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## The Categorisation of Society and the Treatment of Zimmis in the Early History of Islam

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### Abstract

*Zimmis, non-Muslim subjects of the Islamic polity, were liable to pay a capitulation tax or jizya. The Holy Prophet (SAW) established good relations with Jews and Christians but preferred the expulsion of Jews from Madina. Governors like Walid bin Uqba and Amir Muawia demonstrated religious tolerance towards Christians. During Hisham bin Abdul Malik's reign, zimmi were granted full religious liberty, but Umayyad governors were less liberal and subjected them to persecution. Governorial policies towards non-converts were harsh, with the adoption of the Arabic language in financial jargon and an Arabic coinage system.*

*Keywords: Zimmis, non-Muslim, Islamic polity, liable, tax or jizya*

### Introduction

Zimmi, or non-Muslims, were subjects of the Islamic polity who were not Muslims but were liable to pay a tax or capitulation tax, or jizya. The Holy Prophet (SAW) established good relations with Jews and Christians, recognizing their rights and making alliances. However, he preferred the expulsion of Jews from Madina due to Jewish deceit and treachery.

The same precedents continued during the period of the Pious Caliphs, with the Holy Prophet (SAW) making a covenant with the Christians that is still valid today. Governors like Walid bin Uqba and Amir Muawia demonstrated religious toleration towards the Christians, taking part in the reconstruction of Edessa Church and employing them for significant tasks.

During Hisham bin Abdul Malik's reign, zimmi were granted full religious liberty, with governors like Khalid bin Abdullah being kind to them. The governor allowed Christians to construct their new churches for service, and the same tolerance was extended to Jews. However, the Umayyad governors were not very liberal and tolerant towards non-Muslims, as they laid the foundation of religious and social discrimination and sometimes subjected them to persecution.

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Governorial policies towards non-converts were harsh and strict due to their non-affiliation. They divided subjects into local Arabs, the mawali, and protectorates or zimmi. Public discontent against the zimmi during Abdul Malik bin Marwan's rule led to the adoption of the Arabic language in financial jargon and the introducing an Arabic coinage system.

Tritton cites numerous examples of torture and persecution against Christians in Egypt, including the actions of Al-Asbagh. Governors like Amr bin Sa'id, Abdullah bin Abdul Malik, and Walid bin Abdul Malik intensified the persecution, vandalizing churches, and even threatening to confiscate the St. John Church of Damascus. The drive for religious edicts intensified during the period of pious governor Umar bin Abdul Aziz, who imposed restrictions on religious practices and religious edicts.

### **The Zimmis**

Zimmi, which translates from Arabic to Ahlu 'z-Zimmah, refers to the members of the Islamic state who were not Muslims but rather follow other religions or creeds, such as Jews or Christians. Living under the Islamic political system meant they had to pay taxes or submit to capitulation tax, also known as poll tax or jizya [1]. However, the imposition of jizya or tax collection as a financial policy tool began in Madina, where taxes were first collected on religious grounds. It was later clarified that while Muslims were required to pay zakat, non-Muslims were also required to pay jizya. Apart from that, there was no discrimination against non-Muslims based on their faith or religious practices [2]. However, the rise of the Holy Prophet (SAW) to the status of the head of the community in Madina raised his status and signed formal agreements with the communities of other faiths[3] such as with the Banu Qurayzah tribe by staying with Ka'ab bin Asad until Madina came under siege when this document lost its utility on account of the withdrawal of the Jews and "it was torn up." [4] Al-Baladhuri has also mentioned a treaty with a tribe, the Banu Qaynuqa, a Jewish tribe. However, he also highlights that the Jewish expulsion from Madina was based on the violation of that treaty. [5] It shows that the Holy Prophet (SAW) established good relations with the Jews, or people of other religions, and made a distinction and toleration of the other people. This shows in Islam how to recognise rights, make alliances, and form common obligations to live in a shared space and simultaneously reserve the power to one's community[6]. However, these were the beginnings of a great rise, and the Holy Prophet (SAW) was bound by circumstances to display this statesmanship on account of expediency as well as situational demands. Later, he, instead of imposing *jizya* upon them, preferred their expulsion from the city.

Although there are different stories about their expulsion in historical records, all of them point fingers at the Jewish deceit and treachery to the point that the Holy Prophet (SAW) thought it imperative to execute their expulsion after assuming power[7].

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This was the policy about the Madinite Jews, but the non-Madinite Jews, he pursued a separate policy. For example, during the Khyber invasion, the Jews could stay put and pay half of the produce of their lands as *jizya*. [8] In the same fashion, the Jews were not expelled after the fall of *Wadi-i-Kura*, *Fadak*, or *Tayma*, but were levied *jizya* instead similar to their Khyberite counterparts. [9]

Christians made up the other significant faith-bound community. However, because the Arab Christians were not based in Madina and were living a considerable distance away, their relationships with the Christians were fundamentally different from those with the Madinite Jews. Second, there was no communication with the Christians in the early years until letters about Islam were sent to various Christian monarchs and emperors when the Madinites conquered the whole Arabian Peninsula. For instance, the Holy Prophet (SAW) promised tribal priests and priests in the Najran region in writing that they would not be forced to do anything until they fulfilled their duties [10].

Seeing a full guarantee, all of them signed a peace treaty with the Holy Prophet (SAW) and aligned with the Islamic polity to invade Iraq following the fall of the Persian Empire in 628AD. Several of them realised their conversion to Islam [11] was quite beneficial for their future.

In summary, the succeeding Muslim rulers were not as foresighted as the Prophetic policy of tolerating the Zimmi, which bore full fruits far sooner. In addition to being accepted and granted safety, Jews who engaged in anti-prophetic conspiracy-making were also spared. Regarding the timing and closeness to the prophetic period, nearly the same precedents persisted during the time of the Pious Caliphs. It is claimed that the Holy Prophet (SAW) established a bond with Christians that remains enforceable to this day. When the Christians became tired of being persecuted by the Persian Empire, they reminded the first caliph of their agreement with the Najranian Christians and asked for help, which the caliph dutifully granted [12].

Al-Tabari refers to Khalid bin Walid, who sent a diplomatic note to the Persian rulers, to either accept Islamic teachings or pay *jizya* and when later, he captured the entire Iraq and only imposed *jizya* and spared the landowners, leaving their properties [13].

In terms of Caliphatic policy towards the Zimmi, they were also predicated on tolerance and harmonious coexistence. For instance, in a letter to Sa'd bin Abi Waqqas, Hazrat Umar (RA) granted complete religious freedom to all the Ahl ul Kitab or Ahl ul Kalam, or People of the Book, and demanded one-fifth of the tax in exchange for the restitution of all the property and confiscated war booty [14]. Numerous instances are cited to support the accuracy of these assertions. He also gave his successor the same instructions to care for the Zimmis, safeguarding their right to practise their religion and attending to their financial needs. [15] Christian historians concur with Ishoyahba, a Nestorian patriarch, who asserts that Arabs respected religious clergy and their places of worship without opposing Christian practises. It is

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claimed that he referred to the peace pact that Hazrat Umar (RA) and Jerusalem signed to provide social security and protection for religious sites and rites. It is also reported that he said the caliph forbade tribute until the following crop [16].

This admirable statement from the patriarch of Nestoria says volumes about the open religious policy of the Caliphatic era of those times, which offered protection and freedom to the zimmi of the Islamic polity regardless of where they had previously resided—in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, or Persian. According to Lane-Poole, Amr was joined by a priest and a specific Catholic Copt named Abu-Maryam, who worked to negotiate terms of peace. The governor's generosity was motivated by his ties to Hagar and Ishmeal's family, as well as the guidance of the Holy Prophet (SAW). But it was a standard choice: as non-Muslim citizens, we had to pay jizya or accept Islam. Artaban, the Roman chief, ignored the impatience of Abu-Maryam and his priest regarding the acceptance of the latter choice [17]. Nonetheless, it was agreed that non-treaty parties would pay lower taxes without any security, including lower poll taxes, contingent on the rise and fall of the Nile River. Romans and Nubians were allowed to enter Egypt under the terms of the treaty, while those who rejected it were said to have no governmental security and merely paid a third of the fee [18].

But it was decided that, by the rise and fall of the Nile River, the non-treaty people would pay lower taxes with no security provided to them, including lower poll taxes. Rejectors were described as lacking governmental security and paying only a third of the tax rate, and the treaty was extended to the Romans and Nubians entering Egypt [20]. When Amir Muawia was the governor in Syria, it was stated that Abdur Rahman bin Khalid killed a Copt Christian named Ibn Uthal at which the governor intervened and asked his tribe to pay the blood money to win his release. It is stated that it was 12,000 dirhams [21]. As the Syrian governor, he also demonstrated religious toleration toward the Christians by taking part in the reconstruction of Edessa Church [22]. A Christian named Abd-I-Hakam was taken to Makkah by Yazid during the times of his father when he was ordered to lead them [23]. Amir Muawia who married a Christian lady, was tolerant of the Christians and employed several of them for very significant tasks such as medical, writing, and financial sector [24]. Overall, the treatment of the *zimmi* was almost good but not equal to that of the Holy Prophet (SAW), for there were some negligible excesses.

After assuming the charge of the Caliphate, Amir Muawia's Iraqi and Egyptian governors, proved themselves through the kind treatment they extended to the *zimmi*, employing them in financial and other sectors of their expertise [25]. Such a treatment ensued from the caliphatic palace in Damascus. It is stated the Egyptian *diwans* were in the Coptic language from the time of its fall to the time of Abdullah bin Abdul Malik, the then Egyptian governor [26]. Although many of the Copts were killed in the first Islamic century, [27] they still assisted in the revenue administration as advisors, helping the officials to streamline the collection work. Their training during their

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appointment by the Byzantine governor of that time helped them acquire these positions [28].

The way that Amr treated Maquqasor Cyrus, who came to meet him with a golden throne and allowed him to sit on it like a king, as well as the governor's ratification of the peace treaty with them, might be used to assess this policy of tolerance[29]. In summary, the zimmi were treated properly by the Umayyad governors and were generally well-treated even in Syria until the advent of Umar bin Abdul Aziz. They were also given good posts in the Syrian capital, Damascus [30].

There are countless instances of the Zimmi being treated admirably. Abd al-Malik bin Marwan not only gave them complete religious freedom, but he also offered them work in administrative and financial capacities that matched their qualifications. Because of his talent for versification, Abdul Malik also maintained a strong relationship with a Christian poet named Al-Akhtal, who was eventually appointed the courtly poet [31] like a poet laureate in modern times. He used to visit the caliph without any permission and that too extravagantly dressed and drunk[32]. To display these evaluative skills, he was allowed to enter the Kufan Mosque during Hajjaj's rule where the Muslims paid him huge respects [33]. As mentioned earlier, Hajjaj bin Yusuf was quite near-secular in his treatment of the other religion's followers. However, he, sometimes, resorted to harsh measures despite this thinking, and contrary to his image, he hired the services of Jewish doctors of those times [34]. Hajjaj bin Yusuf also used a Jew Somair in minting new coins, later called Sumairiya dirham [35].

The story of the Baghlidirham is almost the same, for they were named after another Jew, Baghal [36]. Egyptian condition, too, was not different from that of the Syrians regarding the non-Muslims where Abdul Aziz bin Marwan permitted them the construction of their religious places,[37] while Umar bin Abdul Aziz "gave them protection for their lives, property, churches, and crosses" [38]. He later constructed two more at Jurjis and Abu Kir in the state fortress and at some other place [39]. As Athanasius was a native of Edessa, he served Marwan bin Abdul Malik in Egypt, too [40]. Also, in the choice of their chief or patriarch, Abdul Aziz ibn Marwan permitted them to exercise their right to selection. After Isaac passed away, they consulted Abdul Aziz ibn Marwan over their selection of a successor; some proposed Simon, while others were against it. The other bishops expressed their support for Simon, but the governor asked about their decision on John, to which several of them gave their consent because they had known him. The governor appointed Simon after determining that John's praise was untrue [41]. Later, when Athanasius was heading the patriarchate, other deputies, enquired to the governor about the appointment of Gregory to manage the church and patriarchate, to which the governor consented[42]. However, these were exceptional cases during the Umayyad period.

The historical records about Walid bin Abdul Malik are quite interesting in that despite the ill-treatment of the non-Muslims, he exploited their skills in construction and depended on them in the execution of various projects. For example,

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he dispatched Greek and Coptic architects and experts for the reconstruction work at the Holy Prophet's Mosque in Madina. Madina was under the rule of Umar bin Abdul Aziz at that time[43].The governor himself asked the emperor (perhaps the Roman one) to send them, suggesting that gubernatorial rule is still in place. When Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik's reign came to an end, he too hired Christians for various positions. Al-Batriq bin Naka, for instance, was his special assistant assigned to oversee the construction of religious structures including mosques as well as water sources, channels, and wells [45].

Umar bin Abdul Aziz stayed good in his treatment of them, for he issued a decree to all the governors to ban the destruction of religious buildings, including churches[46].Subsequently, the same Umar showered the non-Muslims with generosity by directing the governor of Kufan to open a fund for the underprivileged and needy, helping them with debt relief and marriages. The provisions of his proclamation indicated that he anticipated their need for the next undertakings. [47] There were occasional gubernatorial lapses and hiccups about the policies towards the non-Muslims.

However, the most significant thing about *zimmi* during the period of caliph, Hisham bin Abdul Malik was full religious liberty. They were permitted to exercise their externalities. The Iraqi governor of Hisham, Khalid bin Abdullah, is stated to have been very kind to them [48].

The Christian patriarch Michael is said to have been greeted in Alexandria during his reign by a joyous parade with gospels, crosses, and candles[49]. Following the death of the well-known patriarch Athanasius, the caliph personally selected his heirs, including his bishops of Antioch [50].This caliphatic policy of appeasement continued even in the capital city where Hisham ordered the construction of the house of the patriarch near his church to facilitate him in service that the caliph was pleased to tell them that he sleeps soundly when they pray [51].

There were several other such cases of inter-religious marriages and relationships, which show the importance of non-Muslims in the Islamic polity. For example, the Hishamian governor of Iraq, Khalid al-Qasri is stated to have a Grecian mother, who was also a Christian. [52]. Khalid had to extend kindness to the Christians residing in his province to please his mother. It is stated that he was highly tolerant to the people of other religions, including the Jews [53].However, this inter-religious harmony continued between the mother and the son. The governor, therefore, allowed the Christians to construct their new churches for service. The same tolerance was extended to the Jews, too[54].Khalid used the Magians and the Christians in the financial administration and management[55].He went much ahead in his treatment and policy that once Hisham enquired him about having made the Magians and the Christians so dominant to rule the Muslims by appointing them on *kharaj* and other tax collection and monitoring[56].

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The way the caliph responded to Khalid's treatment shows how autonomous governors were in how they handled the zimmi or their protectorates. Khalid's mother and the subsequent favouritism also illuminate the topic of interfaith relations and their influence on governance from the perspective of the gubernatorial empowerment. The Umayyad administrators were not very liberal or tolerant towards non-Muslims despite their stated openness policy. They occasionally put them under persecution because they established the groundwork for social and religious discrimination, which in some circumstances turned out to be rather cruel and wicked. Because of their lack of affiliation, the government's measures regarding non-converts were quite severe and stringent[57]. Governors acted independently when it came to the zimmi or their protectorates, as evidenced by the way they treated Khalid and the caliph's subsequent response. Regarding the matter of interfaith relationships and their effects on governance, Khalid's mother and the subsequent favour also illuminate the gubernatorial empowerment. Despite their stated open policy, the Umayyad administrators were not particularly liberal or accepting of non-Muslims. In certain instances, they demonstrated extreme cruelty and meanness, as they established the basis for societal and religious prejudice, sometimes making them the targets of persecution. The government's actions regarding non-converts were quite severe and stringent because of their lack of affiliation[58]. However, it is interesting that despite his leniency, he tried to raise the mosque on some parts of St. John Church in the capital city, Damascus, though, the Christians refused[59] on religious grounds.

Furthermore, under Abdul Malik bin Marwan's reign, a growing dissatisfaction among the populace began to surface regarding the zimmi. Financial jargon began to appear in Arabic, which was appropriately included in the diwans. Under Abdul Malik's and Walid's administrations, efforts to Arabicize the financial language began to gather steam on their own. The plan was to switch from Greek to Arabic in Syria, from Persian to Arabic in Iraq and other surrounding provinces, and to replace the Coptic language in Egypt with Arabic. It also aimed to introduce a coinage system in Arabic [60].

This linguistic transformation led to administrative transformations. That is why, Surjaun, the deputy of Abdul Malik, asked other non-Muslims to seek some other works instead of government service, adding that it is God's will[61]. However, this dismissal started long before Abdul Malik came into power, for the Muslims were becoming proficient in evolving a system of their own. It, however, accelerated when Abdul Malik is stated to have suggested converting the Damascus church into a mosque, but the Christian clergy fiercely opposed his suggestion[62].

Perhaps, this persecuting thinking of the caliph spread to the governors, too, who resorted to the persecution of the *zimmi*, severally curtailing their freedom. Hajjaj, who is stated to have blessed them with liberty, suddenly came hard upon them [63]. Following the demise of John of Sanya, Hajjaj banned the Christians from the selection of anyone until he stayed alive. [64]. This persecution entered the financial

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matters with the imposition of *jizya* during Hajjaj's rule and that too on the converts. Hajjaj also raised the *jizya* of the Najranians to 200 clothes to demonstrate a sympathetic attitude towards Ibn al-Ash'ath [65]. Muhammad bin Marwan executed the chief of the Edessain people when he became Mosul's governor. The key Christian individuals were slaughtered in this massacre, and it is claimed that Muhammad bin Marwan also persecuted them and slew them all by sword after pillaging their homes [66].

In contrast, Abdul Aziz, his brother, demonstrated a great deal of tolerance and leniency towards non-Muslims. It wasn't all reality, though, as he applied severe financial and religious externalities management regulations. According to Tritton, he issued an order to have all valuable metal crosses broken and to place placards on Christian homes in Cairo and the southern region of Egypt [67].

However, there are historical records that demonstrate Abdul Aziz's orders about the construction of churches, which stand contrary to what Tritton states [68].

However, Tritton cites many examples even of his son. Like father, like son, Al-Asbagh is stated to have spit and tried to break the statute of the Virgin Mary in a Hulwanian monastery [69]. He later said that he would exterminate all the Christians from the province if he were to find such an opportunity [70].

Egypt's torture programme persisted unabatedly, and the circumstances for the zimmi were made worse by each new governor. For instance, Amr bin Sa'id's counsellors encouraged him to murder and pillage Christians' possessions when he took over as the Egyptian governor. Following in the footsteps of his predecessor, he commanded the removal of the crosses and outlawed their public exhibition during Christian religious festivals [71]. Alexander, a Christian patriarch, was brought before the next governor, Abdullah bin Abdul Malik, who reportedly asked him to introduce himself before ordering his men to torture him until he paid 3,000 dinars. It appeared that this had become an Egyptian custom. To pay the governor, he was furthermore compelled to gather funds from all around the nation [72].

Along with outlawing Christian attire, he also mandated the use of Arabic in place of Coptic, and he established new rules governing torture, hefty fines, forced extractions, and clergy insignia. Some monasteries branded their clergy; if the clergy were to be discovered to be unbranded, the monastery would be destroyed [73]. And without any break, as Walid bin Abdul Malik took over as caliph, the persecution grew even more intense. Churches suffered from vandalism. Despite his best efforts, the caliph was unable to persuade the religious leaders to comply with his requests. He even made the offer to buy the St. John Church in Damascus. Then he threatened to pulverise their city districts [74]. However, another record shows him threatening the confiscation of the St. Thomas church, which was away from St. John's [75]. Tritton records several such stories of torture. He states that the Caledonian priest of Damascus was accused of blasphemy upon which he was exiled to Yemen following the extraction of his tongue from his mouth [76]. He is also stated to have launched a



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mass conversion drive in which many people were killed in the churches for refusal[77].

It appears that his abuse provided the governors with hints. As a result, they treated them in the same manner. When Abdul Malik bin Rifa'a became the Egyptian governor in 99 AH, it is said that he took all of the Christians' prior tribute payments and even subjected Christian chief Michael to torture for not paying a hefty amount. When he told them he couldn't afford it, they locked him up for thirty-one days and put a hefty collar around his neck [78].

Maybe these examples of governorship spread too quickly, for in 96 AH/714 AD, the Christian patriarch of Alexandria was also made to pay 3,000 dinars when he paid a visit to the new Egyptian governor, Qurra bin Shuraih. It is possible that Bin Rifa obeyed Qurra, who gave the patriarch the order to organise the funds at whatever costs. Upon learning subsequently of the existence of four treasure jars in the governorial palace, the governor issued an order for the confiscation of all valuable items, including literature and animals. After being imprisoned once more, the patriarch was freed after seven days on the condition that he pay the same amount [79].

Even so, it appears that the entire campaign was heightened under the rule of the pious Umar bin Abdul Aziz, who imposed prohibitions. Soon after the caliphatic decrees, religious edicts were also published in rapid succession. Ikd al-Farid, for instance, claims that he gave the dhimmis the order to cease wearing turbans and Muslim clothing. [80] Bar Hebraeus also claims that Umar issued severe proscriptions against Christians wearing military uniforms and traditional Arabian garb. Quantity[81]. Another Syrian historian backs up these claims, adding that Umar banned the use of saddles for horses used by the Christians [82]. Tritton cites Abu Yousuf to elaborate on the reasoning behind the saddle restriction, stating that women were mandated to ride camels in saddles and providing specifics about the required clothing. He claims that Umar forbade wearing silk clothing or a Persian mantle. The caliph expressed dissatisfaction with non-Muslims cutting off their girdles, donning turbans, and growing out their hair [83]. Which were generally the Muslim cultural mores and banned for the non-Muslims.

It's possible that Yazid bin Abdul Malik, the caliph, passed on similar mistreatments to his governors, who also didn't hesitate to punish the zimmi severely. Paradoxically, he died as he carried out the pulverisation of the Christian places of worship. [84] Conversely, Usama bin Zaid and the Egyptian governor Hanzal bin Safwan collaborated to destroy churches, sculptures, and symbols, and deface iconography belonging to the Christian community [85]. Yazid's brother, Muslima, who was governing Khurasan and Iraq at that time, too, followed suit with the same devastation of the entire Christian culture, including precious images and symbols [86].

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This wave of maltreatment continued during the period of Hisham bin Abdul Malik, whose governors did not hesitate in their maltreatment of the Copts in Egypt. The Copts tried twice to overthrow this so-called Islamic subjugation of torture and pulverisation mainly through financial means [87]. For example, Hanzala bin Safwan put a lead seal on the necks of all persons between the ages of twelve and a hundred and recorded them in registers. He increased their *kharaj* and put a lion's lion-shaped badge on their hands. They were, then, banned from doing transactions without the badge, and "If any was found without it his hand was cut off and he was heavily fined" [88]. Even the last running Umayyad did not spare the Christians and ordered a huge campaign of monastic plunder and destruction which ebbed only after his flight in the face of the Abbaside armies [89].

According to Tritton, the fundamental theological justification for Islamic law has been that the two religions are incompatible with coexisting on the Arabian Peninsula. The three Islamic jurists—Imam Abu Hanifa, Imam Malik bin Anas, and Imam Ahmad bin Hambal—differ in their views regarding the right of Jews, Christians, and unbelievers to remain in Hejaz [90]. Nonetheless, there is proof that during the time of the Holy Prophet (SAW), Christians and other non-Muslims lived in Madina, Makkah, and Najran with great happiness [91]. As time went on, the banishment carried out under the reign of the second caliph (RA) became irreversible, and no non-Muslim was allowed to enter Hijaz.

It included forced conversion and persecution in case of refusal to convert such as what happened in the times of Abdul Malik's time when Muhammad, the Iraqi governor persecuted the head of the Bani Taghlib tribe, Mua'dh, for conversion and finally killed him for not embracing Islam. Some of the evidences suggest that the Muslims did not consider them the People of the Book or truly Christians and even assumed that they could not marry them or eat their meals from animal meat [92]. Surprisingly, it was also based on the theological proposition that Christians were not proper Christians and they were heathens to turn the argument of the Prophetic period upside down. There is another famous incident of al Asbagh, the son of Abdul Aziz, who forced Brutus to convert and forgave the *kharaj* of other converts [93]. It is also stated that this led to the wholesale conversion but that was not due to persecution as stated by Tritton [94]. Yet, there seems only one or two examples as M. A. Khan argues, "The Godless Umayyad rulers were more interested in filling the treasury by extracting higher taxes from non-Muslim subjects than converting them to Islam" [95].

He cites examples of Amir Muawia and Hajjaj bin Yousuf who, he argues, paid lip service to the new converts or outrightly rejected their conversion [96] on the ground that the Umayyads were more interested in finances than in conversion, for most of them were happy with gifts, [97] money or land.

Although the zimmi were treated with respect and dignity in the early Islamic polity, the pernicious notion that they were less equal to Muslims and had fewer rights

began to seep into the very minds of the Muslim rulers. This is evident throughout the entire analytical record of the history regarding the treatment of the zimmi from the Prophetic period to the Pious Caliphatic regime, during the Umayyad dynasty rule and in their governorate. It quickly spread like wildfire throughout the caliphatic palaces of the Umayyad era as well as the distant provinces and governorates, where the rulers persisted in killing and robbing the zimmi according to their whims and fancies.

The Abbasides' arrival and the ensuing mass murder of the Umayyad family siblings in Damascus marked the conclusion of the zimmi abuse campaign. The governors used all of their power to suppress Christians, Copts, and other minorities to demonstrate their allegiance to the state and garner caliphatic plaudits. This underscores the importance of the gubernorial function.

The Prophetic and Pious Caliphs treated zimmi according to the values of peace, respect for one another, safety, and freedom of religion. The governors were given strict directives to follow the above-specified points. Regretfully, there have been documented incidences of mistreatment of zimmis during the Umayyad era.

### **Conclusion**

This entire analytical record of the history of the treatment of the *zimmi* from the Prophetic period to the Pious Caliphatic regime, during the Umayyad dynastic rule and in their governorate, clearly shows that, though, *zimmi* were given due respect and honour in the initial period of the Islamic polity, the pernicious idea of their being different from Muslims and they are having less rights started creeping into the very psyche of the Muslim rulers. Soon, it spread like wildfire not only in the caliphatic palaces of the Umayyad period but also to the far-flung governorates and provinces where the governors continued plundering and killing the *zimmi* at their wishes and whims. This full campaign of the *zimmi* maltreatment only ended with the arrival of the Abbasides and the wholesale massacre of the Umayyad familial siblings in Damascus. However, the major point of the gubernorial role could not be belittled, for the governors, to prove their loyalty to the regime and to win the caliphatic applause went against the Christians, Copts, and other minorities with full might.

The treatment of zimmi during the Prophetic and Pious Caliphs was based on the principles of harmony, mutual respect, protection, and religious freedom. Strict orders were issued to the governors for the observance of the aforementioned points. Unfortunately, during the Umayyad era, there are allegedly and reportedly cases of maltreatment of zimmis.

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 6-8.

<sup>19</sup>Al-Baladhuri, *The Origins of the Islamic State: Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, trans: Philip Khuri Hitti, 103-104.

<sup>20</sup>A. S. Tritton, *Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects: A Study of the Covenant of 'Umar* Oxon: Routledge, 1950, 177.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 177, 180.

<sup>22</sup>John Haldon ed. *Money, Power and Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 53.

<sup>23</sup>Tritton, *Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects: A Study of the Covenant of 'Umar*, 155.

<sup>24</sup>Nzomiwu, John Paul C. *The History and Message of Islam*. Awka, Anambra State: Meks-Unique, 1989, 52. Also see Philip Khouri Hitti, *History of Arabs* (New York: Macmillan International Higher Education, 2002), 234.

<sup>25</sup>Hitti, *The History of Arab*, 234.

<sup>26</sup>Levy, Reuben. *The Social Structure of Islam*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 360.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 360-361.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>Tritton, *Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects: A Study of the Covenant of 'Umar*, 229.

<sup>30</sup>Ahmed Abdullah, *The Heights: Glory of Muslim World*.Karachi: Tanzeem Publishers, 1984, 150.

<sup>31</sup>Khurshid Ahmad Fariq, *History of Arabic Literature*, Vol-2. Utter Pardesh :Vikas Publications, 1972, 28.

<sup>32</sup>Meisami, Julie Scott and Starkey Paul. *Encyclopedia of Arabic literature*.London: Routledge,1998. 67. Also see, Roger M. A. Allen and Roger Allen, *The Arabic Literary Heritage: The Development of Its Genres and Criticism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 188.

<sup>33</sup>John Tannous, *The Making of the Medieval Middle East: Religion, Society, and Simple Believers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 43.

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<sup>34</sup> Hitti, *The History of the Arabs*, 255.

<sup>35</sup> Al-Baladhuri, *The Origins of the Islamic State: Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, trans: Philip Khuri Hitti, 266. Also see, Thomas Spencer Baynes, ed. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature*. Vol. 7, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891, 572.

<sup>36</sup> Michael G. Morony, *Production and the Exploitation of Resources* (Farnham: Ashgate/Variorum, 2002), 22.

<sup>37</sup> Tritton, *Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects: A Study of the Covenant of 'Umar*, 39.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 67-68.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 110-111.

<sup>43</sup> Al-Baladhuri, *The Origins of the Islamic State: Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, trans: Philip Khuri Hitti, 22.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 220-221.

<sup>46</sup> Al-Tabari, *History of al-Tabari Vol-23: The Zenith of the Marwanid House*, trans. Martin Hinds. New York: SUNY Press, 2015, 223.

<sup>47</sup> Heather J. Sharkey, *A History of Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Middle East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 49.

<sup>48</sup> Salma Hawa, *The Erasure of Arab Political Identity: Colonialism and Violence* (London: Routledge, 2019), 109.

<sup>49</sup> Blankinship, *The End of the Jihad State*, 266.

<sup>50</sup> Tritton, *Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects: A Study of the Covenant of 'Umar*, 79.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

<sup>52</sup> Marmaduke William Pickthall, Muhammad Asad, *Islamic Culture*, Vol-56 (Hyderabad: Islamic Cultural Board, 1982), 88.

<sup>53</sup> Wellhausen, Julius. *The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall*. London: Routledge, 2000, 330.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> Tritton, *Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects: A Study of the Covenant of 'Umar*, 22.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> Zaydan, Jirji. *Umayyads and Abbasids: Being the Fourth Part of Jirji Zaydans' History of Islamic Civilisation*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1907, 136.

<sup>57</sup> Tritton, *Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects: A Study of the Covenant of 'Umar*, 103

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 103.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 87

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> Daniel Clement Dennett, *Marwan Ibn Muhammad: The Passing of the Umayyad Caliphate*. Cambridge: Harvard University, 1939., 40.

<sup>62</sup> Tritton, *Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects: A Study of the Covenant of 'Umar*, 128.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>64</sup> Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall*, 301-303.

<sup>65</sup> Tritton, *Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects: A Study of the Covenant of 'Umar*, 128.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 103.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>68</sup> Tritton, *Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects: A Study of the Covenant of 'Umar*, 103.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 127-128.

<sup>72</sup> Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt*, 27.

<sup>73</sup> Tritton, *Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects: A Study of the Covenant of 'Umar*, 41.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., 41.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., 128.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., 129.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., 128.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., 116.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid.

<sup>81</sup>Ibn Taimiya, *Ibn Taimiya's Struggle Against Popular Religion*, trans. Muhammad Umar Memon, 169.

<sup>82</sup>Tritton, *Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects: A Study of the Covenant of 'Umar*, 116.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., 43.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., 104.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., 125.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., 128.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., 176.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid.

<sup>91</sup>Ian Gilman and Hans-CoachimKlimkeit, *Christians in Asia Before 1500*. New York: Routledge, 2013, 88.

<sup>92</sup>Tritton, *Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects: A Study of the Covenant of 'Umar*, 92.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., 35-36.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., 36.

<sup>95</sup>M. A. Khan, *Islamic Jihad: A Legacy of Forced Conversion, Imperialism and Slavery*. New York: Universe, Inc. 2009. 100.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., 100.

<sup>97</sup>Tritton, *Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects: A Study of the Covenant of 'Umar*, 228.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., 13, 24, 28 &53.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., 54, 59.