

Received: November 2023 Accepted: March 2024
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.53555/ks.v12i2.2890>

The Political Gift for the Zirid and the Hammadid: forms – Context – Dimensions

Lyes Hadj Aissa¹

Abstract

This research paper examines the relationships between states in the medieval period from the perspective of political gift-giving. We have chosen the relationship between the Zirid and Hammadid states in the Islamic Maghreb as a model. We consider that the topic of political gift-giving remains one of the overlooked aspects in the field of historical studies, despite the relative abundance of source material. Historical sources abound with texts on gift exchanges between states and rulers. We also assume that the impact of political gifts in shaping relations between states during the medieval period is significant and profound, surpassing mere diplomatic courtesies, given the size, content, distinctiveness, and longevity of these gifts. These indicators underscore the role of gifts and their contribution to shifting the nature of relationships from negative to positive on many occasions. Furthermore, we seek to elucidate the perspective on this topic by adopting a quantitative approach, to the extent permitted by the sources.

Keywords: Political Gift-Giving; Zirids; Hammadids; Sanhaja; Zenata; Finances.

Introduction

Political gifts are a well-established tradition in both ancient and modern states. For Maghreb region, the gift was known during the Middle Ages. If a state is known for its high tension, it is ranted gifts by a developing state to obtain given services. Once its ruling is well-founded, it bribes the opposing states with gifts, as well as in its weakest position, and the expenses are doubled to ensure its existence.

The gift has accompanied the Zirid and Hammadid dynasties throughout their history, from arising to falling into ruin. It took various forms and terminology, as the term "gift" is often used, while it may be replaced with other terminology which, in general, refer to the principle of spending money to request an interest, to be secured against the collapse, or to bribe an enemy.

This study deals with the topic of the gift through a set of informative sources, providing convergent concepts about the meaning of the term. The latter is deliberately expanded by employing various synonymous formulas, including inter alia: present, endowment, feudalism, generous donation, ownership, bribery, generous spending, relating donation, and charity. On the other hand, all terms unrelated to the gift were avoided, such as: loot and bargainⁱ. The main problematic of this research lies on the form and content of the gift for Sanhaja, and the network of political relations created by the political gift.

In view of the considered number of models found in different sources about the manifestations of the gift in the two states of Sanhaja, the study intended to partially employ the statistical approach, following its well-founded steps: data collection, classification, representation, analysis and interpretation.ⁱⁱ This

¹ENS, Laghouat, Algeria. Email: i.hadjajissa@ens-lagh.dz

research aims to identify Sanhaja's policy with the others from an unstudied angle, and through a partial phenomenon, that is the gift.

The gift within the Quranic and prophetic context

The Quranic text provides us with an important rooting of the concept and meaning of the gift. The term was mentioned within the relationship between the Queen Balqis and the Prophet Solomon (peace be upon him), which, according to this context, is an old tactic to push harm and bring love of the other. Allah Almighty said on the tongue of Balqis: *"But indeed, I will send to them a gift and see with what [reply] the messengers will return."* (27:35). The interpretations agree that the Queen wanted to send a gift to Solomon and see what his reply would be after that, so he may accept it from her and give up fighting her. One of the striking signs in some interpretations is that the Queen acted out of her wisdom, knowing that the gift would positively affect people. Ibn Abbas (may Allah be pleased with him) said that she told her people, "If he accepts the gift, he must be a king, so fight him, and if he does not accept it, he must be a prophet, so follow him."ⁱⁱⁱ The prophetic dimension appears from Solomon's reply, refusing the gift. Allah Almighty said on his tongue: *"Do you provide me with wealth? But what Allah has given me is better than what He has given you. Rather, it is you who rejoice in your gift."* (27:36). The interpreters said that Solomon PBUH did not look at what they had brought at all and did not care of it; rather, he turned away from it and said angrily: Do you bribe me with wealth to leave you with your polytheism and power? What Allah has given me of power, wealth, and soldiers is better than what you possess. Rather, you are the ones who have lust for gifts and artifacts, as for me, I do not accept from you except Islam.^{iv}

For the Sunnah (prophetic tradition), many texts emphasize the legitimacy of the gift, and encourage its practitioners, including the Hadith of the Prophet (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) saying: *"Give gifts and you will love one another"*^v. He said as well: *"Give gifts, for indeed the gift removes bad feelings from the chest."*^{vi}. On the authority of Aisha (may Allah be pleased with her), she said: "The Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) used to accept the gift and reward on it"^{vii}. These are texts aiming at conciliating with others and establishing love without interest. Thus, gifting for worldly interest does not fall into the category of gift within the prophetic concept. Indeed, prophetic legislation did not lack models that strictly set the differences between the gift required by law and morality, and the prohibitions that may bear the name of the gift. One of the examples mentioned in Sahih Al-Bukhari and Sahih Muslim is the worker that the Prophet (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) appointed in charge of charity. He came with the collection, gave it to the Prophet PBUH, and said: "This wealth is for you and this is a gift presented to me." The Prophet PBUH said to him: *"Why didn't you remain in the house of your father and your mother to see whether gifts were presented to you or not."*^{viii} It is clear that both the Quranic and the Prophetic concepts accept the gift unless its motives and goals are contrary to virtuous morality.

Impact of the Political Gift

Exchanging gifts between the states in general aims to express thanks, or a desire for political rapprochement.^{ix} In order to complete the historical view of the subject of the gift, its psychological and social dimensions must be evoked; it is apparently an endowment and a donation, while it implies messages of love, respect, friendship, apology, praise, gratitude and connection. As a result of its strong psychological and social impact, the American anthropologist Marshall Salens came to the conclusion that: "If friends exchange gifts, it is the gifts that make friends"^x.

Returning to the Middle Ages, Ibn Khaldun has established the rule of cohesion between the ruler and those tending to bribe him. Its disparity is according to their relationship with the ruler, whether old or recent. The older the relationship before the establishment of the ruling, the more the continuation of

the cohesion, and the more recent the bribery is after the establishment of the ruling, the weaker the loyalty of those paying it to the ruler. He said: "Whoever bribes the ruler after establishing his ruling and presidency, does not have as much kinship and cohesion as those older than him."^{xi} According to Khaldunian thought, the ruler does not resort to bribing foreigners out of his tribe except in the stages of weakness of his state and losing the obedience of his kinship, replacing them with servants, agents and slaves; however, some examples indicate that the ruler's lack of endowment to his entourage and military leads him to negative results in decisive battles, even if they are from his tribe and gang. This is what happened with Hammad, the founder of the Hammadid state. He was known for his lack of generosity, which negatively affected him in his battle against Ziri Bin Attiya near Tahart.^{xii} It was also found that one of the reasons for his defeat at the battle of Chlef against Badis was that most of his soldiers hated him for his lack of generosity.^{xiii}

Political marriages, with the accompanying gifts, are considered to be the leading ways to achieve amity and lasting relationship for the longest possible period. The examples are numerous in the case of Sanhaja; they can be limited to two axes, the first being marriages between princes from Sanhaja with its two branches and princesses from Zenata. The second axis includes marriages between princes from the Hammadid branch in Middle Maghreb, and princesses from the Badisid branch in Africa.

Al-Mansur Ibn Belkin is considered the first of the princes of Sanhaja who attempted to approach from Zenata and worked on bribing its sheikhs and princes with gifts and marriage. He applied this policy, when he asked one of Said Bin Khazrun Zenati's daughters to marry one of his sons. He responded to his critics from Sanhaja about this rapprochement, saying: "My father and my grandfather used to fight them with the sword, but for me, whoever throws a spear towards me, I throw flowers towards him, so that their affection would be natural and a choice."^{xiv} As for the marriages between the two branches of Sanhaja, they contributed to mitigating the impact of military conflict and political competition. According to Ibn Khaldun, "they divided the umbrella and established cohesion with the sons in-law. The ruling of Sanhaja split into two states: state of Al-Mansur Bin Belkin, the owners of Kairouan, and state of Hammad Bin Belkin, the owners of Kalaa".^{xv} The following table shows seven princely marriages documented by sources.

Year	Husband	Wife	Source
379 AH	One of the sons of Al-Mansur Bin Belkin Ziri	One of the daughters of Said Bin Khazrun Zenati	Al-Kamil, pt.7, p.441
408 AH	Abdullah Bin Hammad	Sister of Al-Mu'iz Bin Badis	Al-Kamil, pt.8, p.90
470 AH	Al-Nasir Bin Alnas	Belara daughter of Tamim Bin Al-Mu 'iz Ziri	Al-Bayan, pt.1, 300 ; Al-Nuwairi, p.356
	Al-Nasir Bin Alnas	One of the daughters of Makhukh family	Al-Ibar, pt.6, p.233
	Al-Mansur Bin Al-Nasir	Makhukh's sister	Al-Ibar, pt.6, p.233
509 AH	Al-Aziz Bin Al-Mansur	Bader Al-Duja, daughter of Yahya Bin Tamim Ziri	Al-Bayan, pt. 1, p.306
	Al-Aziz Bin Al-Mansur	Daughter of Makhukh	Al-Ibar, pt.6, p.234

Figures and Significant Data

Based on the primary sources of the history of Sanhaja in the North, the cases of the meaning of the political gift that was associated with the political authority of Sanhaja with its two branches, Badisid and Hammadid, are counted. The number of cases of gifts, prizes, endowments, donations and feuds reached is considerable, this encouraged us to employ the quantitative and statistical approach.

The setting of the study starts from 334AH/945AD, the year in which Ziri Bin Manad appeared and contributed to easing the siege of Abu Yazid Makhliid Bin Kedad (the owner of the donkey) on the ruler of the capital, to 558AH/1162AD, the year in which Yahya Bin Al-Aziz settled in one of the Almohad palaces in the city of Marrakech and then Salé.^{xvi} During this period, 75 samples of the terms: present, endowment, feudalism, generous donation, ownership, bribery, generous spending, relating donation, and charity were counted in the sources.^{xvii} These gifts we studied and analyzed on the donor and the beneficiary basis, adding to their content and form. The figure seemed appropriate to be taken as a model sample to study the policy of Sanhaja in the North from a different angle from previous studies, by tracing the path of the gift.

Classification of gifts on the basis of the donor and the beneficiary

The appearance of Sanhaja in Middle Ages sources was associated with the topic of the gift. One of the first signs of the tribe's appearance on the scene was mentioning the role of Ziri Bin Mennad claiming that "he had a good impact on the incident of Abu Yazid, and carried the provision to Mahdia ruler, so he improved its position thereof."^{xviii} Other sources mentioned that Ziri's construction of the city of Asher is the point where the first meeting with him took place, when Ziri requested from the ruler some builders, so he sent him one and supported him with iron equipment and other materials, and began to build it in 324AH/935AD.^{xix} The beginning of the relationship was translated by receiving from Al-Mansur Fatimi to Ziri Bin Mennad "great wealth, beautiful clothes, gold, silver and artifacts, which attracted souls and hearts."^{xx} Ziri responded with obedience and sending crowds from Sanhaja. When Al-Mansur's need for Ziri increased, "he visited and preferred him, took off many of his clothes for him and gave him indescribable and limitless amount of perfumes and royal wealth. He carried him along with his children, brothers, cousins, and companions on the horses equipped with saddles and bridles ornated with gold and silver, and filled them with all Sanhaja accompanying him with wealth, tending to attract their hearts and eyes, so their intentions were purified, and their beliefs about him were enhanced."^{xxi} Since then, Sanhaja has been in the service of Bani Ubayd, and the participation of Sanhaja, led by Ziri Bin Mennad, in the battle of Al-Mansur against Abu Yazid was quite decisive.^{xxii}

The Fatimid-Sanhaji rapprochement policy was also a direct reaction to the Umayyad-Zenati rapprochement, which was also full of correspondences and gifts. In 317AH/929AD, Muhammad Bin Khazar, the most powerful Zenati figure in Maghreb, declared his loyalty to the caliph Al-Nassir.^{xxiii} Nassir's response came with a letter in 318AH/930 AD and gifts of his own types bearing the name of Zenati Prince, which he did not do with any other king or prince.^{xxiv}

The Fatimids and the others

The Fatimid part is employed as a source to provide the gift, considering its relationship to Sanhaja. Among the 16 cases in the form, 14 ones directed to Sanhaja were counted. It is a measure that does not go beyond the framework of attracting this tribe and making it a strong ally of the Fatimid state in the Maghrebian stage. Then the gifts continued after the state moved to Egypt as a measure to ensure loyalty and continuity. At this stage, gifts were always accompanied by letters of loyalty, obedience and dependence with their clauses, banners and brigades, which were over-embroidered with gold and silver.^{xxv} This figure confirms and explains the privileged position that Sanhaja enjoyed among the Fatimids without the rest of the Berber tribes.^{xxvi}

While one case of a gift addressed to a Zenati party represents the failure of the Fatimid state to co-opt this tribe in its favor. After Zenata revolutions cost a lot of effort for the Fatimid army, and a lot of money for the state's treasury.^{xxvii} Another case was recorded of an endowment addressed to the Hilali tribes in Egypt, a political measure aimed at emptying Said Egypt of those tribes, and using it as a

disciplinary means against Sanhaja, who turned against the Fatimid call.

The models of gifts in the Fatimid case truly reflect the course of Fatimid policy in the West and the East, and its relationship with the Maghrebian parties, especially Sanhaja. We may not be wrong if we think that by following the course of the gift, we are actually tracing the whole policy of the state.

Sanhaja – Sanhaja Relationship

The beneficiaries differed according to political circumstances, and the need to provide the gift intensified when the Hammadid succeeded in dividing the state of Sanhaja into Badisid and Hammadid. The leadership of Sanhaja may grant money to parishioners and soldiers in the critical times of the state to encourage them to rally around their leadership, and it may also grant a group of them participation in happy occasions, such as the wedding of a princess, the birth of a child the ruling house,^{xxviii} or a circumcision ceremony.^{xxix} Sanhaji ruler gives gifts to his workers on his territories, to poets and praiseworthy people, as a reward for their contribution to securing the state.^{xxx} The ruler shows also interest in his slaves by endowment to bribe them, in the face of the weakness of his Sanhaji tension and the abundance of competitions and oppositions against it.^{xxxi}

Because of the Badisid – Hammadid rivalry and conflict, each party, especially Africans, tends to attract ambitious members of the ruling family with gifts, to stay away from the Hammadid branch. The gifts were also present between the Badisid and the Hamadid. They embody the desire to restore and strengthen the ties of the kinship that unite them, in front of increasing threats to the existence of both states. One of the few cases of kinship between Sanhaja in the North and in the desert, according to the sources, is that Al-Mansur Bin Alnas Hammadi retreated from the siege of Tlemcen and responded to the wife of its Almoravid leader Tashfin, who is "pleading with the connections of Sanhaja ^{xxxii}."

The gifts and endowments among the members of Sanhaja tribe constituted the largest percentage, and it seemed natural as Sanhaja always needed to secure its political existence and internal front.

Sanhaja and the Others

Sanhaja was obliged, by virtue of its new responsibility in running Maghrebian's affairs, to communicate with its neighbors in the West and the East, to secure its presence on the Maghrebian political scene. Unlike the Fatimid state, Sanhaja achieved peace and alliance with Zenata, so it realized the largest number of gifts and endowments, with: 12 cases. It is a number – in comparison – that explains Sanhaja's resort to dealing with Zenata by diplomatic methods, despite the predominance of the image of hostility, estrangement and wars between them in historical sources. The number of 6 cases with the Fatimid state represents a weak percentage compared to what the latter gave to the Maghrebian tribe (14 cases), and the explanation for this difference lies in the need of the Fatimid for Sanhaja, more than the need of Sanhaja for the Fatimid. Sanhaja's initiative in severing its relationship with the Ismaili state may have supported our interpretation. 3 cases with the Hilal tribes were recorded, to win over these tribes, which have imposed themselves as a new social component in the Maghrebian field. 2 cases with Ketama, which is a modest number that explains the terrible political decline of this tribe, especially after the departure of the Ubaydis to Egypt. Only one case in which Sanhaja of Middle Maghreb granted a fiefdom to an Andalusian prince. This measure lies under the Hamadid fear of the growing strength of the Almoravid, and sympathy with one of the kings of the sects.^{xxxiii}

In the remaining cases, it was Sanhaja who benefited from gifts. 2 cases from foreign kingdoms, one from a Christian kingdom, and another from a Sudanese one. Both were during the reign of al-Mu'iz Bin Badis; a period during which the state of the Zirid reached its zenith. 2 cases in which the Umayyads of Andalusia worked to penetrate the Maghrebian tribes, thus strengthening their influence in the Far and Middle Maghreb.^{xxxiv}

Types of Gifts

The available models help in the identification of the types of gifts presented, their size and content. By employing the statistical quantitative approach, significances may be extracted. Accordingly, 135^{xxxv} cases were recorded. The importance of this element lies in identifying the quality of the gifts and endowments that Sanhaja used to give or receive.

Gifts (General Description): The largest percentage (38 cases - 28%) mentioned the description of the gift in general, without stating its content, and usually added to the concept of the gift in this case, terms that indicate its great value, "a gift that has not been heard of", "an indescribable gift" ^{xxxvi}, "a great gift" ^{xxxvii} or "a honorable gift" ^{xxxviii}. These descriptions may refer to the desire of historians to praise those who rule them and highlight their generosity.

Money – Dinars - Dirhams: They constitute a high percentage of gifts and endowments (32 cases - 24%). Sources mention money among gifts without declaring their value sometimes, ^{xxxix} and they may add descriptions referring to abundance, "a lot of money – great wealth – abundant money." ^{xl} In the context of stressing the abundance, sources use sometimes the term "loads". One of them mentioned that Badis Bin Al-Mansur gave one of Zenata leaders thirty loads of money. ^{xli} In a third case, the source determines the currency, whether it is dinar or dirham. Al-Mansur Bin Belkin Ziri gave the judges, the sheikhs of Kairouan and the owners of Al-Kharaj, when they congratulated him on the succession of his father Belkin, ten thousand dinars, and on the same occasion he sent to Al-Aziz Billah Fatimi a gift worth one billion dinars. ^{xlii} Al-Mansur Bin Abi Amer Al-Hajib Al-Andalusi, one of the princes of Sanhaja, was rewarded forty thousand dinars when he settled in the Middle Maghreb and declared his loyalty to the Umayyads of Andalusia. ^{xliii} It is very likely that the gift, the content of which has not been stated, is money in whole or in part.

Feudalism (Cities- Works - Buildings -Property - Jobs): The fiefdoms of cities and regions constituted a significant percentage of the total gifts and endowments granted by princes to secure their ruling and bribe their opponents (18 cases - 13%). The sources used the term feudalism to express a city or territory granted by the ruler to a particular person, first as an honor, then as an assignment. This is clear through the granting formulas that we have come across. Al-Mansur Fatimi gave Ziri Bin Mennad Tahert and its works, and Baja'a with its works, as a reward for his services. Al-Mu'iz Fatimi gave Messila and its works to Belkin. The Zirid state also co-opted some Zenata sheikhs by granting some cities and works, as Badis did with Waru Bin Said and his brother Khazrun Bin Said when he gave them Nafzawa and Castella. ^{xliv} Some of the princes of Zenata were also privy to the lands granted to them by the princes of Sanhaja. ^{xlvi} The policy of Abdul Momen Bin Ali was based on attracting the last Hammadid prince, he ordered for him spacious houses and honorable vehicles, ^{xlvi} in Marrakech, to distract him from thinking about attempts to regain his ruling. The largest feudalism in Maghreb during the period of Sanhaja rule remains the ownership of the Fatimid state in Egypt, the entire Maghreb, by the Hilali tribes, in retaliation for Sanhaja and its abandonment of the Ismaili call. Al-Yazuri addressed the leaders of Hilali tribes: "I have given you Maghreb, and the ruling of Al-Mu'iz Bin Belkin Sanhaji, the abiding slave, so you won't be needy." ^{xlvi} This gift produced what researchers termed "the Hilali phenomenon."

Animals (Horses - Camels -Mules- Saddles - Weapons): Animals have been among the political gifts between states since ancient times. ^{xlviii} As for Middle Maghreb, horses, mules, donkeys and camels have been among the main means of transportation and means of equipping armies. They also constituted a percentage of political gifts. Some sources mentioned them using the term "riding animals" ^{xlix}, and in other cases they describe the content of the gift of animal species and the added saddles, as in the case of one of the workers of the Zirid state, when he gave prince Al-Mu'iz Bin Badis "three hundred

horses and one hundred female mares and mules, including twenty with ornated saddles."^{li} The only case in which we found camels among the gifts was when Belkin Bin Ziri provided two thousand camels of Zenata to be used by Al-Mu'iz Lidin Allah Fatimi to carry his wealth. This refers to the fact that the idea of the existence of camels in Maghreb and their association with Zenata tribe is well established.

The princes of Sanhaja were keen to appear great by showing some wild animals, which were given to them by some kings, such as the gift sent by one of the kings of Sudan, containing, among other things "giraffes and strange types of animals".^{li} This type of gift reflects the prosperity in the foreign relations of the state of Sanhaja.^{lii}

Models - Garments – Wardrobes - Taking off Clothes: Models, garments and clothes granted by kings and princes are different from other clothes, not only in terms of the quality of the fabric, but also in view of the symbolism and significance of the dress granted by the prince, so they are special clothes and perhaps put on them the name of the grantee in his honor and dignity. In the framework of the Umayyad Fatimid struggle over the Maghreb, the Umayyad Nasir sent to the prince of Zenata Muhammad Bin Khazir gifts of his own types of models bearing the name of the Zenati prince, which he did not do with any other king or prince.^{liii} The princes were often keen to make the gift they were giving, contain some of their clothes, which many of the rulers of the Fatimid state did with the princes of Sanhaja.^{liv} Al-Mu'iz Bin Badis was bribing some of Zenata leaders, "so no horse nor garment of the caliphate was given to him except for giving him preference over himself."^{lv} Because princes are giving in abundance, clothes are often placed in wardrobes, which are wooden boxes similar to beds, made specifically for keeping clothes. The number of wardrobes filled with clothes in the procession of one gift may reach eighty.^{lvi}

Gold -silver- artifacts - jewelry: This type of gift, although few compared to other types, reflects the distinguished relations between states. Its description is often characterized by fascination and astonishment. It is limited to princes because of the precious metals it contains. Al-Mansur Fatimi bribed Ziri Bin Mennad, in pushing away the danger of Abu Yazid Bin Kidad "with gold, silver, and artifacts, which attracted souls and hearts."^{lvii} Because his need for him is urgent in pushing away the danger of the owner of the donkey, "he gave him indescribable and limitless amount of perfumes and royal wealth. He carried him along with his children, brothers, cousins, and companions on the horses equipped with saddles and bridles ornated with gold and silver."^{lviii} They are present in the gifts of the king of the Romans to Al-Mu'iz Bin Badis; "He did not see any similar wealth in terms of the abundance of luxurious brocade luggage." Among the gifts of the African prince to the ruler of Egypt was "Indescribable ammunition and wealth."^{lix} The gift has reached a great status in the custom of the state of Sanhaja. It was it keen to involve the parish in watching it, to increase admiration and fascination, and strengthen the bonds of loyalty between the parish and the ruler. The parishioners examine the gifts of the princes on their wedding occasions. In this context, one of the sources documented the wedding of princess Um Al-Alu, sister of Al-Mu 'iz Bin Badis, and described her castle, then "people, privileged and public, entered, they looked at the different types of jewelry, wires, precious luggage, gold and silver vessels that no other kings possessed... The eyes of the crowd were dazzled and spellbound with what they saw."^{lx}

Ammunition is considered the main thing that the ruler is associated with, when his rule comes to an end, and his political ambitions become limited. It remains only to secure his life and possible money and ammunition. The descriptions of the sources in such circumstances are identical, describing the escape of the ruler with money and ammunition. This is the case of the Hammadid, when Yahya Bin Al-Aziz rode the sea in "two fleets he had prepared for this, on which he loaded his ammunition and money."^{lxi}

Slaves: Despite the limited number of this type of gifts (4 cases -3%), it is likely that slaves were among the fixed elements in the political gifts processions in Middle Maghreb. The available cases confirm the

presence of this category in the various occasions in which the gift is granted. It was among the gifts granted to renew loyalty between the rulers of Sanhaja in Africa and the rulers of Egypt, twenty gorgeous bridesmaids, and ten Saqaliba. The maids were also part of the dowry of princess Um Al-Alu, sister of Al-Mu'iz Bin Badis.^{lxiii} Among the things Al-Nasir Bin Alnas Hammad used to bribe the son of Al-Baba', minister of Tamim Bin Al-Mu'iz, were four servants and four bridesmaids.^{lxiiii} The slaves were among the gifts dedicated to Abdul Momen Bin Ali, Yahya Bin Al- Aziz Hammad, throughout his stay in the Far Maghreb.^{lxiv}

Conclusion

If we want to evaluate the phenomenon of the gift in light of the Quranic and prophetic models, we say that Maghreb history in the Middle Ages is full of donor models in the style of Queen Balqis; however, reactions that defend the principle and reject the gift, such as the model of the Prophet Solomon PBUH, are rare, and perhaps non-existent. The sources do not provide us with examples that emphasize the fight of princes and sultans against the phenomenon of seeking interest under the name of the gift, which makes the prophetic example we referred to seem orphaned amid the numerous cases of the gift for Sanhaja. This is likely Ibn Abbas's interpretation of the verse of the gift, in the conclusion of Queen Balqis that acceptance of the gift in absolute terms is the habit of rulers, kings and princes, and that its rejection in the event of conflict with the principle is the habit of prophets and messengers.

A significant number of gifts for Sanhaja is recorded. It is noted that it was one of the beneficiaries in the stage of the existence of the Fatimid state in Maghreb. It then turned into a donor after taking over Maghreb's affairs. By tracing the course of the gift, it was possible to grasp the course of the internal and external relations of the two states of Sanhaja, an aspect rarely noticed by researchers.

This study has not yet completed all its dimensions. It is possible to tackle other aspects such as studying the gift on the basis of the occasions and circumstances in which it was presented, such as a conciliation contract, an assumption of a ruler, or a wedding of a princess. Each has different content, context, and dimensions. It can also be studied through the stages in which the gift was active. Suffice it to mention that the sources cite the stage of the prosperity of Sanhaja during the reign of Al-Mu'iz Bin Badis, as "their conditions in banquets, gifts, funerals and endowments attest to this."^{lxv} Finally, the gift for Sanhaja is a cornerstone of political practice.

i- Some cases cannot be classified as gifts, such as prisoner exchanges or ransom demands. To expand on it, see:

Claudine AULIARD, *Diplomatic Gifts and Bargaining in Rome until the Beginning of the Mediterranean Conquest*, Velia, 26, 2009, p.64

ii- For the employment of statistics in human sciences, see, for instance: Abdul Karim Gharib, *Scientific Research Methodology in the Sciences of Education and Humanities*, Publications of the World of Education, Casablanca - Kingdom of Morocco, 1st Edition, 2012, p. 273 et seq.

iii- Abu Al-Fida Ismail Ibn Kathir, *Ibn Kathir Interpretation*, Review: Ahmed Ibrahim Zahwa, Al-Kitab Al-Arabi House, 1st Edition, 2014, p. 1380.

iv- Ibn Kathir, *ibid.* p. 1380.

v- Al-Bukhari: *Al-Adab Al-Mufrad*, p.1322 (comprehensive version)

vi- *ibid.*

vii- Al-Bukhari, *Sahih Al-Bukhari*, p. 8, p. 225 (comprehensive version)

viii- Al-Bukhari, "Abu Abdullah Muhammad Bin Ismail" (d. 256 AH/869 AD), *Sahih Al-Bukhari*,

- numbered and arranged by: Muhammad Fuad Abdul Baqi, Ibn Al-Jawzi House, Cairo - Egypt, 1 Ed., 2010, pp. 304 - 305; Abu Al-Hussein Muslim Bin Al-Hajjaj Al-Qushairi Al-Naisaburi (d. 261 AH/874 AD), Sahih Muslim, Chapter on the Prohibition of Workers' Gifts, numbered and arranged by: Muhammad Fuad Abdul Baqi, Ibn Al-Jawzi House, Cairo -Egypt, 1 Ed., 2010, pp. 448 - 449.
- ix- Claude AULIARD, op.cit., p.63
- x- Muhammad Al-Juwaili, The Gift for Arabs is a Social Ritual that Reduces Social Ties, Al-Arab Journal, daily journal founded in London 1977, Monday 11/04/2016, 38th year, No. 10242, p. 12.
- xi Ibn Khaldun Abdul Rahman Bin Muhammad (d. 808 AH/1405 AD), Introduction, Part 2, Ali Abdul Wahed Wafi, Nahdet Misr Publishing House, Egypt, 7th Edition, 2014, p. 555
- xii- Al-Nuwairi "Ahmed Bin Abdul Wahab" (d.732AH/1332AD), History of the Islamic Maghreb in the Middle Ages (Africa and Maghreb, Andalusia, Sicily and Qartish) (27-719AH/647-1319AD) from the book: The Ultimate Love of the Arts of Literature, revised by: Mustafa Abu Daif Ahmed, Moroccan Publishing House, Casablanca -Kingdom of Morocco, 1984, p. 325
- xiii- Ibn Al-Athir, Abu Al-Hassan Ali (d. 630 AH/1232AD), Al-Kamil in History, part 08, revised by: Abu Fida Abdullah Al-Qadi, Beirut-Lebanon, Scientific Books House, 1 Ed., 1407AH/1987, p. 08.
- xiv- Ibn Al-Athir, ibid., part 7, p.441
- xv _ Ibn Khaldun Abdul Rahman Bin Muhammad (d. 808 AH/1405AD), The History of Ibn Khaldun, Named the Diwan of Al Muftada and Al Khabar in the History of the Arabs, Berbers and their Contemporaries of Greater Concern, part 6, revised by: Khalil Shehada, reviewed by: Suhayl Zakkar, Al-Fikr House, Beirut-Lebanon, 2000, p. 210
- xvi- He first settled in Marrakech, then in the city of Salé. Compare between: Marrakeshi Abdul Wahed Bin Ali (d. 647AH/1249AD), The Admirer in Summarizing the News of Maghreb, Beirut - Lebanon, Scientific Books House, Ed. 02, 1426AH/2005AD, p. 145; Ibn Khaldun, Al-Ibar, part 6, p. 236.
- xvii- A case of heavy employment of gifting terms in one sentence, between Abdul Momen Bin Ali and Yahya Bin Al-Aziz: a matter that is considerably cared for by him. See: Abdul Wahed Marrakeshi, ibid., p. 145.
- xviii- Ibn Al-Athir, ibid., part 7, p.333
- xix- Al-Nuwairi, ibid., p.304
- xx- Abu Abdullah Muhammad Sanhaji, News of the Kings of Bani Ubayd and their Biography, revised by: Jaloul Ahmed Al-Badawi, National Book Foundation, Algeria, 1984, p. 38.
- xxi- See and compare: Abu Abdullah Sanhaji, ibid., p. 39; Al-Da'i Idris Imad Al-Din (d. 872 AH/1488AD), History of the Fatimid Caliphs in Maghreb: The Special Section of the Book of Eyoun Al-Akhbar, revised by: Muhammad Al-Yalawi, Islamic West House, Lebanon, 1st Edition, 1985, p. 405
- xxii- Ibn Al-Khatib Al-Salmani Thu Al-Wizaratayn "Lissan Al-Din" (d. 776 AH/1374AD), History of the Arab Maghreb in the Middle Ages, which is the third section of the Book of the Works of the Scholars, revised by: Ahmed Mokhtar Al-Abadi and Muhammad Ibrahim Al-Kitani, Casablanca - Kingdom of Morocco, Al-Kitab House, 1964, pp. 64-65; Al-Dashrawi. Farhat: The Fatimid Caliphate in Maghreb (296-365AH/909-975AD), translated to Arabic by Hammadi Al-Sahili, Islamic West House, Beirut - Lebanon, 1st Edition, 1994, pp. 295 et seq.
- xxiii- Azzawi. Ahmed, Maghrebian Diwani Letters (From the Islamic Conquest to the End of the Fourth Century AH), Rabat Net Maroc, 1st Edition, 2014, pp.157-158.
- xxiv- Azzawi. Ahmed, Andalusian-Maghrebian Relations in the Fourth Century - Documentary reading, Rabat Net Maroc, 1st Edition, 2011, p.38
- xxv- On the insignia of the king and the sultan, see: Ibn Khaldun, Introduction, part 2, pp.661-676.
- xxvi- In the year 367AH/977AD, the Fatimid ruler Al-Aziz chose Prince Badis Bin Ziri, brother of Yusuf Belkin Bin Ziri, as leader for Hajj season. See: Ibn Al-Athir, ibid., part 7, p.367
- xxvii- Abdullah Muhammad Jamal Al-Din, The Fatimid State, Established in Maghreb and Transferred to

- Egypt, Culture House for Publishing and Distribution, Cairo, Egypt, 1991, p. 65
- xxviii- Ibn Adhari Marrakashi (d. 712AH/1312AD), *Revealing the News of Andalusia and Maghreb*, revised by: J.S. Golan and E. Levy Provencal, part 1, Scientific Books House, Beirut - Lebanon, 1st Edition, 2009, pp.272-273.
- xxix- Al-Nuwairi, *ibid.*, p.338
- xxx- Ibn Adhari, *ibid.*, part 1, p. 297; Al-Nuwairi, *ibid.*, p. 317
- xxxi- Ibn Al-Atheer, *ibid.*, part 8, p.296
- xxxii- Ibn Khaldun, Al-Ibar, part 6, p.234
- xxxiii- Ibn al-Athir, *ibid.*, part 8, p. 471; Ibn al-Khatib, *ibid.*, p. 97.
- xxxiv- Ibn al-Athir, *ibid.*, part 7, p. 413; Azzawi, *Andalusian-Maghrebian Relations*, p.38
- xxxv- The reason is clear in the difference in the number between the source and the content of the gift, as the gift may contain different things: money, slaves, and horses.
- xxxvi- Al-Nuwairi, *op. cit.*, pp.306, 318
- xxxvii- Ibn Al-Athir, *ibid.*, part 7, p. 415; Al-Nuwairi, *ibid.*, p. 318.
- xxxviii- Ibn Adhari, *ibid.*, part 1, p. 259
- xxxix- Ibn Khaldun, Al-Ibar, part 6, p. 206; Al-Nuwairi, *ibid.*, p. 310.
- xl- Sanhaji, *ibid.*, p. 38; Ibn Al-Athir, *ibid.*, part 7, p. 441; Abdul Wahed Marrakashi, p. 145.
- xli- Ibn Khaldun, Al-Ibar, part 6, p.210
- xlii- Al-Nuwairi, *ibid.*, p.317-318; Ibn Khaldun, Al-Ibar, part 7, p. 415.
- xliii- Ibn Abi Zar' Ali (d. 726AH/1325AD), *Joyful Companion in Al-Qurtas Gardens in the News of the Kings of Maghreb and the History of the City of Fez*, revised by: Abdul Wahab Ben Mansur, Rabat - Kingdom of Morocco, Royal Press, Ed. 02, 1420AH/1999AD, p. 128
- xliv- Al-Nuwairi, *ibid.*, pp.309-310, 329; Ibn Al-Athir, *ibid.*, (part 7, p.333) (part 8, pp.25-26)
- xlvi- Ibn Adhari, *ibid.*, part1, p. 262
- xlvi- Abdul Wahed Marrakech, *ibid.*, p. 145.
- xlvi- Ibn Khaldun, Al-Ibar, part 6, pp.19-20.
- xlvi- Nicolas Drocourt, *Animals as Gifts of Ambassadors between Byzantium and its Neighbors (VII - XII C)*, Tribute to Alain Ducellier, 2004, pp. 67-93
- xlvi- Ibn Al-Athir, *ibid.*, part 8, pp.89-90.
- li- Ibn Khaldun, Al-Ibar, part 6, p. 210; Ibn Adhari, *ibid.*, part 1, p. 273
- li- Ibn Adhari, *ibid.*, part 1, p. 275.
- lii- Among the studies that dealt with animal gifts, including the giraffe, see, for example: Audrey Becker, *The giraffe and the Water Clock, Granting Diplomatic Gifts in Late Antiquity*, *Monde*, n° 5, May 2014, p. 27-42; ZARAF: A diplomatic gift
- liii- Ahmed Azzawi, *Andalusian-Maghrebian Relations*, p.38
- liv- Sanhaji, *ibid.*, p. 39.
- lv- Ibn Adhari, *ibid.*, part 1, p. 262
- lvi- Al-Nuwairi, *ibid.*, p. 321,325; Ibn Khaldun, Al-Ibar, part 6, p. 210.
- lvii- Sanhaji, *ibid.*, p.38
- lviii- Sanhaji, *ibid.*, p. 39
- lix- Ibn Adhari, *op. cit.*, part 1, pp. 275, 305
- lx- Ibn Adhari, *ibid.*, part 1, pp. 272-273.
- lxi- Ibn Khaldun, Al-Ibar, part 6, p. 315
- lxii- *Ibid.*, pp.260-261, 272-273
- lxiii- Al-Nuwairi, *ibid.*, p.353
- lxiv- Abdul Wahed Marrakishi, *ibid.*, p. 145
- lxv- Ibn Khaldun, Al-Ibar, part6, p.210

Bibliography

- The Holy Quran, Warsh narration
- Ibn Kathir Abu Al-Fida Ismail, Ibn Kathir Interpretation, Review: Ahmed Ibrahim Zahwa, Al-Kitab Al-Arabi House, 1st Edition, 2014
- Al-Bukhari, "Abu Abdullah Muhammad Bin Ismail" (d. 256 AH/869 AD), Sahih Al-Bukhari, numbered and arranged by: Muhammad Fuad Abdul Baqi, Ibn Al-Jawzi House, Cairo - Egypt, 1 Ed., 2010
- Muslim Bin Al-Hajjaj Al-Qushairi Al-Naisaburi Abu Al-Hussein (d. 261 AH/874 AD), Sahih Muslim, Chapter on the Prohibition of Workers' Gifts, numbered and arranged by: Muhammad Fuad Abdul Baqi, Ibn Al-Jawzi House, Cairo -Egypt, 1 Ed., 2010
- Ibn Al-Athir.Abu Al-Hassan Ali (d. 630 AH/1232AD), Al-Kamil in History, part 08, revised by: Abu Fida Abdullah Al-Qadi, Beirut-Lebanon, Scientific Books House, 1 Ed., 1407AH/1987
- Jamal Al-Din Abdullah Muhammad, The Fatimid State, Established in Maghreb and Transferred to Egypt, Culture House for Publishing and Distribution, Cairo, Egypt, 1991
- Al-Juwaili Muhammad, The Gift for Arabs is a Social Ritual that Reduces Social Ties, Al-Arab Journal, daily journal founded in London 1977, Monday 11/04/2016, 38th year, No. 10242
- Ibn Al-Khatib Al-Salmani Thu Al-Wizaratayn "Lissan Al-Din" (d. 776 AH/1374AD), History of the Arab Maghreb in the Middle Ages, which is the third section of the Book of the Works of the Scholars, revised by: Ahmed Mokhtar Al-Abadi and Muhammad Ibrahim Al-Kitani, Casablanca - Kingdom of Morocco, Al-Kitab House, 1964.
- Ibn Khaldun Abdul Rahman Bin Muhammad (d. 808 AH/1405AD), The History of Ibn Khaldun, Named the Diwan of Al Muftada and Al Khabar in the History of the Arabs, Berbers and their Contemporaries of Greater Concern, part 6, revised by: Khalil Shehada, reviewed by: Suhayl Zakkar, Al-Fikr House, Beirut-Lebanon, 2000
- Ibn Khaldun Abdul Rahman Bin Muhammad (d. 808 AH/1405 AD), Introduction, Part 2, Ali Abdul Wahed Wafi, Nahdet Misr Publishing House, Egypt, 7th Edition, 2014
- Al-Da'i Idris Imad Al-Din (d. 872 AH/1488AD), History of the Fatimid Caliphs in Maghreb: The Special Section of the Book of Eyoun Al-Akhbar, revised by: Muhammad Al-Yalawi, Islamic West House, Lebanon, 1st Edition, 1985
- Al-Dashrawi. Farhat: The Fatimid Caliphate in Maghreb (296-365AH/909-975AD), translated to Arabic by Hammadi Al-Sahili, Islamic West House, Beirut - Lebanon, 1st Edition, 1994
- Ibn Abi Zar' Ali (d. 726AH/1325AD), Joyful Companion in Al-Qurtas Gardens in the News of the Kings of Maghreb and the History of the City of Fez, revised by: Abdul Wahab Ben Mansur, Rabat - Kingdom of Morocco, Royal Press, Ed. 02, 1420AH/1999AD
- Abu Abdullah Muhammad Sanhaji, News of the Kings of Bani Ubayd and their Biography, revised by: Jaloul Ahmed Al-Badawi, National Book Foundation, Algeria, 1984
- Ibn Adhari Marrakashi (d. 712AH/1312AD), Revealing the News of Andalusia and Maghreb, revised by: J.S. Golan and E. Levy Provencal, part 1, Scientific Books House, Beirut - Lebanon, 1st Edition, 2009
- Azzawi. Ahmed, Maghrebian Diwani Letters (From the Islamic Conquest to the End of the Fourth Century AH), Rabat Net Maroc, 1st Edition, 2014
- Azzawi. Ahmed, Andalusian-Maghrebian Relations in the Fourth Century - Documentary reading, Rabat Net Maroc, 1st Edition, 2011

- Al-Qadi Nu'man, Opening the Call Letter, written in 346AH/957AD, revised by: Farhat Al-Dashrawi, Tunisian Distribution Company -Tunisia, National Office for University Publications -Algeria, 2nd Edition, 1986
- Marrakeshi Abdul Wahed Bin Ali (d. 647AH/1249AD), The Admirer in Summarizing the News of Maghreb, Beirut - Lebanon, Scientific Books House, Ed. 02, 1426AH/2005
- Al-Nuwairi "Ahmed Bin Abdul Wahab" (d.732AH/1332AD), History of the Islamic Maghreb in the Middle Ages (Africa and Maghreb, Andalusia, Sicily and Qartish) (27-719AH/647-1319AD) from the book: The Ultimate Love of the Arts of Literature, revised by: Mustafa Abu Daif Ahmed, Moroccan Publishing House, Casablanca -Kingdom of Morocco, 1984
- Audrey Becker, The giraffe and the Water Clock, Granting Diplomatic Gifts in Late Antiquity, Monde, n° 5, May 2014
- Claudine AULIARD, Diplomatic Gifts and Bargaining in Rome until the Beginning of the Mediterranean Conquest, Velia, 26, 2009
- Nicolas Drocourt, Animals as Gifts of Ambassadors between Byzantium and its Neighbors (VII -XII C), Tribute to Alain Ducellier, 2004