Tawba Al-Khafaji\textsuperscript{1}: His Political Confrontations & Invasion during the Umayyad Era

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1. A Biographical Introduction of Tawba Al-Khafaji

Tawba bin Yumayyir bin Hazim or Hazin, or John or Sufyan, bin Ka‘b bin Khafaja bin Amr bin Aqeel bin Ka‘b bin Rabi‘a bin Amr bin Sa‘sa‘h, Abo Harb the famous poet. His mother is Zubayda. He is well-known for his love to Layla Al-Akheeliyaa\textsuperscript{2} to whom he proposed, but her father refused him and married her to another man\textsuperscript{3} after which he set out writing poetry which resulted with his fame as the lover of Layla.\textsuperscript{4}

Taqba and Layla lived during the Umayyad era. He lived in the pre-Islamic era through Islam recheaching the Umayyad rule. His name is among few of the poets who were loved before and during Islam. His family lived in the Arab peninsula but he traveled a lot to the Levant.

He is known also for his invasions of the Bano Al Harith bin Ka‘b, Hamdan\textsuperscript{5} and Muhra and was known for his talent of knowing the roads and the ways through the deserts and the cities. In one of his conquests in 676 AD/57 hijra he passed by a neighbor of Bano Awf bin Aqeel bin Khatha’am with his brother Abdullah and a cousin [some say friend] called Kabidh bin Abdullah Rabi‘at or bin Aqeel. He invaded their lands and stole their camels and killed a man from Abo Awf family called Tore bin abi Sam‘an or Sufyan bin Ka‘b bin Amir bin Awf bin Aqeel. He was chased by the one Awf family and they reached him, he was also followed by Yazid bin Ruwaba bin salim bin Ka‘b bin Awf who attacked him to be stabbed by Abdullah bin Ruwaba [some say the one who killed him was Abdulah bin Salim] until he was left killed and his brother wounded.\textsuperscript{6}

His death was, according to some resources, in 699AD/80HJ or 694 AD/75 HJ others tales indicates that his death was in 676AD/57HJ and this later date appears more close to the historical reality for many reasons and evidences. Those who referred to his death in 694AD/75HJ was because of printing mistake because the numbers are similar to 676AD/57HJ.\textsuperscript{7}

It was recorded that Muawiya I the Umayyad Caliph (679-684AD/65-64HJ) after the death of Tawba declaring “I swear by Allah that Tawba is dead”\textsuperscript{9}, and also the conversation between her and the Caliph Abdullmalik bin Marwan who ruled between 704-684AD/65-85HJ. Another evidence is her conversation with Al-Hajaj bin Yousif Al- Thaqafi the Magistrate of Iraq [wali al-iraq] (694-713AD/65-85HJ). Most of these conversations were about Tawba’s death and in all of them she was lamenting and praising his death. This proves that Tawba died during Muawiya I’s rule and he did not make it until the rule of Marwan bin Al-Hakam or his son Abdul Malik.\textsuperscript{10}

Other evidences show that Tawba died in 676AD/57HJ including Al-Asfahani referring to Tawba meeting Malik ibn AlRaib Al-Mazini the poet who died around (680AD/60HJ) which conclude logically that they have met before his death.\textsuperscript{11}

Another evidence is given by some historians, Such as Ibn Asaker and Ibn Al-Jawzi, states that “Layla Al-Akheeliyaa after the death of Tawba got married” which shows that she was still young when Tawba died in 676AD/57HJ (living through pre-Islamic era and Islam) it is then not reasonable to believe that he died in 694AD/75HJ or 699AD/80HJ. Most of the historical references showed that Layla died in 694AD/75HJ or around 699AD/80HJ. Her husband ‘Siwar’ died after her and was also a maven character who lived through several epochs. In an incident passing through the grave of Tawba with her husband, Layla stated ‘Whatever you want from Tawba now that his bones decrepitated’. This is all to conclude that that the death of Tawba Al-Khafaji happened during the rule of Muawiya I specifically in 676AD/57HJ. He was buried in Binta Heida.\textsuperscript{15} Many of the historians wrote eulogies about him and spoke about his history as clear of any impurities and was a man of chastity, integrity, bravery and knighthood all appears in his poetry and the poetry of Layla and some of his enemies and rivals.\textsuperscript{13}

1.1 Dissent of the Umayyad Rule and the Political Confrontations

In addition to the potic and literary role Twaba played during the first half of the first Hijri century producing the poetry collection known with his name [diwan tawba ibn hummayyir] (Tawba ibn Hummayyir Poetry Collection) his political dissent against the Umayyads and his historical duels and fights played a greater role in his life journey and the History of Arabs and Islam.\textsuperscript{14}

Volume 8 Issue 8, August 2019

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Reports and tales indicates that Tawba was an opposing and dissenting man to the Umayyad state and out of its law. The Umayyad Caliph Muawiyah bin Sufyan (661-679Ad/41-60HJ) outlawed his blood which is means that killing Tawba in the Umayyad state is not considered a crime. The justification he put for announcing this was that the family of Layla Al-Akheeliyah complained to him so he should be killed if he is found close to them. Tawba, however was a clever man and was able to flee before Muawiyah’s men caught him.15

During this period he had many fights and duels and was not easy to be submitted to the law of the Umayyad State a matter which led Muawiyah to describe him with the ugliest descriptions in his regular speeches referring to him as a criminal.16This was not something unfamiliar for Muawiyah who used to do the same with Imam Ali ibn Abi Talib the Rashidi Caliph, the cousin of prophet Muhammad and the husband of his daughter Fatima. This shows how Muawiyah deals with his enemies and rivals. The stories recorded shows that the moment he heard about the death of Tawba he claimed the platform and says: People of the Levant, God (be praised) has killed the donkey and son of the donkeys and saved the Muslims his evilness, so be thankful because it is a bless like honey and even more than honey for those who hate him.17He was a dangerous outlaw and people feared his attacks” at this moment Hamam bin Qabisa18 said: Prince of the Muslims19 you were spared his deeds which he continued until his death. He was I swear:

A man of war whom people hate to face * he faces his rivals with the sword20
He challenges his enemies while they avoid him * just like a huge monstrous lion
Which makes Muawiyah furious and ask him to stop talking because he considered this a prais of Tawba’s bravery and would not one of his followers to do this, although it was not denied even by his enemies.21After Tawba’s death Layla Al-Akheeliyah met Muawiyah I who burst in her face with anger and hate complaining about Tawba’s dissent and what he considers bad reputation to which Layla answered:

Not everything people say is true, people are an evil tree envying the blessed men wherever they are and for whatever. Prince of Muslims Tawba was the best of his people, firm when he speaks, generous when you need him, chaste and good-looking man. Then she added in poetry:

God Forbid what you say, he was I swear a generous gentleman
Capable of solving any problem
A young Khafaji man who feels ashamed of stinginess
His hands and fingers are softer than the dewy drops
Chaste and stifi far from troubles
A good-looking when you meet him you find him without pre-intentions
Hunger which now reached the neighbors, guests and everyone
knew that you are his killer and you are a knowledgeable man oh Tawba

who know all the lands
if the mean attackers displaced people
he sleeps with clear consciousness those who are the neighbors of him
because he sacrifices his house and goods for his guests.

She Said: Prince of Muslims by Allah if you know him you will know I did not say enough about him and not even close to what he is. Muawiyah answered: What kind of a man he was? She answered:

Death reached him when he became perfect
and those who would compete with him will fail
He was like a lion protecting his den, cubs and lioness
Meek when in anger
And a venom poison when he kills.22

Tweba did not submit to any of the laws of the Umayyad when he used to invade the lands of Bano Qudha’a, BBano Al-Harit, Bano Ka’ab, KHad’am and Hamdan (at al Juruf area), during the rule of Muawiyah. Sometimes he would go up to the lands of Muhra23 and invade them crossing along desert between them and the lands of Aqeel where no one can reach even the birds except him because of his knowledge of the roads through the deserts.24 He used to take enough water for traveling in the desert to invade their lands then run out back to the desert where they follow him only to lose him there because he intentionally chose the hot days for his raids then run of to the desert where they cannot reach him, until they ambushed him and killed him.25

Tweba witnessed his people Bano Khafaja and Bano Awwf quarrelling at the charity administrator Hamam bin Mutrif Al-Aqeeli Wali (alderman) of Al Madinah who Marwan Bin Al Hakam26 employed to manage the charities for Bano Amer. During this quarrel Tur Bin Abi Sa’man bin Ka’ab Al-Aqeeli hit Tweba with Jurs (a long iron stick) while Tweba was holding a shield (part of his war armor) the shield wounded Tweba’s face and the administrator arrested Tur and put him in front of Tweba to take revenge. Tweba refused and told him that this was an order of yours and Tur would never dare to do this without your orders so he decided to let him go and take revenge later and decided to be generous this time and let him go. Later Tweba was informed that Tur is out in the desert at the homes of Bno Amer specifically in the house of a man called Sariah bin Uweimer bin abi Adi who was a friend of Taweba, which made him wait until they leave Sariah’s house to follow them. They wanted to leave in the morning but Sariah stopped them because he told them they wil not be able to escape Tweba’s hands and advised them to leave at night. However Tweba waited them and when they left the house at night he followed them and killed Tur a matter which led to the killing of Twebu himself.27

When the news arrived to Abdul Aziz bin Zararah bin Juz’u [or Jarir] bin Amru bin Awwf bin Ka’ab Al-Kilabi28 he was furious and went with few of his tribe to find Tweba, prepared him for a funeral and buried him. It appears in few references that Abdul Aziz’s Father was the one who buried Tweba because Abdul Aziz died during the life of his father

Volume 8 Issue 8, August 2019

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Paper ID: ART20191013 10.21275/ART20191013 294
in 670 AD/50 HJ which is clear in his biography, while Zararah was an old man in his seventies or eighties in 683 AD/64 HJ. Logically, then, it was him who buried Tweba in 676 AD/57 HJ.  

Both tribes took the case to the Caliph who stopped the fight and the killing. While Bano Awf bin Aqeel left the valley feeling from Tweba’s tribe to the desert then the north peninsula then to the Levant. No one of them was left in these lands where Bano Rebi’ah bin Aqeel and Urwa bin Abadah bin Aqeel replaced them.  

Marwan Bin Al Hakam confessed that Tweba is one of the strongest Arab men, and after his death he wrote to people from Aqeel’s family saying: By Allah’s name if I hearded that anyone would say something I hate about Tweba he will be crucified on a palm tree. Apparently, these tribal conflicts led by Tweba was a reason of political unrest during the rule of the Umayyad until the death of Tweba Al KHafaji.  

1.2 Duels and Heroic Fights of Tweba Al-khafaji  

Tweba was known to be one of the brave Arab Knights praised by his friends and enemies. Stories about his travelling to the Levant and was attacked by a black man whom Tweba attacked back and cut in half taking his clothes, camel, and maid who was tied to the camel and took them back to his home.  

Al-ASFahani referred to the bravery of Tweba when he travelled to the Levant passing through the lands of Athraa where he met Buthaina and her lover Jameel who suggested a shooting duel and a race down the valley with Tweba which Tweba won.  

Another heroic historical duel was between Tweba and Malik bin Al-Raib Al-Mazini34, the Arab poet who passed by Laila Al Akhiliah and sat down to talk to her for a long time until a young man came and sat by her side and started talking to her, for her to ignore Malik who became very angry and came to ask Tweba: who are you? Tweba answered: tweba bin Al Humier, Malik replied: do you accept a duel? Tweba answered what made ask for a duel while you are our guest and neighbor? Malik replied: it must be done, thinking Tweba is afraid of him so he insisted until Tweba agreed and he defeated him. When Malik fell on the ground he released a bad smell wind and Laila started laughing at him. Feeling humiliated Malik travelled to Khorasan, saying that he will go back to the land of the Arabs ever. Malik lived in Khorasan until his death and his grave is a famous sight there.  

Al-Farazdaq matter which made him angry and asked Tweba for a duel but Tweba refused saying: ‘Agentleman won’t fight with his guest. However Al-Farazdaq insisted and they were involved in a fight and Tweba defeated him and stood on his chest until he released bad smelling wind. Al-Farazdaq feeling ashamed decided to leave the Arab lands to Khorasan but Tweba begged him to stay or let him accompany Al-farazdaq in his journey which is mentioned later as one of his great travelling journeys. Al-Farazdaq never knew who were the women and men caused this fight until Tweba told him on the way “I am Tweba bin Alhumier and the woman was Laila Al Akhiliah.  

Another story of his great duels was that between him and Salil bin Tur bin Sam’an bin Ka’ab bin Ammer bin Awf bin Aqeel. Al Salil was famous as a surly strong man. Tweba and Salil Had a fight and they met near a water spring where Tweba knocked him down and killed him. Tweba did before kill Salil’s father in one of his incursion on the lands of Bano Aqeel. To conclude Tweba was one of the fiercest men in the history of Arabs and had fights and duels with some of the most famous men of literature and poetry being the best and the defater as mentioned in the history of Arabs literature.  

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Volume 8 Issue 8, August 2019  

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Paper ID: ART20191013  

10.21275/ART20191013  

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[33] Ismail Basha Al-Baghldi. idhah al-maknoon fi al-thaal ala kashif al-dhonon an asami al-ktub wa al fonon [Uncovering the secrets in the margins of uncovering the doubts around the titles of the Books and Arts]. Beirut: Dar Ihya Al-Turath AlArabi, nd.


(Jordon) and invited people to vote for him to be the caliph and they did in 683 AD/64 HJ then the people of the levant and Egypt. He then inaugurate his son Abdul Malak bin Marwan as the caliph and travelled to Damascus where he died with the plague in 684 AD/65 HJ (historians believe that his wife killed him with a pillow). He ruled for 9 months and 18 days only. (Al-Zarkali, Ali’ilam: Part 7, p 207).

28 Abdul Aziz bin Zararah Al Kulabi one of the brave leaders and well known as an intellectual and writings. He waited a whole year to receive a permission to see Muawiyah until he accepted and became one of his men and later the governor of Egypt. He fought the Romans in the invasion of Constantinople and was killed in the battle (Al-Asfahani, Al Aghani: Part 9, P 79).
30 Al-Asfahani, Al-Aghani: Part 11, Pp 145, 148. Al-Aliyah [the high lands]: a nme for the lands to the directions of villages and towns until Tuhamah to Najd from the side of AlMadinah. Otherwise it is called Safila [Low lands] (Yaqut, An Anthology of the Countries of the World: Part 4, p 71).
31 Al-Qayrawani, Zahar Al-Adab wa Thamarat Al-Albab: Part 4, p 105.
32 Jameel Bin Mu’amar bin Al-Harith bin DHabyan. He saw Buthainah when he was a young boy and loved her since. He is from the Athra tribe and was called after Buthaina for his love of her. He proposed to her but was refused and had written poetry for her. They visited each other in their village Wadi AL-Qura (Ibn Qutaiba, Al-Shi’r wal Shu’ara: Part 1, Pp 425-435. Ibn Jawzi, Al-Muntadham: Part 6, Pp 42-46. Al-Maydani, An Anthology of Proverbs: Part 2, Pp 324-325. Al-Asfahani, Al-Aghani: Part 11, P 157.
33 Malik Bin Al-Raib bin Hawt bin Kart Al-Mazini Al-Timimi. A poet and one of the Humorous literary writers at the beginning of the Umayyad era. He was accused to be a highwayman. Said bin Othman Bin Afan told his story. Ibn A-Raib travelled through the Badia [desert] to Basra from Madinah, then to Khurasan where he became the governor by the order of Muawiyah in 675 Ad/ 56 HJ. Said told him about the accusation and he advised him to travel to Khurasan, and he witnessed the conquer of Samarqand where he lived in solitary. After few years he became sick and felt his death close and said his famous poem starting with ‘I wish I can stay a night* besides the trees where I can call my saving camels’. He died in 679 AD/ 60 HJ. (Ibn Qutaiba, Al-Shi’r wal Shu’ara: Part 1, Pp 341-343. Al-Zarkali, Al’ilam: Part 5, P 261).
34 Al-Asfahani, Al-Aghani: Part 22, P 472.
35 Hamam Bin Ghalib bin Sa’sa’ah Al-Timimi A:-Darmi, Abo fras, and was also called Abi Macciyah one of his daughters but well known as Al-Farazdaq for the angry features of his face. A poet and a noble man from Basra. He left a huge influence on Arabic language, it is believed that without his poetry a third of Arabic language would be missing and half of the history of the Arabs. A first class poet whose poetry is collected in a Poetry collection of his complete works. He died in the desert of Basra in 728 AD/ 110 HJ at a hundred years old (Al-Zarkali, Al-Ai’lam: Part 8, P 93).