PART II

MUHAMMAD'S CALL AND
PREACHING IN MECCA
The beginning of the sending down of the Qurān

The apostle began to receive revelations in the month of Ramadān. In the words of God, 'The month of Ramadān in which the Qurān was brought down as a guidance to men, and proofs of guidance and a decisive criterion.' And again, 'Verily we have sent it down on the night of destiny, and what has shown you what the night of destiny is? The night of destiny is better than a thousand months. In it the angels and the spirit descend by their Lord's permission with every matter. It is peace until the rise of dawn.' Again, 'H.M. by the perspicuous book, verily we have sent it down in a blessed night. Verily, we were warning. In it every wise matter is decided as a command from us. Verily we sent it down.' And again, 'Had you believed in God and what we sent down to Our servant on the day of decision, the day on which the two parties met', i.e. the meeting of the apostle with the polytheists in Badr. Abū Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Ali b. al-Husayn told me that the apostle of God met the polytheists in Badr on the morning of Friday, the 17th of Ramadān.

Then revelation came fully to the apostle while he was believing in Him and in the truth of His message. He received it willingly, and took upon himself what it entailed whether of man's goodwill or anger. Prophecy is a troublesome burden—only strong, resolute messengers can bear it by God's help and grace, because of the opposition which they meet from men in conveying God's message. The apostle carried out God's orders in spite of the opposition and ill treatment which he met with.

Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, accepts Islam

Khadija believed in him and accepted as true what he brought from God, and helped him in his work. She was the first to believe in God and His apostle, and in the truth of his message. By her God lightened the burden of His prophet. He never met with contradiction and charges of falsehood, which saddened him, but God comforted him by her when he went home. She strengthened him, lightened his burden, proclaimed his truth, and belittled men's opposition. May God Almighty have mercy upon her!

Hishām b. 'Urwa told me on the authority of his father 'Urwa b. al-Zahayr from 'Abdullah b. Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib that the apostle said, 'I was commanded to give Khadija the good news of a house of ḥāsab wherein would be no clamour and no toil' (148).

Then revelations stopped for a time so that the apostle of God was distressed and grieved. Then Gabriel brought him the Sūra of the Morning, in which his Lord, who had so honoured him, swore that He had not for-

\[\text{1 Sūra 2, 181.} \]

\[\text{3 Sūra 44, 1-4.} \]

\[\text{2 Sūra 67.} \]

\[\text{4 Sūra 8, 42.} \]
saken him, and did not hate him. God said, 'By the morning and the night when it is still, thy Lord hath not forsaken nor hated thee,' meaning that He has not left you and forsaken you, nor hated you after having loved you. 'And verily, the latter end is better for you than the beginning.' i.e., What I have for you when you return to Me is better than the honour which I have given you in the world. 'And your Lord will give you and will satisfy you,' i.e., of victory in this world and reward in the next. 'Did he not find you an orphan and give you refuge, going astray and guided you, found you poor and made you rich'? God thus told him of how He had begun to honour him in his earthly life, and of His kindness to him as an orphan poor and wandering astray, and of His delivering him from all that by His compassion (149).

157 ‘Do not oppress the orphan and do not repel the beggar.’ That is, do not be a tyrant or proud or harsh or mean towards the weakest of God’s creatures.

‘Speak of the kindness of thy Lord,’ i.e. tell about the kindness of God in giving you prophecy, mention it and call men to it.

So the apostle began to mention secretly God’s kindness to him and to his servants in the matter of prophecy to everyone among his people whom he could trust.

THE PRESCRIPTION OF PRAYER

The apostle was ordered to pray and so he prayed. Ša‘lîḥ b. Kaisân from Urwa b. al-Zubayr from ‘A‘isha told me that she said, ‘When prayer was first laid on the apostle it was with two prostrations for every prayer: then God raised it to four prostrations at home while on a journey the former ordinance of two prostrations held.’

158 A learned person told me that when prayer was laid on the apostle Gabriel came to him while he was on the heights of Mecca and dug a hole for him with his heel in the side of the valley from which a fountain gushed forth, and Gabriel performed the ritual ablution as the apostle watched him. This was in order to show him how to purify himself before prayer. Then the apostle performed the ritual ablution as he had seen Gabriel do it. Then Gabriel said a prayer with him while the apostle prayed with him. Then Gabriel left him. The apostle came to Khadîja and performed the ritual for her as Gabriel had done for him, and she copied him. Then he prayed with her as Gabriel had prayed with him, and she prayed his prayer.

‘Uthâ b. Muslim freedman of B. Taym from Nâfi‘ b. Jubayr b. Mu‘âd (who was prolific in relating tradition) from I. ‘Abbâs told me: ‘When prayer was laid upon the apostle Gabriel came to him and prayed the noon prayer when the sun declined. Then he prayed the evening prayer when his shadow equalled his own length. Then he prayed the sunset prayer when the sun set. Then he prayed the last night prayer when the twilight had disappeared. Then he prayed with him the morning prayer when the dawn rose. Then he came to him and prayed the noon prayer on the morrow when his shadow equalled his height. Then he prayed the evening prayer when his shadow equalled the height of both of them. Then he prayed the sunset prayer when the sun set at the time it had the day before. Then he prayed with him the last night prayer when the first third of the night had passed. Then he prayed the dawn prayer when it was clear but the sun was not shining. Then he said, “O Muhammad, prayer is in what is between your prayer today and your prayer yesterday.”’

T. 1161 Yûnus b. Bukayr said that Muhammad b. Ishaq told him that Yahyâ b. Abû‘l-Ash‘ath al-Kindî of the people of Kûfa said that Ismâ‘il b. Iyâs b. ‘Affî from his father from his grandfather said, ‘When I was a merchant I came to al-‘Abbâs during the days of pilgrimage; and while we were together a man came out to pray and stood facing the Ka`ba; then a woman came out and stood praying with him; then a young man came out and stood praying with him. I said to ‘Abbâs, “What is their religion? It is something new to me.” He said, “This is Muhammad b. Abdullah who believes that God has sent him with it and that the treasures of Chosroes and Caesar will be opened to him. The woman is his wife Khadîja who believes in him, and this young man is his nephew ‘Ali who believes in him.”’

159 ‘Affî said, “Would that I could have believed that day and been a third!”

T. 1162 Ibn Ḥamîd said that Salama b. al-Fadl and ‘Abî ‘Umar b. ’A‘ishah said, Salama said, Muhammad b. Ishaq told me from Yahyâ b. Abû‘l-Ash‘ath al-Fubari said, ‘It is in another place in my book from Yahyâ b. Abû‘l-Ash‘ath from Ismâ‘il b. Iyâs b. ‘Affî al-Kindî, ‘Affî being the brother of Iyâs b. Qays al-Kindî by the same mother and the son of his uncle from his father, from his grandfather ‘Affî: ‘Al-‘Abbâs b. Abû‘l-Mu’ttaqi al-Kindî was a friend of mine who used to go often to the Yaman to buy aromatics and sell them during the fair. While I was with him in Mina there came a man in the prime of life and performed the full rites of ablution and then stood up and prayed. Then a woman came out and did her ablutions and stood up and prayed. Then out came a youth just approaching manhood, did his ablutions, then stood up and prayed by his side. When I asked al-‘Abbâs what was going on, he said that it was his nephew Muhammad b. Abdullah b. Abû‘l-Mu’ttaqi who argues that Allah has sent him as an apostle; the other is my brother’s son ‘Ali b. Abû Tâlib who has followed him in his religion; the third is his wife Khadîja d.”

1Subayh takes the author to task for saying what he should not. Traditionists are agreed that this story belongs to the morrow of the prophet’s night journey (tā‘rîkh) some five years later. Opinions differ as to whether this occurred eighteen months or a year before the last, but that would have been long after the beginning of revelation.

2This may be one of the traditions which I. I. was accused of producing or recording in support of the ‘Abids. It is certainly open to criticism. See Introduction, pp. xxi f. and 4. A hit at al-‘Abbâs.
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Khuyaylyid who also follows him in his religion.' 'Affi isd said after he had become a Muslim and Islam was firmly established in his heart, 'Would that I had been a fourth!'"1

'ALI B. ABU TALIB THE FIRST MALE TO ACCEPT ISLAM

'Ali was the first male to believe in the apostle of God, to pray with him and to believe in his divine message, when he was a boy of ten. God favoured him in that he was brought up in the care of the apostle before Islam began.

Abdullah b. Abū Najîh on the authority of Mughâhid b. Jabr Abū-Hajjâj told me that God showed His favour and good will towards him when a grievous famine overtook Quraysh. Now Abû Talib had a large family, and the prophet approached his uncle, Al-'Abbâs, who was one of the richest of B. Hâshim, suggesting that in view of his large family and the famine which affected everyone, they should go together and offer to relieve him of the burden of some of his family. Al-'Abbâs agreed, and so they went to Abu Talib offering to relieve him from his responsibility of two boys until conditions improved. Abu Talib said, 'Do what you like so long as you leave me 'Aqîl.' (150). So the apostle took 'Ali and kept him with him and Al-'Abbâs took Ja'far. 'Ali continued to be with the apostle until God sent him forth as a prophet. 'Ali followed him, believed him, and declared his truth, while Ja'far remained with Al-'Abbâs until he became a Muslim and was independent of him.

A traditionist mentioned that when the time of prayer came the apostle used to go out to the glens of Mecca accompanied by 'Ali, who went unknown to his father, and his uncles and the rest of his people. Then they used to pray the ritual prayers, and return at nightfall. This went on as long as God intended that it should, until one day Abu Talib came upon them while they were praying, and said to the apostle, 'O nephew, what is this religion which I see you practising?' He replied, 'O uncle, this is the religion of God, His angels, His apostles, and the religion of our father Abraham.' Or, as he said, 'God has sent me as an apostle to mankind, and you, my uncle, most deserve that I should teach you the truth and call you to guidance, and you are the most worthy to respond and help me, as words to that effect. His uncle replied, 'I cannot give up the religion of my fathers which they followed, but by God you shall never meet with anything to distress you so long as I live.' They mention that he said to 'Ali, 'My boy, what is this religion of yours?' He answered, 'I believe in God and in the apostle of God, and I declare that what he has brought is true, and I pray to God with him and follow him.' They allege that he said, 'He would not call you to anything but what is good so stick to him.'

Zayd the freedman of the apostle was the first male to accept Islam after

1 See Introduction, pp. xxi f.

The companions who accepted Islam at the invitation of Abu Bakr

Those who accepted Islam at his invitation according to what I heard were:


1 I have omitted the intervening names in genealogies which have been given already.
He brought them to the apostle when they had accepted his invitation and they accepted Islam and prayed. "I have heard that the apostle of God used to say: 'I have never invited anyone to accept Islam but he has shown signs of reluctance, suspicion, and hesitation, except Abū Bakr. When I told him of it he did not hold back or hesitate'" (153).

These were the first eight men to accept Islam and pray and believed in the divine inspiration of the apostle.

After them came:


the cup and they drank until they were all satisfied, and as sure as I live, there had been only one man he could have drunk that amount. When the apostle wanted to address them Abū Lahab got in first and said, 'Your host has bewitched you,' so they dispersed before the apostle could address them. On the morrow he said to me, 'This man spoke before I could, and the people dispersed before I could address them, so do exactly as you did yesterday.' Everything went as before and then the apostle said, 'O Sons of 'Abdūl-Muṭṭašib, I know of no Arab who has come to his people with a nobler message than mine. I have brought you the best of this world and the next. God has ordered me to call you to Him. So which of you will co-operate with me in this matter, my brother, my executor, and my successor among you?' The men remained silent and I, though the youngest, most ruddy-eyed, fattest in body and thinnest in legs, said: 'O prophet of God, I will be your helper in this matter.' He laid his hand on the back of my neck and said, 'This is my brother, my executor, and my successor among you. Hearken to him and obey him.' The men got up laughing and saying to Abū Ṭālib, 'He has ordered you to listen to your son and obey him!'

(T. 1173. Ibn Ḥamīd from Salama from Ibn Ḥishāq from 'Amr b. 'Utba from al-Ḥasan b. Abī-ISM-Ḥasan: When this verse came down to the apostle, he stood in the vale and said, 'O Sons of 'Abdūl-Muṭṭašib; O Sons of Abū Manāf; O Sons of Qaysayy.'—Then he named Quraysh tribe by tribe until he came to the end of them—'I call you to God and I warn you of his punishment.')

When the apostle's companions prayed they went to the glens so that their people could not see them praying, and while Sa'd b. Abū Waqqās was with a number of the prophet's companions in one of the glens of Mecca, a band of polytheists came upon them while they were praying and rudely interrupted them. They blamed them for what they were doing until they came to blows, and it was on that occasion that Sa'd smote a polytheist with the jawbone of a camel and wounded him. This was the first blood to be shed in Islam.

When the apostle openly displayed Islam as God ordered him his people did not withdraw or turn against him, so far as I have heard, until he spoke disparagingly of their gods. When he did that they took great offence and resolved unanimously to treat him as an enemy, except those whom God had protected by Islam from such evil, but they were a despised minority. Abū Ṭālib his uncle treated the apostle kindly and protected him, the latter continuing to obey God's commands, nothing turning him back. When Quraysh saw that he would not yield to them and withdrew from them and insulted their gods and that his uncle treated him kindly and stood up in his defence and would not give him up to them, some of their leading men went to Abū Ṭālib, namely 'Uthba and Shayba, both sons of Rab'a b. 'Abdū Shams ... and Abū Sufyān (165) b. Harb ... and Abī Bakhtārī whose name was al-'Azī b. Hishām b. al-Hārith b. Asad ... and

al-Awad b. al-Muṭṭašib b. Asad ... and Abū Jahl (whose name was 'Amr b. His father being Abū'l-Ḥakam) b. Hishām b. al-Muḥırīa ... and al-Walīd b. al-Muḥırīa ... and Nubayh b. Muhammad, b. Ubayy and Munabbī b. two sons of Amīr b. 'U드y hâyâ ... and al-'Azī b. Wâ'il (166). They said, 'Abū Ṭālib, your nephew has cursed our gods, insulted our religion, mocked our way of life and accused our forefathers of error; either you must stop him or you must let us get at him, for you yourself are in the same position as we are in opposition to him and we will rid you of him.' He gave them a conciliatory reply and a soft answer and they went away. The apostle continued on his way, publishing God's religion and calling men thereto. In consequence his relations with Quraysh deteriorated and men withdrew from him in enmity. They were always talking about him and inciting one another against him. Then they went to Abū Ṭālib a second time and said, 'You have a high and lofty position among us, and we have asked you to put a stop to your nephew's activities but you have put them down so. By God, we cannot endure that our fathers should be reviled, our customs mocked and our gods insulted. Until you rid us of him we will fight the pair of you until one side perishes,' or words to that effect. Thus saying, they went off. Abū Ṭālib was deeply distressed at the breach with his people and their enmity but he could not desert the apostle and give him up to them.

Ya'qūb b. 'Uthba b. al-Muḥırīa b. al-Ḳhānas told me that he was told that after hearing these words from the Quraysh Abū Ṭālib sent for his nephew and told him what his people had said. 'Spare me and yourself,' he said. 'Do not put on me a burden greater than I can bear.' The apostle thought that his uncle had the idea of abandoning and betraying him, and if he was going to lose his help and support. He answered, 'O my uncle, by God, if they put the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left on condition that I abandoned this course, until God has made it victorious, or I perish therein, I would not abandon it.' Then the apostle broke into tears, and got up. As he turned away his uncle called him and said, 'Come back, my nephew,' and when he came back, he said, 'Go and say what you please, for by God I will never give you up on any account.'

When the Quraysh perceived that Abū Ṭālib had refused to give up the apostle, and that he was resolved to part company with them, they went to him with 'Umāra b. al-Walīd b. al-Muḥırīa and said, according to my information, 'O Abū Ṭālib, this is Umāra, the strongest and most handsome young man among Quraysh, so take him and you will have the benefit of his intelligence and support; adopt him as a son and give us up to us this nephew of yours, who has opposed your religion and the religion of your fathers, severed the unity of your people, and mocked our way of life, so that we may kill him. This will be man for man.' He answered, 'By God, this is an evil thing that you would put upon me, would you give me your

ablām means the civilization and virtues of the pre-Islamic Arabs. See the excellent discussion of jahād and jilm in Goldziher's Muḥammadische Studien, i. 220 ff.
son that I should feed him for you, and should I give you my son that you should kill him? By God, this shall never be,' Al-Muṭ'īm b. 'Adiy said, 'Your people have treated you fairly and have taken pains to avoid what you dislike. I do not think that you are willing to accept anything from them.' Abū Ṭalib replied, 'They have not treated me fairly, by God, but you have agreed to betray me and help the people against me, so do what you like,' or words to that effect. So the situation worsened, the quarter became heated and people were sharply divided, and openly showed their animosity to their opponents. Abū Ṭalib wrote the following verses, indirectly attacking Muṭ'īm, and including those who had abandoned him from the 'Abdu Manāf, and his enemies among the tribes of Quraysh. He mentions therein what they had asked of him and his estrangement from them.

Say to 'Amr and al-Walīd and Muṭ'īm
Rather than your protection give me a young camel,
Weak, grumbling and murmuring,
Sprinkling its flanks with its urine
Lagging behind the herd, and not keeping up.
When it goes up the desert ridges, you would call it a weasel.
I see our two brothers, sons of our mother and father,
When they are asked for help, say 'It is not our business.'
Nay, it is their affair, but they have fallen away,
As a rock falls from the top of Dhū 'Alaq.
I mean especially 'Abdu Shams and Naufal,
Who have flung us aside like a burning coal.
They have slandered their brothers among the people;
Their hands are emptied of them.
They shared their fame with men of low birth,
With men whose fathers were whispered about;
And Taym, and Makhzūm, and Zuhra, are of them
Who had been friends of ours when help was sought;
By God, there will always be enmity between us
As long as one of our descendants lives.
Their minds and thoughts were foolish,
They were entirely without judgement.

Then the Quraysh incited people against the companions of the apostle who had become Muslims. Every tribe fell upon the Muslims among them, beating them and seducing them from their religion. God protected His apostle from them through his uncle, who, when he saw what Quraysh were doing, called upon B. Ḥāshim and B. al-Muṭṭalah to stand with him in protecting the apostle. This they agreed to do, with the exception of Abū Lahab, the accursed enemy of God.

1 A mountain in the Banū Asad country.
2 To say that a man's well is demolished is to accuse him of losing all common sense.
3 Cf. Sūra 135. 4. Spitting, or perhaps 'blowing.'
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At this point they left him, and began to sit on the paths which men take when they come to the fair. They warned everyone who passed them about Muhammad's doings. God revealed concerning al-Walid:

Leaving me I made,
Giving him wealth and trade,
While sons before him played,
The road for him I laid,
Then he coveted more of My aid,
Ayi, Our signs hath he gainsaid (169).

'1 shall impose on him a grievous burden; he thought and planned; may he perish how he planned, may he perish how he planned. Then he looked then he frowned, and showed anger' (170).

'Then he turned his back in pride and said, 'This is nothing but ancient sorcery, this is nothing but the speech of a mortal'.'

Then God revealed concerning the men who were with him, composing a term to describe the apostle and the revelation he brought from God, 'As we sent down upon the dividers who had split the Quran into parts, by thy Lord we will ask them all about what they used to do' (171).

So these men began to spread this report about the apostle with everyone they met so that the Arabs went away from that fair knowing about the apostle, and he was talked about in the whole of Arabia. When Abu Talib feared that the multitude would overwhelm him with his family he composed the following ode, in which he claimed protection in the sanctuary of Mecca and by his position therein. He showed his affection for the nobles of his people while, nevertheless, he told them and others in his poetry that he was not going to give up the apostle or surrender him on any account whatever, but he would die in his defence.

When I saw the people had no love for us
And had severed every tie and relationship,
And shown us enmity and ill-will,
Obeying the orders of persecuting enemies,
And had allied themselves with treacherous people against us,
Biting their fingers in rage at our backs,
I stood firm against them with my pliant spear,
And my shining sword, heirloom of princes.
Round the temple I gathered my clan and my brothers,
And laid hold of the striped red cloth that covered it,
Standing together, facing its gates,
Where everyone who takes an oath completes his vow,

1 Surà 74, 11-25. It is strange that after al-Walid has made the point that Muhammad cannot be a kāhin because he does not deliver messages in sa' the next quotation from the Quran should be an example (to which I fear I have not done justice) of that very form.
2 Surà 14, 90.
3 This is the meaning which A. Dih. gives to wayd'il.

Where the pilgrims make their camels kneel,
Where the blood flows between Isāf and Nā'ila,
Camels marked on the shoulders or neck,
Tamed ones, between six and nine years old;
You see amulets on them, and alabaster ornaments
Bound on their necks like date-bearing branches.
I take refuge with the Lord of men from every adversary
And every lying assailant;
From the hater with his hurtful slander,
And from him who adds to religion what we have not tried.
By Thaur and Him who fixed Thabîr in his place,
And by him who goes up and down Hîrâ; 1
By the true temple of the valley of Mecca;
By God who is never unmindful;
By the black stone, when they struck it
When they go round it morning and evening;
By Abraham's footprint in the rock still fresh,
With both feet bare, without sandals;
By the running between Marwa and Sa'îf,
And by the statues and images therein;
By every pilgrim riding to the house of God,
And everyone with a vow and everyone on foot;
By Hâl, the furthest sacred spot 2 to which they go
Where the streamlets open out;
By their halt at even above the mountains
When they help the camels by their hands to rise; 3
By the night of the meeting, by the stations of Minâ,
Are any holy places and stations superior?
By the crowd, when the home-going horses pass by quickly
As though escaping from a storm of rain; 4
By the great stone heap, 5 when they make for it
Aiming at its top with stones;
By Kinda, when they are at al-Hajjâb at even,
When the pilgrims of Bakr b. Wa'll pass by them
Two allies who strengthened the tie between them,
And directed it to all means of unity;

1 Hîrâ, Thaur, and Thabîr were all mountains round Mecca.
2 Hâl in the Lâlin is said to be a strip of sand where the people halt, but the lines in Nâghâ 17, 22 and 19, 14 show that it was the name of a sanctuary (and possibly, as Wellhausen, p. 68, says, 'of the God of 'Arafa').
3 The words suggest the way in which men get a reluctant camel to its feet. One man pushes up the camel's chest while the other pulls its head up by the reins. Here perhaps the latter action alone is meant as the 'poet' is speaking of a halt; even so, 'they raise the breasts of the camels with their hands' is an unnatural way of speaking of pulling on the reins.
4 The largest of the three heaps of stones at Minâ, presumably that known as Jannatu N'âqaba. Cf. Hassân b. Thabîr's lament where the pilgrims throw seven stones. The rite is not mentioned in the Quran, but we shall meet it again in the Sîn on pp. 534 and 970 of the Arabic text. See further Dînâr in E.T.
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They obeyed Ubayy and the son of their 'Abdu Yagūth, And did not observe what others said of us; So, too, were we treated by Subuy and Naufal, And everyone who turned away from us, not treating us kindly. If they throw down their arms, or God give us the better of them, We will pay them measure for measure. That fellow Abū 'Amr would do naught but hate us, To send us away among shepherds and camel-drivers; He talks about us confidentially night and morning. Talk on, Abū 'Amr, with your guile! He swears by God he won't deceive us, But we see him openly doing nothing else; He hates us so much that the hill-tops Between Mecca's hills and Syria's forts Are too narrow to hold him. Ask Abū'l-Walid, what have you done to us with your slander Turning away like a deceitful friend. You were a man by whose opinion men guided their lives, And you were kind to us, nor are you a fool. O 'Utba, do not listen to an enemy's words against us, Envious, lying, hating and malicious. Abū Sulaym averted his face from me as he passed, Sweeping along as though he were one of the great ones of the earth, He betook himself to the high ground and its cool waters, Pretending that he does not forget us. He tells us that he is sorry for us like a good friend, But he hides evil designs in his heart. O, Mu'ā'id! I did not desert you when you called for help, Nor on the day of battle when mighty deeds were called for, Nor when they came against you full of enmity, Opponents whose strength matched yours. O Mu'tim, the people have given you a task to do, I too when entrusted with a task do not try to evade it. God requite 'Abdu Shams and Naufal for us With evil punishment quick and not delayed, With an exact balance, not a grain too little, The balance its own witness that it is exact. Foolish are the minds of people who exchanged us For Banū Khalaf and the Ghayāṭī. 1 We are the pure stock from the summit of Hāshim And the family of Qaysay in matters of import. Sahm and Makkūm stirred up against us Every scoundrel and low-born churl. 'Abdu Manāf, you are the best of your people, 2

1 'Abdu Manāf, you are the best of your people, 2

1 See page 133 of the Arabic text where this line is quoted and explained,
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Do not make common cause with every outsider.
You have proved feeble and weak
And done a thing far from right,
You were till lately the sticks under one pot
But now you are the sticks under many pots and vessels.
Let the Banu 'Abdu Manaf get satisfaction from parting from us,
Deserting us and leaving us imprisoned in our quarters!
If we are men we shall take revenge for what you have done
And you will suffer the full effects of war.
The best men among Lu'ayy b. Ghallib,
Every bold chief exiled to us;
The family of Nufayl is the worst that ever trod the earth,
The most contemptible of all the sons of Ma'add.
I tell Qusayy that our cause will be blazed abroad,
And give Qusayy the good news that after us there will be a falling
apart (among our enemies).
Yet if calamity befall Qusayy one night,
We should have been the first to protect them;
If they fought bravely in defence of their houses,
We should show them how to protect the mothers of children.
Yet every friend and nephew on whom we ought to count
We find useless when put to the test
Except for certain men of Kilab b. Murra
Whom we exempt from the stigma of the deserter;* 1

1 Or 'bear a grudge', according to another reading.
We came to them by night, they all scattered.
Every liar and fool disappeared from our sight.
Ours was the meeting-place among them,
We are the rock-like defence of Ghallib.
The young men of the scented ones and Hashim
Are like sword blades in the hands of the polishers.
They took no revenge, nor shed blood.
Nor do they oppose any but the worst tribes.
In their fighting you see the youths
Like fierce lions quarrelling over lumps of meat;
Sons of a favourite Ethiopian* slave girl,
Sons of Jumab, Ubayd Qays b. 'Ajl.
But we are the noblest stock of lords
Whose heroic deeds were sung in verse.

These seven verses are not in W.'s text, and as he does not mention them in his critical notes it may be assumed that none of his manuscripts contained them. Further, there is not a note in Abi Dliar's commentary, and it is difficult to believe that he would have passed over the extraordinary word hindhibya without a note, if the line containing it were
before him. I.H. at the end of the poem indicates that he has cut out some verses, possibly
(tough I think most improbably) these verses were among them, and even so he says some authorities reject the greater part. It will at once be apparent that the seven lines interrupt the sequence of thought which deals with the honourable exceptions to the general
statement. In v. 4 I conjecture khalilul for khalaf.  

* hindhibya. Greek and Syrian writers use the term Indra for South Arabia and Ethiopia
and a slave girl from one of those countries is almost certainly indicated here. The suffix is the Pahlavi suffix. See A. Jeffery, Foreign Vocabulary of the Quran, Baroda, 1938, pp. 150
and 186.

Undeniably fine is Zuhayr, our nephew,
A sword loosed from belts,
The proudest of the proudest chiefs,
Belonging to the finest stock in glory.
I'faith I am devoted to Ahamad and his brethren,
As a constant lover. 2
For who among men can hope to be like him
When judges assess rival claim to merit,
Clement, rightly guided, just, serious,
The friend of God, ever mindful of Him.

By God! but that I might create a precedent

That would be brought against our sheikhs in assemblies,
We would follow him whatever fate might bring,
In deadly earnest, not in idle words.
They know that our son is not held a liar by us,
And is not concerned with foolish falsehood.
Ahamad has struck so deep a root among us
That the attacks of the arrogant fail to affect him.
I shielded and defended him myself by every means (172). 3

The Ghaytaih are of B. Sahm b. 'Amr b. Husayy; Abi Sufyin is I. Harb b. Umayya; Mu'timin is I. 'Adiy b. Naufal; 'Abdu Manaf; Zuhayr is I. Abi Umayya b. al-Mughra b. 'Abdullah b. 'Umar b. Makhzum, his
mother being 'Atika d. 'Abdu'l-Mu'ttalih, Asid and his firstborn, i.e. 'Atib b. Asid b. Abi'l-Taq b. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shamsh b. 'Abdu Manaf.
Ummain is I. Ubaydullah the brother of Talha b. Ubaydullah al-Taymi;
al-Thaqafi ally of B. Zuhra b. Kilab (173). 4

Al-Aswad is I. 'Abdu Yaghubh b. Walib b. 'Abdu Manaf b. Zuhra b. Kilab; Subay is I. Khalid brother of B. al-Haritt b. Fih; Naufal is I. Khawalid b. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-Uzza b. Qusayy. He was I. 'Adiwa';

The 'satans' of Quraysh. He it was who roped together Abii Bakr
and Talha b. Ubaydullah when they went over to Islam. They got the

1 May he never cease to be an adornment to the people of the world,
An ornament to those whose God has befriended.

Not in W. and undoubtedly an interpolation from a pious reader.

2 There is much to be said for the commoner reading, 'but that I might bring shame'.

C. adds:
The Lord of mankind strengthen him with his help,
And display a religion whose truth holds no falsehood!
Noble men, not swerving from right, whose fathers
Brought them up in the best of ways.
Though Ka'b is near to Lu'ayy
The day must come when they must fall apart.

Three verses are lacking in W.'s version.

* This and the following paragraph stands under the name of I.H., but the context
suggests that they are in part at least from I.H.
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178 name 'the two-tied-together-ones' from this. 'Ali killed him at the battle of Badr. Abū 'Amr is Qurṣa b. 'Abdu 'Amr b. Naufāl b. 'Abdu Manāf. 'The treacherous people' are B. Bakr b. 'Abdu Manāf b. Khānā. These are the Arabs whom Abū Ṭalib enumerated in his verse (174).

When the prophet's fame began to be blazed abroad throughout the land, he was mentioned in Medina. There was no tribe among the Arabs who knew more about the apostle when and before he was mentioned than the tribe of Aus and Khazraj. The reason for this was that they were well acquainted with the sayings of Jewish rabbis and they lived side by side with them as allies. When the apostle was talked of in Medina and the heard of the trouble he had with Quraysh, Abū Qays b. al-Aslat, brother of B. Wāqīf, composed the verses given below (175).

Abū Qays was warmly attached to Quraysh since he was related to them through his wife Afnāb d. Asad b. 'Abdul-'Uzzā b. Qusayy, and he with his wife used to stay with them for years at a time. He composed an ode in which he magnified the sanctity of the area, forbade Quraysh to fight there, urged them to stand by one another, mentioned their merits and virtues, urged them to protect the apostle, and reminded them of how God had dealt with them and saved them in the War of the Elephant.

O rider, when you meet Lu'ayy ibn Ghālib
Give him a message from me,
The tidings of a man who though far from you
Is distressed at what is between you, sad and worried.
I have become the caravanseraï of cares,
Because of them I cannot do what I should.
I learn that you are divided into camps,
One party kindles the fire of war, the other provides the fuel.
I pray God to protect you from your evil act,
Your wicked quarrel and the insidious attack of scorpions,
Defamatory reports and secret plots
Like pricking awls which never fail to pierce.
Remind them of God, first of all things,
And the sin of breaking the taboo on travel-worn gazelles.¹
Say to them, (and God will give His judgement)
If you abandon war it will go far from you,
When you stir it up you raise an evil thing;
'Tis a monster devouring everything near and far,
It severs kinship and destroys people;
It cuts the flesh from the hump and the back.
You will give up the finest clothes of Yaman
For a soldier's garb and coat of mail,
Musk and camphor for dust-coloured armour
With buttons like the eyes of a locust.

¹ The killing of game within the sacred area was taboo, and the poet means that if the blood of animals there is sacrosanct, a portion bloodshed and war are forbidden by God.

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179 Beware of war! Do not let it cling to you;
A stagnant pool has a bitter draught,
War—its first seems fine to men
But afterwards they plainly recognize an old hag.
It scorches unseasonably the weak,
And aims death-dealing blows at the great.
Know you not what happened in the war of Dābiq?
Or the war of Ḥāṭib? Take a lesson from them!
How many a noble chief it slew,
The generous host whose guest lacked naught,
A huge pile of ashes beneath his pot,
Praised by all, noble in character, his sword
Drawn only in righteous cause;
'Tis as water poured out at random,
As if winds from all quarters scattered the clouds;²
A truthful, knowledgeable man will tell you of its battles
(For real knowledge is the result of experience).
So sell your spears to those who love war
And remember the account you must render, for God is the best 180 reckoner.

Man's Lord has chosen a religion,
So let none guard you but the Lord of heaven,
Raise up for us a ḥanīfī religion.
You are our object; one is guided in travel by heights,
You are a light and protection to this people,
You lead the way, not lacking virtues.
If men were valued, you would be a jewel,
The best of the vale is yours in noble pride.
You preserve noble, ancient peoples
Whose genealogy shows no foreign blood;
You see the needy come to your houses
Wave after wave of starving wights.
The people know that your leaders
Are ever the best people of the stations of Minā,²
Best in counsel, loftiest in custom,
Most truthful amid the assemblages.

1 If the subject of the metaphor is war the reading ṣaḥāl is right, and indiscriminate bloodshed is indicated; if the variant ṣallāt 'porous soil' is adopted, the poet is continuing his description of the generous warrior whose hospitality extends to the most insatiable feet.

2 See Al-Suhaib, 182, who says that I. I. so explains the word. He is quoting from p. 320 of the text. Al-Barqī says it was a well at Minā where the blood of the sacrificial victims was wasted. It was a spot venerated by the Arabs. The word ḥalāhī apparently means the maimed of a maimed, and naturally a large number of such skins used for carrying water would be available there; therefore it is possible that the term 'people of the stomach skins' simply means Arabs, the people who more than any other used this kind of vessel for carrying food and water, and so the meaning of the poet is that the tribe of Lu'ayy is the finest tribe in Arabia.
Rise and pray to your Lord and rub yourselves against the corners of this house between the mountains. He gave you a convincing test. On the day of Abū Yaka'am, leader of the squadrons, his cavalry was in the plains, his infantry upon the passes of the hills. When the help of the Lord of the throne reached you, his armies repulsed them, pelting them, and covering them with dust; quickly they turned tail in flight. And none but a few returned to his people from the army. If you perish, we shall perish, and the fires by which men live. These are the words of a truthful man (176).

Hakim b. Umayya b. Hāritha b. al-Auqa's al-Sulami, an ally of B. Umayya who had become a Muslim, composed the following verses to turn his people from their determined enmity to the apostle. He was a man of good birth and authority.

Does one who says what is right stick to it, and is there one listening who would be angry at the truth? Does the chief whose tribe hopes to profit from him gather friends from near and far? I disown all but Him who controls the wind and I abandon you for ever. I submit myself utterly to God though friends threaten me with terror.

183 HOW THE APOSTLE WAS TREATED BY HIS OWN PEOPLE

When the Quraysh became distressed by the trouble caused by the enmity between them and the apostle and those of their people who accepted his teaching, they stirred up against him foolish men who called him a liar, insulted him, and accused him of being a poet, a sorcerer, a diviner, and being possessed. However, the apostle continued to proclaim what God had ordered him to proclaim, concealing nothing, and exciting their dislike by contemning their religion, forsaking their idols, and leaving them to their disbelief.

Yahya b. 'Urwa b. al-Zuhayr on the authority of his father from 'Abdul- Lah b. 'Amr b. al-'Aṣ told me that the latter was asked what was the way in which Quraysh showed their enmity to the apostle. He replied: They was with them one day when the notables had gathered in the Hijr and the apostle was mentioned. They said that they had never known anything like the trouble they had endured from this fellow; he had declared that

1 For this and the following lines, except the last, see p. 39 of the Arabic text.

184 HAMZA ACCEPTS ISLAM

A man of Aslam, who had a good memory, told me that Abū Jahl passed by the apostle at al-Shaf, insulted him and behaved most offensively, speaking spitefully of his faith and trying to bring him into disrepute. The apostle did not speak to him. Now a freedwoman, belonging to 'Abdullah b. Judain b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murra, was in her house listening to what went on. When he went away he betook himself to the assembly of Quraysh at the Ka'ba and sat there. Within a little while Hamza b. 'Abdu'll-Mu'talib arrived, with his bow hanging from his shoulder, returning from the chase, for he was fond of hunting and used to go out shooting. When he came back from a hunt he never went home until he had circumambulated the Ka'ba, and that done when he passed by an assembly of the Quraysh he stopped and saluted and talked with them. He was the strongest man of Quraysh, and the most unyielding. The apostle

Dhuhu.
had gone back to his house when he passed by this woman, who asked him, if he had heard of what Abu'l-Hakam b. Hishâm had done just recently to his nephew, Muhammad; how he had found him sitting quietly there, and insulted him, and cursed him, and treated him badly, and that Muhammad had answered not a word. Hamza was filled with rage, for God purposed to honour him, so he went out at a run and did not stop to greet anyone, meaning to punish Abû Jahl when he met him. When he got to the mosque, he saw him sitting among the people, and went up to him until he stood over him, when he lifted up his bow and struck him a violent blow with it, saying, 'Will you insult him when I follow his religion, and say what he says? Hit me back if you can!' Some of B. Makhzûm got up to go to Abû Jahl's help, but he said, 'Let Abû 'Umâra alone for, by God, I insulted his nephew deeply.' Hamza's Islam was complete, and he followed the apostle's commands. When he became a Muslim the Quraysh recognized that the apostle had become strong, and had found a protector in Hamza, and so they abandoned some of their ways of harassing him.

**WHAT 'UTBA SAID ABOUT THE PROPHET**

Yazîd b. Ziyâd from Muhammad b. Ka'ab al-Quraysh told me that he was told that 'Utba b. Rabî'a, who was a chief, said one day while he was sitting in the Quraysh assembly and the apostle was sitting in the mosque by himself, 'Why should I not go to Muhammad and make some proposal to him which if he accepts in part, we will give him whatever he wants, and he will leave us in peace?' This happened when Hamza had accepted Islam, and they saw that the prophet's followers were increasing and multiplying. They thought it was a good idea, and 'Utba went and sat by the prophet and said, 'O my nephew, you are one of us as you know, of the noblest of the tribe and hold a worthy position in ancestry. You have come to you people with an important matter, dividing their community thereby and ridiculing their customs, and you have insulted their gods and their religion, and declared that their forefathers were unbelievers, so listen to me, and I will make some suggestions, and perhaps you will be able to accept one of them.' The apostle agreed, and he went on, 'If what you want, money, we will gather for you of our property so that you may be the richest of us; if you want honour, we will make you our chief so that no one can decide anything apart from you; if you want sovereignty, we will make you king, and if this ghost which comes to you, which you see, is such that you cannot get rid of him, we will find a physician for you, and exhaust means in getting you cured, for often a familiar spirit gets possession of a man until he can be cured of it,' or words to that effect. The apostle listened patiently, and then said: 'Now listen to me, "In the name of God, the compassionate and merciful, H.M., a revelation from the compassionate, the merciful, a book whose verses are expounded as an Arabic Quran for a people who understand, as an announcement and warning, though most of them turn aside not listening and say, 'Our hearts are veiled from that to which you invite us.'"' Then the apostle continued to recite it to him. When 'Utba heard it from him, he listened attentively, putting his hands behind his back and leaning on them as he listened. Then the prophet ended at the prostration and prostrated himself, and said, 'You have heard what you have heard, Abûl-Walid; the rest remains with you.' When 'Utba returned to his companions they noticed that his expression had completely altered, and they asked him what had happened. He said that he had heard words such as he had never heard before, which were neither poetry, spells, nor witchcraft. 'Take my advice and do as I do, leave this man entirely alone for, by God, the words which I have heard will be blazed abroad. If (other) Arabs kill him, others will have rid you of him; if he gets the better of the Arabs, his sovereignty will be your sovereignty, his power your power, and you will be prosperous through him.' They said, 'He has bewitched you with his tongue.' To which he answered, 'You have my opinion, you must do what you think fit.'

**NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE APOSTLE AND THE LEADERS OF QURAYSH AND AN EXPLANATION OF THE SûRA OF THE CAVE**

Islam began to spread in Mecca among men and women of the tribes of Quraysh, though Quraysh were imprisoning and seducing as many of the Muslims as they could. A traditionist told me from Sa'd b. Jubayr and from 'Ikrima, freedman of 'Abdullâh b. 'Abbas, that the leading men of every clan of Quraysh — 'Utba b. Rabî'a, and Shayba his brother, and Abû Sîyân b. Harb, and al-Nadr b. al-Hârith, brother of the Banût Abûdul-Dâr, and Abûl-Bakhtari b. Hishâm, and al-Aswad b. al-Mu'talib b. Asad and Zum'a b. al-Aswad, and al-Wâlid b. al-Mughira, and Abû Jahl b. Hishâm, and 'Abdullâh b. Abû Umayya, and al-'As b. Wâ'il, and Nubayh and Munabbîh, the sons of al-Hajjâj, both of Salm, and Umayya b. Khalaf and possibly others — gathered together after sunset outside the Ka'ba. They decided to send for Muhammad and to negotiate and argue with him so that they could not be held to blame on his account in the future. When they sent for him the apostle came quickly because he thought that what he had said to them had made an impression, for he was most zealous for their welfare, and their wicked way of life pained him. When he came and sat down with them, they explained that they had sent for him in order that they could talk together. No Arab had ever treated his tribe as Muhammad had treated them, and they repeated the charges which have been mentioned on several occasions. If it was money he wanted, they would make him the richest of them all; if it was honour, he should be their prince; if it was sovereignty, they would make him king; if it was a...
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spirit which had got possession of him (they used to call the familiar spirit of the jinn ru'ûb), then they would exhaust their means in finding medicine to cure him. The apostle replied that he had no such intention. He sought not money, nor honour, nor sovereignty, but God had sent him as an apostle, and revealed a book to him, and commanded him to become an announcer and a warner. He had brought them the messages of his Lord, and given them good advice. If they took it then they would have a portion in this world and the next; if they rejected it, he could only patiently await the issue until God decided between them, or words to that effect. 'Well, Muhammad,' they said, 'if you won't accept any of our propositions, you know that no people are more short of land and water, and live a harder life than we, so ask your Lord, who has sent you, to remove for us these mountains which shut us in, and to straighten out our country for us, and to open up in it rivers like those of Syria and Iraq, and to resurrect for us our forefathers, and let there be among those that are resurrected for us Quasyy b. Kilâb, for he was a true shâikh, so that we may ask them whether what you say is true or false. If they say you are speaking the truth, and you do what we have asked you, we will believe in you, and we shall know what your position with God is, and that He has actually sent you as an apostle as you say.' He replied that he had not been sent to them with such an object. He had conveyed to them God's message, and they could either accept it with advantage, or reject it and await God's judgement. They said that if he would not do that for them, let him do something for himself. Ask God to send an angel with him to confirm what he said and to contradict them; to make him gardens and castles, and treasures of gold and silver to satisfy his obvious wants. He stood in the streets as they did, and he sought a livelihood as they did. If he could do this, they would recognize his merit and position with God, if he were an apostle as he claimed to be. He replied that he would not do it, and would not ask for such things, for he was not sent to do so, and he repeated what he had said before. They said, 'Then let the heavens be dropped on us in pieces, as you assert that your Lord could do if He wished, for we will not believe you unless you do so.' The apostle replied that this was a matter for God; if He wanted to do it with them, He would do it. They said, 'Did not your Lord know that we would sit with you, and ask you these questions, so that He might come to you and instruct you how to answer us, and tell you what He was going to do with us, if we did not receive your message?' Information has reached us that you are taught by this fellow in al-Yâmâma, called al-Rahmân, and by God we will never believe in the Râhmân. Our conscience is clear. By God, we will not leave you and our treatment of you, until either we destroy you or you destroy us.' Some said, 'We worship the angels, who are the daughters of Allah.' Others said, 'We will not believe in you until you come to us with God and the angels as a surety.'

When they said this the apostle got up and left them. 'Abdullah b. Al-

Umsya b. al-Mughîra b. 'Abdullâh b. 'Umar b. Makhzûm (who was the son of his aunt 'A'tîka d. of 'Abdu'l-Mu'tâjalîb) got up with him and said to him, 'O Muhammad, your people have made you certain propositions, which you have rejected; first they asked you things for themselves that they might know that your position with God is what you say it is so that they might believe you and follow you, and you did nothing; then they asked you to take something for yourself, by which they might know your superiority over them and your standing with God, and you would not do it; then they asked you to hasten some of the punishment with which you were frightening them, and you did not do it', or words to that effect, 'And by God, I will never believe in you until you get a ladder to the sky, and bring up until you come to it, while I am looking on, and until four angels shall come with you, testifying that you are speaking the truth, and by God, even if you did that I do not think I should believe you.' Then he went away, and the apostle went to his family, sad and grieving, because his hope that they had called him to accept his preaching was vain, and because of their estrangement from him. When the apostle had gone Abû Jahl spoke, making the usual charges against him, and saying, 'I call God to witness that I will wait for him tomorrow with a stone which I can hardly lift,' or words to that effect, 'and when he prostrates himself in prayer I will split his skull with it. Betray me or defend me, let the B. Abû Manâf do what they like after that.' They said that they would never betray him on any account, and he could carry on with his project. When morning came Abû Jahl took a stone and sat in wait for the apostle, who behaved as usual that morning. While he was in Mecca he faced Syria in prayer, and when he prayed, he prayed between the southern corner and the black stone, putting the Ka'bà between himself and Syria. The apostle rose to pray while Quraysh sat in their meeting, waiting for what Abû Jahl was to do. When the apostle prostrated himself, Abû Jahl took up the stone and went towards him, until when he got near him, he turned back in flight, pale with terror, and his hand had withered upon the stone, so that he cast the stone from his hand. The Quraysh asked him what had happened, and he replied that when he got near him a camel's stallion got in his way. 'By God', he said, 'I have never seen anything like his head, shoulders, and teeth on any stallion before, and he made as though he would eat me.'

I was told that the apostle said, 'That was Gabriel. If he had come near, we would have seized him.'

When Abû Jahl said that to them, al-Na'dr b. al-Hârith b. Kalâda b. Abâ'âma b. Abû Manâf b. Abû'd-Dâr b. Quasyy (178) got up and said: 'O Quraysh, a situation has arisen which you cannot deal with. Muhammad was a young man most liked among you, most truthful in speech, and most trustworthy, until, when you saw grey hairs on his temple, and he brought you his message, you said he was a sorcerer, but he is not, for we have seen such people and their spitting and their knots; you said, a diviner, but we
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have seen such people and their behaviour, and we have heard their rhymes; and you said a poet, but he is not a poet, for we have heard all kinds of poetry; you said he was possessed, but he is not, for we have seen the possessed, and he shows no signs of their gasping and whispering and delirium. Ye men of Quraysh, look to your affairs, for by God, a serious thing has befallen you.' Now al-Nadr b. al-Harith was one of the satans of Quraysh; he used to insult the apostle and show him enmity. He had been to al-Hira and learnt there the tales of the kings of Persia, the tales of Rustum and Isbandiyar. When the apostle had held a meeting in which he reminded them of God, and warned his people of what had happened to bygone generations as a result of God's vengeance, al-Nadr got up when he sat down, and said, 'I can tell a better story than he, come to me.' Then he began to tell them about the kings of Persia, Rustum and Isbandiyar, and then he would say, 'In what respect is Muhammad a better story-teller than I?' (79).

Ibn 'Abbas, according to my information, used to say eight verses of the Qur'an came down in reference to him, 'When our verses are read to him, he tells fairy tales of the ancients'; and all those passages in the Qur'an which 'fairy tales' are mentioned.

When Al-Nadr said that to them, they sent him and 'Uqba b. Abi Mu'ayyad to the Jewish rabbis in Medina and said to them, 'Ask them about Muhammad; describe them to them and tell them what he says, for they are the first people of the scriptures and have knowledge which we do not possess about the prophets.' They carried out their instructions, and said to the rabbis, 'You are the people of the Ta'urit, and we have come to you so that you can tell us how to deal with this tribesman of ours.' The rabbis said, 'Ask him about three things of which we will instruct you: if he gives you the right answer then he is an authentic prophet, but if he does not, then the man is a rogue, so form your own opinion about him.' Ask him what happened to the young men who disappeared in ancient days, for they have a marvellous story. Ask him about the mighty traveler who reached the confines of both East and West. Ask him what the spine is. If he can give you the answer, then follow him, for he is a prophet, but if he cannot, then he is a forger and treat him as you will.' The two had returned to Quraysh at Mecca and told them that they had a decisive test of dealing with Muhammad, and they told them about the three questions.

They came to the apostle and called upon him to answer these questions.  193

He said to them, 'I will give you your answer tomorrow,' but he did not say, 'If God will.' So they went away; and the apostle, so they say, waited for fifteen days without a revelation from God on the matter, nor did Gabriel come to him, so that the people of Mecca began to spread evil reports, saying, 'Muhammad promised us an answer on the morrow, and today is the fourteenth day we have remained without an answer.' This delay caused the apostle great sorrow, until Gabriel brought him the Chapter of The Cave, in which he reproaches him for his sadness, and told him the answers of their questions, the youths, the mighty traveller, and the spirit.

I was told that the apostle said to Gabriel when he came, 'You have shut yourself off from me, Gabriel, so that I became apprehensive.' He answered, 'We descend only by God's command, whose is what lies before us, behind us, and what lies between, and thy Lord does not forget.'

He began the Sura with His own praise, and mentioning (Muhammad's) prophethood and apostolate and their denial thereof, and He said, 'Glory belongs to God, who has revealed the book to His servant,' meaning Muhammad.

Verily thou art an apostle from Me,' i.e. confirming what they ask about thy prophethood. 'He hath not made therein crookedness, it is straight,' i.e. it is level, without any difference. 'To warn of a severe punishment from Him,' that is, His immediate judgement in this world. 'And a painful judgement in the next,' that is, from thy Lord, who has sent thee as an apostle. 'To give those who believe, who do good works, the good news that they will have a glorious reward, enjoying it everlasting,' i.e. the eternal abode. 'They shall not die therein,' i.e. those who have accepted your message as true, though others have denied it, and have done the works that you have ordered them to do. 'And to warn those who say God has taken a son.' He means the Quraysh when they say, 'We worship the angels who are the daughters of Allah.' 'They have no knowledge about it, nor had their forefathers,' who take hardly your leaving them and shaming their religion. 'Dreadful is the word that proceedeth from their mouth' when they say the angels are God's daughters. 'They say nothing but a lie, and it may be that thou wilt destroy thyself,' O Muhammad. 'In grief over their course if they believe not this saying,' i.e. because of his sorrow when he was disappointed of his hope of them; i.e. thou shalt not do it (69). 'Verily We have made that which is upon the earth an ornament to try them which of them will behave the best,' i.e. which of them will follow My commandment and act in obedience to Me,' And verily we will make that which is upon it a barren mound,' i.e. the earth and what is upon it will perish and pass away, for all must return to Me that I may reward them according to their deeds, so do not despair nor let what you hear and see therein grieve you (181). Then does the story of what they asked him about the young men, and God said: 'Have you considered that the dwellers in the Cave and al-Ra'if were wonders from our signs?' i.e. there were still more wonderful signs in the proofs I have given to men (182). Then God said: 'When the 194

1 Sura 2, 15.
2 Properly the Law of Moses, but often used by Muslim writers of the Old Testament in a whole.
3 Mecca is some 180 m. from Medina. The ordinary caravan took 10 or 11 days. The tayyara going via al-Khabit did the journey in 5 days.
4 Sura 15, 65.
5 Sura 18.
young men took refuge in the Cave they said, O Lord, show us kindness and give us guidance by Your command, so We sealed up their hearing in the Cave for many years. Then We brought them to life again that We might know which of the two parties would best calculate the time that they had been there.' Then He said: 'We will tell you the true account of them; they were young men who believed in their Lord, and We gave them further guidance, and We strengthened their hearts. Then they stood and said, Our Lord is the Lord of heaven and earth. We will pray to no god but Him. If we were to say otherwise we should speak blasphemy, i.e. they did not associate anyone with Me as you have associated with Me, what you know nothing about (185). 'These people of ours have chosen gods in addition to Him, though they bring no plain authority for them, i.e. a clear proof. 'Who is more wicked than he who invents a lie against God? When you withdraw from them and what they worship instead of God, then take refuge in the Cave; your Lord will spread for you by His mercy and prepare a pillow for you in your plight. You might see the sun when it rises move away from their Cave towards the right, and when it sets it would go past them to the left, while they were in a cleft of the Cave' (184). 'That was one of the signs of God', i.e. for a proof against those of the people of the scriptures who knew their story and who ordered those men to ask you about them concerning the truth of your prophecy is giving a true account of them. 'Whom God guides is rightly guided, and for him whom He leads astray you will find no friend to direct. And you should think they were awake while they were sleeping, and we would turn them over to the right and the left, while their dog was lying with its forepaws on the threshold' (185). 'If you observed them closely you would turn your backs on them fleeing, and be afraid of them' up to the words 'those who gained their point said,' i.e. the people of power and dominion among them. 'Let us build a mosque above them; they will say,' i.e. the Jewish rabbis who ordered them to ask these questions. 'Three, their dog being the fourth of them, and some say five, their sixth being the dog, guessing in the dark,' i.e. they know nothing about it, 'and they say seven and their dog the eighth. Say: My Lord knows best about their number; none knows them save a few, so do not contend with them except with an open contention,' i.e. do not be proud with them. 'And do not ask anyone information about them,' for do not know anything about it. 'And do not say of anything I will do it tomorrow unless you say, If God will. And mention Your Lord if you have forgotten and say, Perhaps my Lord will guide me to a nearer way of truth than this,' i.e. do not say anything which they ask you what you said about this, viz. I will tell you tomorrow, and make God's will the condition, and remember Him when you have forgotten to do so and say, Perhaps my Lord will guide me to what is better than what they ask of me in guidance, for you do not know what I am doing about it. 'And they remained in their Cave three hundred years and they added nine,' i.e. they will say this. 'Say: Your Lord knows better how long they stayed there. The secrets of heaven and earth are with Him. How wonderfully He sees and hears. They have no friend but Him, and He allows none in His dominion as a partner,' i.e. nothing of what they ask is hidden from Him. And He said about what they asked him in regard to the mighty traveller, 'And they will ask you about Dhūl-Qarnayn; say, I will recite to you a remembrance of him. Verily We gave him power in the earth, and We gave to him every road and he followed it'; so far as the end of his story. It is said that he attained what no other mortal attained. Roads were stretched out before him until he traversed the whole earth, east and west. He was given power over every land he trod on until he reached the farthest confines of creation.

A man who used to purvey stories of the foreigners,1 which were handed down among them, told me that Dhūl-Qarnayn was an Egyptian, whose name was Marzbān b. Mardhaba, the Greek, descended from Yunān b. Yāsīth b. Nūh (186).

Thārub b. Yazīd from Khālid b. Mā’dān al-Kalītī, who was a man who reached Islamic times, told me that the apostle was asked about Dhūl-Qarnayn, and he said, 'He is an angel who measured the earth beneath by ropes.'

Khālid said, 'Umar heard a man calling someone Dhūl-Qarnayn, and he said, 'God pardon you, are you not satisfied to use the names of the prophets for your children that you must now name them after the angels?" God knows the truth of the matter, whether the apostle said that or not. If he said it, then what he said was true.

God said concerning what they asked him about the Spirit, 'They will ask you about the Spirit, say, the Spirit is a matter for my Lord, and you have only a little knowledge about it.'

I was told on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās that he said, When the apostle came to Medina, the Jewish rabbis said, 'When you said, 'And you have only a little knowledge about it,' did you mean us or your own people?' He said, 'Both of you.' They said, 'Yet you will read in what you brought that we were given the Taurīt in which is an exposition of everything.' He replied in that reference to God's knowledge that was little, but in it there was enough for them if they carried it out. God revealed concerning what they asked him about that 'If all the trees in the world were pens and the ocean were ink, though the seven seas reinforced it, the words of God would not be exhausted. Verily God is mighty and wise.'1 i.e. The Taurīt compared with God's knowledge is little. And God revealed to him concerning what his people asked him for themselves, namely, removing the mountains, and cutting the earth, and raising their forerunners from the dead. 'If there were a Qurān by which mountains could be moved, or the earth split, or the dead spoken to [it would be this one], but to God belong the disposition of all things,' i.e. I will not do anything of the kind

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1 Or 'the Persians'.
2 Sūra 17, 87.
3 Sūra 31, 26.
unless I choose. And He revealed to him concerning their saying, ‘Take for yourself’, meaning that He should make for him gardens, and castles and treasures, and should send an angel with him to confirm what he said and to defend him. And they said, ‘What is this apostle doing, eating food, and walking in the markets? Unless an angel were sent to him to be a warner with him, or he were given a treasure or a garden from which he might eat [we would not believe]’, and the evildoers say, ‘You follow only a man bewitched’. See how they have coined proverbs of thee, and have gone astray and cannot find the way. Blessed is He, who if He willed could make for thee something better than that, i.e. than that you should walk in the marketplaces, seeking a livelihood. ‘Gardens beneath which run rivers, and make for thee castles’.

And He revealed to him concerning their saying, ‘When We sent messengers before thee they did eat and walk in the markets, and we made some of you a test for others, whether you would be steadfast, and your Lord is looking on’, i.e. I made some of you a test for others that you might be steadfast. Had I wanted to make the world side with my apostles, so that they would not oppose them, I would have done so.

And he revealed to him concerning what 'Abdullah b. Umayya said, ‘And they said, “We will not believe in thee until fountains burst forth for us from the earth, or you have a garden of dates and grapes and make the rivers within it burst forth copiously, or make the heavens fall upon us in fragments as you assert, or bring God and the angels as a surety, or you get a house of gold, or mount up to heaven, we will not believe in thee until you bring down to us a book which we can read.” ’ Say: exalted be my Lord, am I aught but a mortal messenger’ (187). He revealed to him with reference to their saying ‘We have heard that a man in al-Yamāmah called al-Raḥmān teaches you. We will never believe in him’. ‘Thus did We send you to a people before whom other peoples had passed away that you might read to them that which We have revealed to thee, while they disbelieved in the Raḥmān. Say, He is my Lord, there is no other God but He. In Him I trust and unto Him is the return.’ And He revealed to him concerning what Abū Jahl said and intended: ‘Have you seen him who prohibited a servant when he prayed, have you seen if he was rightly guided or gave orders in the fear of God, have you seen if he lied and turned his back; does he not know that Allah sees everything? If he does not cease we will drag him by the forelock, lie down sinful forelock; let him call his gang, we will call the guards of hell. Thou shalt certainly not obey him, prostrate thyself and draw near to God’ (188).

And God revealed concerning what they proposed to him in regard to their money, ‘Say, I ask no reward of you, it is yours; my reward is God’s concern alone and He witnesses everything.’ When the apostle brought to them what they knew was the truth so that they recognized his truthfulness and his position as a prophet in bringing them tidings of the unseen when they asked him about it, envy prevented them from admitting his truth, and they became insolent against God and openly forsook his commandments and took refuge in their polytheism. One of them said, ‘Do not listen to this Qurʾān; treat it as nonsense and probably you will get the better of it’, i.e. treat it as nonsense and false; and treat him as a mere gager—you will probably get the better of him, whereas if you argue or debate with him any time he will get the better of you.

Abū Jahl, when he was mocking the apostle and his message one day, said: ‘Muhammad pretends that God’s troops who will punish you in hell and imprison you there, are nineteen only, while you have a large population. Can it be that every hundred of you is unequal to one man of them?’ In reference to that God revealed, ‘We have made the guardians of hell angels, and We have made the number of them a trial to those who disbelieve’, to the end of the passage. Whereupon when the apostle recited the Qurʾān loudly as he was praying, they began to disperse and refused to listen to him. If anyone of them wanted to hear what he was reciting as he prayed, he had to listen stealthily for fear of Quraysh; and if he saw that they knew that he was listening to it, he went away for fear of punishment and listened no more. If the apostle lowered his voice, then the man who was listening thought that they would not listen to any part of the reading, while he himself heard something which they could not hear, by giving all his attention to the words.

Daʾūd b. al-Fadl b. 'Azīz b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān told me that 'Ibrāhīm b. al-Fadl b. Su'llam b. Abī Bakr b. al-Anṣārī b. Abī Ṭālib b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Abbās had told them that 'Abdullāh b. 'Abbās had told them that the verse, ‘Don’t speak loudly in thy prayer and don’t be silent; adopt a middle course’, was revealed because of those people. He said, ‘Don’t speak loudly in thy prayer’ so that they may go away from you, and ‘Don’t be silent’ so that he who wants to hear, of those who listen stealthily, cannot hear; perhaps he will give heed to some of it and profit thereby.

The first one who pronounced the Qurʾān loudly

Yaḥyā b. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me as from his father that the first man to speak the Qurʾān loudly in Mecca after the apostle was 'Abdullāh b. Maṣṣūd. The prophet’s companions came together one day and remarked that Quraysh had never heard the Qurʾān distinctly read to them, and who was there who would make them listen to it? When 'Abdullāh said that he would, they replied that they were afraid on his behalf and they wanted only a man of good family who would protect him from the populace if they attacked him. He replied, ‘Let me alone, for God will protect me.’ So in the morning he went to the sanctuary while Quraysh were in their
conferences, and when he arrived at the Maqām, he read, ‘In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful,’ raising his voice as he did so, the compassionate who taught the Quran.’ Then he turned towards them and he read so that they noticed him, and they said, ‘What on earth is this sort of a slavewoman saying?’ And when they realized that he was reading some of what Muhammad prayed, they got up and began to hit him in the face; but he continued to read so far as God willed that he should read. Then he went to his companions with the marks of their blows on his face. They said, ‘This is just what we feared would happen to you.’ He said, ‘God’s enemies were never more contemptible in my sight than they are now, and if you like I will go and do the same thing before them tomorrow.’ They said, ‘No, you have done enough, you have made them listen to what they don’t want to hear.’

**THE QURAYSH LISTEN TO THE PROPHET’S READING**

Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhri told me that he was told that Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and Abū Jahl b. Hishām and al-Akhnas b. Shariq, Amr b. Waḥb al-Thaqafi, an ally of B. Zuhra, had gone out by night to listen to the apostle as he was praying in his house. Everyone of them chose a place to sit where he could listen, and none knew where his fellow was sitting. So they passed the night listening to him, until as the sun rose, they dispersed. On the way home they met and reproached one another, and one said to the other, ‘Don’t do it again, for if one of the light-minded fools sees you, you will arouse suspicion in his mind.’ Then they went away, until on the second night everyone of them returned again to his place, and they passed the night listening. Then at dawn the same thing happened again, and again on the third night, when on the morning they said to one another, ‘We will not go away until we take a solemn obligation that we will not return.’ This they did and then dispersed. In the morning al-Akhnas took his stick and went to the house of Abū Sufyān, and asked him to tell him his opinion of what he had heard from Muhammad. He replied, ‘By God, I heard things that I, and I heard things whose meaning I don’t know, nor what was intended by them.’ Al-Akhnas replied, ‘I feel precisely the same.’ Then he left him and went to Abū Jahl’s house, and asked him the same question. He answered, ‘What did I hear? We and B. Abū Man‘t have been rivals in honour. They have fed the poor, and so have we; they have assumed others’ burdens, and so have we; they have been generous, and so have we, until we have progressed side by side, and we were like two horses of equal speed. They said, ‘We have a prophet to whom revelation comes from heaven’, and when shall we attain anything like that? By God, we will never believe in him and treat him as truthful.’ Then al-Akhnas got up and left him.

When the apostle recited the Quran to them and called them to God, they said in mockery, ‘Our hearts are veiled, we do not understand what you say. There is a load in our ears so that we cannot hear what you say, and a curtain divides us from you, so follow your own path and we will follow ours, we do not understand anything you say.’ Then God revealed, ‘And when you read the Quran we put between you and those who do not believe in the last day a hidden veil, as far as the words ‘and when you mention your Lord alone in the Quran they turn their backs in aversion’, that is, how can they understand thy assertion that thy Lord is one if I have put veils over their hearts and heaviness in their ears, and between you and them is a curtain as they allege?, i.e. that I have not done it. ‘We know best about what they listen to when they listen to you, and when they take secret counsel, the wicked say, “You are only following a man bewitched”, i.e. that is the way they order people not to listen to the message I have given you. ‘See how they have made parables of you, and gone astray, and cannot find the way’, i.e. they have made false proverb about you, and cannot find the right path, and what they say is not straightforward. ‘And they say, we are bones and dried morsels shall we be raised a new creation? i.e. you have come to tell us that we shall be raised after death when we are bones and dried fragments, and that is something that cannot be. Say, Be ye hard stones or iron, or anything that you think in your minds is harder, they will say, “Who will raise us?” Say, He who created you in the beginning, i.e. He who created you from what you know, for to create you from dust is no more difficult than that to him. ‘Abdullah b. Abū Najīf from Mukhida from Ibn ‘Abdā told me that the latter said, ‘I asked him what was meant by the word of God “or something that you think is harder” and he said, “Death.”.

**THE POLYTHEISTS PERSECUTE THE MUSLIMS OF THE LOWER CLASSES**

Then the Quraysh showed their enmity to all those who followed the apostle; every clan which contained Muslims attacked them, imprisoning them, and beating them, allowing them no food or drink, and exposing them to the burning heat of Mecca, so as to seduce them from their religion. Some gave way under pressure of persecution, and others resisted them, being protected by God.

Bilāl, who was afterwards freed by Abū Bakr but at that time belonged to one of B. Jumāh, being slave born, was a faithful Muslim, pure of heart. His father’s name was Rībā and his mother was Hāmān. Umayya b. Nalaf b. Waḥb b. Ḥudhāfa b. Jumāh used to bring him out at the hottest
part of the day and throw him on his back in the open valley and have a great rock put on his chest; then he would say to him, 'You will stay here till you die or deny Muhammad and worship Al-Lāt and al-‘Uzzā.' He used to say while he was enduring this, 'One, one!'

Hishām b. ‘Urwa told me on the authority of his father: Wāraq b. Naufal was passing him while he was being thus tortured and saying, ‘One, one,’ and he said, ‘One, one, by God, Bilāl!’ Then he went to Umayya and those of B. Jumah who had thus maltreated him, and said, ‘I swear by God that if you kill him in this way I will make his tomb a shrine.’ One day Abū Bakr passed by while they were thus ill-treating him, for his house was among this clan. He said to Umayya, ‘Have you no fear of God that you treat this poor fellow like this? How long is it to go on?’ He replied, ‘You are the one who corrupted him, so save him from his plight that you see.’ ‘I will do so,’ said Abū Bakr; ‘I have got a black slave, tougher and stronger than he, who is a heathen. I will exchange him for Bilāl.’ The transaction was carried out, and Abū Bakr took him and freed him.

Before he migrated to Medina he freed six slaves in Islam, Bilāl being the seventh, namely: ‘Amir b. Fuhayra, who was present at Badr and ‘Uqayl and was killed at the battle of ‘Uthmān; and Umm ‘Ubays and Zainab (she lost her sight when he freed her and Quraysh said, ‘Al-Lāt and al-‘Uzzā are the ones that have taken away her sight’; but she said, ‘By the house of God, you lie. Al-Lāt and al-‘Uzzā can never harm nor heal, so God restored her sight’).

And he freed al-Nahdiya and her daughter who belonged to a woman B. ‘Abdul-l-Dar; he passed by them when their mistress had sent them about some flour of hers, and she was saying, ‘By God, I will never free you.’ Abū Bakr said, ‘Free yourself from your oath.’ She said, ‘It is free, you corrupted them so you free them.’ They agreed upon the price, and he said, ‘I will take them and they are free. Return her flour to her.’ The said, ‘Oughtn’t we to finish the grinding and then take it back to her?’ He said, ‘Yes, if you like.’

He passed by a slave girl of B. Mu’ammil, a clan of B. ‘Adiy b. Ka’h who was a Muslim. ‘Umar b. al-Khashāb was punishing her to make her give up Islam. At that time he was a polytheist. He beat her until he was tired and said, ‘I have only stopped beating you because I am tired.’ She said, ‘May God treat you in the same way.’ Abū Bakr bought her and freed her.

Muhammad b. ‘Abdullāh b. Abū ‘Atiq from ‘Amir b. ‘Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr from one of his family told me: Abū Qubāfa said to his son Abū Bakr, ‘My son, I see that you are freeing weak slaves. If you want to do what you are doing, why don’t you free powerful men who could defend you and protect you?’ He said, ‘I am only trying to do what I am attempting for God’s sake.’ It is said that these verses came down in reference to him and what his father said to him: ‘As to him who gives and fears God and believes in goodness,’ up to the divine words, ‘none is rewarded by God with favour but for seeking his Lord’s most sublime face and in the end he will be satisfied.‘

The B. Makhzūm used to take out ‘Ammār b. Yāsir with his father and mother, who were Muslims, in the heat of the day and expose them to the heat of Mecca, and the Apostle passed by them and said, I have heard, ‘Patience, O family of Yāsir! Your meeting-place will be paradise.’ They killed his mother, for she refused to abandon Islam.

It was that evil man Abū Jahl who stirred up the Meccans against them. When he heard that a man had become a Muslim, if he was a man of social importance and had relations to defend him, he reprimanded him and poured scorn on him, saying, ‘You have forsaken the religion of your father who was better than you. We will declare you a blackhead and brand you as a fool, and destroy your reputation.’ If he was a merchant he said, ‘We will boycott your goods and reduce you to beggary.’ If he was a person of no social importance, he beat him and incited people against him.

Hakim b. Jubayr from Sa’d b. Jubayr told me: ‘I said to ‘Abdullah b. ‘Abbās, “Were the polytheists treating them so badly that apostasy was excusable?” “Yes, by God, they were,” he said, “they used to beat one of them, depriving him of food and drink so that he could hardly sit upright because of the violence they had used on him, so that in the end he would do whatever they said.” If they said to him, “Are al-Lāt and al-‘Uzzā your gods and not Allah?” he would say, “Yes” to the point that if a beetle passed by them they would say to him, “Is this beetle your God and not Allah?” he would say yes, in order to escape from the suffering he was enduring.”

Al-Zubayr b. ‘Ukashā b. ‘Abdullāh b. Abū ‘Adm told me that he was told that some men of B. Makhzūm went to Hishām b. al-Walid when his brother al-Walid b. al-Walid became a Muslim. They had agreed to seize some young men who had become Muslims, among whom were ‘Alī b. Hishām and ‘Ayyāsh b. Abū Rabī’a. They were afraid of his violent temper and so they said, ‘We wish to admonish these men because of this religion which they have newly introduced; thus we shall be safe in the case of others.’ ‘All right,’ he said, ‘admonish him, but beware that you do not kill him.’ Then he began to recite:

My brother ‘Umayr shall not be killed,
Otherwise there will be war between us for ever.  

Be careful of his life, for I swear by God that if you kill him, I will kill the noblest of you to the last man.” They said, “God damn the man. After what he has said who will want to bring trouble on himself, for, by God, if this man were killed while in our hands the best of us would be killed to a man,” So they left him and withdrew, and that was how God protected him from them.

1 Sūra 92, 5.
2 Lit., ‘reciprocal cursing’, which was an inseparable accompaniment to war among the Pers Arāb.
THE FIRST MIGRATION TO ABBYSSINIA

When the apostle saw the affliction of his companions and that though he escaped it because of his standing with Allah and his uncle Abū Ṭalib, he could not protect them, he said to them: 'If you were to go to Abyssinia (it would be better for you), for the king will not tolerate injustice and it is a friendly country, until such time as Allah shall relieve you from your distress.' Thereupon his companions went to Abyssinia, being afraid of apostasy and fleeing to God with their religion. This was the first hajj in Islam.

The first of the Muslims to go were: B. Umayya: "Uthmān b. Affān... with his wife Ruqayya, d. the apostle.
B. 'Abdull-'Shams: Abū Ḥudhayfa b. Utba... with his wife Sahlah b. Suhayl b. 'Amr one of B. 'Amr b. Lu'ayy.
B. 'Abdull-'Uzza: Abū-'Uzayb b. Al-Awam...
B. Umm-Harmala b. Al-'Irbād... with his wife Umm Ḥarmala b. 'Abdull-'Irbād... with his wife Bahbāb b. Umm Ḥarmala...
B. 'Amr b. Abū Ḥaṣūsah: Ummān b. Maz'ūn...
B. 'Abdull-'Uzza: Amur b. Rabī', an ally of the family of al-Khaṭīb of Anṣār b. Wa'il (189), with his wife Laylā d. Abū Ḥathama b. Ḥudayfah... Amīr b. Lu'ayy: Abū Ṣabrā b. Abū Ṣuhrā b. Abū-'Uzza...
Abū Qays... Amīr. Others say it was Abū Ḥatīb b. Amīr b. Abū Shams of the same descent. It is said that he was the first to arrive in Abyssinia.

B. al-Hārith: Suhayl b. Baydā'. These ten were the first to go to Abyssinia according to my information (190).

Afterwards Ja'far b. Abū Ṭalib went, and the Muslims followed one another until they gathered in Abyssinia; some took their families, others went alone.

B. Hāshim: Ja'far who took his wife Aṣmā' d. 'Umayya b. Al-Nuḥāh... She bore him 'Abdullah in Abyssinia.
The Life of Muhammad

b. Qays b. 'Adiy b. Sa'd b. Sahm; Hishâm b. al-‘Aṣ b. Wā'il b. Sa'd b. Sahm (97); Qays b. Hudhâfâ; ... Abû Qays b. al-Hâríth; ... 'Abdullah b. Hudhâfâ ... al-Hâríth b. al-Hâríth; ... Ma'mar b. al-Hâríth; ... Bishr b. al-Hâríth ... and a brother of his from a Tanimite mother called ... Sa'id b. 'Amr; Sa'id b. al-Hâríth; ... al-Sâ'î b. al-Hâríth; ... 'Umar b. Ri'sh b. Hudhâfâ b. Muhâshim; ... Ma'mar b. al-Jaza', an ally of theirs from B. Zubayd. Fourteen men.

B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b: Ma'mar b. 'Abdullah; ... 'Urwâ b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza; ... 'Adiy b. Nadla b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza ... and his son al-Nu'mân; 'Amir b. Rabî'a, an ally of the family of al-Khaṭṭâb from 'Anz b. Wâ'il with his wife Layl b. Layl. Five.

B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy: Abû Sabra b. Abû Ruhm ... with his wife Umm Kullâthm d. Suhayl b. 'Amr; ... 'Abdallah b. Makhrama b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza; 'Abdallah b. Suhayl; ... Salîb b. 'Amr b. 'Abdu Shams ... and his brother al-Sakran with his wife Sâdâ b. Zama'a b. Qays b. 'Abdu Shams ... Mâlik b. Zama'a b. Qays ... with his wife 'Amra d. al-Sa'd b. Waqâdân b. 'Abdu Shams; ... Râfa b. 'Amr b. 'Abdu Shams; ... Sa'id b. Khula'an an ally of theirs. Eight persons (198).

B. al-Hâríth b. Fihr: Abû 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrâh who was 'Amir b. 'Abdallah b. al-Jarrâh; ... Suhayl b. Baydân who was Suhayl b. Wahb b. Rabî'a b. Hilâl b. Uuhayb b. Da'bâ ... (but he was always known by his mother's name, she being Da'd d. Ahlâm b. Ummayya b. Zarîb b. al-Hâríth ... and was always called Daydâ'); 'Amr b. Abû Sarh b. Rabî'a; ... 'Iyâd b. Zuhayr b. Abû Shadîd b. Rabî'a b. Hilâl b. Uuhayb b. Da'bâ b. al-Hâríth; ... but it is said that this is wrong and that Rabî'a was the son of Hilâl b. Mâlik b. Da'bâ ... and 'Amr b. al-Hâríth; ... 'Uthîmân b. 'Abdu Ghanîm b. Zuhayr; ... and Sa'id b. 'Abdu Qays b. Lâfit ... his brother al-Hâríth. Eight persons.

The total number of those who migrated to Abyssinia, apart from the little children whom they took with them or were born to them there, was eighty-three men if 'Ammâr b. Yasir was among them, but that is doubtful.

The following is an extract from the poetry which has been written in Abyssinia by 'Abdullah b. al-Hâríth b. Qays b. 'Adiy b. Sa'd b. Sahm. They were safely ensconced there and were grateful for the protection of the Negus; could serve God without fear; and the Negus had shown them every hospitality.

O rider, take a message from me
To those who hope for the demonstration of God and religion,
To everyone of God's persecuted servants,
Mistreated and hard tried in Mecca's vale,
Namely, that we have found God's country spacious,
Giving security from humiliation, shame and low-repute,
So do not live a life in humiliation.

1 This seems to be an allusion to the last verse of Sûrâ 14.

And shame in death, not safe from blame.
We have followed the apostle of God, and they
Have rejected the words of the prophet, and been deceitful.1
Visit thy punishment on the people who transgress
And protect me lest they rise and lead me astray.

'Abdullah b. al-Hâríth also said when he spoke of the Qurayah expelling them from their country, and reproached some of his people:

My heart refuses to fight them
And do so my fingers; I tell you the truth.
How could I fight a people who taught you
The truth that you should not mingle with falsehood?
Jinn worshippers exiled them from their noble land
So that they were exceeding sorrowful;
If there were faithfulness in 'Adiy b. Sa'd
Springing from piety and kinship ties,
I should have hoped that it would have been among you,
By the grace of Him who is not moved by bribes.
I got in exchange for the bountiful refuge of poor widows
A whelp, and that mothered by a bitch.

He also said:

Those Qurayah who deny God's truth
Are as 'Ad and Madyan and the people of al-Hijr who denied it.
If I do not raise a storm let not the earth,
Spacious land or ocean hold me!
In a land wherein is Muhammad, servant of God.
I will explain what is in my heart
When exhaustive search is made.

Because of the second verse of this poem 'Abdullah was called al-Mubârij, the thunderer (or threatener).

'Uthîmân b. Maz'ûn, reproaching Ummayya b. Khâlaf b. Wahb b. Suhayl b. Jumah, who was his cousin, and who used to ill-treat him because of his belief, made the following verses. Ummayya was a leader among his people at that time.

O 'Tyam b. 'Amr, I wonder at him who came in eminence,
When the sea and the broad high land lay between us,2

1 Such is the commentators' explanation of 'gone high in the balance'. The line is explained by Lane, 32006; it begins 'They said We have followed', &c.
2 Commentators find this verse difficult. Abû Dhâr says that shahrâni is a place-name, of which other vowels it means the sea; while barh is either another place-name or a herd of Ummayya says that shahrâni is the sea and barh is wide high ground. He prefers the opening line to begin: O 'Tyam b. 'Amr, I wonder at him whose anger burned;' Suhayl is right. In Eth. barhâ means 'land'.

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Did you drive me out of Mecca's vale where I was safe
And make me live in a boathouse white castle?1
You feather arrows, whose feathering will not help you;
You sharpen arrows, whose feathers are all for you;
You fight noble strong people;
And destroy those from whom you once sought help.
You will know one day, when misfortune attacks you
And strangers betray you, what you have done.

Taym b. 'Amr, whom 'Uthmān addresses, was Jumāh. His name was Taym.

THE QURAYSH SEND TO ABYSSINIA TO GET THE EMMIGRANTS RETURNED

When Quraysh saw that the prophet's companions were safely ensconced in Abyssinia and had found security there, they decided among themselves to send two determined men of their number to the Negus to get them sent back, so that they could seduce them from their religion and get them out of the home in which they were living in peace. So they sent 'Abdullah b. Abī Rabi'ā and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il. They got together some presents for them to take to the Negus and his generals. When Abū Ṭalib perceived their design he composed the following verse for the Negus to move him to treat them kindly and protect them:

Would that I knew how far-away Ja'far and 'Amr fare,
(Their bitterest enemies are off the nearest in blood).
Does the Negus still treat Ja'far and his companions kindly, Or has the mischief-maker prevented him?
Thou art noble and generous, mayest thou escape calamity;
No refugees are unhappy with thee.
Know that God has increased thy happiness
And all prosperity cleaves to thee.
Thou art a river whose banks overflow with bounty
Which reaches both friend and foe.

Muhammad b. Muslim al-Zuhri from Abū Bakr b. 'Abdu'll-Rahmān b. al-Hārith b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī from Umm Sa‘īda d. Abū Umayr b. al-Mughīrā wife of the apostle said, "When we reached Abyssinia the Negus gave us a kind reception. We safely practised our religion, and we worshipped God, and suffered no wrong in word or deed. When the Quraysh got to know of that, they decided to send two determined men to the Negus and to give him presents of the choicest wares of Mecca. Leatherwork was especially prized there, so they collected a great many skins so that they were able to give some to every one of his generals. They sent 'Abdullah and 'Amr with instructions to give each general his present before they spoke to the Negus about the refugees. Then they were to give their presents to the Negus and ask him to give the men up before he spoke to them. They carried out these instructions to the letter, and said to each of the generals, 'Some foolish fellows from our people have taken refuge in the king's country. They have forsaken our religion and not accepted yours, but have brought in an invented religion which neither ye nor you know anything about. Our nobles have sent us to the king to get him to return them, so when we speak to the king about them advise him to surrender them to us and not to speak to them, for their own people have the keenest insight and know most about their faults.' This the generals agreed to do. They took their gifts to the Negus and when he had accepted them, they said to him what they had already said to the generals about the refugees. Now there was nothing which 'Abdullah and 'Amr disliked more than that the Negus should hear what the Muslims had to say. The generals about his presence said that the men had spoken truly, and their own people best knew the truth about the refugees, and they recommended the king to give them up and return them to their own people. The Negus was enraged and said, 'No, by God, I will not surrender them. No people who have sought my protection, settled in my country, and chosen me rather than others shall be betrayed, until I summon them and ask them about these two men allege. If they are as they say, I will give them up to them and send them back to their own people; but if what they say is false, I will protect them and see that they receive proper hospitality while under my protection.'

Then he summoned the apostle's companions, and when his messenger came they gathered together, saying one to another, 'What will you say to the man when you come to him?' They said, 'We shall say what we know and what our prophet commanded us, come what may.' When they came into the royal presence they found that the king had summoned his bishops with their sacred books exposed around him. He asked them what was the religion for which they had forsaken their people, without entering into his religion or any other. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭalib answered, 'O King, we were an uncivilized people, worshipping idols, eating corpses, committing abominations, breaking natural ties, treating guests badly, and our strong devotion our weak. Thus we were until God sent us an apostle whose lineage, truth, trustworthiness, and clemency we know. He summoned us to acknowledge God's unity and to worship him and to renounce the stones and images which we and our fathers formerly worshipped. He commanded us to speak the truth, be faithful to our engagements, mindful of the ties of kinship and kindly hospitality, and to refrain from crimes and bloodshed. He forbade us to commit abominations and to speak lies, and to devour the property of orphans, to vilify chaste women. He commanded us to worship God alone and not to associate anything with Him, and he
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gave us orders about prayer, almsgiving, and fasting (enumerating the
commands of Islam). We confessed his truth and believed in him, and we
followed him in what he had brought from God, and we worshipped God
alone without associating aught with Him. We treated as forbidden what
he forbade, and as lawful what he declared lawful. Thereupon our people
attacked us, treated us harshly and seduced us from our faith to try to make
us go back to the worship of idols instead of the worship of God, and to
regard as lawful the evil deeds we once committed. So when they got the
better of us, treated us unjustly and circumscribed our lives, and cast
between us and our religion, we came to your country, having chosen
you above all others. Here we have been happy in your protection, and we
hope that we shall not be treated unjustly while we are with you, O King.

The Negus asked if they had with them anything which had come from
God. When Ja'far said that he had, the Negus commanded him to read
to him, so he read him a passage from (Sūra) KHY'S. The Negus went
until his beard was wet and the bishops wept until their scrolls were wet
when they heard what he read to them. Then the Negus said, 'Of a truth,
is this and what Jesus brought have come from the same niche. You
may go, for by God, I will never give them up to them and they shall
not be betrayed.'

When the two had gone, 'Amr said, 'Tomorrow I will tell him something
that will uproot them all.' Abdullah, who was the more godfearing of them
in his attitude towards us, said, 'Do not do it, for they are our kindred
though they have gone against us.' He said, 'By God, I will tell him that
they assert that Jesus, son of Mary, is a creature.' He went to him in the
morning and told him that they said a dreadful thing about Jesus, son of
Mary, and that he should send for them and ask them about it. He did so.
Nothing of the kind had happened to them before, and the people gathered
and asked one another what they should say about Jesus when they
were asked. They decided that they would say what God had said and that
the prophet had brought, come what may. So when they went into the
royal presence and the question was put to them, Ja'far answered, 'We are
about him that which our prophet brought, saying, he is the slave of God
and his apostle, and his spirit, and his word, which he cast into Mary the
blessed virgin.' The Negus took a stick from the ground and said, 'By
God, Jesus, son of Mary, does not exceed what you have said by the least
of this stick.' His generals round about him sneered when he said this
and he said, 'Though you sneer, by God! Go, for you are safe in my
country.' (Shayyām means al-shimānna.) Then he repeated three times the
words, 'He who curses you will be fined. Not for a mountain of gold would

1 Sūra 19.
2 This is the reading of the Cairo text which unfortunately fails to record the MS
3 which (presumably) it is based. W's text reads Moses and he does not record a variant
4 Lit. 'slave'.
5 shayyām in Eth. means 'a high official' (sing.) as B. conjectured. Debr is also as Edward.

HOW THE NEGUS BECAME KING OF ABYSSINIA

Al-Zuhārī said: I told 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr the tradition of Abū Bakr b.
Abūl-Ḥajām b. Umām Salama the prophet's wife and he said: 'Do you
know what he meant when he said that God took no bribe from me when
He gave me back my kingdom that I should take a bribe for it, and God did
not do what men wanted against me so why should I do what they want
against Him?' When I said that I did not know, he said that Abūl-Ḥāfīz told
him that the father of the Negus was the king, and the Negus was his only
son. The Negus had an uncle who had twelve sons who were of the
Abyssinian royal house. The Abyssinians said among themselves, 'It
would be a good thing if we were to kill the father of the Negus and make
his brother king, because he has no son but this younger, while his
brother has twelve sons, so they can inherit the kingdom after him so that
the future of Abyssinia may be permanently secured.' So they attacked
the Negus's father and killed him, making his brother king, and such was the
state of affairs for a considerable time.

The Negus grew up with his uncle, an intelligent and resolute young
man. He attained an ascendancy over his uncle to such a degree that when
The Abyssinians perceived how great his influence with the king was, they began to fear lest he might gain the crown, and would then put them all to death because he knew that they were the murderers of his father. Accordingly they went to his uncle and said, 'Either you must kill this young man or you must exile him from among us, for we are in fear of our lives because of him.' He replied, 'You watch, but yesterday I slew his father, and shall I kill him today? But I will put him out of your country.' So they took him to the market and sold him to a merchant for six hundred dirhams. The latter threw him into a boat and went off with him, but on that very evening the autumn storms came and his uncle went out to pray for rain beneath the mass of cloud when he was struck by lightning and killed. The Abyssinians hastened in fear to his sons, and lo! he was a beggar of fools; he had not a son who was any good at all; the situation of the Abyssinians became very unsettled, and when they feared the pressure of events they said to one another, 'Know, by God, that your king, the only one who can put us to rights, is the one you sold this morning, and if you care about your country go after him now.' So they went out in search of him and the man to whom they had sold him, until they overtook him and took the Negus from him. Then they brought him home, put the crown on his head, made him sit upon the throne, and proclaimed him king.

The merchant to whom they had sold him came and said, 'Either you give me my money or I shall tell him about this.' They said, 'We will not give you a penny.' He said, 'In that case, by God, I will speak to him.' They said, 'Well, there he is'; so he came and stood before him and said, 'O King, I bought a young slave from people in the market for six hundred dirhams. They gave me my slave and they took my money, yet when I had gone off with my slave they overtook me and seized my slave and kept my money.' The Negus said, 'You must either give him his money back or let the young man place his hand in his, and let him take him where he wishes.' They replied, 'No, but we will give him his money.' For this reason he said the words in question. This was the first thing that was reported about his firmness in his religion and his justice in judgement.

Yazid b. Rümân told me from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from 'Aisha that she said: 'When the Negus died it used to be said that a light was constantly seen over his grave.'

The Abyssinians Revolt Against the Negus

Ja'far b. Muhammad told me on the authority of his father that the Abyssinians assembled and said to the Negus, 'You have left our religious and they revolted against him. So he sent to Ja'far and his companions and prepared ships for them, saying, 'Embark in these and be ready. If I am defeated, go where you please; if I am victorious, then stay where you are.' Then he took paper and wrote, 'He testifies that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is His slave and apostle; and he testifies that Jesus, Son of Mary, is His slave, His apostle, His spirit and His word, which He cast into Mary.' Then he put it in his gown near the right shoulder and went out to the Abyssinians, who were drawn up in array to meet him. He said, 'O people, have I not the best claim among you?' 'Certainly,' they said. 'And what do you think of my life among you?' 'Excellent.' 'Then what is your trouble?' 'You have forsaken our religion and reject that Jesus is a slave.' 'Then what do you say about Jesus?' 'We say that he is the Son of God.' The Negus put his hand upon his breast over his gown (signifying), 'He testifies that Jesus, the Son of Mary, was no more than "this".' By this he meant what he had written, but they were content and went away. News of this reached the prophet, and when the Negus died he prayed over him and begged that his sins might be forgiven.

'Umar Accepts Islam

When 'Amr and 'Abdullah came to the Quraysthah, not having been able to bring back the prophet's companions and having received a sharp rebuff from the Negus, and when 'Umar became a Muslim, he being a strong, stubborn man whose protege's none dare attack, the prophet's companions were so fortified by him and Ša'ma that they got the upper hand of Quraysh. 'Abdullah b. Mas'ād used to say, 'We could not pray at the Ka'ba until 'Umar became a Muslim, and then he fought the Quraysh until he could pray there and we prayed with him.' 'Umar became a Muslim after the prophet's companions had migrated to Abyssinia.

Al-Bakhtāt said:

Misa'ar b. Kidām from Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm said that 'Abdullah b. Mas'ād said: 'Umar's (conversion to) Islam was a victory; his migration to Medina was a help; and his government was a divine mercy. We could not pray at the Ka'ba until he became a Muslim, and when he did so he fought the Quraysh until he could pray there and we joined him.'

'Abdullāh b. Ṭa'lab b. Abdullāh b. 'Āyyāsh b. Abū Rabi'a from Abūl'ī'-Aziz b. Abdullāh b. Ṭa'lab b. Ṭa'lab b. Ṭa'lab from his mother 'Umm Abdullāh d. Abū Hathama who said: 'We were on the point of setting out for Abyssinia, and 'Amir had gone out for something we needed, when 'Umar came and stopped beside me, he being a polytheist at the time, and we were receiving harsh treatment and affliction from him. He said, "So you are off, O mother of 'Abdullah." "Yes," I said, "we are going to God's country. You have violently ill-treated us until God has given us a way out,"' He said, "God be with you," and I saw in him a compassion which I had never seen before. Then he went away, and I could see plainly that our departure pained him; and when 'Amir came back with the thing...'

This indicates the recession of I.I. which L.H. used, Other MSS. read 'Ibn Hishām.'