The Life of Muhammad

'Abdu Manāf were one family in which the honour and merit of one belonged to all:

Glory came to us from our fathers.
We have carried it to greater heights.
Do not we give the pilgrims water
And sacrifice the fat milch camels?
When death is at hand we are found
Brave and generous.
Though we perish (for none can live for ever)
A stranger shall not rule our kin.
Zamzam belongs to our tribe.
We will pluck out the eyes of those who look enviously at us.

Hudhayfa b. Ghānim [mentioned above] said:
(Weep for him) who watered the pilgrims, son of him who broke bread
And 'Abdu Manāf that Fihrī lord.
He laid bare Zamzam by the Maqām,
His control of the water was a prouder boast than any man's (112).

T. 1076

'ABDUL-MU'TTALIB'S VOW TO SACRIFICE HIS SON

It is alleged, and God only knows the truth, that when 'Abdul-Mu'ttalib encountered the opposition of Quraysh when he was digging Zamzam, he vowed that if he should have ten sons to grow up and protect him, he would sacrifice one of them to God at the Ka'bah. Afterwards when he had ten sons who could protect him they gathered together and told them about his vow and called on them to keep faith with God. They agreed to obey him and asked what they were to do. He said that each one of them must get an arrow, write his name on it, and bring it to him: this they did, and he took them before Hubal in the middle of the Ka'bah. (The statue of Hubal stood by a well there. It was that well in which gifts made to the Ka'bah were stored. Now beside Hubal there were seven arrows, each of them containing some words. One was marked 'bloodwit'. When they disputed about which should pay the bloodwit they cast lots with the seven arrows and he said whom the lot fell had to pay the money. Another was marked 'yes', and another 'no', and they acted accordingly on the matter on which the oracle had been invoked. Another was marked 'of you'; another mulqay, another 'not of you'; and the last was marked 'water'. If they wanted to dig for water, they cast lots containing this arrow and wherever it came forth they

1 I read Hubal with most MSS.
2 Cf. p. 103. 'T adds 'Hubal being the greatest (or, most revered) of the idols of Quraysh in Mecca'.
3 Not a member of the tribe.
the next day she said, 'Word has come to me. How much is the blood money among you?' They told her that it was ten camels, as indeed it was. She told them to go back to their country and take the young man and ten camels. Then cast lots for them and for him; if the lot falls against your man, add more camels, until your lord is satisfied. If the lot falls against the camels then sacrifice them in his stead, for your lord will be satisfied and your client escape death. So they returned to Mecca, and when they had agreed to carry out their instructions, 'Abdu'l-Mu'ttaib was praying to Allah. Then they brought near 'Abdulla and ten camels while 'Abdu'l-Mu'ttaib stood by Hubal praying to Allah. Then they cast lots and the arrow fell against Abdullah. They added ten more camels and the lot fell against Abdullah, and so they went on adding ten at a time, until there were one hundred camels, when finally the lot fell against them. Quraysh, and those who were present said, 'At last your lord is satisfied 'Abdu'l-Mu'ttaib.' 'No, by God,' he answered (so they say), 'not until I cast lots three times.' This they did and each time the arrow fell against the camels. They were duly slaughtered and left there and no man was kept back or hindered (from eating them) (114).

OF THE WOMAN WHO OFFERED HERSELF IN MARRIAGE TO 'ABDULLAH B. 'ABDU'l-MU'TTAIB

Taking 'Abdulla by the hand Abdu'l-Mu'ttaib went away and they passed—so it is alleged—a woman of B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza b. Quasay b. Kilab b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ay b. Ghail b. Fihr who was the sister of Waraqa b. Naufal b. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza, who was at the Ka'ba. When she looked at him she asked, 'Where are you going Abdullah?' He replied, 'With my father.' She said, 'If you will take me you can have as many camels as were sacrificed in your stead.' 'I am with my father and I cannot act against his wishes and leave him,' he replied.


It is alleged that 'Abdulla consecrated his marriage immediately and his wife conceived the apostle of God. Then he left her presence and met the woman who had proposed to him. He asked her why she did not make the proposal that she made to him the day before; to which she replied that the light that was with him the day before had left him, and she no longer had need of him. She had heard from her brother Waraqa b. Naufal, who had been a Christian and studied the scriptures, that a prophet would arise among this people.

My father Isbaq b. Yusair told me that he was told that 'Abdulla went in to a woman that he had beside Amina d. Wabh when he had been working in clay and the marks of the clay were on him. She put him off when he made a suggestion to her because of the dirt that was on him. He then left her and washed and bathed himself, and as he made his way to Amina he passed her and she invited him to come to her. He refused and went to Amina who conceived Muhammad. When he passed the woman again he asked her if she wanted anything and she said 'No! When you passed me there was a white blaze between your eyes and when I invited you you refused me and went in to Amina, and she has taken it away.'

It is alleged that that woman of his used to say that when he passed by her between his eyes there was a blaze like the blaze of a horse. She said: 'I invited him hoping that that would be in me, but he refused me and went to Amina and she conceived the apostle of God.' So the apostle of God was the noblest of his people in birth and the greatest in honour both on his father's and his mother's side. God bless and preserve him!

WHAT WAS SAID TO AMINA WHEN SHE HAD CONCEIVED THE APOSTLE

It is alleged in popular stories (and only God knows the truth) that Amina d. Wabh, the mother of God's apostle, used to say when she was pregnant with God's apostle that a voice said to her, 'You are pregnant with the lord of this people and when he is born say, "I put him in the care of the One from the evil of every envious; then call him Muhammad."' As she was pregnant with him she saw a light come forth from her by which she could see the castles of Buṣrah in Syria. Shortly afterwards 'Abdulla the apostle's father died while his mother was still pregnant.

THE BIRTH OF THE APOSTLE AND HIS SUCKLING

The apostle was born on Monday, 12th Rabiaul-awwal, in the year of the elephant. Al-Mu'ttalib b. 'Abdulla who had it from his grandfather Qays b. Makhrama said, 'I and the apostle were born at the same time in the year of the elephant.' (T. It is said that he was born in the house known as I. Yusuf's; and it is said that the apostle gave it to 'Abd ib. Abu Talib who kept it until he died. His son sold it to Muhammad b. Yusuf, the brother
of al-Hajjaj, and he incorporated it in the house he built. Later Khayzuran separated it therefrom and made it into a mosque. 1

Salih b. Ibrahim b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Aufl Yahya b. 'Abdullah b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. Sa'd b. Zurara al-Ansari said that his tribesmen said that Hassa b. Thabit said: 'I was a well-grown boy of seven or eight, understanding all that I heard, when I heard a Jew calling out at the top of his voice from the top of a fort in Yathrib "O company of Jews" until they all came together and called out "Confound you, what is the matter?" He answered: "Tonight has risen a star under which Ameed is to be born.""

I asked Sa'd b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. Hassa b. Thabit how old Hassa was when the apostle came to Medina and he said he was 60 when the apostle came, he being 53. So Hassa heard this when he was seven years old.

After his birth his mother sent to tell his grandfather 'Abdu'l-Mu'talib that she had given birth to a boy and asked him to come and look at him. When he came she told him what she had seen when she conceived him and what was said to her and what she was ordered to call him. It is alleged that 'Abdu'l-Mu'talib took him (T. before Hubal) in the (T. middle of the) Ka'b, where he stood and prayed to Allah thanking him for this gift. Then he brought him out and delivered him to his mother, and he tried to find foster-mothers for him (115).


His foster-brother was 'Abdullah b. al-Harith; Unaysa and Hudhafah were his foster-sisters. The latter was called al-Shayma'a, her people not using her proper name. Those were the children of Hafima d. 'Abdullah b. al-Harith. It is reported that al-Shayma'a used to carry him in her arms to help her mother.

Jahm b. Abu Jahm the client of al-Harith b. Hajjib al-Juma on the authority of 'Abdullah b. Ja'far b. Abu Talib or from one who told him as from him, informed me that Hafima the apostle's foster-mother used to say that she went forth from her country with her husband and little son whom she was nursing, among the women of her tribe, in search of other babies to nurse. This was a year of famine when they were destitute. She was riding a dusky she-donkey of hers with an old she-camel which did not yield a drop of milk. They could not sleep the whole night because of the weeping of her hungry child. She had no milk to give him, nor could their

1 Khayzuran was the wife of the caliph al-Mahdi (858-69), and as he did not give her her freedom until after his accession and I.I. died a few years before in the reign of Mansur, it would seem unlikely that I.I. should have recorded this tradition.

2 In W. Judhama. I have followed C. which has the authority of I. Hajar. The name is uncertain.

She-camel provide a morning draught, but we were hoping for rain and relief. 'I rode upon my donkey which had kept back the other riders through its weakness and enaciation so that it was a nuisance to them. When we reached Mecca, we looked out for foster children, and the apostle of God was offered to everyone of us, and each woman refused him when she was told he was an orphan, because we hoped to get payment from the child's father. We said, "An orphan! and what will his mother and grandfather do?", and so we spurned him because of that. Every woman who came with me got a suckling except me, and when we decided to depart I said to my husband: 'By God, I do not like the idea of returning with my friends without a suckling; I will go and take that orphan.' Her reply, "Do as you please; perhaps God will bless us on his account." So I went and took him for the sole reason that I could not find anyone else. I took him back to my baggage, and as soon as I put him in my bosom, my breasts overflowed with milk which he drank until he was satisfied, as also did his foster-brother. Then both of them slept, whereas before this we could not sleep with him. My husband got up and went to the old she-camel and lo, her udders were full; he milked it and he and I drank of her milk until we were completely satisfied, and we passed a happy night. In the morning my husband said: 'Do you know, Hafima, you have taken a blessed creature?' I said, 'By God, I hope so.' Then we set out and I was riding my she-ass and carrying him with me, and she went at such a pace that the other donkeys could not keep up so that my companions said to me, 'Confound you! stop and wait for us. Isn't this the donkey on which you started?' 'Certainly it is,' I said. They replied, 'By God, something extraordinary has happened.' Then we came to our dwellings in the Banu Sa'd country and I do not know a country more barren than that.

When we had him with us my flock used to yield milk in abundance. We milked them and drank while other people had not a drop, nor could they find anything in their animals' udders, so that our people were saying to their shepherds, "Woe to you! send your flock to graze where the daughter of Abu Dhuyaib's shepherds go." Even so, their flocks came back hungry not yielding a drop of milk, while mine had milk in abundance. We ceased not to recognize this bounty as coming from God for a period of two years, when I weaned him. He was growing up as none of the other children grew and by the time he was two he was a well-made child. We brought him to his mother, though we were most anxious to keep him with us because of the blessing which he brought us. I said to her: 'I should like you to leave my little boy with me until he becomes a big boy, for I am afraid on his account of the pest in Mecca.' We persisted until she sent him back with us.

Some months after our return he and his brother were with our lambs behind the tents when his brother came running and said to us, 'Two men
The Life of Muhammad

clothed in white have seized that Quraysh brother of mine and thrown him down and opened up his belly, and are stirring it up." We ran towards him and found him standing up with a livid face. We took hold of him and asked him what was the matter. He said, "Two men in white raiment came and threw me down and opened up my belly and searched therein for I know not what." So we took him back to our tent.

His father said to me, "I am afraid that this child has had a stroke, so take him back to his family before the result appears." So we picked him up and took him to his mother who asked why we had brought him when I had been anxious for his welfare and desirous of keeping him with me. I said to her, "God has let my son live so far and I have done my duty. I am afraid that ill will befall him, so I have brought him back to you as you wished." She asked me what happened and gave me no peace until I told her. When she asked if I feared a demon possessed him, I replied that I did. She answered that no demon had any power over her son who had a great future before him, and then she told how when she was pregnant with him a light went out from her which illumined the castles of Buṣrā in Syria, and that she had borne him with the least difficulty imaginable. When she bore him he put his hands on the ground lifting his head towards the heavens. "Leave him then and go in peace," she said.

Thaur b. Yazid from a learned person who I think was Khālid b. Ma'dānāl Kallīt told me that some of the apostle's companions asked him to tell them about himself. He said: "I am what Abraham my father prayed for and the good news of (Y. my brother) Jesus. When my mother was carrying me she saw a light proceeding from her which showed her the castles of Syria. I was suckled among the B. Sa'd b. Bakr, and while I was with a brother of mine behind our tents shepherding the lambs, two men in white raiment came to me with a gold basin full of snow. Then they seized me and opened up my belly, extracted my heart and split it; then they extracted a black drop from it and threw it away; then they washed my heart and my belly with that snow until they had thoroughly cleaned them. Then one said to the other, weigh him against ten of his people; they did so and I outweighed them. Then they weighed me against a hundred and then a thousand, and I outweighed them. He said, "Leave him alone, for by God, if you weighed him against all his people he would outweigh them."

The apostle of God used to say, There is no prophet but has shepherded a flock. When they said, 'You, too, apostle of God?', he said 'Yes.'

The apostle of God used to say to his companions, 'I am the most Arab of you all. I am of Quraysh, and I was suckled among the B. Sa'd b. Bakr. It is alleged by some, but God knows the truth, that when his foster-mother brought him to Mecca he escaped her among the crowd while she was taking him to his people. She sought him and could not find him, so she went to 'Abdullāh-Muṭṭalib and said: I brought Muhammad tonight and

1 Cf. Sura 94.1.

when I was in the upper part of Mecca he escaped me and I don't know where he is." So 'Abdullāh-Muṭṭalib went to the Ka'ba praying to God to restore him. They assert that Wārāqa b. Naufal b. Asad and another man of Quraysh found him and brought him to 'Abdullāh-Muṭṭalib saying, 'We have found this son of yours in the upper part of Mecca.' 'Abdullāh-Muṭṭalib took him and put him on his shoulder as he went round the Ka'ba confiding him to God's protection and praying for him; then he sent him to his mother Āmina.

A learned person told me that what urged his foster-mother to return him to his mother, apart from what she told his mother, was that a number of Abyssinian Christians saw him with her when she brought him back after he had been weaned. They looked at him, asked questions about him, and studied him carefully, then they said to her, 'Let us take this boy, and bring him to our king and our country; for he will have a great future. We know all about him.' The person who told me this alleged that she could hardly get him away from them.

ĀMINA DIES AND THE APOSTLE LIVES WITH HIS GRANDFATHER

The apostle lived with his mother Āmina d. Wāḥib and his grandfather 'Abdullāh-Muṭṭalib in God's care and keeping like a fine plant, God wishing to honour him. When he was six years old his mother Āmina died.

'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muhammad b. Āmm b. Hazm told me that the apostle's mother died in Abwā' between Mecca and Medina on her return from a visit with him to his maternal uncles of B. 'Adī b. al-Najjār when he was six years old (117). Thus the apostle was left to his grandfather for whom they made a bed in the shade of the Ka'ba. His sons used to sit round the bed until he came out to it, but none of them sat upon it out of respect for him. The apostle, still a little boy, used to come and sit on it 168 and his uncles would drive him away. When 'Abdullāh-Muṭṭalib saw this he said: 'Let my son alone, for by Allah he has a great future.' Then he would make him sit beside him on his bed and would stroke his back with his hand. It used to please him to see what he did.

THE DEATH OF 'ABDULLĀH-MUṬṬALIB AND THE ELEGIES THEREON

When the apostle was eight years of age, eight years after the 'year of the elephant', his grandfather died. This date was given me by al-'Abbās b. 'Abdullāh b. Ma'bad b. al-'Abbās from one of his family.

Muhammad b. Sa'id b. al-Musayyib told me that when 'Abdullāh-Muṭṭalib knew that death was at hand he summoned his six daughters Šafīya, Barra, 'Āṭika, Umm Ḥakīm al-Baydā', Umayma, and Arwā, and said to
them, 'Compose elegies over me so that I may hear what you are going to say before I die.' (118)

Ṣafiyya d. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib said in mourning her father:

I could not sleep for the voices of the keening women,
Bewailing a man on the crown of life's road,
It caused the tears to flow
Down my cheeks like falling pearls
For a noble man, no wretched weakling,
Whose virtue was plain to all,
The generous Shayba, full of merits,
Thy good father inheritor of all virtue,
Truthful at home, no weakling,
Standing firm and self-reliant,
Powerful, fear-inspiring, massive,
Praised and obeyed by his people,
Of lofty lineage, smiling, virtuous,
A very rain when camels had no milk.

Noble was his grandfather without spot of shame,
Surpassing all men, bond or free,
Exceeding mild, of noble stock,
Who were generous, strong as lions,
Could men be immortal through ancient glory,
(Alas immortality is unobtainable!)
He would make his last night endure for ever
Through his surpassing glory and long descent.

His daughter Barra said:

Be generous, O eyes, with your pearly tears,
For the generous nature who never repelled a beggar.
Of glorious race, successful in undertaking,
Of handsome face, of great nobility.
Shayba, the laudable, the noble,
The glorious, the mighty, the renowned,
The clement, decisive in misfortunes,
Full of generosity, lavish in gifts,
Excelling his people in glory,
A light shining like the moon in its splendour.
Death came to him and spared him not,
Change and fortune and fate overtook him.

His daughter 'Ātika said:

Be generous, O eyes, and not niggardly
With your tears when others sleep,
Weep copiously, O eyes, with your tears,
While you beat your faces in weeping.

His daughter Umm Ḥakīm al-Bayḍāʾ said:

Weep, O eye, generously, hide not thy tears,
Weep for the liberal and generous one,
Fie upon thee O eye, help me
With fast falling tears!
Weep for the best man who ever rode a beast,
Thy good father, a fountain of sweet water.
Shayba the generous, the virtuous,
Liberal in nature, praised for his gifts,
Lavish to his family, handsome,
Welcome as rain in years of drought.
A lion when the spears engage,
His womenfolk look on him proudly.
Chief of Kināma on whom their hopesa rest,
When evil days brought calamity,
Their refuge when war broke out,
In trouble and dire distress.
Weep for him, refrain not from grief,
Make women weep for him as long as you live.

His daughter Umayma said:

Alas, has the shepherd of his people, the generous one, perished,
Who gave the pilgrims their water, the defender of our fame,
Who used to gather the wandering guest into his tents,
When the heavens begrudged their rain.
You have the noblest sons a man could have
And have never ceased to grow in fame, O Shayba!
Abūl Ḥarīth, the bountiful, has left his place,
Go not far for every living thing must go far.
I shall weep for him and suffer as long as I live.
His memory deserves that I suffer.
May the Lord of men water thy grave with rain!
The Life of Muhammad

I shall weep for him though he lies in the grave.
He was the pride of all his people,
And was praised wherever praise was due.

His daughter Arwā said:
My eye wept and well did
For the generous modest father,
The pleasant natured man of Mecca's vale,
Noble in mind, lofty in aim,
The bountiful Shayba full of virtues,
Thy good father who has no peer,
Long armed, elegant, tall,
'Twas as though his forehead shone with light,
Lean waisted, handsome, full of virtues,
Glory, rank, and dignity were his,
Resenting wrong, smiling, able,
His ancestral fame could not be hid,
The refuge of Mālik, the spring of Fihr,
When judgement was sought he spoke the last word.
He was a hero, generous, liberal,
And bold when blood was to be shed,
When armed men were afraid of death
So that the hearts of most of them were as air,¹
Forward he went with gleaming sword,
The cynosure of all eyes.

Muhammad b. Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib told me² that 'Abdul-Muṭṭābi asked Muhammad to give a sign that he was satisfied with the elegies, for he could not speak (119).

Hudhayfah b. Ghānim, brother of B. 'Adiy b. Kaʿb b. Luʿayy, mentioned his superiority and that of Qusayy and his sons over the Quraysh, because he had been seized for a debt of 40,000 dirhams in Mecca and Abū Lālah Abdu'l-Uzzā b. Abdu'l-Muṭṭābi passed by and redeemed him:

O eyes, let the generous tears flow down the breast,
Weary not, may you be washed with falling rain,
Be generous with your tears, every morn
Weeping for a man whom fate did not spare.
Weep floods of tears while life does last,
Over Quraysh's modest hero who concealed his good deeds,
A powerful zealous defender of his dignity,
Handsome of face, no weakling, and no braggart,
The famous prince, generous and liberal,
Spring rain of Luʿayy in drought and death,
Best of all the sons of Maʿadd,²

¹ Cf. Sūra 14:44 'and their hearts were air'.
² Zaʾma lāl.

Note:
¹ Cf. p. 66, Or, 'then for the good Hāshim (ilkhāyq for ilkhāha).'
² Cf. Sūra 2:143 'Wee with one another in good works', and cf. s. 53 for this use of the verb itnhāb.
The Life of Muhammad

None but the sheikhs of Banu 'Amr were there,
They built many houses and dug wells
Whose waters flowed as though from the great sea
That pilgrims and others might drink of them,
When they hastened to them on the morrow of the sacrifice,
Three days their camels lay
Quietly between the mountains and the hijr.
Of old we had lived in plenty,
Drawing our water from Khumm or al-Hasir.
They forgot wrongs normally avenged,
And overlooked foolish slander,
They collected all the allied tribesmen,
And turned from us the evil of the Banu Bakr.
O Kharija, when I die cease not to thank them
Until you are laid in the grave,
And forget not Ibn Lubnâ's kindness,
A kindness that merits thy gratitude.
And thou Ibn Lubnâ art from Qaysay when genealogies are sought;
Where man's highest hope is attained,
Thyself has gained the height of glory
And joined it to its root in valour.
Surpassing and exceeding thy people in generosity
As a boy thou wast superior to every liberal chief.
Thy mother will be a pure pearl of Khuzâ'a,
When experienced genealogists one day compile a roll.
To the heroes of Sheba she can be traced and belongs.
How noble her ancestry in the summit of splendour!
Abû Shamir is of them and 'Amr b. Malik
And Dhû Jadhân and Abû'l-Jabr are of her people, and
As'ad who led the people for twenty years
Assuring victory in those lands (120).

Mastrâd b. Ka'b the Khuzâ'ite bewailing 'Abdu'l-Mu'tâlib and the sons of
'Abdu Manâf said:
O wanderer ever changing thy direction,
Why hast thou not asked of the family of 'Abdu Manâf?
Good God, if you had lived in their homeland
They would have saved you from injury and unworthy marriages;
Their rich mingles with their poor
So that their poor are as their wealthy.
Munificent when times were bad,
Who travel with the caravans of Quraysh
Who feed men when the winds are stormy
Until the sun sinks into the sea.

Since you have perished, O man of great deeds,
Never has the necklace of a woman drooped over your like
Save your father alone, that generous man, and
The bountiful Mu'tâlib, father of his guests.

When 'Abdu'l-Mu'tâlib died his son al-'Abbâs took charge of Zamzam
and the watering of the pilgrims, although he was the youngest of his father's sons. When Islam came it was still in his hands and the apostle confirmed his right to it and so it remains with the family of al-'Abbâs to this day.

Abû Tâlib becomes Guardian of the Apostle

After the death of 'Abdu'l-Mu'tâlib the apostle lived with his uncle Abû Tâlib, for (so they allege) the former had confided him to his care because he and 'Abdullah, the apostle's father, were brothers by the same mother, Fatima d. 'Amr b. 'Aidh b. 'Abd b. 'Imran b. Makhzom (121). It was Abû Tâlib who used to look after the apostle after the death of his grandfather and he became one of his family.

Yahyâ b. 'Abbâd b. 'Abdullâh b. al-Zubayr told me that his father told him that there was a man of Libû (122) who was a seer. Whenever he came to Mecca the Quraysh used to bring their boys to him so that he could look at them and tell their fortunes. So Abû Tâlib brought him along with the others while he was still a boy. The seer looked at him and then something claimed his attention. 'That disposed of his cries, 'Bring me that boy.' When Abû Tâlib saw his eagerness he hid him and the seer began to say, 'Woe to you, bring me that boy I saw just now, for by Allah he has a great future.' But Abû Tâlib went away.

The Story of Bahirâ

Abû Tâlib had planned to go in a merchant caravan to Syria, and when all preparations had been made for the journey, the apostle of God, so they allege, attached himself closely to him so that he took pity on him and said that he would take him with him, and that the two of them should never part; or words to that effect. When the caravan reached Bursa in Syria, there was a monk there in his cell by the name of Bahirâ, who was well versed in the knowledge of Christians. A monk had always occupied that cell. There he gained his knowledge from a book that was in the cell, so they allege, handed on from generation to generation. They had often...

1 i.e. 'never has your equal been born'. The figure is that of a woman nursing a baby while her necklace falls over the child at her breast. The correct reading would seem to be 'âd al-nâ'ir, dâd nitaq' means 'possession of pendant earrings', i.e. a woman. Dr. Arsat suggests that 'âd al-girda' should be read and the line would then run: 'Never has the knot of a woman's girdle run over your like'. The general sense would be the same, but the particular reference would be to a pregnant woman.

1 The sons of Hashim are meant: his name was 'Amr. So Cairo editors.
2 i.e. Kharija b. Hudhâfa.
The Life of Muhammad

passed by him in the past and he never spoke to them or took any notice of them until this year, and when they stopped near his cell he made a great feast for them. It is alleged that that was because of something he saw while in his cell. They allege that while he was in his cell he saw the apostle of God in the caravan when they approached, with a cloud over, shadowing him among the people. Then they came and stopped in the shadow of a tree near the monk. He looked at the cloud when it overshadowed the tree, and its branches were bending and drooping over the apostle of God until he was in the shadow beneath it. When Bahāʾirā saw that, he came out of his cell and sent word to them, "I have prepared food for you, O men of Quraysh, and I should like you all to come both great and small, bond and free." One of them said to him, "By God, Bahāʾirā, something extraordinary has happened today, you used not to treat us so, and we have often passed by you. What has befallen you today?" He answered, "You are right in what you say, but you are guests and I wish to honour you and give you food so that you may eat." So they gathered together with him, leaving the apostle of God behind with the baggage under the tree, on account of his extreme youth. When Bahāʾirā looked at the people, he did not see the mark which he knew and found in his book, so he said, "Do not let one of you remain behind and not come to my feast." They told him that no one ought to come had remained behind except a boy who was the youngest of them and had stayed with their baggage. Whereupon he told them to invite him to come to the meal with them. One of the men of Quraysh said, "By al-Lat and al-Uzza, we are to blame for leaving behind the son of Abdullah b. Abūl-Muṭṭalib." Then he got up and embraced him and made him sit with the people. When Bahāʾirā saw him he stared at him closely, looking at his body and finding traces of his description (in the Christian books). When the people had finished eating and gone away, Bahāʾirā got up and said to him, "Boy, I ask you by al-Lat and al-Uzza to answer my question." Now Bahāʾirā said this only because he had heard his people swearing by these gods. They allege that the apostle of God said to him, "Do not ask me by al-Lat and al-Uzza, for by Allah nothing is more hateful to me than these two." Bahāʾirā answered, "Then by Allah, tell me what I ask;" he replied, "Ask me what you like;" so he began to ask him about what happened in his (T.) waking and in his sleep, and his habits, and his affairs generally, and what the apostle of God told him coincided with what Bahāʾirā knew of his description. Then he looked at his back and saw the seal of prophethood between his shoulders in the very place described in his book (123). When he had finished he went to his uncle Abū Ṭalib and asked him what relation this boy was to him, and when he told him he was his son, he said that he was not, for he could not be the father of this boy of age. "He is my nephew," he said, and when he asked what had become of his father he told him that he had died before the child was born. "You have told the truth," said Bahāʾirā. "Take your nephew back to his country and guard him carefully against the Jews, for by Allah if they see him and know about him what I know, they will do him evil; a great future lies before this nephew of yours, so take him home quickly."

So his uncle took him off quickly and brought him back to Mecca when he had finished his trading in Syria. People allege that Zayrayr and Tammarūn and Daris, who were people of the scriptures, had noticed in the apostle of God what Bahāʾirā had seen during that journey which he took with his uncle, and they tried to get at him, but Bahāʾirā kept them away and reminded them of God and the mention of the description of him which they would find in the sacred books, and that if they tried to get at him they would not succeed. He gave them no peace until they recognized the truth of what he said and left him and went away. The apostle of God grew up, God protecting him and keeping him from the vileness of heathenism because he wished to honour him with apostleship, until he grew up to be the finest of his people in manliness, the best in character, most noble in lineage, the best neighbour, the most kind, truthful, reliable, the furthest removed from filthiness and corrupt morals, through loftiness and nobility, so that he was known among his people as 'The trustworthy' because of the good qualities which God had implanted in him. The apostle, so I was told, used to tell how God protected him in his childhood during the period of heathenism, saying, 'I found myself among the boys of Quraysh carrying stones such as boys play with; we had all uncovered ourselves, each taking his shirt and putting it round his neck as he carried the stones. I was going to and fro in the same way, when an unseen figure slapped me most painfully saying, 'Put your shirt on'; so I took it and fastened it on me and then began to carry the stones upon my neck wearing my shirt alone among my fellows.'
The Life of Muhammad

THE SACRILEGIOUS WAR (124)

This war broke out when the apostle was twenty years of age. It was so called because these two tribes, Kīnāna and Qays 'Aylān, fought in the sacred month. The chief of Quraysh and Kīnāna was Ḥarib b. Umāya b. 'Abdu Shams. At the beginning of the day Qays got the upper hand but by midday victory went to Kīnāna (125).

THE APOSTLE OF GOD MARRIES KHADIJA (126)

Khadija was a merchant woman of dignity and wealth. She used to hire men to carry merchandise outside the country on a profit-sharing basis, for Quraysh were a people given to commerce. Now when she heard about the prophet's truthfulness, trustworthiness, and honourable character, she sent for him and proposed that he should take her goods to Syria and trade with them, while she would pay him more than she paid others. He was to take a lad of hers called Maysara. The apostle of God accepted the proposal, and the two set forth until they came to Syria.

The apostle stopped in the shade of a tree near a monk's cell, when the monk came up to Maysara and asked who was the man who was resting beneath the tree. He told him that he was of Quraysh, the people who held the sanctuary; and the monk exclaimed: 'None but a prophet ever sat beneath this tree.'

Then the prophet sold the goods he had brought and bought what he wanted to buy and began the return journey to Mecca. The story goes that at the height of noon when the heat was intense as he rode his beast Maysara saw two angels shading the prophet from the sun's rays. When he brought Khadija her property she sold it and it amounted to double or thereabouts. Maysara for his part told her about the two angels who shaded him and of the monk's words. Now Khadija was a determined, noble, and intelligent woman possessing the properties with which God willed to honour her. So when Maysara told her these things she sent to the apostle of God and—so the story goes—said: 'O son of my uncle I like you because of our relationship and your high reputation among your people, your trustworthiness and good character and truthfulness.' Then she proposed marriage. Now Khadija at that time was the best born woman in Quraysh, of the greatest dignity and, too, the richest. All her people were eager to get possession of her wealth if it were possible.


1 Commentators point out that these are not names but epithets (The Pure, The Good) applied to the one son 'Abdullah.
he inquired about him he was told who he was. 'Abdullah b. Sa'īd b. Abū Dharr said, 'It was the grandfather of this man (meaning Abū Wabh), who took the stone from the Ka'bah when Quraysh decided to demolish it and it sprang from his hand and returned to its place, and it was he who said the words which have just been quoted.'

Abū Wabh was the maternal uncle of the apostle's father. He was a noble of whom an Arab poet said:

If I made my camel kneel at Abū Wabh's door,  
It would start the morrow's journey with well filled saddle-bags;  
He was the noblest of the two branches of Laiyāy b. Gāhilīb,  
When noble lineage is reckoned,  
Refusing to accept injustice, delighting in giving,  
His ancestors were of the noblest stock.  
A great pile of ashes lie beneath his cooking-pot,  
He fills his dishes with bread topped by luscious meat.  

Then Quraysh divided the work among them; the section near the door was assigned to B. 'Abdu Manāf and Zuhra. 'The space between the black stone and the southern corner, to B. Makhzūm and the Qurayshī tribes which were attached to them. The back of the Ka'bah to B. Jumaḥ and Sāhīm, the two sons of 'Amr b. Ḥusayn b. Ka'b b. Laiyāy. 'The side of the ħijj to B. 'Abdu'l-Dār b. Qasayy and to B. Asad b. al-'Uzza b. Qasayy, and to B. 'Adīy b. Ka'b b. Laiyāy which is the Ḥaṣām. The people were afraid to demolish the temple, and withdrew in awe from it. Al-Walīd b. al-Mughirā said, 'I will begin the demolition.' So he took a pick-axe, went up to it saying the while, 'O God, do not be afraid' (132), O God, we intend only what is best.' Then he demolished the part at the two corners. 'That night the people watched, saying, 'We will look out; if he is smitten we won't destroy any more of it and will restore it as it was; but if nothing happens to him then God is pleased with what we are doing and we will demolish it.' In the morning al-Walīd returned to the work of demolition and the people worked with him, until they got down to the foundation of Abraham. They came on green stones like camel's humps joined one to another. A certain traditionist told me that a man of Quraysh inserted a crowbar between two stones in order to get one of them out, and when he moved the stone the whole of Mecca shuddered so they left the foundation alone. (T. so they had reached the foundation.)

I was told that Quraysh found in the corner a writing in Syriac. They could not understand it until a Jew read it for them. It was as follows: 'I am Allah the Lord of Bakka, I created it on the day that I created heaven

1 Professor Aḥfī reminds me that the second half of this verse is reminiscent of Isra'īlī qaṣaṣ (1. 12) where the fine fat flesh of the camel is compared with white silk finely woven.
2 The feminine form indicates that the Ka'bah itself is addressed.
3 Or 'two sacred stones'.
4 ... * Not in T.
and earth and formed the sun and moon, and I surrounded it with seven pious angels. It will stand while its two mountains stand, a blessing to its people with milk and water; and I was told that they found in the moqâm a writing, 'Mecca is God's holy house, its sustenance comes to it from three directions; let its people not be the first to profane it.'

Layth b. Abû Sulaym alleged that they found a stone in the Ka'ba forty years before the prophet's mission, if what they say is true, containing the inscription 'He that soweth good shall reap joy; he that soweth evil shall reap sorrow; can you do evil and be rewarded with good? Nay, as grapes cannot be gathered from thorns.'

The tribes of Quraysh gathered stones for the building, each tribe collecting them and building by itself until the building was finished up to the black stone, where controversy arose, each tribe wanting to lift it to its place, until they went their several ways, formed alliances, and got ready for battle. The B. 'Abdul-l-Dâr brought a bowl full of blood; then they and the B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy pledged themselves unto death and thrust their hands into the blood. For this reason they were called the blood-lickers. Such was the state of affairs for four or five nights, and then Quraysh gathered in the mosque and took counsel and were equally divided on the question.

A traditionist alleged that Abû Umayya b. al-Mughâra b. 'Abdullah b. 'Umar b. Makhrûz who was at that time the oldest man of Quraysh, urged them to make the first man to enter the gate of the mosque unimped by the matter in dispute. They did so and the first to come in was the apostle of God. When they saw him they said, 'This is the trustworthy one. We are satisfied. This is Muhammad.' When he came to them and they informed him of the matter he said, 'Give me a cloak,' and when it was brought to him he took the black stone and put it inside it and said that each tribe should take hold of an end of the cloak and they should lift it together. They did this so that when they got it into position he placed it with his own hand, and then building went on above it.

Quraysh used to call the apostle of God before revelation came to him, 'the trustworthy one'; and when they had finished the building, according to their desire, al-Zubayr the son of 'Abdul-l-Muṭṭalib said about the snake which made the Quraysh dread rebuilding the Ka'ba:

I was amazed that the eagle went straight
To the snake when it was excited.
It used to rustle ominously
And sometimes it would dart forth.
When we planned to rebuild the Ka'ba
It terrified us for it was fearsome,
When we feared its attack, down came the eagle,
Deadly straight in its swoop.

---

1 A strange place in which to find a quotation from the Gospel; cf. Mt. 7. 16.

The Hûms

I do not know whether it was before or after the year of the elephant that Quraysh invented the idea of Hûms and put it into practice. They said, 'We are the sons of Abraham, the people of the holy territory, the guardians of the temple and the citizens of Mecca. No other Arabs have rights like ours or a position like ours. The Arabs recognize none as they recognize us, so do not attach the same importance to the outside country as you do to the sanctuary, for if you do the Arabs will despise your taboo and will say, 'They have given the same importance to the outside land as to the sacred territory.' So they gave up the halt at 'Arâfa and the departure from it, while they recognized that these were institutions of the pilgrimage and the religion of Abraham. They considered that other Arabs should halt there and depart from the place; but they said, 'We are the people of the sanctuary, so it is not fitting that we should go out from the sacred territory and honour other places as we, the Hûms, honour that; for the Hûms are the people of the sanctuary.' They then proceeded to deal in the same way with Arabs who were born within and without the sacred territory. Kînânâ and Khuz'â's joined with them in this (134).

The Hûms went on to introduce innovations for which they had no warrant. They thought it wrong that they should eat cheese made of sour milk or clarify butter while they were in a state of taboo. They would not enter tents of camel-hair or seek shelter from the sun except in leather tents while they were in this state. They went further and refused to allow those outside the haram to bring food in with them when they came on the great or little pilgrimage. Nor could they circumambulate the house except in the garments of the Hûms. If they had no such garments they had to go round naked. If any man or woman felt scruples when they had no Hûms garments, then they could go round in their ordinary clothes; but they had
to throw them away afterwards so that neither they nor anyone else could make use of them.

The Arabs called these clothes 'the cast-off'. They imposed all these restrictions on the Arabs, who accepted them and halted at 'Arafah, hastened from it, and circumambulated the house naked. The men at least were naked while the women laid aside all their clothes except a shift wide open back or front. An Arab woman who was going round the house thus said:

Today some or all of it can be seen, but what can be seen I do not make common property!

Those who went round in the clothes in which they came from outside threw them away so that neither they nor anyone else could make use of them. An Arab mentioning some clothes which he had discarded could not get again and yet wanted, said:

It's grief enough that I should return to her
As though she were a tabooed cast-off in front of the pilgrims.

i.e. she could not be touched.

This state of affairs lasted until God sent Muhammad and revealed to him when he gave him the laws of His religion and the customs of the pilgrimage: 'Then hasten onward from the place whence men hasten onwards, and ask pardon of God, for God is forgiving, merciful.' The words are addressed to Quraysh and 'men' refer to the Arabs. So in the rule of the haji he hastened them up to 'Arafah and ordered them to halt there and to hasten thence.

In reference to their prohibition of food and clothes at the temple such as had been brought from outside the sacred territory God revealed to him:

'O Sons of Adam, wear your clothes at every mosque and eat and drink and be not prodigal, for He loves not the prodigal. Say, Who has forbidden the clothes which God has brought forth for His servants and the good things which He has provided? Say, They on the day of resurrection will be only for those who in this life believed. Thus do we explain the signs for people who have knowledge.' Thus God set aside the restrictions of the Hums and the innovations of Quraysh against men's interests when He sent His apostle with Islam.

'Abdullah b. 'Abū Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Hazm from 'Uthmān b. Abū Sulaymān b. Jubayr b. Mu'tim from his uncle Nahī' b. Jubayr from his father Jubayr b. Mu'tim said: 'I saw God's apostle before revelation came to him and lo he was halting on his beast in 'Arafah with men in the midst of his tribe until he quitted it with them—a special grace from God to him.'

1 The survival of the idea of conspicuous holiness which on the one hand prohibited the introduction of profane food into the sanctuary, and when it could not prevent the introduction of profane clothes, forbade their use for common purposes after they had come in contact with taboo, would seem to indicate an antiquity far greater than that ascribed to these practices here.

2 Sūra 2: 195.

3 Sūra 7: 29.

1 A great deal more follows in the name of I. 'Abbās. It is doubtful whether it comes from L.L., because though there is new matter in it, some statements which occur in the foregoing are repeated, so that it is probable that they reached 'Abdul from another source. In the foregoing I have translated only passages which provide additional information.
Jewish rabbis, Christian monks, and Arab soothsayers had spoken about the apostle of God before his mission when his time drew near. As to the rabbis and monks, it was about his description and the description of the time which they found in their scriptures and what their prophets had enjoined upon them. As to the Arab soothsayers they had been visited by satans from the jinn with reports which they had secretly overheard before they were prevented from hearing by being pelted with stars. Male and female soothsayers continued to tell full mention of some of these matters to which the Arabs paid no attention until God sent him and they recognized him. When the prophet's mission came the satans were prevented from listening and they could not occupy the seats in which they used to sit and steal the heavenly tidings for they were pelted with stars, and the jinn knew that that was due to an order which God had commanded concerning mankind. God said to His prophet Muhammad when He sent him as he was telling him about the jinn when they were prevented from listening and knew what they knew and did not deny what they saw; 'Say, It has been revealed to me that a number of the jinn listened and said “We have heard a wonderful Quran which guides to the right path, and we believe in it and we will not associate anyone with our Lord and that He (exalted be the glory of our Lord) hath not chosen a wife or a son. A foolish one among us used to speak lies against God, and we had thought men and jinn would not speak a lie against God and that when men took refuge with the jinn, they increased them in revolt," ending with the words: “We used to sit on places therein to listen; he who listens now finds a flame waiting for him. We do not know whether evil is intended against those that are on earth or whether their lord wishes to guide them in the right path”.

When the jinn heard the Quran they knew that they had been prevented from listening before so that that revelation should not be mingled with news from heaven so that men would be confused with the tidings which came from God about it when the proof came and doubt was removed; so they believed and acknowledged the truth. Then they returned to their people warning them, saying, O our people we have heard a book which was revealed after Moses confirming what went before it, guiding to the truth and to the upright path.

1 In reference to the saying of the jinn, 'that men took refuge with them and they increased them in revolt', Arabs of the Quraysh and others who they were journeying and stopped at the bottom of a vale to pass a night therein used to say, 'I take refuge in the lord of this valley of the jinn tonight from the evil that is therein' (133).

2 Sūra 46. 28.

Ya'qūb b. Uthūb b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas told me that he was informed that the first Arabs to be afraid of falling stars when they were pelted with them were this clan of Thaqīf, and that they came to one of their tribesmen called ‘Amr b. Umrayya, one of B. Ilīj who was a most acute and shrewd man, and asked him if he had noticed this peltage with stars. He said: ‘Yes, but wait, for if they are the well-known stars which guide travellers by land and sea, by which the seasons of summer and winter are known to help men in their daily life, which are being thrown, then by God! it means the end of the world and the destruction of all that is in it. But if they remain constant and other stars are being thrown, then it is for some purpose which God intends towards mankind.’

Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhīrī on the authority of ‘Ali b. al-Husayn b. ‘Ali b. Abū Tālib from ‘Abdullah b. al-‘Abbās from a number of the Anṣār mentioned that the apostle of God said to them, ‘What were you saying about this shooting star?’ They replied, ‘We were saying, a ring is dead, a king has been appointed, a child is born, a child has died.’ He replied, ‘It is not so, but when God has decreed something concerning His creation the bearers of the throne hear it and praise Him, and those below them praise Him, and those lower still praise Him because they have praised, and this goes on until the praise descends to the lowest heaven where they praise. Then they ask each other why, and are told that it is because those above them have done so and they say, ‘Why don’t you ask those above you the reason?’’, and so it goes on until they reach the bearers of the throne who say that God has decreed something concerning His creation and the news descends from heaven to heaven to the lowest heaven where they discuss it, and the satans steal it by listening, mingling it with conjecture and false intelligence. Then they convey it to the soothsayers and tell them of it, sometimes being wrong and sometimes right, and so the soothsayers are sometimes right and sometimes wrong. Then God shuts off the satans by these stars with which they were pelted, so soothsaying has been cut off today and no longer exists.


A learned person told me that a woman of B. Sahm called al-Ghaytā who was a soothsayer in the time of ignorance was visited by her familiar spirit one night. He chirped beneath her, then he said,

I know what I know,

The day of wounding and slaughter.

1 The reading here varies; the word aqada means the shriek of birds or the creaking noise of a door, and can be applied to a man’s voice. If we read inquadda, it means the fall of the swoop of a bird. In view of the chirping and muttering of soothsayers all the world over, the first reading seems preferable.
The Life of Muhammad

When the Quraysh heard of this they asked what he meant. The spirit came to her another night and chirped beneath her saying,

Death, what is death?
In it bones are thrown here and there.¹

When Quraysh heard of this they could not understand it and decided to wait until the future should reveal its meaning. When the battle of Badr and Uhud took place in a glen, they knew that this was the meaning of the spirit's message (136).

‘Ali b. Na‘f al-Jurarishi told me that Jabi, a tribe from the Yaman, had a soothsayer in the time of ignorance, and when the news of the apostle of God was blazed abroad among the Arabs, they said to him, ‘Look into the matter of this man for us’, and they gathered at the bottom of the mountain where he lived. He came down to them when the sun rose and stood leaning on his bow. He raised his head toward heaven for a long time and began to leap about and say:

O men, God has honoured and chosen Muhammad,
Purified his heart and bowels.
His stay among you, O men, will be short.

Then he turned and climbed up the mountain whence he had come.

A person beyond suspicion told me on the authority of ‘Abdullah b. Ka‘b a freedman of ‘Utman b. Affân that he was told that when ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭîb was sitting with the people in the apostle's mosque, an Arab came in to visit him. When ‘Umar saw him, he said, ‘This fellow is still a polytheist, he has not given up his old religion yet, or (he said), he was a soothsayer in the time of ignorance.’ The man greeted him and sat down and ‘Umar asked him if he was a Muslim; he said that he was. He said, ‘But were you a soothsayer in the time of ignorance?’ The man replied, ‘Good God, commander of the faithful, you have thought ill of me and have greeted me in a way that I never heard you speak to anyone of your subjects since you came into power.’ ‘Umar said, ‘I ask God’s pardon. In the

¹ This ominous oracle can vie with any oracle from Delphi in obscurity. We can recall, ‘Glores what are glories?’, and this, as the sequel shows, is the way Ibn ‘Abîdîb understood an enigma when the battles of Badr and Uhud took place in glens. But such a translation ignores the fact that the antecedent fâhī (not fâhih) must be a singular, and no form of this is known in the singular. This translation carries with it the necessity of rendering the following line, thus, ‘Wherein Ka‘b is lying prostrate’, and commentators are unanimous that ‘Kâb’ refers to the tribe of Ka‘b b. Lu’ayy, who provided most of the slain in the battle of Badr and Uhud and so were found ‘thrown on their sides’. (I can find no authority for translating Ka‘b by ‘hearts’—Fercen—as do Weil and G. Hilâcher, Die Propheten, Leipzig 1914, p. 88. ‘Ankle’ in the singular is the meaning, and this can hardly be right.) In any proof text cited by Lane, ‘Ka‘b, where ‘shab’ (people) and Ka‘b (the tribe) and ‘shab’ (bones used as dice like our knucklebones) are all found in a single couplet, I am inclined to think that the oracle is still further complicated and that a possible translation is that given above. This, at any rate, has the merit of correct syntax since it requires us to read and the selection of a word susceptible of so many meanings which contains the name of a well-known tribe provides an excellent example of oracular prophecy.

The Jewish Warning about the Apostle of God

Ja‘far b. ‘Umar b. Qatâdah told me that some of his tribesmen said: ‘What induced us to accept Islam, apart from God’s mercy and guidance, was what we used to hear the Jews say. We were polytheists worshipping idols, while they were people of the scriptures with knowledge which we did not possess. There was continual enmity between us, and when we got the better of them and excited their hate, they said, “The time of a prophet who is to be sent has now come. We will kill you with his aid as ‘Ad and ‘Am perish.” We often used to hear them say this. When God sent his apostle we accepted him when he called us to God and we realized what their threat meant and joined him before we believed in him but they denied him. Concerning us and them, God revealed the verse in the chapter of the Cow: “And when a book from God came to them confirming what they already had (and they were formerly asking for victory over the unbelievers), when what they knew came to them, they disbelieved it. The curse of God is on the unbelievers.”’ (139)²

‘Abdullâb b. Ibrahim b. ‘Abdul-‘Rahîm b. ‘Affu from Matthûd b. Labîd, brother of B. ‘Abdul-‘Ashhal, from Salama b. Salama b. Wâqsh (Salama 135 is present at Badr) said: ‘We had a Jewish neighbour among B. ‘Abdul-‘Ashhal, who came out to us one day from his house. (At that time I was the

² A much longer account is given by S. 135-40.
³ If this report is true it indicates that the Messianic hope was still alive among the Jewish Jews.
The Life of Muhammad

youngest person in my house, wearing a small robe and lying in the courtyard.) He spoke of the resurrection, the reckoning, the scales, paradise and hell. When he spoke of these things to the polytheists who thought that there could be no rising after death, they said to him, "Good gracious man! Do you think that such things could be that men can be raised from the dead to a place where there is a garden and a fire in which they will be recompensed for their deeds?" "Yes," he said, "and by Him whom men swear by, he would wish that he might be in the largest oven in his house rather than in that fire: that they would heat it and thrust him into it and plaster it over if he could get out from that fire on the following day! When they asked for a sign that this would be, he said, pointing with his hand to Mecca and the Yaman, "A prophet will be sent from the direction of this land." When they asked when they would appear, he looked at me, the youngest person, and said: "This boy, if he lives his natural term, will see him," and by God, a night and a day did not pass before God saw Muhammad his apostle and he was living among us. We believed in him, but he denied him in his wickedness and envy. When we asked, "Aren’t you the man who said these things?" he said, "Certainly, but this is not the man."

‘Āṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda on the authority of a shaykh of the B. Qurayza, said to me, "Do you know how Thā’labah b. Sa’ya and Asid b. Sa’ya and Asad b. ‘Ubayd of B. Hadil, brothers of B. Qurayza, became Muslims? They were with them during the days of ignorance; then they became the masters in Islam." When I said that I did not know, he told me that a Jew from Syria, Ibnul-Hayyabān, came to us some years before Islam and dwelt among us. "I have never seen a better man than he who was not a Muslim. When we were living in the time of drought we asked him to come with us and pray for rain. He declined to do so unless we paid him something, and when we asked how much he wanted, he said, "A bushel of dates or two bushels of barley." When we had duly paid up he went outside with harra and prayed for rain for us; and by God, hardly had he left his place when clouds passed over us and it rained. Not once nor twice did he do this. Later when he knew that he was about to die he said, "O Jews, what do you think made me leave a land of bread and wine to come to a land of hardship and hunger? When we said that we could not think why, he said that he had come to this country expecting to see the emergence of a prophet whose time was at hand. This was the town where he would migrate and he was hoping that he would be sent so that he could follow him. "His time has come," he said, "and don’t let anyone get to him before you, O Jews; for he will be sent to shed blood and to take captive the women and children of those who oppose him. Let not that keep you but from him."

When the apostle of God was sent and besieged B. Qurayza, those young men who were growing youths said, "This is the prophet of whom Ibnul-Hayyabān testified to you." They said that he was not; but the others asserted that he had been accurately described, so they went and became Muslims and saved their lives, their property, and their families. Such is what I have been told about the Jewish reports.

HOW SALMĀN BECAME A MUSLIM

‘Āṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda al-Ansārī told me on the authority of Maḥmūd b. Labid from ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abbās as follows: Salmān said while I listened to his words: "I am a Persian from Isphahān from a village called Juyj. My father was the principal landowner in his village and I was dearer to him than the whole world. His love for me went to such lengths that he shut me in his house as though I were a slave girl. I was such a zealous Magian that I became keeper of the sacred fire, replenishing it and not letting it go out for a moment. Now my father owned a large farm, and one day when he could not attend to his farm he told me to go to it and learn about it, giving me certain instructions. "Do not let yourself be detained," he said, "because you are more important to me than my farm and worrying about you will prevent me going about my business." So I started out for the farm, and when I passed by a Christian church I heard the voices of the men praying. I knew nothing about them because my father kept me shut up in his house. When I heard their voices I went to see what they were doing; their prayers pleased me and I felt drawn to their worship and thought that it was better than our religion, and I decided that I would not leave them until sunset. So I did not go to the farm. When I asked them where their religion originated, they said "Syria". I returned to my father who had sent after me because anxiety on my account had interrupted all his work. He asked me where I had been and reproached me for not obeying his instructions. I told him that I had passed by some men who were praying in their church and was so pleased with what I saw of their religion that I stayed with them until sunset. He said, "My son, there is no good in that religion; the religion of your fathers is better than that." "No," I said, "It is better than our religion." My father was afraid of what I would do, so he bound me in fetters and imprisoned me in his house.

I sent to the Christians and asked them if they would tell me when a caravan of Christian merchants came from Syria. They told me, and I said to them: "When they have finished their business and want to go back to their own country, ask them if they will take me." They did so and I cast off the fetters from my feet and went with them to Syria. Arrived there I asked for the most learned person in their religion and they directed me to the bishop. I went to him and told him that I liked his religion and should like to be with him and serve him in his church, to learn from him and to pray with him. He invited me to come in and I did so. Now he was a bad man who used to command people to give alms and induced them to give, and I thought I could not live here. So C., but the beginning of the story suggests that we should read abdhr from the Jewish rabbi."
do so and when they brought him money he put it in his own coffers and did not give it to the poor, until he had collected seven jars of gold and silver. I conceived a violent hatred for the man when I saw what he was doing. Sometime later when he died and the Christians came together, they brought him to his last resting place and gave nothing to the poor. They asked how I could possibly know this, so I told them the truth and when I showed them the place where his coffers and gave nothing to the poor. They asked how I could possibly know this, so I told them the truth and when I showed them the place they said, "By God, we will never bury the fellow," so they crucified him and stoned him and appointed another in his place.

I have never seen any non-Muslim whom I consider more virtuous, more ascetic, more devoted to the next life, and more consistent night and day than he. I loved him as I had never loved anyone before. I stayed with him a long time until when he was about to die I told him how I loved him and asked him to whom he would confide me and what orders he would give me now that he was about to die. He said, "My dear son, I do not know anyone who is as I am. Men have died and have either altered or abandoned most of their true religion, except a man in Maušīl; he follows my faith, so join yourself to him. So when he died and was buried, I attached myself to the bishop of Maušīl telling him that so-and-so has confided me to him when he died and told me that he followed the same path. I stayed with him and found him just as he had been described, but it was not long before he died and I asked him to do for me what his predecessors had done. He replied that he knew of only one man, in Naṣabīn, who followed the same path and he recommended me to go to him.

1 I stayed with this good man in Naṣabīn for some time and when he died he recommended me to go to a colleague in Anammūriya. I stayed with him for some time and during his funeral I passed many cows and a small flock of sheep; then when he was about to die I asked him to recommend me to someone else. He told me that he knew of no one who followed his way of life, but that a prophet was about to arise who would be sent with the religion of Abraham; he would come forth in Arabia and would migrate to a country between two large belts, between which were palms. He has unmistakable marks. He will eat what is given to him but not things given as alms. Between his shoulders is the seal of prophecy. "If you are able to go to that country, do so." Then he died and was buried and I stayed in Anammūriya as long as God willed. Then a party of Khalītī merchants passed by and I asked them to take me to Arabia and I would give them those cows and sheep of mine. They accepted the offer and took me with them until we reached Wādī-l-Qūrā, where they sold me to a Jew as a slave.

I saw the palm-trees and I hoped that this would be the town which my master had described to me, for I was not certain. Then a cousin of his from B. Qurayya of Medina came and bought me and carried me away to Medina, and, by God, as soon as I saw it I recognized it from my master's description. I dwelt there and the apostle of God was sent and lived in Mecca; but I did not hear him mentioned because I was fully occupied as a slave. Then he migrated to Medina and as I was in the top of a palm-tree belonging to my master, taking out my work while my master sat below, suddenly a cousin of his came to him and said: "God smite B. Qurayya! They are gathering at this moment in Qubā round a man who has come to them from Mecca today asserting that he is a prophet." (140) When I heard this I was seized with trembling (141), so that I thought I should fall on my master; so I came down from the palm and began to say to his cousin, "What did you say? What did you say?" My master was angered and gave me a smart blow, saying, "What do you mean by this? Get back to your work." I said, "Never mind, I only wanted to find out the true report." Now I had a little food which I had gathered, and I took it that evening to the apostle of God who was in Qubā and said, "I have heard that you are an honest man and that your companions are strangers in want; here is something for alms, for I think that you have more right to it than others." So I gave it to him. The apostle said to his companions, "Eat!" but he did not hold out his own hand and did not eat. I said to myself, "That is one;" then I left him and collected some food and the apostle went to Medina. Then I brought it to him and said, "See that you do not eat food given as alms, here is a present which I freely give you." The apostle ate it and gave his companions some. I said, "That's two," then I came to the apostle when he was in Bāqī-ʿl-Gharqād and had followed the bier of one of his companions. Now I had two cloaks, and he was sitting with his companions, I saluted him and went round to look at his back so that I could see whether the seal which my master had described to me was there. When the apostle saw me looking at his back he knew that I was trying to find out the truth of what had been described to me, so he threw off his cloak laying bare his back and I looked at it and recognized it. Then I bent over him, kissing him, and weeping. The apostle said, "Come here;" so I came and sat before him and told him my story as I have told you, O b. ʿAbbās. The apostle wanted his companions to hear my story." Then servitude occupied ʿAlamūn so that he could not be at Bādīr and Uhud with the apostle. ʿAlamūn continued: "Then the apostle said to me, "Write an agreement," so I wrote to my master agreeing to plant three hundred palm-trees for him, digging out the base, and to pay forty okes of gold. The apostle called on his companions to help me, which they did; one with thirty little palms, another with twenty, another with fifteen, and another with ten, each helping as much as he could until the three hundred were complete. The cemetery of Medina which lies outside the town.
FIVE MEN WHO BROKE WITH POLYTHEISM

One day when the Quraysh had assembled on a feast day to venerate and circumambulate the idol to which they offered sacrifices, this being a fair

1 For an interesting account of the reopening of an ancient mine in the Wajh-Yanbu' area of the Hijaz see K. S. Twidwell, Saudi Arabia, Princeton, 1947, pp. 159 f. Kulturincantations, said to date from A.D. 750, were found there, and this may well have been one of King Solomon's mines.

2 The cke being roughly an ounce, a miracle is implied.

which they held annually, four men drew apart secretly and agreed to keep their counsel in the bonds of friendship. They were (i) Waraqah b. Naufal b. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-Uzza b. Quaysay b. Kils b b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'yay; (ii) 'Ubaydullah b. Ja'fhab b. Ya'mar b. Sbars b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Ghanm b. Daud b. Asad b. Khuzayma, whose mother was Ummayma d. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib; (iii) Uthman b. al-Huwayrih b. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-Uzza b. Quaysay; and (iv) Zayd b. Amr b. Nufayl b. 'Abdu'l-Uzza b. 'Abdullah b. Qurt b. Riazh b. Razah b. Adiy b. Ka'b b. Lu'yay. The four were the opinion that their people had corrupted the religion of their father Abraham, and that the stone they went round was no account; it could neither hear, nor see, nor hurt, nor help. 'Find for yourselves a religion,' they said; 'for by God you have none.' So they went their several ways in the lands, seeking the Hanifiya, the religion of Abraham.

Waraqah attached himself to Christianity and studied its scriptures until he had thoroughly mastered them. 'Ubaydullah went on searching until Islam came; then he migrated with the Muslims to Abyssinia taking with him his wife who was a Muslim, Umm Habiba, d. Abi Sufyan. When he arrived there he adopted Christianity, parted from Islam, and died a Christian in Abyssinia.

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me that when he had become a Christian 'Ubaydullah as he passed the prophet's companions who were there used to say: 'We see clearly, but your eyes are only half open,' i.e. 'We see, but you are only trying to see and cannot see yet.' He used the word faqha because when a puppy tries to open its eyes to see, it only half sees. The other word faqha means to open the eyes. After his death the apostle married his widow Umm Habiba. Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Husayn told me that the apostle sent 'Amr b. Umayya al-Damri to the Negus to ask for her and he married him to her. He gave her as a dowry, on the apostle's behalf, four hundred dinars. Muhammad b. 'Ali said, 'We think that 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwan fixed the maximum dowry of women at four hundred dinars because of this precedent.' The man who handed her over to the prophet was Khalid b. Sa'id b. al-Az.

'Uthman b. al-Huwayrih went to the Byzantine emperor and became a Christian. He was given high office there (142).

Zayd b. 'Amr stayed as he was: he accepted neither Judaism nor Christianity. He abandoned the religion of his people and abstained from idols, animals that had died, blood, and things offered to idols. He forbade the killing of infant daughters, saying that he worshipped the God of Abraham, and he publicly rebuked his people for their practices.

Hisham b. 'Urwa from his father on the authority of his mother Asma' d. Abi Bakr said that she saw Zayd as a very old man leaning his back on the Ka'ba and saying, 'O Quraysh, By Him in whose hand is the soul of
Zayd, not one of you follows the religion of Abraham but I'. Then he said:

'O God, if I knew how you wished to be worshipped I would so worship you; but I do not know.' Then he prostrated himself on the palms of his hands.

I was told that his son, Sa‘id b. Zayd, and ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who was his nephew, said to the apostle, ‘Ought we to ask God’s pardon for Zayd b. ‘Amr?’ He replied, ‘Yes, for he will be raised from the dead as the sole representative of a whole people.’

Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl composed the following poem about leaving his people and the treatment he received from them:

Am I to worship one lord or a thousand?
If there are as many as you claim,
I renounce al-Lāt and al-‘Uzza both of them
As any strong-minded person would.
I will not worship al-‘Uzza and her two daughters,
Nor will I visit the two images of the Banū ‘Amr.
I will not worship Hulail though he was our lord
In the days when I had little sense.
I wondered (for in the night much is strange
Which in daylight is plain to the discerning),
That God had annihilated many men
Whose deeds were thoroughly evil
And spared others through the piety of a people
So that a little child could grow to manhood.
A man may languish for a time and then recover
As the branch of a tree revives after rain.
I serve my Lord the compassionate
That the forgiving Lord may pardon my sin,
So keep to the fear of God your Lord;
While you hold to that you will not perish.
You will see the pious living in gardens,
While for the infidels hell fire is burning.
Shamed in life, when they die
Their breasts will contract in anguish.

Zayd also said: (143)

To God I give my praise and thanksgiving,
A sure word that will not fail as long as time lasts,
To the heavenly King—there is no God beyond Him
And no lord can draw near to Him.
Beware, O men, of what follows death!
You can hide nothing from God.

1 This is the reading of al-Kalbi, but all MSS. have Ghannu, a deity unknown. Cf. al-‘Asq. iii. 684. 8.
When I fear humiliation
I am a brave man whose steed is submissive.¹
A man who persistently frequents the gates of kings
Whose camel crosses the desert;
One who severs ties with others
Whose difficulties can be overcome without (the aid of) friends.
A donkey only accepts humiliation
When its coat is worn out.
It says, ‘I will never give in
Because the load chafes my sides.’²
My brother, (my mother’s son and then my uncle),
Uses words which do not please me.
When he reproaches me I say,
‘I have no answer for him.’
Yet if I wished I could say things
Of which I hold the keys and door.

I was told by one of the family of Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl that when Zayd faced the Ka‘ba inside the mosque he used to say, ‘Labbayka in truth, in worship and in service³

I take refuge in what Abraham took refuge
When he stood and faced the qibla.’

Then he said:
A humble prisoner, O God, my face in the dust,
Whatever thy commandment do I must.

Pride I seek not, but piety’s boon.
The traveller at midday is not as he who sleeps at noon (145).

And Zayd said:
I submit myself to him to whom
The earth which bears mighty rocks is subject.
He spread it out and when He saw it was settled
Upon the waters, He fixed the mountains on it.
I submit myself to Him to whom clouds which bear
Sweet water are subject.
When they are borne along to a land
They obediently pour copious rain upon it.

Now al-Khaṭṭāb had so harassed Zayd that he forced him to withdraw to the upper part of Mecca, and he stopped in the mountain of Ḥira facing the town. Al-Khaṭṭāb gave instructions to the young irresponsible men of Quraysh that they should not let him enter Mecca and he was able to do so in secret only. When they got to know of that they told al-Khaṭṭāb and drove him out and harassed him because of their fear that he would show their religion in its true colours and that some would join him in succeeding from it. He said, making much of its sanctity against those of his people who treated it as ordinary:

O God, I am of the holy land, no outsider,
My house is in the centre of the place
Hard by al-Šāfā,
It is no home of error.⁴

Then he went forth seeking the religion of Abraham, questioning monks and Rabbis; he had traversed al-Ma‘ṣūl and the whole of Mesopotamia; then he went through the whole of Syria until he came to a monk in the high ground of Baṣra.² This man, it is alleged, was well instructed in Christianity. He asked him about the ḤanIFIYa, the religion of Abraham, and the monk replied, ‘You are seeking a religion to which no one today can guide you, but the time of a prophet who will come forth from your own country which you have just left has drawn near. He will be sent with the Hanifyya, the religion of Abraham, so stick to it, for he is about to be sent now and this is his time.’ Now Zayd had sampled Judaism and Christianity and was not satisfied with either of them; so at these words he went away at once making for Mecca; but when he was well inside the country of Lakhm he was attacked and killed.

Warāqa b. Naufal b. Asad composed this elegy over him:

You were altogether on the right path Ibn ‘Amr,
You have escaped hell’s burning oven
By serving the one and only God
And abandoning vain idols,
And by attaining the religion which you sought
Not being unmindful of the unity of your Lord
You have reached a noble dwelling
Wherein you will rejoice in your generous treatment.
You will meet there the friend of God,³
Since you were not a tyrant ripe for hell,
For the mercy of God reaches men,
Though they be seventy valleys deep below the earth (146).

THE WORD APPLIED TO THE APOSTLE OF GOD IN THE GOSPEL

Among the things which have reached me about what Jesus the Son of Mary stated in the Gospel which he received from God for the followers of the Gospel, in applying a term to describe the apostle of God, is the

¹ One would expect missella or modello in view of what has been said about the Hums.
² The district of which ‘Ammān was the capital.
³ i.e. Abraham.
they transmitted that obligation to those who believed in them among the two monotheistic religions.

(1. One whom I do not suspect told me from Sa'īd b. Abū Aribah from T. 1142 Qatāda b. Dī'āma al-Sadūsī from Abī'ī-Jald: 'The Qurān came down on the 14th night of Ramadan. Others say, No, but on the 17th; and in support of this they appeal to God's word: 'And what we sent down to our servant on the day of al-Qurān, the day the two companies met' which was the meeting of the apostle and the polytheists at Badr, and that took place on the morning of Ramadan 17th.)

Al-Zuhri related from 'Urwa b. Zubayr that 'Ā'isha told him that when Allah desired to honour Muhammad and have mercy on His servants by means of him, the first sign of prophethood vouchsafed to the apostle was true visions, resembling the brightness of daybreak, which were shown to him in his sleep. And Allah, she said, made him love solitude so that he liked nothing better than to be alone.

'Abūl-Malik b. 'Ubaydullāh b. Abū Sufyān b. al-'Alā' b. Jāriya the Ṣa'īdī who had a retentive memory related to me from a certain scholar that the apostle at the time when Allah willed to bestow His grace upon him and endow him with prophethood would go forth for his affair and journey far afield until he reached the gams of Mecca and the beds of its valleys where no house was in sight; and not a stone or tree that he passed by but would say, 'Peace unto thee, O apostle of Allah.' And the apostle would turn to his right and left and look behind him and he would see naught but trees and stones. Thus he stayed seeing and hearing so long as it pleased Allah that he should stay. Then Gabriel came to him with the gift of God's grace whilst he was on Ḥijārī in the month of Ramdān.

Wahl b. Kaisān a client of the family of al-Zubayr told me: I heard 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr say to 'Ubayd b. Umayar b. Qatādah the Laythī, 'O 'Ubayd, tell us how began the prophethood which was first bestowed on the apostle when Gabriel came to him.' And 'Ubayd in my presence related to 'Abdullāh and those with him as follows: 'The apostle would pray in seclusion on Ḥijārī every year for a month to practice taḥāmūth as was the custom of Quraysh in heathen days. Taḥāmūth is religious devotion. Abī Talib said:

By Thawr and him who made Thabīr firm in its place And by those going up to ascend Ḥirā' and coming down (147).

Wahl b. Kaisān told me that 'Ubayd said to him: Every year during that month the apostle would pray in seclusion and give food to the poor that came to him. And when he completed the month and returned from his seclusion, first of all before entering his house he would go to the Ka'ba and walk round it seven times or as often as it pleased God; then he would go back to his house until the year when God sent him, in the month of

---

The passage quoted is John 15:23 ff. It is interesting to note that the citation comes from the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary and not from the ordinary Bible of the Syriac-speaking Churches. The text is corrupt in one or two places; e.g. the phrase 'puffed up with pride and think that they will overcome me'. Ḥabarī is an obvious corruption of ʿareṣ, which agrees with the Syriac and underlying Greek. Ṭawammūt seems to be another attempt to make sense of the passage. The next word I am unable to explain. The most intelligible word is that rendered 'Comforter' which we find in the Palestinian Lectionary, but all other Syriac versions render 'paraclete', following the Greek. This word was well established in the Hebrew- and Aramaic-speaking world. The menahēhmēna in Syriac means the forgiver and especially one who raises from the dead. Obviously such a meaning is out of place here and what is meant is one who consoles and comforts people for the loss of one dearest to them. This is the meaning in the Talmud and Targum. It ought to be pointed out that by the omission of the words 'that is written' before 'in the law' quite another meaning is given to the prophecy. The natural rendering would be 'the word that concerns the Nāmūs, which shall be fulfilled'. To Muslims the Nāmūs was the angel Gabriel. Furthermore, the last word are translated as the ordinary Arab reader would understand ṭashabbāh; but in Syrian Arabic it could bear the meaning of the Greek text 'stumble'. See further my article in Al-Qādīn, 21, fasc. 2 (1950), 589-96.

---

1 Ṣūra 5: 37.
2 Ṣūra 3: 75.
3 Ṣūra 3: 27.
4 Ṣūra 5: 44.
5 Thawr and Thābīr are mountains near Mecca. The poem is given on p. 173; cf. Yaq. 938.
Ramadan in which God willed concerning him what He willed of His grace, the apostle set forth to Hilâr as was his wont, and his family with him. When it was the night on which God honoured him with his mission and showed mercy on His servants thereby, Gabriel brought him the command of God. 'He came to me,' said the apostle of God, 'while I was asleep, with a coverlet of brocade whereon was some writing, and said, "Read!" I said, "What shall I read?" He pressed me with it so tightly that I thought it was death; then he let me go and said, "Read!" I said, "What shall I read?" He pressed me with it the third time so that I thought it was death and said "Read!" I said, "What then shall I read?"—and this I said only to deliver myself from him, lest he should do the same to me again. He said:

"Read in the name of thy Lord who created, Who created man of blood congealed. Read! Thy Lord is the most beneficent, Who taught by the pen, Taught that which they knew not unto men."\footnote{Sûra 96: 1-5.}

T. 1150
So I read it, and he departed from me. And I awoke from my sleep, and it was as though these words were written on my heart. (T. Now none of God's creatures was more hateful to me than an ecstatic poet or a man possessed: I could not even look at them. I thought, Woe is me poet or possessed—Never shall Quraysh say this of me! I will go to the top of the mountain and throw myself down that I may kill myself and gain rest.) So I went forth to do so and then) when I was midway on the mountain, I heard a voice from heaven saying, "O Muhammad! thou art the apostle of God and I am Gabriel." I raised my head towards heaven to see (who was speaking), and lo, Gabriel in the form of a man with feet astride the horizon, saying, "O Muhammad! thou art the apostle of God and I am Gabriel." I stood gazing at him, (T. and that turned me from my purpose) moving neither forward nor backward; then I began to turn my face away from him, but towards whatever region of the sky I looked, I saw him as before. And I continued standing there, neither advancing nor turning back, until Khadija sent her messengers in search of me and they gained the high ground above Mecca and returned to her while I was standing in the same place; then he parted from me and I from him, returning to my family. And I came to Khadija and sat by her thigh and drew close to her. She said, "O Abûl-Qâsim,\footnote{The kunya or 'name of honour' of Muhammad.} where hast thou been? By God, I sent my messengers in search of thee, and they reached the high ground above Mecca and returned to me." (T. I said to her, "Woe is me poet or possessed." She said, "I take refuge in God from that O Abûl-Qâsim. God would not treat you thus since he knows your truthfulness, your great trustworthiness, your fine character, and your kindness. This cannot be, my dear. Perhaps you did see something." "Yes, I did," I said.) Then I told her of what I had seen; and she said, "Rejoice, O son of my uncle, and be of good heart. Verily, by Him in whose hand is Khadija's soul, I have hope that thou wilt be the prophet of this people." Then she rose and gathered her garments about her and set forth to her cousin Waqâra b. Naufal b. Asad b. 'Abdul-Usâd b. Quasayy, who had become a Christian and read the scriptures and learned from those that follow the Torah and the Gospel. And when she related to him what the apostle of God told her he had seen and heard, Waqarâ cried, 'Holy! Holy! Verily by Him in whose hand is Waqarâ's soul, if thou hast spoken to me the truth, O Khadija, there hath come unto him the greatest Nâmis (T. meaning Gabriel) who came to Moses aforetime, and lo, he is the prophet of this people. Bid him be of good heart.' So Khadija returned to the apostle of God and told him what Waqarâ had said. (T. and that calmed his fears somewhat.) And when the apostle of God had finished his period of seclusion and returned (to Mecca), in the first place he performed the circumambulation of the Ka'ba, as was his wont. While he was doing it, Waqarâ met him and said, 'O son of my brother, tell me what thou hast seen and heard.' The apostle told him, and Waqarâ said, 'Surely, by Him in whose hand is Waqarâ's soul, thou art the prophet of this people. There hath come unto thee the greatest Nâmis, who came unto Moses. Thou wilt be called a liar, and they will use thee spitefully and cast thee out and fight against thee. Verily, if I live to see that day, I will help God in such wise as He knoweth.' Then he brought his head near to him and kissed his forehead; and the apostle went to his own house. (T. Waqarâ's words added to his confidence and lightened his anxiety.)

Isâmîl b. Abû Hakim, a freedman of the family of al-Zubayr, told me on Khadija's authority that she said to the apostle of God, 'O son of my uncle, are you able to tell me about your visitant, when he comes to you?' He replied that he could, and she asked him to tell her when he came. So when Gabriel came to him, as he was wont, the apostle said to Khadija, 'This is Gabriel who has just come to me.' 'Get up, O son of my uncle,' she said, 'and sit by my left thigh.' The apostle did so, and she said, 'Can you see him?' 'Yes,' he said. She said, 'Then turn round and sit on my right thigh.' He did so, and she said, 'Can you see him?' When he said that he could she asked him to move and sit in her lap. When he had done this she again asked if he could see him, and when he said yes, she disclosed her form and cast aside her veil while the apostle was sitting in her lap. Then she said, 'Can you see him?' And he replied, 'No.' She said, 'O son of my uncle, rejoice and be of good heart, by God he is an angel and not a satan.'

I told 'Abdullah b. Hasan this story and he said, 'I heard my mother Fatimah, daughter of Husayn, talking about this tradition from Khadija, but as I heard it she made the apostle of God come inside her shift, and thereupon Gabriel departed, and she said to the apostle of God, "This verily is an angel and not a satan."'