade and monetary transactions resulted in money transfer from country to country thus exposing itself to risks on the highways. Hence the introduction of the letters of credit.[140] These credit vouchers became popular both among the traders and individuals.[141] The State resorted to using the letters of credit for transferring taxes from the Provinces to the capital of the Caliphate. [142]

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136 Metz Adam: *Al Hadarat al Islamiyya fil Qarn il Rabi 'il Hijri,* Vol. 2. p.223.

137 Hitti Phillip: *Tarikh al Arab,* p. 279.

138 Al Maqrizi: *Al Nuqud,* p.36.

139 Al Jahshiari: *Al Wuzara wal Kuttab,* p.109.

140 Al Doury: *Tarikh al Iraq il Iqtisadi,* p.174.

141 Maskavi: *Tajarib al Umam,* Vol. 1. p. 43.

142 Maskavi, *op. cit.* Vol. 1 p. 164.

This mode of transaction was resorted to by Bahrain particularly by the Jewish community. The traders also used it for commercial transactions. The cheque came to be known from the times of Caliph Umar Ibn al Khattab. Yaqubi says[143] "Umar Ibn al Khattab was the first to use a cheque and to sign at the bottom." They continued to be used until the reign of the first Abbasid era. Thereafter its use was widespread during the 3rd and 4th centuries of Hijra. This was widely used by the traders as well as individuals. This system was in vogue in the region of Bahrain and was used both by individuals and merchants alike as also by the Jewish community. The procedure was for the individual to send a cheque to the trader with the nature of his requirements and price with his signature. The trader despatched the required goods. This went on while the trader collected the demands as well as the cheques. When a number of them were collected the trader recovered the total price.[144]

5.18. Money Exchange.

The trade activity and its multiplication led to a flourishing money exchange business.[145] The money-lenders began to lend money, accept deposits and act as intermediaries between the people and the mint by collecting gold and silver from

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143 Al Yaqubi, *op. cit.* Vol. 2. p.32.

144 Ibn al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 7. p.39.

145 Imamuddin, "Bayt al Mal and Banks," *Islamic Culture*: Vol. 35. 196 p. 17. The money changer who knew all about money matters was called 'Al Jahbaz' Al Doury: *Tarikh al Iraq al Iqtisadi*, p.159.

the people in exchange for money. They thus benefited by the difference in the two values. They also looked after the deposits made by the traders and make the payment of bills and vouchers entrusted to them.[146]

They helped in settling monetary problems arising from the difference in values and standards because of differences in the various mints existing in the state. These transactions were carried out by money dealers on the basis of a commission of one dirham for every dinar. These transactions fetched them a good amount of money. Most of the money changers and money dealers were Jews and Christians who inhabited Bahrain in their own localities and special markets and shops. A few Muslims also plied this trade.[147] This system operated in most important cities of Bahrain.[148]

5.19. Measurement of Distances, Areas and Weights.

The distances of the houses of the people of the Bahrain region were not uniform and they differed according to the distance of the water point from them. If water was found in places nearby the houses were located there and the distance between them were not much. If the water point was at a distance then the houses were far apart. Perhaps water did not affect the caravans if they were equipped with it. They were more prepared because they were used to crossing

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146 Al Daury, *op.cit.* p.160.

147 Imammuddin, *op. cit.*

148 Al Daury, *op. cit.* p.171.

great distances.[149]

A Farsukh was 3 miles or 6000 / 12,000 cubits or 10,000 cubits. Some linguists have interpreted the word *farsukh* as one hour of daylight. The earth is measured also in terms of *jarib* which according to the linguists was equal to 10 *qafiz* with each *qafiz* being 10 ashir and each *ashir* one hundredth part of a *jarib*. *Al Jarib* was called a field for ploughing. It was used as a unit of measure for earth as well as a dry measure at the same time.[150] Some scholars have said that these differed according to different countries.[151] As for the weight, the unit of measure differed according to the type of the thing requiring measurement. If the thing to be measured was dry it had a different unit and if liquid, it had a different unit. Gold was weighed in terms of weight as also silver. The traders used to carry with them units of weight measurement for these two metals. The *shakil* was the unit of weight measurement.

The land of Bahrain divides itself into three parts: firstly, the coastal belt which extends along the entire coast line, sometimes narrow and sometimes wide and mostly tending towards depression. [152] The costal area constitutes the largest area

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149 *Taj al Arus*, Vol. 7. p.341.

150 Ibn Manzur: *Lisan al Arab*, Vol. 1. p. 260.

151 *Taj al Arus*, Vol. 1. p.129.
Ibn Seera Al Mukhassa Vol 12 p. 264 .

152 Its height does not exceed 200 meteres by any means. Abul Ala: *Geography of the Arabian Island*, Vol. 1 p.51.

in Bahrain[153] and its chief characteristic is that it tends to expand prominently[154] though it does not come in the way of there being some mounds and high ground the heights of which exceed ten metres.[155] Secondly, there are the central plains constituting the greater part of Bahrain in an area which is sloping sharply from the west to the east and containing large quantities of sand dunes and deserts. Thirdly, the third part consists of sand dunes and deserts [156] and represents natural obstacles and these sands are shifting sands because of storms and gales which blow over this region.[157] The most famous of these dunes are Marda Hajr which are desolate and trackless and lie close to Hajr.[158] They have been described by Yaqut[159] who says: "they are soft sands --- and the ground in Ahsa Hajr is obsolete."

A number of high grounds are dispersed all over the place in Bahrain which cannot be described as hills because of their small size and low heights. However,

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153 Al Sayyad and others: *The State of Bahrain*, p. 50.

154 The heights do not exceed 7 metres over the sea-level.

155 To be found in the northwest of the Island along the coast.

156 There are many deserts in Barhain. The important one among them are the ones which lie between Oman and Bahrain knowan as Bainuna which means the middle position i.e. Al Hasa and Bahrain. *Al Ahsai Tuhfatul Mustafid*, Vol. 1. p.1, Al Bakri, *Mu'jam ma Ustujam*, p. 83.

157 These sands used to bury houses which forced the dwellers to build protective parapets with date fronds. If these did not protect them then they used to move to another location.

158 The tracks were narrow and were again smothered by sands. Al Bakri, *op. cit.* pp 211 - 212.

159 Its name was Al Nubuk, *Mu'jam*, *op. cit.* Vol. 4. p.740.

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the sources describe them as such, maybe by way of exaggeration. The most famous of these hills are Matali[160] or Wadi il Miyah because of the accumulation of rain water in it. Today they are counted as the hills of Al Hasa.

Among the hill ranges that straddle Bahrain are Al Qara[161] and Al Ramanatan,[162] then Jabal Bab[163] and Jabal Shab'an.[164] Yaqut[165] has mentioned that it is a hill in Bahrain which brings coolness to the people during summer because of the presence of caves within it. Then there is Otala which is higher than any others and has found a mention in the poetry of Jarir.[166]There is Aya[167] and Al Maqar [168] lying close to the city of Kazima and of steep slopes.

There is some difference of opinion over it; Al Umrani calls it a location, others

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160 Awadi between Al Hasa and Al Sauda, Yaqut, *op. cit.* Vol. 4. p.74.

161 This lies close to the south of the port of Al Qusair near the coast. Ibn Abd al Haq: *Marasid al Ittila'a,* Vol. 3. p.39.

162 They are two small hills in the middle of Al Hasa located south of Hajr. Yaqut: *Mu'jam*, *op. cit.* Vol. 2 p.84. Al Ahsai: *op. cit.* Vol. 1 p.15.

163 Located close to Hajar known currently as Abwab, Yaqut, *op. cit.* Vol. 1 p.30 .

164 A hill in the middle of Hajr and survives to this day with the same name in Al Hasa. There was a house in it which belonged to Abbas Bin Said Al Sahari, the governor of Barhain during the carmathian days in 287 H. Al Masudi: *Altanbih wal Ashraf,* p.93.

165 *Mu'jam al Buldan,* Vol. 3 p.25.

166 *Diwan Jarir.*

167 A proverbial hill to indicate size and solidity. *Al Bakir*, *op. cit.* p. 66.

168 Now situated 19 miles north of Kuwait. Its current name is Amghira where fishermen live. Hussain Khalaf, *Tarikh al Kuwait al Siyasi*. Vol. 1. p. 24. 25.

have called it a hill while some others have called it heights overlooking Kazima.[169] The poetry of Rai ' describes it[170] thus:

' breaking away at the heights

into paths and ways untrodden

Conglomerates of ban Habeel

scantily sleeping artlessly

praise to the sanctuary and we received from it

its contribution distinguished by veils

Wide is Al Maqar with palm fronds

in the spirit of a siege.

Among the smaller hills of Bahrain are Al Raha[171] and Awara [172] and Al

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169 Yaqut, *op. cit.* Vol. 4. pp. 65 - 66.

170 *ibid.* pp. 59 - 60.

171 A small hill located between Kazima and Seedan on the right side of the road which links Basra and Yamama. Today it lies west of Al Jahra in Kuwait made up of fertile and grassy knolls and goes by the name of Al Rahee.
Yaqut, *op. cit.* Vol. 3. p.30.

172 *ibid.* Vol. 1. p.74.

Wadeea,[173] Tabas,[174] Salib,[175] Ghlqal[176] and Bathmara.[177] We find that Bahrain had a great many villages exceeding a hundred and among them Wadi Sitar was important.[178]

This proliferation of villages is traced to the fertility of soil and its suitability for agriculture. The rains submerge the northern part where the date palm and bubbling springs abound. They are also green pastures particularly during the spring. Now they extend from Al Nairiyya near Kuwait to about a 100 miles south from which two roads branch off.[179] Among the famous villages of Wadi al Sitar is the village of Taj. Yaqut has described it as a spring of Bahrain[180] while Muhammad Bin Idris Al Yamami has called it a village. According to Abu Ubaida[181] it is a water point of Bani al Faraj from the waters of the Fatim

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173 *ibid.* Vol. 5 p.74. Laghda: *Bilad al Arab*: p.317.

174 A hill east of Naji'a (on the road to Al Ahsa) known as Niyas: Laqhda: *Bilad Al Arab,* p. 319.

175 A hill west of Kazima known as Al Salif (Al Salina) 20 miles west of the town of Al Ahmadi. In it there are wells from which the Beduins water their animals. Laghda, p. 341.

176 Yaqut, *op. cit.* Vol. 4 p.208.

177 *ibid.* Vol. 2 p. 67. Al Bakri, *op. cit.* p.331.

178 Yaqut, *op. cit.* Vol. 3. p.118.

179 One is the main route linking Kuwait with Al Hofuf and the other a subsidiary one to Najd. *Handbook of Arabia,* Vol. 1. p.309.

180 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.93.

181 Al Bakri, *op. cit.* p.33.

environ.[182] It seems that it was an administrative centre as there was a pulpit there with a market. There are ancient relics in Al Khatt Al Musnad Al Hamiri[183] and there was a well there surrounded by stone.[184]

In this wadi there is a salt village between Al Sitar and Al Qa'a described by Al Bakri[185] when he says: "Al Qa'a has the dwellings of Bani Murra Bin Ibad in Qais and Bani The'laba known as Al Ajraf. Aswad Bin Yafar[186] says that it was by the side of the village Quta' known currently as Wadi al Miyah. Al Umrani has called it a Yamama village while Abu Mansoor has called it a water point in the Bani Tamim land.[187] It is Rika with plenty of sweet water.

In its north is a village known as Malima[188] south of Al Ta'riyya. There are the houses of Bani Yarbu here which were raided by Bake Bin Wayil. There are plenty of sweet water wells suitable for drinking; one of them is known as Matali, meaning sprouting from the hill top. Yarbu - had said it is a hill in a Bahrain

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182 Al Harbi, *op.cit.* p.62.

183 Al Ahsai, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.10.

184 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.81.

185 Yaqubi, *op. cit.* p.44.

186 *ibid.* p.45.

187 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol. 4. p.92; Al Azhari: *Tahzib al Lugha* Vol 2. p. 179.

188 Al Bakri, *op. cit.* p.261.

suburb between Al Sauda and Al Hasa . In its plain is a spring known as Matali.[189] Zu al Ram'a has written verses about it.[190] Other sources have mentioned the water springs of Bahrain such as Tarmada[191] and Hanid.[192] Among the valleys (*wadis*) to be found in Bahrain are the Wadi al Furuq.[193] In its size and extent it is considered as an important wadi with a middle position between Bahrain and Al Yamama.

The most famous of wadis are two which have been named Al Shayatan according to Al Bakri. Linguistically[194] the word means a dual form. Bakr Bin Wayil lived there after their move from La'la'.[195] At the advent of Islam their land became barren and they heard that the Wadi al Shayatin had water resources and it was fertile. So they descended on the Bani Tamim, fought them, turned them out and took their property. These are now known as Sheeth al Atshan al Sharqi and Shith al Rayyan.[196] Al Sidan has precious water resources and the people of

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189 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p.291.

190 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p.261.

191 Ibn Manzur, *Lisan al Arab,* Vol. 1. p.256.

192 Azhari says that it was a spring in the Wadi Sitar and its water was warm, filled into water skins and hung up in air. It was good sweet. *Lisan al Arab*, Vol. 1. p. 258.

193 Al Bakri, *op. cit.* p.124.

194 *ibid.* p.219.

195 Bakr were there in the early Islamic period when the people of Najd or Iraq had not yet embraced Islam. Al Bakri. *op. cit.* p.156.

196 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol. 3 p.35.

Bahrain depend upon it and is located between Basra and Hajr behind Kazima. Among the other wadis are Algh,[197] Al Saban,[198] and Asba,[199] and the most famous of them is Wadi il Sahan which is hard ground without hills. Hence there are good pastures in it. Al Sahan is considered dry ground without water except for the accumulation of rain water in it. These waters are of different kinds Al Duhul.[200] Al Masani[201] and Al Khabari.[202]

Having discussed the Wadis let us now throw some light on the islands which abounded in Bahrain and mention the island of Awal. Some writers have differed on the name of Awal. According to Al Bakri[203] it was a good example of village in Bahrain which was called an island though it was a village from the villages of Al Sif. After the advent of Islam the name Awal was applied to it. There is difference on this nomenclature. According to Al Ahsai, Awal was the name of

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197 A few springs are found here; the important ones being Al Mingash, Thamad, Al Hamanieh and Al Raiqa. Al Bakri, *op. cit.* Vol. 3. p.117.

198 A *wadi* overlooking Ayn Bin Abir in the vicinity of Hajr beneath Al Hasa . Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.109.

199 Known today as Al Ahsa which has Ayn Mansur on the road to Ayn Umm Al Sa'ya. Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol. 3. p.213.

200 *Al Duhul :* undulating ground with water collecting in various depressions with weeds growing in them. Ibn Mansur, *op. cit.* Vol. 2 p.219; Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol. 2 p. 231.

201 Al Masani: water reservoirs in ground of rain water. Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol. 3. p.372.

202 Al Khabari: Circular pits storing rain water for long periods with vegetation growing in them. There are several such in Bahrain. Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol. 2 p. 298; Al Bakri, *op. cit.* p.209.

203 *ibid.* p. 209.

an idol of Bani Wayil and of a community of Abd al Qais. Shaikh Bahrain says that the name of Awal was associated with the brother of La'ad Bin Shadad.[204]

There is a third opinion presented by Ibn al Kalbi[205] who says that San'a of Yemen was called Awal in the olden days. It retained its elegance until it was pillaged by the Persian armies of Fars and its buildings were razed to the ground. When the Yemeni tribes migrated to Bahrain the name Awal was revived.[206] There is yet another opinion which claims that Awal was the name of a fish[207] which was found in abundance in the waters of this island.[208] I think the correct opinion is that Awal was the name a deity worshipped by Banu wayil from Abd al Qais as stated by Ahsai.

Awal is of good soil and suitable for agriculture having many springs. It is known for its plentiful date palm[209] and fruits. Hence it was frequented by traders and became a big market. It was 30 miles long and 12 miles wide. Its people practised

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204 He came form Yemen to build a nice town of good climate and free from mounds to compete with his brother who had built (Aram Al Imad) which was called the Awal Island in Bahrain. Al Shaikh Ali Al Bahrani: *Anwar al Bahrain,* p.39.

205 Al Bakri, *op. cit.* Vol. 1 p.209.

206 *Diwan Jarir, op.cit.*

207 *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* Vol. 3. p.291.

208 It is said to be a sea animal about 100 yards long more or less *Kakhbat al Dahr Fi Ajai'b al Barr wal Bahr,* Vol. 1. p.166.

209 The best of its dates are known as Al Ghar and Marzaban. Al Ahsai : *Tuhfatal Mustafid*: Vol. 1 p. 50.

agriculture, fishing and pearl fishing. It had a deep beautiful port[210] where big ships could anchor. It abounded in villages.[211]

When one who looks at Awal it is noticeable that its soil slopes towards expansion and it is totally free from heights except the Dukhan mound whose height reaches 44 ft above sea level. On its northern side there are a few sand dunes.[212]There are other islands in Bahrain such as Shaqar which are in between Awal and Qatar. It is from the chain of Hajr and was inhabited by Banu Amer Bin Al Harith Bin Ansar Bin Wadi'a Lakiz Bin Aqsa Bin Abdul Qais.[213]

The island of Tarut has been described by Abul Fida as lying close to Qatif in its east. At high tide it becomes an island and at low tide it is approachable by foot in a dry state.[214] Today it is situated in a gulf bearing its name. It is connected by a bridge to the coast and it has cultivable land.[215] The island Hawarein has been described by Al Bakri[216] as one of the towns of Bahrain at a distance of 3 days.

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210 These ports are considered a major trade outlet in the east of the island. From there the ships proceed to Fars and Iraq. Al Ahsai: *Tuhfatal Mustafid*, Vol. 1 p. 50.

211 Kahala: *Jazirat al Arab*, p. 471.

212 A few wadis are to be found such as Al Qamir, Al Riffa, and Dhahran with good climate. Al Ahsai, *op. cit.* Vol. 1 p. 58.

213 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol. 3 p. 35.

214 Abul Fida, *op.cit*, p.83.

215 Blazeri, *op.cit.* p.78.

216 According to Abul Fida it is a town of Bahrain . Abul Fida, *op.cit.* p. 83. Al Ahsai, *op. cit.* Vol. 1 p.13.

Qatar has been described by Al Bakri[217] as a position between Bahrain and Oman whereas A. Azhari[218] has described it a village in the depths of Bahrain between Oman and Uqair. The Qatari garments are attributed to it bringing it fame. Their weaving was done here and its particular modes had a market. The Qatari striped garments were noted for their popularity. Christianity spread there and in it there were many towns and cities in the shape of a peninsula. Ahsai described its location with the Arab Gulf in the north and the swamps of Rub'a Al Khali in the south.[219] Bahrain has no rivers in the accepted sense of the word involving length and size. However, there are water courses with running water. Since Bahrain has sweet subsoil water the people depended on these streams for drinking water.[220]

In addition there were springs, wells and fountains of sweet water which made Bahrain the centre of attention as containing the means of living and the potential for agriculture. Among the springs are Ayn Muhlam.[221] Yaqut[222] has mentioned that Muhlam was bubbling with plentiful water, more plentiful than any others. At its source was hot water and on cooling it turned sweet. When the

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217 Al Ahsai, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.23. Blazeri, *op. cit.* p. 183.

218 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit,* Vol. 4. p.135.

219 Al Ahsai, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.25.

220 The rain water of Bahrain collects in the Wadis and ot\ften seeps down to the subsoil thus acting as a reservoir of sweet water close to the surface.

221 Muhlam: The name of a person after whom the spring is named. Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol.3. p.163.

222 *ibid.* Vol. 3. p.165.

stream sprouted from it the date-palm of Juatha, Aslaj and Mirbat of the Hajr villages all received water. Al Bakri added that it was a river in Bahrain.[223]

Among the springs there are Ayn Hajr. Yaqut[224] has mentioned that it acquired its name from Hajar Bint al Mukaffaf whose husband was Muhlam. His name was applied to the river mentioned above.[225] This spring is considered to be the first place where the tribes landed in Bahrain before the advent of Islam.[226]

Ayn Khudad is an active and profuse spring of Bahrain.[227] It is now known as Al Khadood. Ahsai has mentioned its width as 20 metres from which 5 rivulets sprout. Ayn Zara is another famous spring of Bahrain whose fame is based on its being the main source of sweet water on which the population depends for its drinking needs perhaps the Marzaban (Al Zara) lived there.[228]

Blazeri had stated [229] that Al Ala Bin Al Hadhrami raided the Abd Al Qais and

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223 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.153.

224 *ibid.*

225 Muhlam named after Abdulla Bin Muhlam, the husband of Hajar. *Ibid,* Vol. 4. p.153.

226 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol. 4 p.154.

227 Al Ahsai, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.46.

228 Al Zubari: *Taj al Arus,* Vol. 3. p.230.

170 A spring sprouting profusely out of Al Zara. Al Ala closed it to tighten the siege in 13 H. It was reopened after reconciliation with the people of Al Zara. *Futuh al Buldan*: pp. 85, 86.

some of the villages of Sabur and conquered them. Then he came to Al Zara where there were Al Maka'bar and Marzaban. A person from Al Zara went out to seek protection on condition of showing the Muslims the Ayn al Zara and being guide them to it. It seems that this spring dried up since and there is no trace left of it.

The sources have mentioned Ayn Abir[230] as well as by Yaqut that it is a river flowing between Al Mashqar and Al Safa. Before the town of Hajr it was named Nahr Al Ayn. Similarly Ayn juatha was existing as a plentiful spring in Juatha.[231] Nothing remains of it except its mouth.[232]

Since we have discussed the springs which are spread all over Bahrain we shall briefly mention certain wells and reservoirs which have found a mention in the sources such as the Jouda well (Bir Jouda), which is still known by the same name.[233] It lies near Matali'. Then there is subsoil water Gharr[234] and Kanhal[235] near the village of Taj.

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230 Abir Kazbir: water below Al Hasa known as water of Abd al Qais. Wadi Waligh of Barani overlooks this water. Yaqut, *op. cit.* Vol. 1 p.109; Al Zubaidi: *Taj al Arus,* Vol. 3. p.30.

231 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 4 p.341.

232 A water point well known in the northern borders of Al Ahsa. Al Ahsai, *op. cit.* Vol. 1 p.11.

233 A water source south of Afriqa. Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol.4. p.211.

234 A location of 2 days' distance to Hajr. Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol. 3. p. 84.

235 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol. 4. p.213. Al Bakri, *op. cit.* p.136.

The waters of Al Qa'a are located north of Wadi al Sitar. Yaqut has described them as being located before Yabrin and their being famous for their being plentiful.[236] Other water points are Khamis[237] and Al Mash'har north of Al Qa'a. This ancient water source is now known as Atiq.[238] There is similarly another north of Al Ahsa bearing the same name. It served the Abd al Qais of Bahrain.[239] According to the writer of Sahih al Akhbar.[240]It was a rare source of water frequented by the Arabs in the east of Al Furuq adjacent to the sands.

The water which spread out in Bahrain at different points were at Qanura,[241] Al Tareeqa, Al Sharajin, Nabra, Al Ramada, Tuwaila, and Al Jarba. As against these numerous watering places spread out in Bahrain there are comparatively fewer wells and lakes. Among these are Al Naqeer lying between Hajar and Basra. Azhari[242] has stated them to be well known and running between Taj and Kazima. It is stated that Al Nafir and Al Nafra are well known wells even at the present times in the north of Al Hasa.[243] There is a Bir Muslima (Well) in the

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236 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol. 4. p.298.

237 Khamis, *ibid.* Vol. 3 p.207.

238 *ibid.*

239 *ibid.*

240 Ibn Balhid, Vol. 3. p.223.

241 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol. 3 p.194.

242 North of Al Hasa. Laghda: *Bilad al Arab*, p.247.

243 Al Shawajin: meaning the upper valley known for sweet water. Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol. 3 p.231.

waters of Al Si'ab. It was once brackish but turned sweet.[244] The sources have mentioned the wells of Bahrain at Ghamaza,[245] Qudam and Aba'ib.[246]Bahrain does not have any lakes worth mentioning. There is but one lake which is Al Ahsa known as Al Asfar. It is located in the northeast of Hofuf about 12 miles away. From this account of wells, water - places, springs and streams it seems that most of them no longer exist today. Perhaps the reason is traceable to the frequent political disturbances which swept Bahrain.

5.20. Trade Centres in Bahrain.

The sources have mentioned the towns and seaports of Bahrain which had an important role in trade.

HAJR.

Hajr was an important trade centre and before the advent of Islam[247] an annual trade fair was held there. It was a commercial base with a link to the eastern coast of the Arab Gulf which was visited by the Arabs.[248] A trade fair was held there

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244 *ibid.* Vol.3. p. 316.

245 *ibid.*

246 *ibid.*

247 Al Hamadani: *Sighat Jazirat il Arab*, p.179.

248 Al Ahsai, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.19.

once a week.[249]

AL MASHQAR

It was an important commercial centre[250] and a venue for an annual Arab market before Islam and it continued as such after Islam.

AL ZARA

It is a seaport on the Arab Gulf close to Qatif.[251]

AL KHATT

An important jetty in Bahrain.[252] Is counted among the important ports on the Arab Gulf for the ships coming from India.[253]

AL UQAIR

A port of Bahrain on the Arab Gulf[254] it was an important trade centre in which ships with merchandise from China, Oman, Basra and Yemen[255] anchored.

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249 Ibn Bilhid: *Sahih al Akhbar,* Vol. 5. p.236.

250 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p.541.

251 Ibn al Faqih, *op.cit.* p.30.

252 Al Asfahani, *Al Aghani*, Vol. 9 p.146.

253 Al Bakri, *op.cit,* p.503.

254 Al Hmadani, *op. cit.* p.136.

255 Al Harbi, *op.cit*, p. 620.

5.21. Bahrain Region as a Transit Point.

Trade in Bahrain was never of purely a domestic nature but had an overseas dimension with contacts with the outside world by virtue of its importance as a transit agency. Its unique land and sea location gave it a character to act as an intermediary. Its local trade also flourished with the adjacent countries such as Hijaz, Yemen etc. This trade was mostly barter trade, for instance, Al Hasa and Qatif used to export dates to Yamama for wheat. Two trips of dates were equivalent to a trip of wheat. This emphasised two points. Firstly, that the quantity of wheat in Bahrain was inadequate to meet the needs of the local population. Secondly, the barter trade was due to the deficiency of currency available, Bahrain was always noted for its commercial activity surpassing any other activity. Its markets imported goods from India, China etc., from the Far East in addition to goods from Abyssinia. It also had good commercial relations with many countries far and near, such as, Mesopotamia, Iraq and Syria.

The people of Bahrain tried to benefit from their geographical location as a trade entrepot in spite of the availability of Abla as an international trade port for ships coming from China and India.[256] The merchandise first came to the Bahrain ports and were then distributed to different areas. Thus Bahrain became a passage for commercial intercourse and the merchandise was thereafter transferred to the land routes. For example the people of Bahrain benefited from the ships in transit

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256 George Hourani, *Al Arab wal Milaha Fil Hind*, Dar Kitab al Arabic Press, 1960, p.236.

which used to unload their cargo at the port of Gerrha (Uqair) for transhipment by road to Iraq and Syria, being a shorter route. From this it appears that Bahrain was a major commercial centre and a hub of seaborne trade traffic in the Arab Gulf since the advent of Islam. The people of Oman gained fame for seafaring[257] at that early period showing that at that time they were engaged in seafaring to the credit of Bahrain .

5.22. Taxes.

The tax imposed on Bahrain varied from time to time according to the changing political circumstances of the Islamic State. Al Ala Bin Al Hadhrami was able to procure from Bahrain 80,000 Dirhams during the Islamic conquests.[258] During the Caliphate of Umar Ibn Al Khatab an amount of 10 or 12 thousand Dirhams was collected for Abu Huraira.[259] It seems that these amounts were not fixed and most of it was from the tenth part which the merchants paid and the customs imposed on land and sea trade as well as agricultural taxes which came to 30,000 dinars.[260]

Ibn Huqal alleges that the distribution of these funds coming into the treasury of Bahrain were for their well known faithful followers. One-fifth was for the ruler

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257 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 4 p.221.

258 Balzeri, *op.cit.* p.88.

259 Abul Fida, *op.cit.* p.99.

260 Abu Yusuf: *Al Khiraj*, p. 23.

of the time, three fifths for the son of Abu Said according to the laws which they framed among themselves and the remaining one fifth for the Sanabira.[261] He has not clarified if any Treasury of the Emirate existed for payments to its officers and employees. The taxes were increased during the times of Bani Umayya compared to what they were during the period of the Orthodox Caliphs.[262]

5.23. Tribute Paid by Bahrain..

The Prophet (PBUH) wrote to Am Mundhir Bin Sawi asking him to send the tribute due from Bahrain through Qudama and Abu Huraira, the two envoys of the Prophet (PBUH) who were to receive these amounts and return with the collections. Blazeri refers to the amount sent to the Prophet and says : "Al Ala Bin Al Hadhrami sent Dinars 80,000[263] to the Prophet. None exceeded this amount either before him or after him. Some of it was given to Al Abbas his uncle." It is said that the first ever tribute to reach Madina was that of Bahrain. It is learnt that the *jizya* tax imposed on Bahrain was one dinar per adult if he did not embrace Islam.

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261 *ibid*, p.249.

262 *ibid*, p.24.

263 Mohammed Hussain Heikal: *Hayat Mohammed*, p.99.

5. 24. Industries and Crafts.

The Textile Industry.

Among the industries which were prevalent in Bahrain since the days of the Umayyads was the textile industry. The interior of the home was decorated with coloured curtains hung on the walls.[264] Beautiful dress was a symbol of wealth and luxury even as the beauty of the house was judged by the curtains hung on the walls and the mats and carpets spread on the floor.[265] Hence the carpet industry was a flourishing industry with 3 kinds of products; the wall carpets, the floor mats and rugs and the carpets to decorate the rooms and courtyards.[266] To these could be added pillows and covers.[267]

Cloth Industry in Bahrain.

The various territories adjacent to Bahrain were noted for different kinds of textiles they produced, and each territory was associated with a particular kind of textile.[268] Each kind was known by a name related to its territory, country or area where it was manufactured such as the Hajri dress for that woven in Hajr, or

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264 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit*, Vol. 1. p.237.

265 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.274.

266 Patios and courtyards in the centre of the house. See Al Qamoos al Muheet under the appropriate letters, Vol. 2 p.259.

267 Pillows and cushions: See Al Qamus: *Firozabadi*. Vol. 1. p.302.

268 Abul Fida, *op.cit.* p. 82.

Qatari for that manufactured in Qatar.[269] When a reference was made to the Hajri dress it indicated certain characteristics of that dress bearing that name. The Hajri textiles[270] were exported to Makka at the advent of Islam. According to Abdulla Bin Mu'az, Suweida Bin Qais and his lace maker carried dresses from Hajr to Makka and the Holy Prophet (PBUH) purchased a pair of trousers from them.[271] The textiles of Qatar and Hajr continued to find a mention during the periods of the Umayyad and Abbasid regimes in Hijaz, Makka and Iraq.

These products were said to be items of dresses,[272] veils,[273] striped clothes,[274] and cloaks and robes.[275] It was said that the Prophet,[276] Ayesha,[277] Umar Ibn al Khattab,[278] Ali Bin Abu Talib,[279] and Abdulla Bin Omar Ibn al'Aas[280] wore some of these items.

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269 Saleh Al Ali: *Al Ansija fil Qarnain il Awwal wal Thani : Majallat Al Abha*: Vol. 4 Beirut, 1961.

270 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. P.18.

271 Abu Dawud, *Al Sunan,* Vol. 2. p.22. Al Nawawi: *Riyadh al Salihin,* p.528. .

272 Ibn Hanbal, *Al Masnad,* Vol. 6, p.147.

273 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.237.

274 Reinhart Dozy, *Mu'jam Mufassal fi Asma'il Al bisa'ind al Arab,* p.37.

275 Al Jahiz: *Al Bayan wal Tabayyun,* Vol. 3. p.121.

276 Al Tirmizi: *Al Sunan,* Vol. 3. p.518.

277 Ibn al Athir: *Al Al Nihaya fi Ghrib il Hadith,* Vol. 3. p.262.

278 Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.234.

279 *ibid.* Vol. 1. pp.16, 17, 18.

280 *ibid.* Vol. 2. p.12.

Ibn Al Athir states that the Qatari dress consisted of a robe or cloak with a red border in which were some rough signs and marks. It was stated that there were riding uniforms of dresses prepared by Bahrain.[281] The people of Al Hasa,[282] Hajr and Bahrain pursued these manufacturers and Al Astakhri [283] certifies it when he states: "the 'doshat' of Al Hasa and Hajr are superior in quality to those of Iraqi manufacture." The traveller Nasir Khusro[284] has praised the towels which were manufactured in Al Hasa. These were small, coarse and striped and were wrapped around by servants and camel drivers. They could be of silk,[285] cotton or linen. Qatif was known for its 'Merv' head-dresses[286] and soft silken or woollen robes.[287]Spread sheets and wrappers were woven in Bahrain,[288] and Ibn Sa'd has mentioned that these were exported to Hejaz during the days of the Prophet.[289] Ropes, string, threads, scarves were produced in Bahrain.[290] Darin[291]

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281 Ibn Al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p.262; Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p.135; Ibn Manzur, *op.cit.* Vol. 5. p.105,106.

282 Al Hasa: A town a little away from the coast. YaqutAl Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p. 148.

283 Al Astakhri: *Masalik al Mamalik,* p.93.

284 Naser Khusro: *Safar Nameh,* p.93.

285 Reinhart Dozey: *Mu'jam Mufassal fi Asma'il Al bisa'ind al Arab*, p.340.

286 Murrozi: *Kaffieh.*

287 Soft cloth made from silk or silk and cotton .

288 The word *malhafa* is from the original Persian *mala*: Jahiz, op.cit. P. 261.

289 Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.* Vol. 5. p.411.

290 Laced items worn by women around the groin . Dozy: *op. cit.* p.72.

291 Al Bakri, *op.cit.* p.504.

was a centre of the textile industry, and at the same time the famous port of Bahrain[292] situated east of Qatif[293] was an Arab market place.[294] The price of textiles and dresses varied according to the material of which they were made, the skill of craftsmanship, embroidery etc. The price of a cotton shirt varied between 3 and 4 Dirhams.[295]

Bahrain used to make striped garments which were famous. However, some cottage textiles used to be woven in the desert areas.[296]The textile industry was a domestic industry wherein the women used to spin linen and the men wove them. The weaver was paid half a Dirham a day.[297] The tailors used to work in their shops in the market and they were given the cloth for tailoring it by customers for a fixed wage. They were sometimes engaged for tailoring to be done at fashion houses.

The textile industry needed also dying and the dyers who were employed by shops for this purpose for fixed wages[298] which were paid by the one who owned the material. The dyers used organic colours extracted from plants for dying

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292 Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.* Vol, 4, p.197.

293 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol, 2, p.237.

294 Al Ahsai, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.13.

295 Malik: *Al Mudawwana*, Vol. 9. p.24.

296 Ibn al Dozy, *op. cit.* p. 135.

297 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.234. Abu Ubaida: *Al Amwal.* p.310.

298 *ibid,* Vol. 5. p.133.

garments and clothes. They used 'safflower' for dying clothes yellow. They also used saffron for dying clothes.[299] They dyed the clothes red, [300] green or black.[301]

The Beduin dress consisted of a long robe split in the middle in a loose dangling fashion and tied in the centre with a leather belt. They wore one robe over the other made of camel fiber. They wore a special uniform during war for riding. Ordinarily they wore trousers and a short gown instead of dangling robes.[302]

As for the head-dress, they wore turbans whose sizes varied with age. They wore a pallium over the turban which was like a big kerchief reaching up to the shoulders to protect the neck against the sun. The cloaks and robes varied according to the financial or social status of the individual or his nature of work. The robe of the *faqih* or the scholar differed from the uniform of the soldier.

As for the clothes of the Arab women, then consisted of a loose pair of trousers and a shirt split at the neck over which was worn a short and narrow gown during winter. If she stepped out of the house she usually wore a striped Yemeni dress. It was like a long sheet covering her body fully and protecting her clothes from dust and mud. she covered her head with a scarf tied over the neck.[303]

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299 *ibid.* p.140.

300 *ibid.* p.145.

301 Ibn Qutaiba: *Al Imama wal Siyasa*, Vol. 1. p.188.

302 Al Masudi, *op. cit*, Vol. 1. p.423.

303 Al Masudi, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.162.

Among the industries that existed in Bahrain was that of the blacksmiths.[304] It also manufactured some weapons. The town of Hajar was famous for its iron works such as spearheads.[305] Its famous brand was known as 'Al Khatt' in association with the city of Al Khatt.[306] Its rods were imported from India by sea and the completed product was sold throughout all parts of the Island.[307]Spears, arrows and bows from wood grown in Bahrain were manufactured therein such as from the fir [308] and *nasam* trees.[309]

The weapons of war were an important industry and hence the Umayyad and Abbasid States supervised all industries which were related to security. It was necessary to obtain a license from the Governor to manufacture weapons.[310] Certain sources have mentioned the Qaisi swords[311] which probably could be associated with the tribe of Abd al Qais which lived in Bahrain.

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304 Al Azraqi: *Akhbar Makka*, p 476.

305 Ibn Manzur, *op.cit.* Vol. 5. p.242.

306 Al Khatt was a township of Bahrain and being a port the ships passed by it.

307 Yaqut al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.453.

308 A tree with a single stem but a number of branches. Ibn Manzur, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p.106.

309 *Nasam* is a tree grown in hilly areas. Ibn Mazur, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p.106.

310 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p.185.

311 Yaqut al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. P.241.

The gold and silver-smiths made gold and silver ornaments such as bracelets, bangles, anklets, rings and ear-rings which women wore as beauty-aids[312] particularly in times of prosperity, or when the standard of living went up or when trade flourished. They even beautified the swords with golden trinkets.[313]

Other industries included tanneries which was promoted in those areas with suitable weather, and those geographical locations of Bahrain which had a ready access for traders. Moreover there were plenty of animals in Bahrain which yielded leather[314] such as camels, cattle, sheep, deers, wild bulls etc. Another factor which helped this industry was the availability of organic material for tannery such as the salam-tree.[315]

In the villages of Bahrain there were leather stores which belonged to the owners of leather shops in the towns of Bahrain.[316] The cobblers and shoe-makers bought leather from the leather shops for making shoes, boots,[317] saddles, tents, leather receptacles which were used by the desert-dwellers for storing water,

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312 Jawad Ali, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p.55.

313 Ibn al Jowzy: *Safwat il Safwa,* Vol. 2. p. 61. Blazeri, *op.cit.* Pp.78-79. pp. 78. 79.

314 Nasir Khusro: *Safar Nameh*, p.94.

315 Yaqut al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.123.

316 Al Azraqi, *op.cit.* p.466.

317 Ibn al Jowzy: *Al Muntazam*, p.365. Al Azraqi, *op.cit.* p. 466.

oil, honey, fat and milk.[318] They also stored dates in leather containers.

It seems that some slaves who were working at their masters houses excelled at making bead ornaments which were commissioned whenever desired by their masters.[319] Carpentry was an important craft of Bahrain and the traders plied their crafts in their shops and sold the products. They pursued this craft also in their homes. According to Abu Naim a Persian slave used to make drinking cups in his house in Bahrain.[320] Carpenters were engaged by the rich to work at their homes and they used to buy for them wood from the market and order them to make whatever they wanted.[321] The carpenters also made arrows, and the arrows of Yamama and Bahrain were famous during the pre-Islamic days of ignorance.[322]

It seems that the manufacture of tools of war continued in the Umayyad period as this is borne out by a mention of the arrows made in Hajr and Yathrib which were famous in this period. This made Al Hajjaj order his troops be equipped with these.[323] The arrows were made from the pomegranate wood. Certain industries were based on agricultural products such as cages made from date-palm

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318 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p. 230.

319 Al Baghdadi: *Khazanat al Adab*, p. 220.

320 Abu Naim: *Hulyat al Auliya*, p.152.

321 Al Asfahani: *Al Aghani*, Vol. 16. p. 149.

322 Al Bakri, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p. 271. Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 2 p.154.

323 Blazeri, *op.cit.* p. 273.

fibre, tobacco, baskets and plates from palm fronds.[324] The people made use of wood and husk in building the roofs of mosques, houses, doors and windows.[325] Similarly there were other industries such as the weaving of shreds from the palm fronds.[326]This was a real handicraft with woven straw mats the same way as it is done on textiles.[327]The straw mats were used in graves to cover the dead body. They were also used for floor-covering, covering pillows and sofas as well as the mosque floors and residential houses.[328]

Another well known industry of Bahrain was pottery.[329]Other professions in Bahrain included bakeries where bakers used the ovens and furnaces to cook for the people for a charge. Sometimes the slaves performed this task in their masters' houses.[330] And yet other crafts were well- boring and bird-hunting.

5.25. The Labour Class and the Craftsmen.

With regard to the workers who pursued various kinds of professions such as

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324 Al Asfahani, *op.cit.* Vol. 19. p.150.

325 Al Azraqi, *op.cit.* p.474.

326 Al Samhudi: *Wafa al Wafa*, Vol. 2. p.204.

327 Blazeri, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p.255.

328 Al Zubair Bin Bakar: *Jamharat Nasab Quraish*, p.486. Ibn al Jowzy: *Safat al Safwa*, Vol. 2. p.61.

329 Ibn al Jouzy, *op. cit.* Vol. 2. p.61.

330 *ibid.* p. 55 .

carpentry, weaving, tailoring and dyeing there is no clear picture of their living conditions, their problems, or their minimum wage levels. The workers could be classified into two groups. The workers who were employed on a fixed wage agreed to between them and their employers.[331] There were others who ordinarily received daily wages or a wage for a quantum of work. Most of these were slaves who had been permitted to do this work. Some of them worked as such in their masters' shops,[332] or houses,[333]or in the houses of their employers,[334] who provided them the raw material needed for the industry.[335] The other kind of workers were those slaves who worked on behalf of their masters who owned industries and had capital.

5. 26. Crafts and Vocations.

Among the crafts and vocations practised in Bahrain were carpentry, ironsmithry, weaving and knitting, tailoring, goldsmithery, tannery and building construction There was a grouping among the various craftsmen according to their particular vocation, and during modern times there is cooperation between them on the basis of guilds headed by the leading figures in each vocation. If any of the men died then the guild managed his funeral and burial and helped his family. This

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331 Saleh Al Ali: *Al Tanzimat al Ijtimaiyya wal Iqtisadiyya,* p.392.

332 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 5. pp.391 - 392.

333 Malik: *Al Mudawwana,* Vol. 11. p.488.

334 Al Asfahani, *op.cit.* Vol. 16. p.149.

335 *ibid.*

preserved the morale of the craftsmen and provided them social security against any unforeseen calamities. Each craft preserved it within the family and the group did not permit any intrusion by outsiders. The craft was hereditary.

The ironsmiths, goldsmiths, and coppersmiths had their own localities known by their trades, and these special localities promoted cooperation between the craftsmen. Certain towns became well known for a particular craft or product and these products were sold for high prices. The workers and craftsmen were paid either on a daily wage basis or were paid a lump sum for a piece of work on a mutually agreed basis. As for the slaves, they were not paid anything usually except for what they received by way of food, clothing and shelter from their masters. The wages could be on a daily or yearly basis or a lump sum amount. It was not necessary for the wages to be paid in cash, it would be in kind such as in terms of food or clothing. As an example of wage payment one could mention building labour. The building labourers were usually paid a daily wage. Carpentry and harvesting earned lump sum wages.

Shepherding and pasturing and similar vocations which served the general public were paid a fixed lump sum. There were other vocations such as hair cutting.[336]

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336 *The Social Structre of Islam*: p. 83.

5.27. Colouring and Dyeing.

The textile industry required dyeing of cloth and this was done by dyers in their shops for fixed prices.[337] The dyers used colours of organic origin for dyeing clothes. Some preferred yellow such as Urwa Bin Zubair who used to get his robe coloured yellow for a dinar.[338]

Some used to dye their clothes at home by themselves. Saffron[339] was also used for dyeing and sometimes a red clour was used.[340] The people of Bahrain used safflower for dyeing and some preferred[341] green or black.[342]

5.28. Ironsmithry.

This craft existed in Bahrain.[343] They manufactured domestic utensils and swords with iron. The weapon industry was prevalent even before Islam and after the advent of Islam it flourished further among the Arabs for extending their conquests and defending conquered territory. Due to the paucity of iron in the

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337 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 5. p.133.

338 *ibid.* p.134.

339 *ibid.* p.140.

340 *ibid.* p.161.

341 An organic extract.

342 Ibn Qutaiba: *Al Imama Wal Siyasa*, Vol. 1. p.188.

343 Al Azraqi, *op.cit.* p.476. Ibn Bikar: *Jamharat Nasab Qureish.*

Arabian island they were obliged to import iron from India and Fars by way of Basra.[344] Bahrain had some weapon industries such as spearheads for which Hajr was famous.[345] Ibn Manzur, quoting Abu Hanifa has said that the irons of Hajr were of excellent quality.[346]The spears of Khatt have also been famous.[347] Its bars were brought from India by sea, processed and sold in other parts. There were other spears such as Sumahriyya (of hard metal), Radiniyya (sold in Khatt), and Kharsan (the name of a village in Bahrain where it was sold). Bows, arrows and arrowheads were made in Bahrain from locally grown trees. Sumahriyya and Radiniyya were named after the names of their manufacturers.[348]

Both the Umayyad and the Abbasid empire closely supervised war industries and weapon production as a vocation required a license by the authorites. Some sources have mentioned the Qaisiyya swords and as is obvious these swords were named after the Abd el Qais tribe.[349]

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344 Al Ardy: *Tarikh al Mosul,* p.49. Al Ali Manzur: *Tanzimat al Mosul,* p.49.

345 Ibn Manzur, *op.cit.* Vol. 5. p.242.

346 *ibid.* p. 242.

347 Al Khatt: An old town of Bahrain where piracy of ships arriving from India took place. Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.454.

348 Ibn Manzur, *op.cit.* Vol.13. p.178.

349 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p.185.

5.29. Mining.

During the Umayyad period Bahrain carried out mining operations as gold and siver mines were found here.[350] There were other crude minerals too such as sulphur, copper and tin, these were suitable for exploitation. An important mine was Bani Salim[351] which was vital during the Umayyad period; it yielded gold. An Umayyad functionary was appointed to oversee this mine which shows how important it was then. This functionary in 128H/746 was Kathir Bin Abdulla.[352] The investment of mines at that time was an endowment for the people who had to pay Zakat at the rate of 4 parts out of 10.[353] Al Masudi has referred to an iron mine in Hajr. The people of Darin and Hajr furnished their markets with iron - made gear. Copper was found in the vicinity of Al Khatt.[354]

It is worth noting that leasing was not restricted to agricultural land but also to mining areas. A person or a group was given the right to exploit it and benefit by it. Invariably such mines included salt, salt was extracted and dried and it was of very good quality because of the abundance of sea water all round Bahrain.[355]

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350 Al Hamadani: *Sifat Jazirat il Arab,* p.235.

351 Al Harbi, *op.cit.* p.333; Al Asfahani: *Bilad al Arab*, p.403. Al Hamadani, *op. cit.* p.299.

352 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol. 7. p.348.

353 Abu Ubaida. *Al Amwal*, p. 423.

354 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.907.

355 Nasser Khusro: *Safar Nameh.* p. 192.

5. 30. Goldsmithry.

This craft was a legacy of the Jews who introduced it after they were ejected from Madina. It spread all over the region until it reached Bahrain. According to Al Tabari the Prophet (PBUH) after ejecting the Jews (Bani Qainaqa) from Madina took over their tools of goldsmithry, the craft flourished from then throughout the region even to all parts of Bahrain. This craft reached them through the traders of Madina and Yamama and fourished in the Umayyad period when the goldsmiths worked in their shops.[356]

It appears that they made ornaments such as necklaces, garlands, bracelets, chains, rings and pendants etc.,[357] both from gold and silver. It became popular once the trade flourished, and living standards rose up. They also decorated swords with gold trinkets.

5. 31. Tannery.

Leather work flourished in the country since the climate for it was suitable. The location of Bahrain [358] was suitable for access to traders and the animals were plentiful such as camels, cattle, sheep, deer, and wild bull which lived on the

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356 Al Tabari, *op. cit.* Vol. 2. p.481.

357 Malik: *Al Mudawwana*, Vol. 11. p.391, 491.

358 Naser Khusro, *op.cit.* p.94.

heights.[359]

What promoted the leather industry was the availability of certain organic substances and plants which were used in this industry and which were found in Bahrain, Hijaz and Nejd.[360] No details are available of the tools used in this craft except that Ibn Sayida[361] has spoken of tools for polishing and cleaning and certain tools were made of iron and wood. This industry spread to Taif and Makka also.[362]

Many items were made out of leather such as shoes, saddles, tents, utensils, and containers for water, oil, honey, butter and milk for use by the beduins.[363] They also used the containers for preserving dates. Some slaves made beads out of them for their masters.[364]

5. 32. Carpentry.

Carpentry had a prominent place in Bahrain as the carpenters met the local needs of the population by way of benches, tables, chairs, doors and windows and

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359 Abu Fida, *op.cit.* p.99.

360 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol. 2. p.123.

361 Ibn Syeda has mentioned the names of certain tools .

362 Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.* Vol. 8. pp.73, 206.

363 *ibid.* Vol. 2. p.230.

364 Al Baghdadi: *Khizanat al Adab,* Cairo. 1381 H / 1963.

other items of domestic furniture. They were popular in Makka and Nejd as well.[365]

They plied their trade in their shops and sold their products in their houses.[366]In some areas the carpenters had their own localities. Some worked in the houses of rich people who provided them with wood and a list of what they wanted from it.[367]They made bows and arrows too, and the arrows of Bahrain and Yamama were famous even before the advent of Islam.[368]It seems that such weapons continued to be made in the Umayyad period and arrows were made of pomegranate wood. Certain products such as roof stuffings and other fillings, doors and windows were made from locally grown vegetation.[369]Paper industry was also prevalent in the Umayyad period which used cotton and wooden pulp etc., for the purpose.

5. 33. Other Crafts.

There were certain other crafts which were practised in Bahrain, such as handicrafts made from the date palm fibre as mats of Islamic designs. These were

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365 Al Azraqi, *op.cit*. p.455.

366 Abu Naim: *Hilyat al Awlia*, p.152.

367 Ibn Bikar: *Nasab Qureish*, Vol. 1. p.287.

368 Blazeri, *op.cit*, p. 273.

369 *ibid.* Vol. 7. p.158.

spread on the floors of houses, Mosques etc.[370]

Another craft was pottery.[371] Date-wine was also a product of Bahrain. Qatar was famous for producing wines.[372] Hajr was also a great centre for the production of wines.[373]

Bakery was yet another skill practised by slaves in their masters' houses. Bakers worked in bakeries and baked for people who brought the ingredients to them for the purpose.[374]Other vocations included well boring, bird-hunting, calligraphy of the Holy Qur'an etc.[375]Ropes, strings, threads were also manufactured in Bahrain.

The coasts of Bahrain was close to Qatif which had good pearl banks and they were the deepest. Al Astakhri[376] has observed that the pearls yielded by these were of a rare quality and the best were to be found only at this place. The pearl banks were known as 'Heirat'.[377]The Bahrain pearls are noted for their big size,

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370 Blazeri, *op. cit.* Vol. 4. p.255.

371 Ibn al Jouzy, *op. cit.* Vol. 2. p.61.

372 Ibn Khardazba, *op. cit.* p.217.

373 Al Asfahani, *op.cit.* Vol. 6. p.127, 128.

374 Ibn al Jouzy, *op.cit.* pp. 55. 65.

375 Al Hamadani, *op. cit.* p.139.

376 Al Astakhri, *op. cit.* p.38.

377 Al Masudi, *op. cit.* 1. p. 148.
Heeirat were those banks which had the pearl oyster shells .

streamlined shape, a clear and clean colour with a slight tinge of blue or pure white.[378]The ruler was responsible to protect the pearling boats from pirate gangs and hence the sources have stated that the ruling authority of Bahrain at that time used to take half of the catch of the divers.[379] The large number of pearl banks led Bahrain to impose a tax on the pearl merchants who purchased pearls from the divers.[380]

We notice that the divers paid 1/5 th., to the Ruler of Bahrain by way of tax[381] Ibn Khaldun[382] has mentioned the Bahrain pearl and said. 'Bahrain and Oman earned great fame for the abundance of their pearl banks. Al Qizwini[383] speaking of the Bahrain pearl says, "Its pearl is of the best quality." The best pearl divers lived in Bahrain and traders came from all over the world to Bahrain with large funds and stayed on there until the pearling season.[384]

Big pearl markets used to be organised in Qatif for the sale of pearls.[385]The pearl

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378 Al Jahiz, *op. cit.* , p. 98 .

379 Al Rashid Bin Al Zubair: *Al Zaqayir wal Tuhaf*, p.180.

380 Al Idrisi: *Nuzhat al Mushataq*, p.121.

381 Al Masudi, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.148.

382 Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.* Vol. 4. p.93.

383 Al Qizwini: *Asar Al Bilad wa Akhbar al Ibad*, p.77.

384 Al Idrisi, *op. cit.* pp.51, 52.; Ibn al Akfani: *Nakhab al Zakhayir fi Ahwal il Jawahir*, p.35.

385 Al Jahiz, *op.cit.* p.16.
Ibn al Wardi , Kharidat al Ajayib , p. 54 .

markets were usually organised with the end of the diving season.[386] Some were organized on the banks where the merchants waited to receive the pearling boats to buy pearls. Then there were markets where the best pearls were exported to foreign countries particularly to Iraq.[387] Then there was a pearl market in Qatif.[388]The Bahrain market was the centre for evaluating pearls.[389]The Bahrain pearls found their way to the world markets, particularly to India, China, Iran and Iraq.[390] The pearl markets came to be known as Qisariyyat named after the streets of Bahrain.[391] Pearl markets were held in Bahrain every month and every week in addition to the many small local markets catering to the local citizens and kinsfolk.[392]

In the Island of Awal there was an independent Amir and the people were happy with him for his sense of justice and religiosity. The masters of divers also lived there as also the merchants.[393] In any case if the diving season approached and the water cleared up the merchants hired the divers and then went outside the town. That day was observed as a festival when all of them gathered on the

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386 Ibn al Wardi: *Kharidat al Ajayib*, p.163.

387 Al Jahiz, *op.cit.* p. 61.

388 Al Masudi, *op. cit.* Vol. p.149.

389 Al Qizwini: *Asar al Bilad*, p.77.

390 Al Jahiz, *op. cit.* p.26.

391 Al Qizwini, *op. cit.* p.77.

392 Al Astakhri, *op. cit.* p.34.

393 Al Idrisi, *op. cit.* p.541.

seacoast. The ruler declared the season open, its beginning and closing and the period of sales.[394] At the end of the formal diving period there was an optional period known as ' Al Radada ' for 3 weeks.[395]The governor used to send to the Umayyad Caliph choice pearls.[396]The governor of Bahrain continued to send the pick of pearls to the Caliph throughout the Abbasid period.[397]

The people of Bahrain took to pearl diving as a profession as the Bahrain pearl was known for its quality and beauty.[398]The process of diving consisted of descending into the depths of the sea during specific seasons usually at the beginning of summer and searching for oyster shells which contained pearls.[399] It was done from April to September.[400] During the season some 2,000 to 2,500 pearling boats proceeded to the diving sites and the voyage lasted 4 months.[401]

In the past pearls were the main produce of the country.[402]The pearl trade was flourishing and the pearl merchants were locally known as *Tawwash*.. The ships

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394 Al Idrisi, *op. cit.* pp.51-52.; Al Masudi, *op. cit.* p. 35.

395 Ibn al Akfani, *op. cit.* p.35.

396 Al Qaadi Al Rashid: *Al Zaqayir wal Tuhaf*, p.177.

397 Al Idrisi, *op. cit.* p.51.

398 Al Jahiz, *op.cit.* p.67.

399 Al Masudi, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.148.

400 Al Beiruni: *Al Jamahir fi Ma'rifat il Jawahir*, p.14.

401 Al Masudi, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.149.

402 *ibid.* p.148.

used to be painted with a type of tar mixed with whale fat.[403] Actually the size of the ships which sailed to China used to evoke the surprise of the people of Canton. Their height above the water level was such that the people had to use ladders of the h op. cit. eight of over tens of feet.[404]

These big ships which carried rich merchandise required complicated management procedures. They needed sailors, captains, and repairers and most of these jobs were done by the Bahrainis. Many ship captains were registered with the Sea-Trade Department located in Bahrain (Known as *Khanqo*). Bahraini activity was not restricted to seafaring alone but extended to cover the diverse aspects of seaborne trade. Some managed the ships, some were sailors, some owned ships which they plied for themselves or for those who hired them and some used them for trade.

Then there were ship-builders. This is clear from the writings of Abu Zaid who says: "In Bahrain they set sail for islands which produce coconuts and they carry with them tools and implements for shipbuilding. They cut coconut wood into planks when it dries up, make ropes, beads and knots of its jute and make boats out of it. They make masts and prepare sails. When all this is done they load the ships with coconuts and sail to Bahrain and Oman to sell them."[405] This text explains the type of wood used by the Bahrainis for shipbuilding in Bahrain and

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403 Al Masudi, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.163.

404 Ibn al Faqih, *op. cit.* pp.11, 12.

405 Sairafi: *Rahlat al Sairafi ilal Hind wal Sin*, p.10.

the Indian Ocean that is coconut wood. They also used teak wood which could stand the rough and tough weather conditions.[406] They continued to pursue boat building both in the Umayyad and the Abbasid periods with these methods whether on the coasts of Bahrain or those of the Indian Ocean.[407]

The spinning of yarns was a well regulated and exact industry whether from the coconut fibre or date fibre. These fibres were treated or tanned in pits dug on the coasts and occasionally thrashed with the sledgehammer. Thereafter the womenfolk corded threads and ropes with many shreds if strength was needed to tie up planks for boat building.[408] If rope cording was an industry for linking planks together it required complementary industries such as coating the planks for sealing the holes after they were tied up. For this purpose the whale fat was used or the fat of certain kinds of sharks.

5. 34. Buildings.

The Islamic buildings are divided into three types, the civil buildings and private houses of towns and cities; religious buildings such as mosques and warlike structures such as forts and fortresses. The buildings of the people of the Bahrain region were extremely simple. The houses of wealthy people were built of stone

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406 Al Masudi, *op. cit*. Vol. 1. p.163.

407 Abu Zaid, *op.cit.* p.100.

408 Al Masudi, *op.cit.* Vol. p.219.

while most buildings of the city were made of bricks. Mostly the buildings were single storeyed. They had a courtyard and in the middle a well.

When the Islamic conquests extended the empire during the period of Umar Ibn Al Khattab many architects and builders from the Arabian peninsula came to Mecca, Madina and Bahrain because of the latter's proximity to the mainland. Thus the building architecture received a big boost during this periods and the leading Arabs built big castles out of stone and marble.[409] Al Masudi [410] says that the Prophet's companions in the reign of Uthman built for themselves big mansions. When the Arabs gained control over Syria and Fars they adopted their architectural style as appealed to their taste and living conditions. It evolved into a new pattern incorporating different characteristics.

The buildings of the people of the region of Bahrain were characterised by domes and minarets, pillars and curves. In a way they resembled the date palm, dates being their staple and well- liked food and source of prosperity.

The towns used to be surrounded by forbidding fences for the purpose of defence. Each category of craftsmen had their own special locality and each locality of part of the town had its own gate separating it from all other parts. These gates were guarded by guardsmen.

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409 *Al Taswir indal Arab*: Ahmed Taimur Pasha and Zaki Mohammed Hasan, pp.150-151.

410 Al Masudi, *op. cit.* Vol. 2. p.220.

5. 35. Trade and Seafaring.

Trade and navigation were actively pursued in the Arab Gulf since ancient times. The Arabs of the Gulf in general and of Bahrain in particular had an important role in commerce and sea trade before the advent of Islam by several centuries. The Arabs of Bahrain even before the advent of Islam, used to sail to India for trade and knew the secrets of the monsoon winds which carried the ships across the Indian Ocean.[411] Their ships carried rich and light weight merchandise from India to the Gulf ports and the Arabian Island, to Mecca in particular, the commercial and religious capital of India and its markets.[412]

Since a long time the Arab Gulf and the Red Sea routes were the two international sea routes linking the east and the west and they alternately dominated this trade. In the 3rd century AD the Arab Gulf became the owner of sovereignty and total control over the transit trade traffic between the east and the west. The Gulf became the transit point between India, China, and South East Asia, and the west. Bahrain became the major staging post for receiving the merchandise from India and China and for laying anchor therein. From here trade was carried to all the ports of the Gulf which in turn conveyed them to the Arabian Island and the world outside.

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411 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* p.629.

412 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op.cit.* p. 506.

The people of Bahrain achieved expertise in navigation and transit of goods for a long time because of its unique location in the Gulf. It was the first sea station for incoming and outgoing ships from and to India and China. News writers have mentioned that the people of Bahrain became experts in this field ever since their Beduin days and the settlements which came thereafter of the Adnan Arabs who were Arabised from Bani Abd al Qais and Wayil.[413]

The Islamic State ever since its inception had known the strategic and the economic importance of Bahrain and hence was keen to absorb it in the Islamic fold. The Islamic State wanted to take advantage of the expertise of the people of Bahrain and their chivalry in conducting naval expeditions, particularly for conveying the message of Islam to the remotest corners of the Asian continent.

The sources have also mentioned the important role which fell to Bahrain for protecting Abbasid trade through the Gulf by confronting the sea piracy which had assumed dangerous proportions then. The Islamic sources referred to these criminal groups as the 'criminals of the sea' who threatened the freedom of the travellers and traders, usurped the merchandise, sank their ships and assaulted them. The leading pirate groups during the Abbasid period were called Al Miz of Al Mid whose criminality reached the zenith between 140H - 153 H. It was the reign of the second Abbasid Caliph Abu Jafar Al Mansur when practically all Gulf ports became vulnerable to their attacks and extended even to Basra. Thus

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413 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* p.508.

the people of Bahrain in particular had to play a vital role in combatting this compelling and sinister danger especially after the Abbasid fleet proved incapable of confronting them. This information has trickled through Al Blazeri (d. 279H) Ibn Khardazba (d. 300H) and Al Masudi (d. 346 H). What they have narrated is to be found in the writings of the contemporary Basra historian of the reign of the first Abbasid Caliph Bin Kayyat (d.240H).

Ibn Khadazba says that the Al Mid were the pirates who stole whatever wealth and stores there were aboard the ships.[414] According to Al Masudi they were (a race from Sind) and possessed many ships which used to intercept Muslim ships plying to India, China and the Red Sea.[415]

Khalifa Bin Khayyat has described their repeated attacks on the Gulf ports and on Basra in the years 141H, 148 H, 151H, and 153H.[416] The Abbasid Caliphs wanted to put an end to this menace and spent considerable effort to rid the Gulf waters of the pirates from Abu Jafar Al Mansur to Caliph Al Wathiq Billah.[417] They forced them to leave the Gulf and pursued them to their barren lands.[418]

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414 Ibn Khardazba, *op. cit.* p. 62.

415 Al Masudi, *op. cit.* p.62.

416 Ibn Khayyat: *Tarikh Khalifa Bin Khayat,* p. 419.

417 Atiya Al Qausi: *Tijarat al Khalij Bain Al madd wal Jazr fil Qarnain al Tani Wal Talit Al Hijriyyain.* p. 26.

418 *ibid.*

Bahrain was considered a trade centre and its products found their way to Mesopotamia and thus trade relations were established between Bahrain and Iraq even as Bahrain traded with India since earlier times.[419] Bahrain imported cotton from India[420] apart from other commodities. As many as 1,000 ships[421]used to reach Bahrain and sailing to India went on all the time.[422]It seems that trade with regard to Bahrain was a constant and most important occupation. To this was added the pearl industry which extracted the best quality pearls apart from fishing. For these reasons it had a big fleet of ships on which it depended for its defence and keep covetous eyes away from it. Abul Ala Al Hadhrami used this fleet to invade Fars between 15 - 21H, when he participated in the conquests of Iraq and Fars.[423]

That these ships were used very much earlier shows that they were not rigged up only for the invasion of Fars.[424] Al Qizwini has spoken of the pearls extracted in Bahrain as being the best kind.[425] The greatest of pear-divers lived in Bahrain and pearl merchants from different nationalities with plenty of money came down

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419 Ahmed Sobhi: *Al Bahrain wa Da'wa Iran*, p. 199.

420 Al Qalqashandi: *Sobh al A'sha*, Vol. 7. p. 370.

421 Al Idrisi, *op.cit.* p. 51.

422 Qalqashandi, *op. cit.* Vol. 7. p.369.

423 0 Khalid A Issi: *Al Khalij al Arabi*, p. 20.

424 Ahmed Sobhi, *op. cit.* p.20.

425 Al Qizwin: *Asar al Bilad wa Akhbar al Ibad*, p. 77.

to stay in Bahrain until the pearling season was over.[426] Great pearl markets were established in Qatif. [427] As for the role of Bahrain as a link between the east and the west the merchandise coming from the Indian Ocean used to pour into the eastern bays of the Arabian peninsula over which Bahrain had sway in the Arab Gulf.

The trade routes of Bahrain were not restricted to sea routes but included land routes as well. Whereas the ancient caravan routes from Bahrain had access to Oman, however, blocked by sand dunes and the best route to Oman from Bahrain was through the Arab Gulf.[428] The obstacle of the sand dunes could not be subdued for the sake of overland contacts. Similarly, the caravan route from Iraq led to Bahrain. It is considered to be an extension of the eastern route linking the south of the Arabian peninsula with the west of Iraq as far as the Syrian markets transporting the products of India and Fars.[429]

There is no doubt that since the ancient days Bahrain bustled with trade activity surpassing other activities known in the past. It brought the Indian products to its ports as also the products of the Far East and of Ethiopia.[430] Its links with other adjacent distant countries greatly developed as far as Mesopotamia, Iraq, Syria,

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426 Al Idrisi, *op. cit.* p. 52.

427 Al Qalqashandi, *op. cit.* Vol. 5. p.56.

428 Ibn Batuta: *Al Rahla,* Vol. 1. p.177.

429 Al Afghani, *op. cit.* p. 15.

430 Hasan Ibrahim Hasan: *Tarikh al Islam,* Vol. 1. p. 64.

and India.

5. 36. Workers and Craftsmen.

As for workers who plied different professions and crafts such as carpenters, weavers, tailors and dyers, the sources do not give us a comprehensive picture of their living conditions, their problems, and the minimum level of their wages. The workers may be divided into two groups; first, hired workers working against fixed wages agreed upon by their employers.[431] Usually it is either on the basis of a daily wage of per piece of material. Ibn Sa'd states that Urwa Bin al Zubair used to safflower garments and covered them with the dyers at the rate of a dinar a piece.[432]

Most of the workers were slaves who were permitted to them for extracting work out from them.[433] The slaves also worked in their private shops or in their homes,[434]or in the houses of their employees[435] who occasionally provided to them the raw material needed for their industries.[436] The other type of workers were

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431 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 5. p.134. Salih Alali: *Al Tanzimat al Ijtimahyya wal iqtisadiyya*, p.300.

432 *ibid.* Vol.5. p.134.

433 Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.* Vol. 5. p.391.

434 Abu Naim: *Hulyat al Awliya*, Vol. 3. p.152.

435 Al Asfahani, *op.cit.* Vol. 16. p.149.

436 *ibid.*

slaves who worked for their masters and employers,[437] who owned capital, their own instruments of work as also the raw material for their industries. They offered their goods for sale in the market and bore the profits and losses. The centre of work for these slaves was the factory owned by their masters or their shops. These workers and craftsmen. Were subject to supervision by the worker supervisor who accounted for their work, to guarantee proper accounts for purchases and sales, and to prevent workers absconding with people's money and goods, because the Umayyad's guaranteed the industrialists and owners of crafts[438]its assurances of security. It did not interfere in their affairs or settled any disputes which arose among them. A few Governors imposed toll tax on their internal market sales. Although Umar Bin Abdul Aziz had abolished it due to complaints voiced against it as being against *Shari'a* Law.[439]

The workers were free to follow any craft or profession they liked just as they had the right to choose any shop wherever it may be located. However, it seems that the owners of crafts, in their own interest preferred to be concentrated in one place in the market.[440] These workers could also combine a number of different crafts at one and the same time. The owners of crafts and industries became familiar with the wide spread affiliations to different professions in addition to joining a township of a tribe. As for the difficulties faced by craftsmen and

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437 Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.* p. 324.

438 Malik: *Al Mudawwanam* , Vol 11 p. 389 .

439 Al Asfahani, *op.cit.* Vol. 8. p.277.

440 Ibn Abdul Hakam: *Sirat Umar Bin Abdul Aziz,* p. 190.

workers, the modern sources do not dilate upon them. We also do not have information about the annual earnings of workers. Nevertheless, it would be possible have an approximation from a study of some wages received by craftsmen. It has already been mentioned that the dyer charged one dinar per garment tor treating it with safflower.[441] If we assumed that 200 garments were dyed in a year then we may say that the dyer collected 200 dinars in a year.

5. 37. Units of Linear Measurements.

There are cubits of units of measurement which are 7 in number. The shortest is Al Qadhia, then come Al Yusufiy, Al Sauda, Al Hashimiya al Sughra (Al Balaliya); Al Hashimiya al Kubra (Al Ziyada); Al Umariya, and then Al Mizaniya.[442] The most in usage in its time was the cubit "Al Sauda" as a unit of measurement.[443] If we study 'Khutat' of Al Maqrizi, we find the precise details of the various kinds of units of measurement. The standard cubit was double the "Al Sauda," two thirds of arm length and two thirds of finger length. This was the unit which the people used in the post offices, homes and markets and for measuring the depths of rivers and pits. As for "Al Qafiz" when applied to lengths and areas was one tenth of "Al Jarib."[444] As quoted by Mawardi, it was 136.6 square metres. In case of Al Ashir it was a tenth of Al Qafiz or an area of

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441 *ibid.* p. 134.

442 Yahay Bin Adam: *Al Khiraj,* pp.71 - 72.

443 *Ahkam al Mawardi,* pp. 146, 147.

444 Yahay bin Adam, *op.cit.* pp.298 - 300.

13.66 square metres.

Arabic terms used for measuring distances are ' Ghalwa, Mil, Farsukh, and Barid. Ghalwa is 400 cubits (Zira); Mil is equal to 400 cubits; Farsukh is 3 miles of 5544 metres. We may add to these a few other terms such as *sa*, *mudda*, ' *makuk*, *farq*, *makhtum*, and *wasq*.

The prevailing money units during the times of the Prophet were Dirhams and Dinars. The people of Bahrain used them and also used gold and silver.[445] Bahrain territory had dealings with Hejaz and Syria.

5. 38. Fishing.

Situated as it was in an important location in the Arab Gulf, the people of Bahrain subsisted on the sea, particularly the people of the coastline for whom fishing provided a vital source of living.[446] They consumed quantities of it and sold the surplus. The coastal dwellers used to sail into the sea with the means available to them for conducting fishing and caught whales and other fish. The Bahrain coasts are familiar to the whales.[447] Masudi has mentioned the area of Al Zara[448] as important for fishing. The people of Awal lived on dates and

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445 Yahay Bin Adam, *op. cit.* pp. 139 - 141.

446 Ibn al Mujawir: *Tarikh al Mustabsir*, Vol. 2. p.301.

447 Al Harbi, *op. cit.* p.621.

448 Al Masudi, *op.cit.* Vol. 2. p.65.

fish.[449]Ambergis was one of the precious extracts collected by the coastal people of Bahrain which fetched them big profits.[450]

During the season when the fish appear the boats kindle lights on board . The fish gather around them on the surface of the water close to the lighted vessels which renders them easy to catch.[451]The fish was dried in the sun, occasionally salted and aired to serve as food when needed. They were also used as fodder for animals.[452]

5.39. Pearl Fishing.

The economic importance of the Gulf was not restricted to its being an important commercial route. It did a great deal to buttress the economic wealth of the Islamic world by virtue of its own resources. Its calm waters were a major source of pearl fishing and its fine pearls reached various countries of the east and west.

It is obvious that pearls used to be obtained from many seas all over the world but quality pearls were to be found only in the seas around Bahrain. Al Jahiz has stated that "The best pearls were Bahraini and Omani pearls with streamlined

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449 Ibn Mujawir, *op. cit.* Vol. 2. p.303.

450 Al Masudi, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.50.

451 *ibid.* p.166.

452 Al Qizwini: *Ajaib al Makhluqat*, p.166.

rolling shape."[453] Bahrain acquired fame for external trade from ancient times because it was an important centre of pearl fishing. The merchants the world over preferred the Bahraini pearls. Bahrain attached great importance to pearls because of the large income it fetched on account of its beauty and fineness.[454]

5.40. Diving

Diving consisted of reaching the depths of the sea in definite seasons. The diving season usually began with summer in search of pearl oysters [455] and lasted from April to September.[456]During the diving season the ships would be well stocked with provisions and the crew proceeded to the pearl banks with a captain in charge of each ship.[457] He was in charge of everything which went on. About 2,000 to 2,500 ships took part in the operation which lasted for 4 months.[458]

Pearl diving ended in specific months which were known to the professional.

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453 Al Jahiz, *op. cit.* p.67.

454 Al Qizwini: *Asar al Bilad,* p.77- 78.

455 Al Masudi, *op. cit.* Vol 1 p. 148.

456 Al Beiruni: *Al Jamaher fi M'arifat il Jawhar,* p.141.

457 The captain dominates every activity. He may own the ship or hire it from other owners of pearl merchants who may send it out to the pearl banks for a fixed rent.. 'Nawakhiz' is a Persian word meaning a ship's captain. George Hurani: *Al Arab wal Milaha.* p. 199.

458 Al Masudi, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.149.

Among the Arabs Abu Zaid Al Hasan Al Sairafi[459] has stated: " Pearl diving in the Persian Sea is carried out from 1st April to the end of September, there is no diving in other months." Al Bairuni[460] has mentioned the period of diving as being 6 months beginning from the New Year day to the Festival Day (Nauruz to Mahrajan). The same period has been mentioned by Abu Zaid al Sairafi. Bariuni has commented on it as saying that during that period the Gulf waters were calm. If the sea was rough pearl fishing would be discontinued and adds: "The best period for pearl diving would be in spring as the waters of the Gulf during that period were clear due to the scantiness of the river waters pouring into the Gulf."

In the past the pearl was considered a major product along with agricultural products and they led to the prosperity of the country.[461]Both the tribal beduins and the town dwellers shared in this prosperity equally. Pearl trade was very actively pursued. Pearl merchants were locally known as *Tawwash*.[462]

5.41. Pearl Banks.

The coastline of Bahrain close to Qatif were the best pear banks and most

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459 Al Sairafi, *op.cit.* p.132.

460 Al Bairuni, *op. cit.* p.143.

461 Al Masudi, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.148. Binyamin al Tatili: *Al Rahla*: Translated by Azra Haddad from Hebrew 1st Edition *Al Matba'a al Sharqiyya*, Baghdad 1364H/1945, p.164.

462 This nomenclature became popular in the Gulf. It was a Persian word but the traders did not use this title.

valuable.[463] Pearl banks were found in the Gulf near Hajr, and in Awal[464] pearl banks in Qatar[465] and Qatif[466] became famous. Al Astakhri[467] has stated that the pearl extracted here was rare in quality and rare pearls were to be found only in Bahrain. Among the pearl banks were "Al Jauhar" between Siraf and Bahrain at Khor Rakid and Al Wadi il Azim and these attracted many ships from Fars bringing divers and merchants from Fars, Bahrain and Qatif.[468]The pearl banks were called Hirat.[469] It is worth mentioning that most Hirats were well known since ancient times. The Bahrain pearls were noted for their big size and round shape. Their colour was clear tending towards an bluish tinge. If white it would be pure white.[470]Al Qizwini [471] has described the pearl of Bahrain thus; "It has pearl banks and its pearls are of best quality."

Ibn al Wardi[472] has eulogized the bounties of the Gulf and says: "The sea of Fars is known for its many bounties and blessings. The most profitable and

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463 Al Maqdisi: *Ahsan al Taqsim*, p.101.

464 *ibid.* p.102.

465 Al Masudi, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.148.

466 Binyamin Al Tatili, *op. cit.* p.164.

467 Al Astakhri, *op. cit.* p.38.

468 Al Masudi, *op. cit.* Vol. 3. p. 219.

469 *ibid.* Vol. 1. p.148. Uira: Pearl banks where pearl oysters were found.

470 Al Jahiz, *op. cit.* p. 98.

471 Al Qizwini, *op. cit.* p.77.

472 Ibn al Wardi: *Kharidat al Ajayib wa Faridat il Gharayib*, Cairo, p.115.

astounding of these blessings are the pearl banks which yield big size pearls. The pearl known as 'Yatima' is invaluable."

5.42. How is the Pearl Formed?

A few ancient historians have described how a pearl is formed inside the oysters but most of them are deficient in their proper understanding of the process. Shaikh Al Ribwa[473] says that a small creature comes out of the bottom of the sea to the coastline in spring and when it rains he retains drops of it within himself and returns to the bottom of the sea. After a while the water drop transforms itself into a pearl. Al Damishqi says:[474] "These are actually precious stones which form inside the oyster. It is a creature of the sea with a bone cover."Al Bairuni says [475] that a pearl is formed inside the shell the same way as an egg and the rain drop is like sperm. But Al Masudi[476] says that it is essentially in the rain drop and it is well known that the pearl is formed inside the shell as an interaction between the cell inside looking like a sand grain and the rain drop forming an excretion which dissolves this body.

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473 Shaikh al Ribwa: *Nikhbat al Dahr wa Ajayib il Barr wal Bahr*, p. 78.

474 Al Damishqi: *Ajayib al Barr wal Bahr*, p. 198.

475 Al Bairuni: *Al Jamahir fi Ma'rifat il Jawahir*, p. 142.

476 Al Masudi, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.150.

5.43. Opening the Oyster Shell and its Examination.

The ship crew opens the oyster shells and extract the pearls from them during the periods when work is stopped[477] due to weather conditions or when the ship is sailing between one pearl bank and another[478] for collecting oyster shells. Usually the shells are opened the next day when the oyster dies and opens its mouth[479] which simplifies the insertion of a knife to cleave it into two. The knife is of a special kind used by the ship crew for opening oyster shells. After its opening the meat of the oyster is shaken in a special way when the pearl projects itself amidst the meaty substance. It is taken out with great skill and expertise.[480]

5.44. Kinds of Pearls.

The pearls are of two kinds; the small one which is the seed pearl[481] and the big one.[482] In Arabic these are known respectively as *durr* and *Iu'Iu*. There is another one which is even smaller and is known as *marjana*.[483] Al Damishqi[484] says that

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477 Shaikh Al Ribwa: *op. cit.* p. 80.

478 Hirat is a pearl bank in Persian.

479 Al Bairuni, *op. cit.* p.141.

480 Ibn Batuta: *Rahlat Ibn Batuta,* p.279.

481 Ibn Sayyida: *Al Mukhassas,* Vol. 4 p.52.

482 *ibid.* p.51.

483 *ibid.* p.52.

484 Al Damishqi: *op. cit.* pp. 244 - 234. Ibn al Akfani: *op. cit.* p.76.

the pearls have different colours. There are yellow round ones even as there are red and blue among them. These colours are due to the organisms next to them. If they are close to the spleen they turn red and if next to bile they turn green. The emerald does not take the pearl hue nor does the pearl take the emerald hue. Among the various classes of shells there are those which are called the mother of pearl. Each shell has 100 classes with two faces. People like the sufis and philosophers have much to reflect upon while looking at these shells. Al Jahiz says[485] that the Bahrainis and pearl merchants knew how to rectify the dirty and repulsive white colour.

5.45. The Weight of Pearls.

The big pearl is not called *durr* unless it weighs half a *misqal*, is round in shape, and free from defects. If it fulfills these conditions then its price was half a *misqal* of gold.[486] This small weight measure is applied to gold, amber, musk and diamond. According to Al Jahiz the price of pearl went up depending on its weight, purity and clarity.[487] If its weight was two *misqals* you could fix its price from 10, 000 dinars to a hundred thousand dinars.

It is no wonder that the Abbasid Caliphs paid attention to this rare commodity to the extent that they created the post of a supervisor for pearl diving

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485 Al Jahiz, *op.cit.* p.32.

486 Al Bairuni, *op. cit.* p. 142.

487 Al Jahiz, *op. cit.* p. 12.

operations.[488]

Al Rashid ordered Al Mua'lla, a senior commander to assume this post covering Basra, Fars, Bahrain and pearl diving. He was the master of Al Mahdi and became the governor of Fars in the year 165H.[489] These tasks were allotted later to Mohammed Bin Sulaiman Bin Abdulla Al Abbas Bin Abdul Muttalib and subsequently to others.[490]

In view of the Iuxurious lifestyle of the caliphs of Bani Abbas and the high society of Iraq, the pearl became a status symbol and the upper class wanted to own it. In Baghdad a special class of people came into being among the merchants who specialised in supplying to the palaces with choice items of gifts. For instance Muslim Bin Abdulla Al Iraqi was one of those who was responsible to equip the pearl divers on the coasts of Bahrain and Oman during the Caliphate of Al Rashid.[491] Ibn al Zubair[492] states that he happened to get two big pearls one of which was unusually large. He sold the first one to Al Rashid for 70,000 dinars and the other one for 30,000 dinars. Some say the bigger pearl was sold to Al Rasheed for 90,000 dinars. The Abbasid Caliphs lived a life of

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488 Al Rashid Bin Al Zubair: *Al Zakhayir wal Tuhaf* , Kuwait 1959 , p. 177.

489 *Mu'jam al Ansab wal Usarat il Hakima* , Zambawar, p.145.

490 Ibn al Akfani, *op. cit.* p.34.

491 *ibid.*

492 Ibn al Zubair, *op. cit.* p.65.

luxury and used golden and topaz utensils.[493]

The women folk of Bani Abbas and other rich women possessed pearls for ornaments and as beauty aids. They also used mother of pearl and the pearls in their hair for ornament.[494] It has been stated that the governor received precious gifts from Bahrain and all other countries including jewelry.[495]

5.46. Tax on Pearls.

The Governor was responsible to protect the ships from the pirates. Hence the ruling authorities of Bahrain at that time used to take half the quantity of pearls collected.[496]The great number of pearl banks led Bahrain to impose a tax on the pearl merchants who purchased pearls from the divers.[497] The divers in turn paid 1/5 th., as tax to the governor of Bahrain.[498]

Thus we realise how the pearl had a special importance in funding the economy of Bahrain. This led Ibn Khaldun to declare.[499] "Both Bahrain and Oman gained

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493 Al Bairuni, *op. cit.* p.72.

494 Al Tabari, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.272.

495 Ibn al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 5 p.287.

496 Al Rashid Bin Al Zubair, *op. cit.* p.180.

497 Al Idrisi, *op. cit.* p. 121.

498 Al Masudi, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.148.

499 Ibn Khaldun, *op. cit.* Vol. 4. p.93.

fame because of the great number of pearl banks which they had." Al Qizwini,[500] speaking of the pearls obtained in Bahrain described them as of the best kind.

Great pearl divers lived in Bahrain and they were visited by the merchants of different countries bringing with them much money. They stayed on there during the period of pearl - diving.[501] In Qatif big Markets were organized for the sale of pearls.[502] Pearl was important for the economy of Bahrain. Says Jahiz; "The pearl has become an important commodity. Based on it the tribute was collected particularly during the reign of Caliph Harun al Rashid."

5.47. Pearl Markets.

Ordinarily these markets transacted business beginning from the end of the diving season.[503] There were markets on the coast where the pearl merchants came to receive the diving ships and buy pearls. There were markets within the interior.[504] Pearls were exported particularly to the Iraqi markets.[505]A Market

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500 Al Qizwini, *op. cit.* p. 77.

501 Al Idrisis, *op. cit.* pp. 51 - 52.; Ibn al Akfani: *op. cit.* p. 35.

502 Al Jahiz, *op. cit.* p.45. Al Rashid Bin Zubair, *Al Zakhair wal Tuhafa*. P.177.

503 Ibn al Wardi, *op. cit.*

504 Al Damishqi, *op. cit.* p.78.

505 Al Jahiz, *op. cit.* p.61.

was held in Qatif to sell pearls.[506] There was a market in Muscat in Oman where pearls obtained from Hormuz were sold.[507] The Bahraini merchants were famous for their expertise in evaluating pearls since Bahrain was a centre where pearls were evaluated.[508] In the Island of Awal there is an independent Amir who was liked by the people for his sense of justice and piety. The masters of pearl divers also live there and the merchants visit it. The Bahrain pearl found its way to international markets, particularly to India, China, Fars, and Iraq. [509]

The pearl market of Bahrain was a monthly affair, and weekly in many small local markets of towns for the people of certain clans.[510] The pearl markets flourished after the diving season was over. The merchants went to the pearl banks with money. If they heard of anyone having had a big catch of precious pearls then they intercepted that ship and offered to buy the entire catch.[511]

5.48. Organization of Diving.

The diving season started in May and lasted until October.[512] During this season

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506 Al Masudi, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.149.

507 Yaqut Al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.342.

508 Al Qizwini, *op. cit.* p.77.

509 Al Jahiz, *op. cit.* p.26.

510 Al Astakhri, *op. cit.* p. 34.

511 Al Bairuni, *op. cit.* p.150.

512 Al Masudi, *op. cit.* Vol 4 p. 148.

the waters were calm but when there was strong breeze threatening the safety of ships diving was interrupted. Again diving was suspended on religious occasions such as the month of Ramadan. In any case if the diving season came and the waters cleared up the merchants hired the divers and set out for the coast where all assembled including the governor who declared the season open . He announced the start and finish of the season.[513]

The divers set out from the town with more than 200 crafts (*Dong*).[514] The crafts were of 5 or 6 kinds with each trader adopting one of them. Each diver had his master (*Radif*) and his wage was a mere pittance.[515] When the divers set out from Awal certain pearl banks provided them with a guide.[516]

Diving: entry into the depths of water.

Place of Diving: Place from where the pearl is picked up.

Divers: Who collect oyster shell.[517]

Ibn Manzur[518] states: the diver dives to get pearls. There are those who extract pearls from the oysters. The process is known as pearl - diving. Many historians

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513 Al Idrisi, *op. cit.* pp.51 - 52; Al Masudi, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.149.

514 *Dong* was a small ship.

515 Al Bairuni, *op. cit.* p.152.

516 Al Idrisi, *op. cit.* p.50.

517 Al Azhari, *op. cit.* Vol. 8 p.158.

518 Ibn Manzur, *op. cit.* Vol. 8. pp. 329 - 330.

have elaborated upon the diving operation. When the season came and the waters cleared up[519] the merchants hired the divers and took away from the town. That day was a festival day for them when all of them gathered on the banks. The Governor came and opened the season and determined the start and end of it. After the ship reached the specific place and the captain made sure of the depth of the sea, he ordered the commencement of operations. The diver waited until midday so that the sun could show up every thing clearly. Every diver had an assistant known as *sib* to help him. He prepared the rope of rescue and another rope with a container made of frond for depositing the collections in it. At the end of the rope was hung a black stone for protection against dangerous creatures.[520]

The diver used an instrument with two holes taken from cow's horns, and made with precise dimensions. It was like a net placed on the nose of the diver to prevent water entering the nostrils during the dive.[521] It also helped the diver in retaining the air in the lungs which he breathed in before the dive. After taking a deep breath the diver descended into the sea. The stone helped him to go down fast to the bottom of the sea. Once the bottom was reached the diver removed the rope, tying the stone to his leg, and his assistant in the ship pulled the stone up.

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519 Shamsuddin: *Nakhbat al Dahr*, pp. 77 - 78.

520 Al Bairuni, *op. cit.* p.143.

521 Al Masudi, *op. cit.* Vol. 1 p.150.

If the diver reached the bottom of the sea and found the shells among the pebbles stuck in sand he disentangled them with his hands or with the iron tool meant for it and puts the shells inside the bag carried around his neck. When he is out of breath he tugs the rope so that he is pulled up. The bag is taken from him and the shells are opened and the small and big pearls are collected.[522]

During the operation the divers do not eat other than fish and dates.[523] They eat sparingly so that they may remain under water longer. Since they block their noses they have to take in air through the ears. Al Sairafi[524] has mentioned that their ears are obliged to cleave to breathe in air instead of through the nostrils. Similarly they paint their legs and bodies black fearing the ferocious sea animals which detest black. The crew however, use another method to scare them away which is by shouting with a big voice while the divers under water make a barking sound. The sounds pierce the water and they hear each other making the noise.[525] As for the shells collected by the divers, the captains separate the catch of each diver in bags made for the purpose. At the last light after dinner the names of divers are read out and the number of bags collected are placed in front of each.

When they finish diving they withdraw to Awal where they make separate

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522 Al Bairuni, *op. cit.* p.149; Ibn al Adfani, *op. cit.* p.135. Al Qadi, *op. cit.* p. 43. Al Qizwini, *op. cit.* p.43. These historians have dealt with the methods of pearl diving.

523 Al Bairuni, *op. cit.* p.141.

524 Al Sairafi, *op. cit.* p.14.

525 Al Masudi, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.148. Al Idrisi, *op. cit.* p.98.

bundles of the oyster shells with the merchant's name written on them. The governor undertakes the sale on a day when all merchants gather at a specific place. Each bundle with the name marked on it was opened one by one. The pearls were put into sieves one after the other so that they could be sifted according to their sizes, big, medium and small. They were then announced to the merchants who bought what they wanted. The owners of special bags received their special share. All this was done openly in front of the merchants. Then the people dispersed until the next year's season.[526] Thus ended the season with them looking forward to the next year. Thereafter there was an optional season after the main one which was known as (*al radada*) and which lasted 3 weeks.[527]

5.49. Dangers of the Sea.

Among the dangers faced by the divers other than the fish is a jelly like sea creature (*dole*) which does not follow a specific direction but is thrown about by waves hither and thither.[528] It floats on its face and its size is that of a palm and its shape spherical. It has long thread like arms and if the human body touches them it gets badly burnt and the limb is permanently damaged. When such creatures are around the divers wear a special kind of tight white robe to

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526 Al Masudi, *op. cit.* Vol. 1 p.148; Al Bakri, *op.cit.* p.115; Ibn al Fagih, *op. cit.* p. 50; Al Idrisi, *op. cit.* p.54.

527 Al Akfani, *op. cit.* p.35.

528 Al Masudi, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.150.

protect themselves against harm while diving.[529] Similarly there is another creature known as (*Luwaithi*) which resembles dole but is red in colour and not quite as dangerous as the *dole*.[530] It burns the skin and produces swelling in the flesh like the effect of lashes. If the victim exposes the affected part to fire the pain vanishes.

5.50. Pearl Diving Equipment.

1. Weaning : A small piece made from the bones of tortoise. Its length is that of a finger. The bones have holes and these are worn by the divers on their noses so that the air does not seep out and water doesn't enter. This frees the hand for work.

2. Oyster Bag: It is like a sieve made of ropes. On its top there is a wooden bow. The oyster collections are deposited in it.[531]

3. Container : A small glove made of leather worn by the diver to protect his hand from injury resulting from the oysters or seaweeds.[532]

4. Stone : A piece of lead or stone used as a weight by the diver who ties it

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529 Al Bairuni, *op. cit.* p.144.

530 Ibn Batuta, *op. cit.* p.59.

531 Al Harbi, *op. cit.* p. 621.

532 Al Maqdisi, *op. cit.* p.101.

on his body to descend in water fast.[533]

5. Safety rope : A rope about 80 metres long with the oyster collection bag at one end. One end of it is held by the diver and the other by his assistant aboard the ship.[534]

5. 51. The Divers' Guide.

The pearl divers mostly depended on their experience in determining the direction of movement to reach the intended place. They took the aid of the sun, stars and certain natural phenomena to reach the desired pearl banks.[535]

5. 52. Kinds of Pearls According to the Jewellers and their Prices.

There are different names of the pearl according to their type, shape and colour in the eyes of the jewellers. Al Bairuni has attributed these to the differences in places and times. The shape and type differences are due to the organic foreign matter which forms the pearl and the place where such a formation takes place. If the matter is at the centre then the shape becomes circular; if on one side then its streamlining is affected while it is being formed. The pearl takes a regular

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533 Al Bairuni, *op. cit.* p. 143.

534 Al Masudi, *op. cit.* Vol p. 147.

535 Al Masudi, *op. cit.* p.47; Astakhri, *op. cit.* p.32; Shaikh Rabwa, *op. cit.* p. 218;

spherical shape if it forms in the soft parts of the organism and it is the opposite if it forms in the organism's hard parts. This is the cause of the differences in pearls. The kinds of pearls are as follows:

1. Shape of Barley Grain (*Shairi*): thin at two ends. In Persian it is known as *jau dana*.[536]

2. *Al Mudars*: hard and dull,[537] grooved, granular like in emerald.

3. The Jointed or with a merger in the middle.[538]

4. *Al Maznar* - or with a knot at the centre like in a waistband or belt. According to Al Bairuni[539] caution should be exercised in selling this kind of pearl so that it is not a combination of the outer skin of two jointed pearls of equal size.[540]

5. Porcelain: according to Al Bairuni its Persian name is 'Khushk Aab' meaning dried water. It is dark of colour with no water in it nor brightness and

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536 Al Bairuni, *op.cit.* p.125.

537 Al Akfani, *op. cit.* p.36.

538 Al Bairuni, *op. cit.* p.125.

539 *ibid.* p. 126.

540 *ibid.* p.127.

of rare price.[541]

6. *Al Qal* as named by Abu Zaid Al Sairafi, a growth which is not plucked but extracted.[542]

7. Almond shaped, *Al Lozi*.

8. Olive - shaped, both sides being spherical. Al Bairuni says[543] it is like the droppings of sheep.

9. Bean shaped, with a flat base and rounded top like the bean.

Says Ibn al Akfani, the pearl differs in its colour. There is the pure white, or lead - like, or ivory - like or the quick changing type. Other colours are of straw, yellowish white, Jasmine - like, sunny bright, and milk - white. Al Bairuni has even described his seeing pearls of copper colour.[544]

Pearls are priced on three considerations : the type, the size, and the weight.[545] In the type different characteristics are noted such as the kind, the shape, the

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541 Al Sairafi, *op. cit.* pp 19 - 20.

542 Al Bairuni, *op. cit.* p.141.

543 Ibn al Akfani, *op. cit.* p. 36.

544 Al Bairuni, *op. cit.* p.138.

545 *ibid.* p. 128.

colour, clarity, brilliance, moist in touch by the jewellers. The second criterion is the size of the pearl which is determined by passing them through three sizes of sieves. Only Idrisi has mentioned this.[546] What remains in the first sieve is the big type known as *ras* the ones remaining in the second sieve are known as *batn* and the ones in the third are known as *sahtit* or 'the rejected ones.' The divers knew these classifications merely by seeing them at a glance. They called out these names on observing them.

As for classifcation by weight.[547] Al Bairuni says that these were measured in terms of *misqal* He has mentioned other units of measurement also for determining the prices but has not elaborated on them.

5. 53. Pastures.

Pastures of grazing lands can be divided into public and private ones. The private pastures may be owned by an individual, family or tribe under their respective authority. The general pastures do not lie in anyone's property. They are used by all people in a locality of forming a tribe. The herdsman controls the cattle in their grazing from the pastures.[548]

The pastured may be at the outskirts of city dwelling population not far out from

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546 Al Idrisi, *op. cit.* p.148.

547 Al Bairuni, *op. cit.* p. 87.

548 *Taj al Arus*, Vol. 1. p.152.

the villages particularly in the case of sheep. The sheep owners give charge of the sheep to the herdsman to take them out and graze them. The shepherd collects the sheep from different people and grazes them for a fee.

It is not essential that the shepherd should graze the cattle for others for a fee. He may own his own camels and other cattle. He is called a shepherd of herdsman since he has adopted it as a profession to earn a living. The cattle graze in the villages and fields out of the greenery which remains there after the harvest.

5. 54. CONCLUSION

This thesis is an attempt to study the political, social and cultural life of the region of Bahrain during the period ranging from the advent of Islam to the Abbasid period divided into five chapters. I have described what is meant by the term Bahrain from the geographical perspective as used in this study. This is the region extending from Oman to Basra along the Arab Gulf Coast including what is known today as Kuwait, Al Hasa, Qatar.

I have concluded that the important towns of Bahrain were Al Khatt, Qatif, Al Ara, Hajr, Bainumna, Al Zara, Juatha, Saboor, Dareen Al Ghaba, Qasba Hajr Al Safa, and Mashqar. Hajr was an important town of Bahrain to the extent that Bahrain and Hajr were considered as virtually independent of each other, as is obvious from the letters which the Prophet (PBUH) wrote to the rulers of both.

The nearest definition of Bahrain is that given by Khardazba who stated: "Bahrain consists of Al Katt, Qatif, Al Ara, Hajr, Al Faruq, Bainuna, Al Mashqar, Al Zara, Juatha, Sabur, Drin, Al Ghaba, and Al Shanun." The study has revealed that Bahrain formed a province of Iraq during the Umayyad period. As for the Abbasids they made Oman and Bahrain a single province.

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Appendix 1

The Holy Prophet's (PBUH) Letters to Bahrain

Al Waqidi quoting Abu Bakr Bin Suleiman Bin Abi Hashma has stated :

"The Prophet (PBUH) deputed Al Ala Bin Al Hadhrami to Al Mundhir Bin Sawi Al Abdi in Bahrain and sent a letter to him as follows:

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful

From Mohammed, the Prophet of God to Al Mundhir al Sawi. Greetings to one who has followed guidance. I invite you to Islam; accept it and be saved. If you accept Islam God will keep your authority over those who are under you. Know that my faith shall appear with utmost speed and despatch.[1]

Al Mundhir Bin Sawi responded to the Prophet affirming Islam and his faith in it. He said : " I read your letter to the people of Hajr. There are those among them who loved Islam, accepted it and entered its folds. There are those who hated it. In my land there are Magians and Jews. In this matter I have your command to give effect to."[2]

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1 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.190.

2 Yaqut al Hamawi, *op. cit.* Vol. 4. p.270.

The Prophet (PBUH), thereupon, wrote another letter to him as follows:

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful from Muhammad, the Prophet of God, to Al Mundhir Bin Sawi peace be on you ! I shall commend you to God and there is no other deity other than He ! One who accepts our Qibla and has partaken of our sacrificial food is a Muslim. We are for those who are for you and against those who are against you. One who doesn't act will pay a dinar of the cost of the striped Yamani dress.[3] Peace and blessings of God on you. May God forgive you.[4]

The Prophet sent yet another letter to Mundhir Bin Sawi with the following text.

In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful from Muhammad the Prophet of God to Mundhir Bin Sawi.

Greetings of Peace to you. I shall commend you to God! There is no God but He. I bear witness that there is no God except Allah and Muhammad is His servant and Prophet! I remind you by God, the Almighty that one who is advised is advised for his own self. One who obeys my messengers and their instruction obeys me. One who tenders an advice to them advises me. My messengers have praised you and spoken well of you. I have commended you to your people. I

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3 Al Mu'afari is a kind of Yamani striped cloth. Al Azhari: *Tahzib al Lugha*, Vol 2 p .353.

4 Abu Yusuf: *Al Khiraj*, p.131.

have forgiven the sins of those who have accepted Islam so leave them on their faith. As long as you act good we shall not remove you from your position. One who remains a Jew or a Magian[5] shall pay the *Jizya* Tax.[6]

The Prophet's (PBUH) letter to Sibakht Bin Abdulla Marzaban , Hajr .

Blazeri says that the Prophet (PBUH) wrote a letter to Sibakht Marzaban of Hajr at the same time that he wrote to Al Mundhir Bin Sawi inviting him to enter the folds of Islam of pay the *jizya* Tax.[7]The text of the letter is, however, not available in the source material. Ibn Sa'd has stated that Sibakht wrote back to the Prophet (PBUH) and from the context it appears that it was not the first letter.

To Sibakht Bin Abdulla, Ruler of Hajr.

Al Aqra' brought your letter with your intercession on behalf of your people. I intercede for you and attest your messenger. Al Aqra' among your people You may be glad to hear the good tidings about what you asked from me and what you desired but I saw that I should teach him and he should receive face to fact if you comet I shall honour you. I do not seek gifts from anyone but if you want to make a gift to me I shall accept it. My workers have praised your status. I advise you to continue in your good work of offering prayers, paying poor dues and

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5 Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.* Vol. 3. p.190.

6 Qalqashandi: *Subh al A'sha,* Vol. 6. p.168.

7 Blazeri, *op. cit.* p.78.

keeping close to the believers. I have named your people ' Bani Abdulla ' Order them to pray and do good works and rejoice.

Peace be on you and on your faithful people.[8]

Letter by the Prophet (PBUH) to Al Hilal, the Ruler of Bahrain

Ibn Sa'd has stated that the Prophet (PBUH) wrote a letter to "Al Hilal" the ruler of Bahrain bearing the following. Text:

" Surrender to Islam I commend to you praise Allah who is One and has no partner. I invite you to Allah alone. Believe in Allah and obey Him and enter the fold. That will be good for you. Peace to all who follow the advice.[9]

The Prophet's (PBUH) letter to the people of Bahrain

Blazeri has stated on the authority of Abbas Bin Hisham, quoting in turn in chain his father, then Al Kalbi, Abi Saleh, and Ibn Abbas, that he said that the Prophet (PBUH) wrote a letter to the people of Bahrain with the following text.

" --- If you perform the ritual prayers, pay the poor due, be faithful to

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8 Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.* Vol 1 p. 272 .

9 Blazeri, *op. cit.* p.79.

God and His Prophet, gave a tenth of dates and half of a tenth of grains and did not make your offspring Magians then to you will be the faith that you will affirm. However, Allah and His Prophet have power over hell - fire. If you refuse then you will pay the Jizya tax.

The Prophet's (PBUH) letter to the people of Hajr.

Ibn Salam has quoted Uthman Bin Salih on the authority of Abdulla Bin Lahee'a quoting Abu al Aswad on the authority of Urwa Bin Al Zubair that Prophet wrote follows to the people of Hajr:

In the name of God , The Beneficent , the Merciful

This is a letter from Muhammad, the Prophet of God to the people of Hajr. Surrender to Islam and I commend you to Allah who is One and there is no God but He. I advise you in the name of Allah and by yourselves that you do not go astray after receiving guidance. Do not sin after being rightly guided. Your deputation came to me and they received what pleased them. If I exerted my rights over you I could have driven you out of Hajr. I interceded for you in your absence and preferred you over those who bore witness. So understand the bounty of God on you. I have received the news of what you have done.

Those who revert to the correct path will not be blamed in a damaging way. If

my governors [10] come to you then obey them and help them in enforcing the order of Allah and His laid-down path. Such people will be doing good.[11] He will not have gone astray in the eyes of God and in my eyes.[12]

The letter of the Prophet (PBUH) to Abd al Qais.

Ibn Sa'd quotes on the authority of Ali Bin Muhammad quoted by Aziz Bin Ayadh on the authority of Al Zahari that the Prophet wrote to Abd al Qais a letter saying:

" From Muhammad the Prophet of God to Al Akbar, the son of Abd al Qais. They believe in the protection of Allah and of the Prophet against what they did in the days of ignorance by way of reckless and foolhardy deeds. They should now fulfil what they promised. They should not withhold provisions and should not deny the route of Qatar. They should not burn[13] big fruit gardens. Al Ala Bin Al Hadhrami is a representative of the Prophet of God supervising over their land and sea, towns and buildings. And those that have departed from there. The people of Bahrain will be its sentinels against wrong and injustice, supporters against tyranny and reinforcements during its wars. Hence it is for them to abide by their promise to God and His charter. They should not go back on their word nor create factions. They should join the Muslim battalions, practise justice in rule

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10 Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.* p.270.

11 *ibid.*

12 Blazeri, *op. cit.* pp.79. 80.

13 Perhaps are rented fruits. Ibn Manzur, *Lisan al Arab*. Vol. 12. p.90.

and abide by deliberate good behaviour. It is an order which bears no change for the two parties. God and His prophet will Bear witness for them.[14]

The Prophet (PBUH) sent another letter to Abdal Qais .

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful

This is a letter from Muhammad the Prophet of God to Abd al Qais and their collaterals in[15] in Bahrain and its vicinity. You have come to me as believing Muslims with faith in Allah and His Prophet. You have covenanted on his religion. I accepted you on condition that you will obey God and His Prophet in whatever you are enamoured of and in whatever you detest. Abide by ritual prayers, pay the poor due, perform the Haj and keep fasts in Ramadhan.

Be just on the path of Allah even if it goes against you. If the rich among your collaterals are deprived of their riches, return them to the poor among you as a duty to Allah and His Prophet in regard to the property of Muslims.[16]

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14 Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.* Vol. p.32.

15 *ibid.*

16 Blazeri, *op. cit.* p.99. Hamidulla Al Hyderabadi: *Al Wathaiq al Siyasiyya*: p. 90.

The Prophet's letter to the Magians of Hajr.

Abu Ubaid quotes on the anthority of Al Ashjai and Abdul Rahman Bin Mehdi quoting Sufiyan on the authority of Qais Bin Muslim quoting Al Hasan Bin Muhammad that he said :

The Prophet (PBUH) wrote a letter to the Magians of Hajr inviting them to embrace Islam. Those who embraced the faith were accepted by him and those that did not were asked to pay the *jizya* tax, was forbidden to eat the animals slaughtered by the non believers as also a marriage with their womenfolk.[17] As for the text of the letter Al Zailai' qotes on the authority of Hashim Bin Al Qasim quoting Al Marjani on the authority of Suleiman Bin Hafs quoting Abi Ayas Mo'awia Bin Qurra that the Prophet of God (PBUH) wrote to the Magians of Hajar saying "Whoever among you testifies that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is His Prophet. Accepted our Qibla for prayers, ate our sacrificial animal will be one of us enjoying all privileges and obligations like us. Those who refuse will pay the *jizya* Tax at the rate of one dinar per male or female, one who refuses approves war against Allah and His Prophet."[18]

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17 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.119.

18 Al Zailai: *Nasab al Raya*, Vol. p.247. Abu Ubaid: *Al Amwal*, p. 31. Al Blazeri, *op.cit.* p.80; Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.* Vol. 2 p.190.

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APPENDIX II

Bahrain's Deputation to the Holy Prophet (PBUH) in the 9th year of Hjra (in the year of deputations) .

1. The Head of the Delegation: Abdulla Bin Auf Al Ashajj.[1]
2. Al Jarud : His name was Bashar Bin Umar Bin Hanash Bin Al Mu'alla.[2] He was Al Harith Bin Zaid Bin Haritha Bin Mu'awia Bin Tha'laba Bin Juzaima Bin Auf Bin Bakr Bin Auf Bin Anmar.
3. Suhar Bin Abbas Al Abdi of Bani Murra Bin Zafara.[3]
4. Sufian Bin Khuli Bin Abd Umro Bin Khuli o Bani Wadi'a.[4]
5. Muharib Bin Mzbada Bin Malik Bin Hamam of Bani Muharib bin Abdul Qais.[5]
6. Ubaida Bin Malik Bin Hamam Bin Shayaba.[6]
7. Al Zira Bin Al Wazi' Al Abdi.[7]
8. Khuzeima Bin Umro.[8]
9. Aqaba Bin Harwa and his brother Lama Matar Al Nabari.[9]
10. Munqiz Bin Haban.[10]
11. Murshid Bin Malik.[11]

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1 Ibn Hajar, *op.cit.* Vol. p.49.

2 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p. 225.

3 Ibn Hajar, *op. cit.* p. 50.

4 Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.* Vol. 5. p.262.

5 *ibid.*

6 Ibn Hajar, *op. cit.* p.336.

7 Ibn Hajar, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.235.

8 Al Ahsai, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.62.

9 *ibid.*

10 Al Dahabi, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.93.

11 Ibn Hajar, *op. cit.* Vol. 3. p.244.

12. Ubaida Bin Hamam.[12]
13. Al Harith Bin Jandab of Bani Murra.[13]
14. Al Harith Bin Auf Al Abdi.[14]
15. Aban al Muharib.[15]
16. Gabir Bin Ubaid Allah Al Abdi.[16]
17. Umro Bin Al Marjum . His name was Abd Qais Bin Shihab Bin Abdulla Bin asr Bin Auf Bin Omro Abd al Qais.[17]
18. Shihab Bin Al Matruk[18] His name was Ibad Bin Ubaid Bin Shihab Bin Abdulla Ibn Asr of Abd al Qais.
19. Umro Bin Abdul Qais[19] of Bani Amer Bin Asr. He was a nephew of Al Ashaj.
20. Tarif Bin Aban Bin Salma Bin Jariya[20]of Bani Juwaila Bin Asad Bin Rabi'a.
21. Umar Bin Shaith [21] of Bani Asr of Abdul Qais.
22. Amer Bin Abd Qais of Bani Amer.[22]
23. Sufyan Bin Hamam.[23]
24. Hamam Bin Mu'awiya Bin Sufyan Bin Hatma[24].
25. Abu Khabra Al Abdi.[25]

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12 *ibid.* Vol. 3. p.244.

13 Al Ahsai, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.62.

14 Ibn Hajar, *op. cit.* Vol. p.280.

15 Ibn al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.37.

16 *ibid.* Vol. 3. p.130.

17 Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.* Vol. p.262.

18 *ibid.*

19 Ibn Al Athir, *op. cit.* Vol. 3. p.130.

20 *ibid.* Vol. 5. p.265.

21 *ibid.* Vol. 3. p. 130.

22 Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.* Vol. 5. p.266.

23 *ibid.*

24 *ibid.*

25 Al Qurtibi: *Al Isti'ab fi Asma il As'hab*, Vol. 4. p.53.

26. Fadala Bin Sa'd Al Saidi.[26]
27. Al Munzir Al Ashwa Al Abdi.[27]
28. Sabah Bin Al Abbas Al Abdi.[28]
29. Rasim al Hajari.[29]
30. Aljon Bin Majasir Al Abdi.[30]
31. Abdul Malik Bin Auf Al Abdi.[31]
32. Ibad Bin Nufal.[32]
33. Qais Bin Al Nu'man.[33]
34. Judan Al Abdi.[34]
35. Zaid Al Abdi.[35]
36. Salma Bin ayadh.[36]
37. Juria Al Asri.[37]
38. Jabham Bin Qasham.[38]
39. Hassan Bin Yazid al Abdi.[39]

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[26] Ibn al Athir, *op. cit.* Vol 4 p. 170.

[27] Ibn al Athir, *op. cit.* Vol. 4. p.238.

[28] *ibid.*

[29] Ibn al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 3. p.175.

[30] Ibn Hajar, *op. cit.* Vol. p.258.

[31] *ibid.* Vol. 2. p.247.

[32] *ibid.* Vol. 2. p.247.

[33] Ibn Hajar, *op. cit.* Vol. 3. p.251.

[34] *ibid.* Vol. 1. p.257.

[35] *ibid.* Vol. 1. p.557.

[36] Al Dhahabi, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.313.

[37] Ibn al Athir, *op. cit.* Vol. 2. p. 62.

[38] Al Dhahabi, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p. 93.

[39] Ibn Hajar, *op. cit.* Vol. 1. p.226.

APPENDIX III

Eminent Personalities who Contributed to Bahrain Cultural Life in the Early Islamic Age.

1. ADHAM BIN UMAYYA (? - 61H)

His full name was Adham Bin Umayya Bin Abu Ubaida Bin Hamam Bin Al Harith Bin Bakr Bin Zaid Bin Malik Bin Hanzala Bin Malik Bin Zaid Al Abdi.[1]

2. AL ASHAJ AL ABOUDI (? - POST 10 H).

He was Munzir Bin 'Ayid Bin Asar Al ' Abdi.[2] He is called Ashaj Abd al Qais of Ashaj Bani Asar. His life-sketch has been portrayed in the chapter on the delegations of Abdul Qais to the Prophet.

3. IIYAS BIN UBAIS.]

He was Ilyas Bin Ubais Bin Umayya Bin Rabi'a Bin Zabini Bin Sabah al Abdi.

4. BASHAR BIN MUNQIZ (? - 50 H).

He was Abu Munqiz Bashar Bin Munqiz Al Shanni in relation to (Shann Bin Aqsa) of Abdul Qais and was known as the Squint Al Shanni. Says Dr. Ansari in his book *Lam'hat Min Al Khalij il Arabi,* "He is considered an outstanding poet of Islam." He later described him as a military leader of Al Mahlab Bin Abi Safra.[3]

5. JABIR BIN ABDULLAH AL ABDI (? - 176 H).

He was Jabir Bin Abdullah and was called Ibn Ubaid Bin Jabir Al Abdi.

6. JARIM BIN AL HUZAIL.

He was Jarim Bin Al Huzail of Bani Al Harith Bin Ka'b. It is said that in Bahrain there was a village floating in the sea and nothing remained of it except some prints under water known as Jarim. It is said that it was linked to Bin Al Jarim Bin Huzail.

7. AL JARUD BIN AL MA'ALLI (? - 21 H).

He was Bashar Bin Umro Bin Hanbash bin Al Ma'alli Al Abdi with the title of Al Jarud by which he came to be known. His surname was Aba Ghayas but titled Al Jarud like in the case of Al

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1 Ibn Hajr, *op.cit.* Vol. 1. p.80.

2 *ibid.* Vol 1 p. 66 .

3 *Al Ansab,* Vol. 4. p.135.

Isaba as he attacked Bakr Bin Wayil and wiped them out.[4]

The Tribe of Al Jarood Bin Al Ma'alli Al Abdi were the masters of Abdul (Qais) who came down to Bahrain but some of them dispersed to other places. A delegation of them waited on the prophet which included some leading figures from (Abdul Qais). Al Jarud was a Nestorian before converting to Islam, he did well and returned home (Bahrain). He played an honorable role in the wars against apostates.

It is stated that he was a transmitter of the Prophet's traditions in Basra, was in the forefront of the fighters in Islamic conquests along with his colleagues, and was killed in one of the battles in the course of the conquest of Fars during the period of the Caliphate of Umar Ibn Al Khattab.[5]

8. HAKIM BIN JABALA (? - 36 H).

He was Hakim Bin Jabala Bin Hisn or (Hasin) Bin Aswad Bin Ka'b Bin Amer Bin Al Harith Bin Al Zail Bin Ghanam Bin Wadi'a Bin Lakiz Bin Aqsa Bin Abdul Qais. He was a resident of Basra and had migrated from Bahrain when a large group of Abdul Qais went there after embracing Islam and settled down there.[6]

9. MUHAMMAD BIN SUHAIL.

He was a scholar from the Island of Awal and was famous for his profound knowledge of *hadith* or 'Tradition' at the advent of Islam.

10. AL SALATAN AL ABDI.

He was an Islamic poet from Bani Abdul Qais. He became famous for his satirical verses. He was a contemporary of Al Farazooq and Jareer during the Omayyed period.[7]

11. ZIYAD AL A'JAM AL ABDI.

One of the slaves of Bani Abdul Qais who rivalled Al Farazuq in his satirical poetry but praised Al

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4 *ibid.*

5 Al Sam'ani: *Al Ansab*, Vol. 4. p. 135.

6 Zarkali, *op. cit.* Vol. 2. p.268.

7 Shaikh Al Biladi, *op.cit.*

Mughira Bin Al Mahlab. Grammarians have paid him a tribute for the purity of his style and his powerful expression.

12. ZAID BIN SAUHAN (? - 36 H).

He was called Zaid Bin Sauhan Bin Hajar Bin Al Hajras Bin Aqsa BinAbdul Qais Al Abdi.[8] Both Zaid and his brother were killed in the Battle of Jamal.

13. AL A'WAR AL SHANNI.

He belonged to the clan of Shann from the tribes of Abdul Qais and was a leader of the army of Al Malhab Bin Abi Sufra. He was considered to be an outstanding poet of agony and suffering .

14. KA'B AL AL HAJARI (? - POST 61 H).

He is associtated with Hajr, capital of the region of Al Ahsa in the past. He was an Islamic poet endowed with a unique style showing his deep thinking and penetrating vision.

15. RASHID AL HAJARI.

He was associated with Hajr. He was very close to Imam Ali Bin Abu Talib and was aware of his secrets. He was a widely known follower for his knowledge, understanding and sincerity of purpose in the service of religion.

16. IBN AL JUWAIRIYYA.

He was a notable from among the Abd al Qais. He contacted (Al Junaid Al Marri), the Amir of Khurasan and the dialogue between them through correspondence took the form of poetry.

17. UMRO BIN ASAWI.

He was Islamic poet from Bani Qais who were the original Arabs of Bahrain.

18. IBN THUMATA AL ABDI.

He was an Islamic poet from Bani Abdul Qais who lived in the Umayyad period and was of Arab consciousness and tendencies. His poetry was a biting criticism of those alien elements who were working against the Arab character of the population.

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[8] Sam'ani, *op. cit.* Vol. 4 p. 138.

19. ISA AL KHATTI.

He was from Bakr Bin Wayil and was inimical towards the Umayyads and advocated the Islamic principle of consultation. His poetry bears a strong print of beauty of expression and transparent sincerity in defence of faith and principles.

20. ABDULLAH BIN QAIS AL SABAHI.

His name was Abdullah Bin Qais al Sabhai Al Abdi, one of the delegation from Bahrain who waited on the Prophet along with Al Ashaj Al Abdi in 8 H. to 10 H. .

21. NASR BIN NASSER.

He belonged to the Awal Island and was from the scholars of Hadith who made their appearance in Bahrain during the period of the Orthodox Caliphs.

22. SABAH BIN AL ABBAS.

He was a companion of the Prophet known as Sabah Bin Al Abbas Al Abdi who formed one of the Bahrain delegation who waited on the Prophet.[9]

23. YAHYA BIN HILAL AL ABDI.

He was called Abu Muhammad Al Bahrani Yahay Bin Bilal Al Abdi. This is how he has been introduced by the Scholar (Al Muslim) in his book Sahil Al *Dahab il Aswad*. He was from the Island of Awal.

It is said that he has to his credit panegyrics on ' Al Rashid ' . Nothing of it has survived but Ibn Al Nadim has included him in his list of destitute poets.

24. AL MUMAZZAQ AL ABDI.

He was a celebrity from among the Bani Abdul Qais, the ancient Bahraini Arabs. Both Al Asmai ' and Al Mufaddal Al Sabni have quoted his poems in their anthology.

25. AL JAMAL AL ABDI.

He was a poet form Bani Abdul Qais. He has been quoted by Al Jatair in his book *Al Hamasa* wherein some of his poems are included.

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9 Ibn Hajar, *op. cit.* Vol. 2. p. 168.

26. NAFIL AL ABADI.

He was a poet from Bani Abdul Qais. Some selections of his beautiful old poetry have been resurrected.

27. BINT NAFIL AL ABDIYYA.

She was a poetess from Bahrain who had written some poignant eulogies about her father.

28. AL KHARNAQ.

She was the sister of the poetess Turfa Bin Al Abd and has written some eulogies in praise of her people's heroism.

In addition to the above mentioned names the Bani Abdul Qais, the ancient Arabs of Bahrain have produced many poets, literateurs etc ., some of whose names are as under :-

1. Tauba Bin Madhras.
2. Al Haseen.
3. Usama Bin Rabe'a.
4. Rabi'a Bin Rauba.
5. Munqiz Bin Hilal.
6. Haram Bin Hayan.
7. Tha'laba Bin Huzn.

The following names from the poets of the Arab Gulf of the early Islamic times are worth a mention :-

1. Umro Bin Mibrada.
2. Khalid Aynain.

APPENDIX IV : LIST OF BAHRAIN TOWNS AS PER ARAB GEOGRAPHERS

	Blazeri	Ibn khardazba	Qudama	Ibn al Faqih	Ibn Huqal	Yaqut
1	Hajr	Hajr		Hajr	Hajr	Hajr
2	Qatif	Qatif	Qatif	Qatif	Qatif	Qatif
3	Al Khatt	Al Khatt	Al Khatt	Al Khatt		Al Khatt
4	Juatha	Juatha	Juatha	Juatha		Juatha
5	Mashqar	Mashqar	Mashqar	Mashqar		Mashqar
6	Al Zara	Al Zara		Al Zara		Al Zara
7	Sabon	Sabon	Sabon	Sabon		Sabon
8	Darin	Darin	Darin	Darin		Darin
9	Al Ghaba	Al Ghaba	Al Ghaba	Al Ghaba		Al Ghaba
10		Al Ara	AlAra			
11		Al Faruq				Al Faruq
12		Bainuna		Bainuna		Bainuna
13	Al Shunun					
14			Ramila	Ramila		Ramila
15			Som			
						Alhasa
						Uqair
					Bish	Al Hasa
					Kharaj	Ogair
					Awal	Hawarain
						Saffar
						Awal
						Alshaba
						Bara

APPENDIX V

GOVERNORS OF BAHRAIN IN THE FIRST CENTURY OF HIJRA

The Caliph	The Functionary
The Prophet (PBUH)	Al Ala Bin Al Hadhrami [1]
Abu Bakr Al Siddiq (Rad)	Al Ala Bin Al Hadhrami[2]
Umar Bin Al Khattab (Rad)	Al Ala Bin Al Hadhrami[3]
	Ayyash Bin Abi Thor [4]
	Qudama Bin Maz'un [5]
	Abu Huraira [6]
	Al Rabi' Bin Ziyad Al Harithi[7]
	Uthman Bin Abil Aas [8]
Uthman BinAffan (Rad)	Uthman Bin Abil Aas[9]
	Abdulla Bin Siwar Al Abdi [10]
	Marwan Bin Al Hakam [11]

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1. Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol 4 p. 77.
Ibn Hazm : Jamhara Ansab il Arab , p. 161 .

2 Ibn al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol 2 , p. 246;Khalifa Bin Khayyat, Al *Tarikh*, Vol. 1, p. 91

3 Al Dhahabi, *op.cit.* Vol. 2 p. 20. Ibn Kathir, *op.cit.* Vol. 7 p. 50.

4 Al Blazeri, *op.cit.* pp. 81, 82.

5 Ibn Qutaiba: Al Shi'r wal Shu'ara p. 109; Al Jahiz, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p. 120.

6 Abu Yusuf: *Al Khiraj*. p 114; Ibn Qutaiba: Oyun al Akhbar, Vol. 1 p. 209.

7 Yaqut al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p. 209.

8 Al Tabari, *op.cit.* Vol 5 p. 279.

9 Abu Yusuf, *op.cit.* p. 131.

10 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 2 p. 222.

11 Ibn al Qiyam al Jawziyya: *Zad al Ma'ad* Vol. 3 p. 61.

The Caliph	The Functionary
Ali Bin Abu Talib (rad)	Umar Bin Abi Salma [12]
	Al Nu'man Bin Al Ajalan Al Ansari[13]
	Qudama Bin Al Ajalan [14]
	Ubaidulla Bin Al Abbas[15]
Mu'awiya Bin Abi Sufian	Al Ahwas Bin Abd Umayya[16]
	Marwan Bin Al Hakam [17]
Yazid Bin Mu'awiya	Said Bin Al Harith Al Ansari[18]
Abdul Malik Bin Marwan	IbnAsyad Bin Al Akhnas Bin Sharief Al Thaqafi.[19]
	Sinan Bin Salma Bin Al Mahbaq
	Al Hazali.[20]
	Musa Bin Sinan [21]
	Said Bin Hassan Al Asyadi[22]
	Ziyad Bin Al Rabi' Al Harithi[23]
	Muhammad Bin Sa'sa' al Kilabi[24]
	Qutn Bin Ziyad Bin Al Rabi Al Harithi

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12 Al Qalqashandi, *op.cit.* Vol. 6 p. 238.

13 Al Blazeri, *op.cit.* p. 79.

14 Ibn Hajar, *op.cit.* Vol. 2 p. 244.

15 Ibn Al Khayyat, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p. 56.

16 Ibn al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 4 p. 198.

17 Ibn Hajar, *op.cit.* Vol. 3 p. 220.

18 Ibn Khaldun, *op.cit.* Vol. 2 p. 109.

19 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p. 237.

20 Al Blazeri, *op.cit.* p. 79.

21 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol 1 p. 237.

22 Al Blazeri, *op cit* p. 79.

23 Khalifa Bin Khayyat, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p. 299.

24 Ibn al Athir, *op.cit.* Vol. 4 p. 198.

The Caliph	The Functionary
Al Walid Bin Abdul Malik	Qutn Bin Ziyad Bin Al Rabi Al Harithi[25]
Suleiman Bin Abdul Malik	Al Ash'as Bin Abdulla Bin Al Jarud[26]
Umar Bin Abdul Aziz	Salat Bin Harith[27]
	Abdul Karim Bin Al Mughira [28]
Yazid Bin Abdul Malik	Ibrahim Bin Arabi [29]
Hisham Bin Abdul Malik	Muhammad Bin Ziyad Bin Jarir Bin Abdulla Al Bajali .
	Hazzaz Bin Said
	Yahya Bin Ismail
	Yahya Bin Ziyad Bin Al Harith
	Abdulla Bin Sharik Al Namiri
	Muhammad Bin Hassan Bin Sa'd Al Asyadi.[30]
	Al Muhajir Bin Abdulla Al Kilabi[31]
Al Walid Bin Yazid	Muhammad Bin HassanBin Said Al Asadi.[32]
Marwan Bin Muhammad	Bashar Bin Salam Al Abdi [33]

Among the governors the names of Qutn Bin Mudraka Al Labi,[34] Balaj Bin Al Muthanna[35] and Hisab Bin Sa'd Al Asyadi[36] have also been mentioned.

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25 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 2 p. 70.

26 Al Blazeri, *op.cit.* p. 79.

27 Al Yaqubi, *op.cit.* Vol. 3 p. 90.

28 Al Bidaya wal Nihaya : Vol 4 p. 219 .

29 Khalifa Bin Khayyat, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p. 145.

30 Ibn Qutaiba, *op.cit.* p. 253.

31 Al Bidaya wal Nihaya Vol 4 p. 219 .

32 Ibn Sa'd, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p. 270.

33 Al Blazeri, *op.cit.* p. 80.

34 Ibn Hajar, *op.cit.* Vol. 2 p. 115.

35 Yaqut al Hamawi, *op.cit.* Vol. 1 p. 209.

36 Abu Yusuf, *op.cit.* p. 131.

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