The Life of Muhammad

he needed I said to him, 'O father of 'Abdullah, I wish you had seen 'Umar just now and the compassion and sorrow he showed on our account. When he asked me if I had hopes of his becoming a Muslim, I replied that I had, to which he answered, 'The man you saw will not become a Muslim until al-Khaṭṭāb's donkey does.' This he said in despair of him because of his harshness and severity against Islam.

The Islam of 'Umar, so far, had been on this wise. His sister was Fatīma b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and was married to Sa'd b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl, both of whom had become Muslims and concealed the fact from 'Umar. Now Nu'aym b. 'Abdullah al-Najjām, a man of his tribe from B. 'Ady b. Ka'b, had become a Muslim and he also concealed the fact out of fear of his people. Khabīb b. al-Atar used to come to Fatīma to read the Qur'an to her. One day 'Umar came out, girt with his sword, making for the apostle, and a number of his companions, who he had been informed had gathered in a house at al-Saḍ, in all about forty, including women. With the apostle was his uncle Hamza, and Abū Bakr, and 'Ali, from among the Muslims who stayed with the apostle and had not gone out with those who went to Abyssinia. Nu'aym met him and asked him where he was going. 'I am making for Muhammad, the apostate, who has split up the Quraysh, made mockery of their traditions, insulted their faith and the gods, to kill him.' You deceive yourself, 'Umar,' he answered, 'do you suppose that B. 'Abdu Manāf will allow you to continue walking upon the earth when you have killed Muhammad? Had not you better go back to your own family and set their affairs in order?' What is the matter with my family?' he said. 'Your brother-in-law, your nephew Sa'd, and your sister Fāṭima, have both become Muslims and followed Muhammad in his religion, so you had better go and deal with them.' Thereupon 'Umar returned to his sister and brother-in-law at the time when Khabīb was with them the manuscript of Tā Ḥā, which he was reading to them. When they heard 'Umar's voice Khabīb hid in a small room, off a part of the house, and Fāṭima took the page and put it under her dress.

Now 'Umar had heard the reading of Khabīb as he came near the house, so when he came in he said, 'What is this baddershīd I heard?' 'You have not heard anything,' they answered. 'By God, I have,' he said, 'and I have been told that you have followed Muhammad in his religion,' and he seized his brother-in-law Sa'd, and his sister Fāṭima rose in defence of her husband, and he hit her and wounded her. When he did that they said to him, 'Yes, we are Muslims, and we believe in God and His apostle, and we can do what you like.' When 'Umar saw the blood on his sister he was sorry for what he had done and turned back and said to his sister, 'Give me this sheet which I heard you reading just now so that I may see just what it is which Muhammad has brought,' for 'Umar could write. When he said that, his sister replied that she was afraid to trust him with it. 'Do not be afraid,' he said, and he swore by his gods that he would return it when he had read it. When he said that, she had hopes that he would become a Muslim, and said to him, 'My brother, you are unclean in your polytheism and only the clean may touch it.' So 'Umar rose and washed himself and she gave him the page in which was Tā Ḥā, and when he had read the beginning he said, 'How fine and noble is this speech.' When he heard that, Khabīb emerged and said, 'O 'Umar, by God, I hope that God has singled you out by His prophet's call, for but last night I heard him saying, 'O God, strengthen Islam by Abu'l-Hakam b. Hishām or by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.' Come to God, come to God, O 'Umar.' At that 'Umar said, 'Lead me to Muhammad so that I may accept Islam.' Khabīb replied that he was in a house at al-Saḥā with a number of his companions. So 'Umar took his sword and girt it on, and made for the apostle and his companions, and knocked on the door. When they heard his voice one of the companions got up and looked through a chink in the door, and when he saw him girt with his sword, he went back to the apostle in fear, and said, 'It is 'Umar with his sword on.' Hamza said, 'Let him in; if he has come with peaceful intent, we will treat him well; if he has come with ill intent, we will kill him with his own sword.' The apostle gave the word and he was let in. The apostle rose and met him in the room, seized him round the girdle or by the middle of his cloak, and dragged him along violently, saying, 'What has brought you, son of Khaṭṭāb, for by God, I do not think you will cease (your persecution) until God brings calamity upon you.' 'Umar replied, 'O Apostle of God, I have come to you to believe in God and His apostle and what he has brought from God.' The apostle gave thanks to God so loudly that the whole household knew that 'Umar had become a Muslim.

The companions dispersed, having become confident when both 'Umar and Hamza had accepted Islam because they knew that they would protect the apostle, and that they would get justice from their enemies through them. This is the story of the narrators among the people of Medina about 'Umar's Islam.

'Abdullah b. Abī Najīh, the Meccan, from his companions 'Atīr and Muhājack, or other narrators, said that 'Umar's conversion, according to what he used to say himself, happened thus: 'I was far from Islam. I was a winebibber in the heathen period, used to love it and rejoice in it. We used to have a meeting-place in al-Ḥawwara at which Quraysh used to gather near the houses of the family of 'Umar b. Abī b. Imrān al-Makhzūmī. I went one night, making for my boon companions in that gathering, but when I got there, there was no one present, so I thought it would be a good thing if I went to so-and-so, the winemaker, who was selling wine in Mecca at the time, in the hope that I might get something to drink from him, but I could not find him either, so I thought it would be a good thing if I went round the Ka'ba seven or seventy times. So I came to the mosque meaning to go round the Ka'ba and there was the apostle standing praying. As he prayed he faced Syria, putting the Ka'ba
between himself and Syria. His stance was between the black stone and the southern corner. When I saw him I thought it would be a good thing if I could listen to Muhammad so as to hear what he said. If I came near to listen to him I should scare him, so I came from the direction of the hijr and got underneath its coverings and began to walk gently. Meanwhile the prophet was standing in prayer reciting the Quran until I stood in his gíbla facing him, there being nothing between us but the covering of the Ka'ba. When I heard the Quran my heart was softened and I wept, and Islam entered into me; but I ceased not to stand in my place until the apostle had finished his prayer. Then he went away. When he went away he used to go past the house of the son of Abú Ḥusayn, which was on his way, so that he crossed the path where the pilgrims run. Then he went between the house of 'Abbás and Ibn Azhar b. Abú 'Auf al-Zahhâb then by the house of Abú al-Akhnas b. Shariq until he entered his own house. His dwelling was in al-Dār al-Raqţâ', which was in the hands of Muqâwma b. Abú Sufyân. I continued to follow him, until when he got between the house of 'Abbás and Ibn Azhar I overtook him, and when he heard my voice he recognized me and supposed that I had followed him only to ill-treat him, so he repelled me, saying, "What has brought you at this hour?" I replied that I had come to believe in God and His apostle and what he had brought from God. He gave thanks to God and said, "God has guided you." Then he rubbed his breast and prayed that I might be steadfast. Afterwards I left him. He went into his house. But God knows what the truth was.

Nâfî' freedman of 'Abdullah b. 'Umar on the authority of Ibn 'Umar said: When my father 'Umar became a Muslim he said, 'Which of the Quraysh is best at spreading reports?' and was told that it was Jâmil b. Ma'amâr al-Jumâhî. So he went to him, and I followed after to see what he was doing, for although I was very young at the time I understood everything I saw. He went to Jâmil and asked him if he knew that he was a Muslim and entered into Muhammad's religion; and, by God, had he spoken to him when he got up dragging his cloak on the ground 'Umar followed him and I followed my father, until he stood by the dome of the mosque and cried at the top of his voice while the Quraysh were their meeting-places round the Ka'ba. "Umar has apostatized," who 'Umar behind him shouted, 'He is a liar; but I have become a Muslim and I testify that there is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His servant and apostle.' They got up to attack him and fighting went on between them until the sun stood over their heads, and he became weary and sat down while they stood over him, as he said, 'Do as you will, for I swear by God that if we were three hundred men we would have fought it out on equal terms.' At this point a shaykh of the Quraysh, in a Yamanî robe and an embroidered shirt, came up and stopped and inquired what was the matter. When he was told that 'Umar had apostatized he said, 'Why should not a man choose a religion for himself, and what are you trying to do?'

290 you think that B. 'Adî will surrender their companion to you thus? Let the man alone.' By God, it was as though they were a garment stripped off him. After my father had migrated to Medina I asked him who the man was who gave away the people on the day he became a Muslim while they were fighting him, and he said, 'That, my son, was al-`Âs b. `Awn al-Saîmî.' 'Abdul-`Rahmân b. al-Hârîth from one of 'Umar's clan or one of his close family said that 'Umar said, 'When I became a Muslim that night I thought of the man who was the most violent in enmity against the apostle so that I might come and tell him that I had become a Muslim, and Abî Jahl came to my mind.' Now 'Umar's mother was Hantama d. Hishâm b. al-Mughira. So in the morning I knocked on his door, and he came out and said, 'The best of welcomes, nephew, what has brought you?' I answered that I had come to tell him that I believed in God and His apostle Muhammad and regarded as true what he had brought. He slammed the door in my face and said, 'God damn you, and damn what you have brought.'

The Document Proclaiming a Boycott

When Quraysh perceived that the apostle's companions had settled in a land in peace and safety, and that the Negus had protected those who sought refuge with him, and that 'Umar had become a Muslim and that Abî Jahl and Hanzâra were on the side of the apostle and his companions, and that Islam had begun to spread among the tribes, they came together and decided among themselves to write a document in which they should put a boycott on B. Hâshim and B. Mutallab that they should not marry their women nor give women to them to marry, and that they should neither buy from them nor sell to them, and when they agreed on that they wrote it in a deed. Then they solemnly agreed on the points and hung the deed up in the middle of the Ka'ba to remind them of their obligations. The writer of the deed was Mansûr b. I'ârima b. 'Amir b. Hâshîm b. Abû Manâf b. 'Abdullâl-Dâr b. Qusayy (201) and the apostle invoked God against him and some of his fingers withered.

When Quraysh did that, the two clans of B. Hâshim and B. Mutallab went to Abî Talîb and entered with him into his alley and joined him. Abî Lahab 'Abdul-Lâ'âzûd went out from B. Hâshîm and helped Quraysh. 'Abdullah b. Abû Sufyân said to me that Abî Lahab had met Hind d. 'Uthâna who had left his people and joined Quraysh against them, and he said, 'Have we not helped al-Lât and al-Uzzâ and haven't I abandoned those who have abandoned them and assisted their opponents?' She said, 'Yes, and may God reward you well, O Abî 'Utan.' And I was told that among the things that he said were, 'Muhammad promises me things which I do not wish. He alleges that they will happen after my death; what has he put in my hands after that?' Then he blew on his hands and said, 'May you perish. I can see nothing in you of the things which Muhammad says.'

3 i.e. 'a fear removed.'
So God revealed concerning him the words, 'Abū Lahab and his hands, God blast (202).'

When Quraysh had agreed on this and had done what has just been described, Abū Taib ibn Ma’iat said:

Tell Lu‘ayy, especially Lu‘ayy of the Banū Ka‘b, News of our condition.
Did you not know that we have found Muhammad, A prophet like Moses described in the oldest books, And that love is bestowed on him (alone) of mankind
And that none is better than he whom God has singled out in love, And that the writing you have fixed
Will be a calamity like the cry of the hamstrung camel?2
Awake, awake before the grave is dug
And the blameless and the guilty are as one,
Follow not the slanderers, nor seer
The bonds of love and kinship between us.
Do not provoke a long-drawn-out war,
Often he who brings on war tastes its bitterness.
By the Lord of the temple we will not give up Abīmad,
To harass misfortunes and times’ troubles,
Before hands and necks, yours and ours,
Are cut by the gleaming blades of Qussāis
In a close-hemmed battlefield where you see broken spears
And black-headed vultures circling round like a thirsty crowd,
The galloping of the horses about the scene
And the shout of warriors are like a raging battle.
Did not our father Abīhāshim gird up his loins
And teach his sons the sword and spear?
We do not tire of war until it tires of us;
We do not complain of misfortune when it comes.
We keep our heads and our valour
When the bravest lose heart in terror.

They remained thus for two or three years until they were exhausted, nothing reaching them except what came from their friends unknown to Quraysh.

Abū Jahl, so they say, met Hākim b. Hizām b. Khuwaylid b. Asad with whom was a slave carrying flour intended for his aunt Khadija, the prophet’s wife, who was with him in the alley. He hung on to him and said:

‘Are you taking food to the B. Háshim? By God, before you and your food move from here I will denounce you in Mecca.’ Abūl-Bakhtar ibn Hākim and said, ‘What is going on between you two?’ When he said the Hākim was taking food to the B. Háshim, he said: ‘It is food he has taken.

1 Sūra 111.
2 An allusion to the camel of Sālid in Sūra 26.164.
3 Qussāis is said to be a mountain of B. Asad containing iron mines.

THE ILL-TREATMENT THE APOSTLE RECEIVED FROM HIS PEOPLE

His uncle and the rest of B. Háshim gathered round him and protected him from the attacks of the Quraysh, who, when they saw that they could not get at him, mocked and laughed at him and disputed with him. The Qur began to come down concerning the wickedness of Quraysh and these who showed enmity to him, some by name and some only referred to in general. Of those named are his uncle Abū Lahab and his wife Umm Jamil, ‘the bearer of the wood’. God called her this because she, so I am told, carried thorns and cast them in the apostle’s way where he would be passing. So God sent down concerning the pair of them:

Abū Lahab and his hands, God blast,
His wealth and gains useless at the last,
He shall roast in flames, held fast,
With his wife, the bearer of the wood, aghast,
On her neck a rope of palm-fibre cast. (233)†

I was told that Umm Jamil, the bearer of the wood, when she heard what had come down about her and about her husband in the Qur, came to the apostle of God, when he was sitting in the mosque by the Ka‘ba with Abū Bakr, with a stone pestle in her hand, and when she said: ‘What if God made her unable to see the apostle so that she saw only Abū Bakr and asked him where his companion was, ‘For I have been told that he is satirizing me’ a and by God, if I had found him I would have smashed his mouth with this stone. By God, I am a poet.’ Then she said:

We reject the reprobate,
His words we repudiate,
His religion we loathe and hate.3

† Sūra 111. The rhyme of the original has been imitated.
‡ I.e. composed a Hijāj, which in early times had the effect of a spell which could bring its fate on its victims. See my Prophecy and Divination, pp. 248 ff., 253 ff., 343 ff. Umm Jamil’s object in trying to smash Muhammad’s mouth was to destroy his signs of speech so that he could no longer utter magical curses.
§ This is a rough attempt to render the rough rhyme of the original, which consists of rhymes and syllables, by a strange coincidence similar to the taunt song of children:
I’m the king of the castle,
Get out dirty rascal.

M
Then she went off and Abū Bakr asked the apostle if he thought she had seen him. He replied that she had not because God had taken her sight away from him (204).

The Quraysh had called the apostle Mudhamman to revile him. He used to say, 'Aren’t you surprised at the injuries of the Quraysh which God turns away from me? They curse me and satirize Mudhamman [reproach], whereas I am Muhammad [the laudable].'

[Another referred to in the Quran is Umayya b. Khalfā b. Waḥb b. Hūdāfa b. Ṣaḥm. Whenever he saw the apostle he slandered and reviled him, so God sent dawn concerning him, 'Woe to every slandering backbiter, who has gathered wealth and increased it, and thinks that wealth will make him immortal. No, he will be thrown to the devouring fire. What makes you realize what that is? It is God’s fire kindled which mounts over the hearts. It is shut in on them in wide columns (205).]

Kḥabbā b. Ṣalām, the prophet’s companion, was a smith in Mecca who used to make swords. He sold some to al-ʿĀṣ b. Wa’il so that he owed him some money and he came to him to demand payment. He answered, 'Does not Muhammad, your companion whose religion you follow, agree that in Paradise there is all the gold and silver and clothes and servants that his people can desire?' 'Certainly,' said Kḥabbā. 'Then give me till the day of resurrection until I return to that house and pay your debt there: for by God, you and your companion will be no more influential with God than I, and have no greater share in it.' So God revealed concerning him, 'Have you considered him who disbelieves Our signs and says, I shall be given wealth and children. Hath he studied the unseen? so far as words, and we shall inherit from him what he speaks of and he will come to us alone.'

Abū Jahl met the apostle, so I have heard, and said to him, 'By God, Muhammad, you will either stop cursing our gods or we will curse you as God serves.' So God revealed concerning that, 'Curse not those to whom they pray other than God lest they curse God wrongfully through lack of knowledge.' I have been told that the apostle refrained from cursing their gods, and began to call them to Allah.

Al-ʿAbd b. al-Ḥairīth b. Ṭalqama b. Ḥalabā b. ‘Abdū Manāf where he was the apostle sat in an assembly and invited people to God, and recited the Quran, and warned the Quraysh of what had happened to former peoples when he got up and spoke to them about Rustum the Hero and Isfandiyār and the kings of Persia, saying, 'By God, Muhammad cannot tell a better story than I and his talk is only of old fables which I have copied as I have.' So God revealed concerning him, 'And they say: Stories of the ancients which he has copied down, and they are read from morning and night. Say, He who knows the secrets of heaven and earth has sent it down. Verily, He is merciful, forgiving.'

And there came down concerning him, 'When Our verses are read to him he says, fables of the ancients.'

And again, 'Woe to every sinful liar who hears God’s verses read before him. Then he continues in pride as though he had not heard them, as though in his ears was deafness. Tell him about a painful punishment' (206).

The apostle sat one day, so I have heard, with al-Walīd b. al-Mughira in the mosque, and al-Nadr b. al-Ḥārith came and sat with them in the assembly where some of Quraysh were. When the apostle spoke al-Nadr interrupted him, and the apostle spoke to him until he silenced him. Then he read to him and to the others: 'Verily ye and what ye serve other than God is the fuel of hell. You will come to it. If these had been gods they would not have come to it, but all will be in it everlastingly. There is calling and there they will not hear' (207).

Then the apostle rose and ‘Abdullah b. al-Zibīrā al-Sahmī came and sat down. Al-Walīd said to him: 'By God al-Nadr could not stand up to the grand son of 'Abdūl-Muṭṭalib just now and Muhammad alleged that we and our gods are fuel for hell.' 'Abdullah said: 'If I had found him I would have refuted him. Ask Muhammad, 'Is everything which is worshipped besides God in Gehenna with those who worship it?' We worship the angels; the Jewish worship 'Uzzay; and the Christians worship Jesus, Son of Mary.' Al-Walīd and those with him in the assembly marrow at 'Abdullah’s words and thought that he had argued convincingly. When the apostle was told of this he said: 'Everyone who wishes to be worshipped to the exclusion of God will be with those who worship him. They worship only satans and those they have ordered to be worshipped.'

God revealed concerning that 'Those who have received kindness from us in the past will be removed far from it and will not hear its sound: they abide eternally in their heart’s desire,' i.e. Jesus, Son of Mary and ‘Uzzay and those rabbits and monkeys who have lived in obedience to God, then the erring people worship as lords beside God. And He revealed concerning their assertion that they worship angels and that they are the sighters of God, 'And they say the Merciful has chosen a son, (exalted be He above this): nay, they are but honoured slaves, they do not speak before He speaks, and they carry out His commands', as far as the words, and he of them who says, I am God as well as He, that one we shall repay with Gehenna. Thus do they repay the sinful ones."

And He revealed concerning what he mentioned about Jesus, Son of Mary, that he was worshipped beside God, and the astonishment of al-Walīd and those who were present, at his argument and disputation, 'And
when Jesus, Son of Mary, was cited as an example thy people laughed thereat'; i.e. they rejected your attitude to what they say. Then He mentions Jesus, Son of Mary, and says, 'He was nothing but a slave to whom We showed favour and made him an example to the children of Israel. If We had wished We could have made from you angels as vice-regents in the earth. Verily, there is knowledge of the [last] hour, so doubt not about it but follow Me. This is an upright path,' i.e. the signs which I gave him in raising the dead and healing the sick, therein is sufficient proof of the knowledge of the hour. He says: 'Doubt not about it, but follow Me. This is an upright path.'

Al-Akhma b. Shariq b. 'Amr b. Wa'il b. Thaqafi, ally of B. Zuhra, was one of the leaders of his people who was listened to with respect, and he used to give the apostle much trouble and contradict him, so God sent down about him: 'Do not obey every feeble oaf-taker, slanderer, walking about with evil tales,' as far as the word 'zanîm',

He did not say zanîm in the sense of 'ignoble' to insult his ancestry, because God does not insult anyone's ancestry, but he confirmed thereby the epithet given to him so that he might be known. Zanîm means an adopted member of the tribe. Al-Khaṭā‘ī b. Tamîmi said in pagan days:

An outsider whom men invite as a supernumerary

As the legs are useless additions to the width of a pelt.

Al-Walîd said: 'Does God send down revelations to Muhammad and ignore me, the greatest chief of Quraysh, to say nothing of Abî Ma‘āsî? 'Amr b. Umayr al-Thaqafi, the chief of Thaqif, we being the great ones of Tha‘if and Mecca?' So God sent down concerning him, so I am told:

'His reward has been allotted to a great man of the two towns, as far as the words, 'than what they assert'.

Ubayy b. Khala‘f b. Wa’il b. Hudhâfa and ‘Uqba b. Abî Mu‘ayy are very close friends. Now ‘Uqba had sat and listened to the apostle and when Ubayy knew of that he came to him and said, 'Do I hear that you have sat with Muhammad and listened to him? I swear I will never see you or speak to you again (and he swore a great oath) if you do the same again, or if you do not go and spit in his face.' ‘Uqba, the enemy of God, actually did this, God curse him. So God sent down concerning the pair of them:

1 Sûra 43: 37.
2 A difficult phrase. Sμîdâ with the preposition mîn means 'to laugh immoderately at' or 'make a loud noise'. With 'am it means 'to turn away from'. But these two prepositions are often interchangeable. Ibn ‘Abîl-‘Áshârî's explanation of the passage is that the fact that Christian pray to Jesus is no justification for the polytheism of the Meccans, as the latter argued, for Christians perverted the message Jesus brought. When Jesus is adduced as an example of one who called an evil people to God, the Meccans rejected Muhammad's attitude towards him in what they said; but this exegesis is not sound. The Sûra is perfectly consistent in showing how prophets were sent to erring peoples and were laughed at. Cf. v. 47. The Meccans laugh when Jesus is mentioned because his worship would seem to justify the worshiping several gods. The citation which follows shows where in Muhammad's opinion they were wrong. I.f. has adopted the reading yakûdîna (so Nâfî, I. ‘Amîr, and al-Kâfî) instead of the commoner yanûdîna.

3 Sûra 68: 10-13.
4 Sûra 43: 30.
7 T. 1107. 12 gives the authorities for this tradition as I.f. from Sa‘d b. ‘Abbâs, a freedman of Abû-Bakr. There are a few verbal discrepancies: the Meccans say, 'If what you have brought is better than what we have... and if what we have is better than what you have,' &c.
8 Sûra 109.
9 Sûra 53: 1-20.
(ce. reconciliation) to his people, put upon his tongue 'these are the exalted Gharāniq whose intercession is approved.' When Quraysh heard that they were delighted and greatly pleased at the way in which he spoke of their gods and they listened to him; while the believers were holding that what their prophet brought them from their Lord was true, not suspecting a mistake or a vain desire or a slip, and when he reached the proclamation and the end of the Sūra in which he prostrated himself the Muslims prostrated themselves when their prophet prostrated confirming what he brought and obeying his command, and the polytheists of Quraysh and others who were in the mosque prostrated when they heard the mention of their gods, so that everyone in the mosque believer and unbeliever prostrated, except Al-Walid b. al-Mughira who was an old man who could not do so, so he took a handful of dirt from the valley and bent over it. Then the people dispersed and Quraysh went out, delighted at what had been said about their gods, saying, 'Muhammad has spoken of our gods in a splendid fashion. He alleged in what he read that they are the exalted Gharāniq whose intercession is approved.'

The news reached the prophet's companions who were in Abyssinia, being reported that Quraysh had accepted Islam. Some men started to return while others remained behind. Then Gabriel came to the apostle and said, 'What have you done, Muhammad? You have read to these people something I did not bring you from God and you have said what He did not say to you. The apostle was bitterly grieved and was greatly in fear of God. So God sent down (a revelation), for He was merciful to him, comforting him and making light of the affair and telling him that every prophet and apostle before him desired as he desired and wanted what he wanted and Satan interjected something into his desires as he had on his tongue. So God annulled what Satan had suggested and God established His verses i.e. you are just like the prophets and apostles. Then God sent down: 'We have not sent a prophet or apostle before you but when he longed Satan cast suggestions into his longing. But God will annul what Satan has suggested. Then God will establish his verses, God being knowing and wise.' Thus God relieved his prophet's grief, and made him feel safe from his fears and annulled what Satan had suggested in the words used above about their gods by his revelation 'Are yours the males and He the females? That were indeed an unfair division' (i.e. most unjust: 'they are nothing but names which your fathers gave them' as far as the words 'to whom he pleases and accepts', i.e. how can the intercession of their gods avail with Him?

When the annulment of what Satan had put upon the prophet's tongue came from God, Quraysh said: 'Muhammad has repented of what he said about the position of your gods with Allah, altered it and brought something else.' Now those two words which Satan had put upon the apostle's tongue were in the mouth of every polytheist and they became more violently hostile to the Muslims and the apostle's followers. Meanwhile those of his companions who had left Abyssinia when they heard that the people of Mecca had accepted Islam when they prostrated themselves with the apostle, heard when they approached Mecca that the report was false and none came into the town without the promise of protection or secretly. Of those who did come into Mecca and stayed there until he migrated to Medina and were present at Badr with him was 'Uthmān b. 'Affān... with his wife Ruqayya d. of the apostle and Abū Hudhayfa b. Uthba with his wife Saḥla d. of Suhayl, and a number of others, in all thirty-three men.'

Abū Jahl b. Hišām, when God mentioned the tree of al-Zaqqūm to strike terror into them, said: 'O Quraysh, do you know what the tree of al-Zaqqūm with which Muhammad would scare you is?' When they said that they did not say: 'It is Yathrib dates bittered. By Allah, if we get hold of them we will gulp them down in one!' So God sent down concerning him, 'Verily the tree of al-Zaqqūm is the food of the sinner like molten brass seething in their bellies like boiling water,' and i.e. it is not as he said (208). God revealed concerning it, 'And the tree which is cursed in the Qur'an; and We will frighten them, but it increases them in naught save great wickedness.'

Al-Walid was having a long conversation with the apostle who greatly desired to convert him to Islam when I. Umm Maktūm, a blind man, passed by and began to ask the apostle to recite the Qur'an. The apostle found this hard to bear and it annoyed him, because he was diverting him from Al-Walid and spoiling the chance of his conversion; and when the man became importunate he went off frowning and left him. So God revealed concerning him, 'He frowned and turned his back when the blind man came to him' as far as the words 'in books honoured, exalted, and purified,' i.e. I sent you only to be an evangelist and a reprover; I did not appoint one person to the exclusion of another, so withhold not (the message) from him who seeks it, and do not waste time over one who does not want it (209).

THE RETURN OF THOSE WHO HAD FLED TO ABYSSINIA

The apostle's companions who had gone to Abyssinia heard that the Meccans had accepted Islam and they set out for the homeland. But when they got near Mecca they learned that the report was false, so that they
entered the town under the protection of a citizen or by stealth. Some of those who returned to him stayed in Mecca until they migrated to Medina, and were present at Badr and Uqud with the apostle; others were slain away from the prophet until Badr and other events were passed; and others died in Mecca. They were:

From B. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Manāf b. Qushayy; 'Uthman b. 'Ammār b. Abī-l-Āṣ b. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams and his wife, the apostle's daughter Ruqayya; Abū Hudhayfa b. 'Uthba b. Rabī'a and his wife Sulayhah b. 'Amr; and one of their allies 'Abdullah b. Jahsh b. Rāabī.

From B. Naufal b. Abīd Ma'nāf; 'Uthba b. Ghazwān, an ally of theirs from Qays b. Ayān.


From B. 'Abdullāh-Dar b. Qushayy: Mus'ab b. 'Umayr b. Ḥāshim b. Abī Ma'nāf; and Suwaybyt b. Sa'd b. Ḥarmala.

From B. Abī Dab. Qushayy: Tulayy b. 'Umayr b. Wābah.

From B. Zubair b. Kilāb: 'Abdullāh-Rahman b. 'Auff b. 'Abdul-Āṣ b. Abī d. Ḥārith b. Zubair; and Miqādād b. 'Amm an ally, and 'Abdullah b. Māsādī also an ally.

From B. Makhzum b. Yaqūṣa: Abī Salama b. 'Abdullāh-Asad b. Hūlī b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Amm with his wife Umm Salama d. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughira; and Shamās b. Ummthān b. al-Sharid b. Suwayd b. Harmiy b. 'Āmir; and Salama b. Ḥishām b. al-Mughīra whom his uncle imprisoned in Mecca so that he did not get to Medina until after Badr and Uqud and the Trench; 'Ayyālah b. Abī Rabī'a b. al-Mughīra. He migrated to Medina with the prophet, and his two brothers on his mother's side followed him and brought him back to Mecca and held him there until the three battles were over. Their names were Abī Jahl and Abī Ḥārith, sons of Ḥishām. Of their allies 'Ammār b. Yāsir, though it is doubted whether he went to Abyssinia or not; and Mu'ātāt b. 'Auff b. 'Āmir b. Khuzā'a.


From B. Samh b. Abī b. Ḥuṣayn b. Ka'b: Khunays b. Ḥudhayfah b. Qays b. 'Ādī; and Ḥishām b. al-Āṣ b. Wā'il who was imprisoned in Mecca after the apostle migrated to Medina until he turned up after the three battles above mentioned.

From B. 'Ādīy b. Ka'b: 'Āmir b. Rabī'a; one of their allies, with his wife Laylā d. Abū Ḥathama b. Ḥudhayfah b. Ghānim.

From B. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy: 'Abdullāh b. Makhrama b. 'Abdullāh-uzzā b. Abū Qays; and 'Abdullāh b. Suwayd b. 'Amm. He was held back from the apostle of God when he emigrated to Medina until when the battle of Badr was joined he deserted the polytheists and joined the battle on the side of the apostle. Abū Sahrā b. Abū Ruhm b. Abūl-uzzā with his wife Umm Kulkhām d. Suwayh b. 'Amr; Saka'r b. 'Amr b. Abū Shams.

with his wife Saūda d. Zama'a b. Qays. He died in Mecca before the apostle emigrated and the apostle married his widow Saūda. Lastly Sā'd b. Khawla, one of their allies.

From B. I-Hārith b. Bihr: Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ whose name was Abī 'Abdullah; Abīmār b. I-Hārith b. Zuhayr b. Abū Shaddād; Suhayl b. Bayyādī who was the son of Wābah b. Rabī'a b. Ḥilāl; and 'Abī mār b. Abī Sa'b b. Rabī'a b. Ḥilāl.

The total number of his companions who came to Mecca from Abyssinia was thirty-three men. The names given to us of those who entered under promise of protection are 'Uthmān b. Maqūz protected by al-Walid b. al-Mughīra; Abū Salama under the protection of Abū Ta'llīb who was his uncle, Abū Salama's mother being Barra d. 'Abdullāh-Muṭṭalib.

'Uthmān b. Maqūz renounces al-Walid's protection

Stīh b. Ibrāhīm b. Abīl-Rahman b. 'Auff told me from one who had got it from 'Uthmān saying: When 'Uthmān b. Maqūz saw the misery in which the apostle's companions were living while he lived night and day under al-Walid's protection he said, 'It is more than I can bear that I should be perfectly safe under the protection of a polytheist while my friends and co-religionists are afflicted and distressed for God's sake.' So he went to al-Walid and renounced his protection. 'Why, nephew,' he asked, 'Can it be that one of my people has injured you?' 'No,' he answered, 'but I want to be under God's protection: I don't want to ask for anyone else.' Al-Walid asked him to come to the mosque and renounce his protection publicly as he had given it publicly. When they got thereto al-Walid said: 'Uthmān here has come to renounce his protection.' 'True,' said the latter, 'I have found him loyal and honourable in his protection, but I don't want to ask anyone but God for protection; so give him back his promise!' So saying he went away.

On another occasion when Labīd b. Rabī'a b. Mālik b. Ja'far b. Kilībī was in an assembly of the Quraysh when 'Uthmān was present he intoned a verse:

Everything but God is vain,
True! interjected 'Uthmān; but when he went on:

And everything lovely must inevitably cease,

Uthmān cried, 'You lie! The joy of Paradise will never cease.' Labīd said: 'O men of Quraysh your friends never used to be annoyed thus. Since when has this sort of thing happened among you?' One of the audience answered: 'This is one of those louts with Muhammad. They have abandoned our religion. Take no notice of what he says.' 'Uthmān objected so energetically that the matter became serious. Whereupon man rose to his feet and hit him in the eye so that it became black. Now al-Walīd
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was hard by watching what happened to 'Uthmān and he said: 'O nephew, your eye need not have suffered this had you remained in sure protection.' 'Uthmān answered: 'Nay by God my good eye needs what happened to its fellow for God's sake, and I am under the protection of One who is stronger and more powerful than you, O Abū 'Abdu Shams.' Al-Walīd only said, 'Come, nephew, my protection is always open to you,' but he declined it.

HOW ABŪ SALAMA FARED WITH HIS PROTECTOR

My father Ḩishāq b. Yasmān on the authority of Salama b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar b. Abū Salama told me that he told him that when Abū Salama had asked Abū Ṭalib's protection some of the B. Makhzūmīn went to him and said: 'You have protected your nephew Muhammad from us, but why are you protecting our tribesmen?' He answered: 'He asked my protection and he is my sister's son. If I did not protect my sister's son I could not protect my brother's son.' Thereupon Abū Lahab rose and said: 'O Quraysh, you have continually attacked this shaykh for giving his protection among his own people. By God, you must either stop this or we will stand in with him until he gains his object.' They said that they would not do anything to annoy him, for he had aided and abetted them against the apostle, and they wanted to keep his support.

Hearing him speak thus Abū Ṭalib hoped that he would support him in protecting the apostle, and composed the following lines urging Abū Lahab to help them both:

A man whose uncle is Abū 'Utayb
Is in a garden where he is free from violence.
I say to him (and how does such a man need my advice?)
O Abū Mu'tib stand firm upright.
Never in your life adopt a course
For which you will be blamed when men meet together.
Leave the path of weakness to others,
For you were not born to remain weak.
Fight! For war is fair;
You will never see a warrior humiliated till he surrenders.
How should you when they have done you no great injury
Nor abandoned you in the hour of victory or defeat?
God requisite for us 'Abdu Shams and Nafāl and Taym
And Makhzūm for their desertion and wrong
In partition from us after affection and amity
So that they might get unlawful gains.
By God's House you lie! Never will we abandon Muhammad
Before you see a dust-raising day in the shībīn (210).

1 This is the reading of Abū Dharr which seems to me superior to that of W. and Q. Qātim means 'a thick cloud of dust' and implies men on the march. No satisfactory meaning.

ABŪ BAKR ACCEPTS IBN AL-DUGHUNNA'S PROTECTION AND THEN ABANDONS IT

Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhri from 'Urwa from 'Ā'isha told me that when the situation in Mecca became serious and the apostle and his companions suffered ill treatment from the Quraysh, Abū Bakr asked the apostle's permission to emigrate, and he agreed. So Abū Bakr set forth and when he had gone a day or two's journey from Mecca he fell ill with Ibn al-Dughunna, the brother of the B. Ḥādhārī b. 'Abdu Manāt b. Kinānā, who was at that time head of the Aḥābīsh. ('They were the B. al-Ḥādhārī and al-Ḥādīn b. Khuwaymā b. Mudrikā and the B. al-Muṣṭaliq of Khazā'id.) (211)

Replying to Ibn al-Dughunna's inquiries Abū Bakr told him that his 246 people had fallen out and ill-treated him. 'But why,' he exclaimed, 'when you are an ornament of the tribe, a standby in misfortune, always kindly in supplying the wants of others? Come back with me under my protection.' So he went back with him and Ibn al-Dughunna publicly proclaimed that he had taken him under his protection and none must treat him other than well.

He continued: Abū Bakr had a mosque by the door of his house among the B. Jumāh where he used to pray. He was a tender-hearted man and when he read the Qurān he was moved to tears. Youths, slaves, and women used to stand by him astonished at his demeanour. Some men of Quraysh went to Ibn al-Dughunna saying, 'Have you given this fellow protection so that he can injure us? Lo, he prays and reads what Muhammad has produced and his heart becomes soft and he weeps. And he has a striking appearance so that we fear he may seduce our youths and women and weak ones. Go to him and tell him to go to his own house and do what he likes there.' So Ibn al-Dughunna went to him and said: 'I did not give you protection so that you might injure your people. They dislike the place you have chosen and suffer hurt therefrom, so go into your house and do what you like there.' Abū Bakr asked him if he wanted him to renounce his protection and when he said that he did he gave him back his guarantee. Ibn al-Dughunna got up and told the Quraysh that Abū Bakr was no longer under his protection and that they could do what they liked with him.

'Abdullāh-b. al-Qāsim b. Muhammad that as Abū Bakr was going to the Ka'bah one of the loutish fellows of Quraysh met him and threw dust on his head. Al-Walīd b. Abū Mughira, or it may have been al-'Ash b. Wā'il, passed him and he said,

This is the reading of Abū Dharr which seems to me superior to that of W. and Q. Qātim means 'a thick cloud of dust' and implies men on the march. No satisfactory meaning.
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247 'Do you see what this lout has done to me?' He replied, 'You have done it to yourself!' Meanwhile he was saying three times, 'O Lord how long suffering Thou art!'" 

THE ANNULLING OF THE BOYCOTT

The B. Ḥāshim and the B. al-Muṭṭalib were in the quarters which Quraysh had agreed upon in the document they wrote, when a number of Quraysh took steps to annul the boycott against them. None took more trouble in this than Hishām b. Amr . . . for the reason that he was the son of a brother to Nadla b. Ḥāshim b. Abū Manāf by his mother and was closely attached to the B. Ḥāshim. He was highly esteemed by his people. I have heard that when these two clans were in their quarters he used to bring a camel laden with food by night and then when he had got it to the mouth of the alley he took off its halter, gave it a whack on the side, and sent it into the alley to them. He would do the same thing another time, bringing clothes for them.

He went to Zuhayr b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughirah whose mother was 'Āṭika d. Abūl-Muṭṭalib and said: 'Are you content to eat food and wear clothes and marry women while you know of the condition of your maternal uncles? They cannot buy or sell, marry, nor give in marriage. By God, I swear that if they were the uncles of Abūl-Ḥakam b. Ḥishām and you asked him to do what he has asked you to do he would never agree to it.' He said, 'Confound you, Ḥishām, what can I do? I am only one man. By God if I had another man to back me I would soon annul it.' He said, 'I have found a man. Myself.' 'Find another,' said he. So Hishām went to al-Muṭṭim b. 'Adyf and said, 'Are you content that two clans of the B. Abū Manāf should perish while you look on and consent to follow Quraysh? You will find that they will soon do the same with you.' He made the same reply as Zuhayr and demanded a fourth man, so Hishām went to Abūl-Bakhtar b. Ḥishām who asked for a fifth man, and then to Zama b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad and reminded him of their kinship and duties. He asked whether others were willing to co-operate in the task and he gave him the names of the others. They all arranged to meet that night on the nearest point of al-Ḥajām above Mecca, and there they bound themselves to take up the question of the document until they had secured its annulment. Zuhayr claimed the right to act and speak first. So on the morrow when the people met together Zuhayr clad in a long robe went round the Ka`ba seven times; then he came forward and said: 'O people of Mecca, are we to eat and clothe ourselves while the B. Ḥāshim perish, unable to buy or sell? By God I will not sit down until this evil boycotting document is torn up!' Abū Jahl, who was at the side of the mosque exclaimed, 'You lie by Allah. It shall not be torn up.' Zama'a said, 'You are a greater liar; we were not satisfied with the document when it was written'. Abūl-Bakhtar said, 'Zama'a is right. We are not satisfied with what is written and we don't hold with it.' Al-Muṭṭim said, 'You are both right and anyone who says otherwise is a liar. We take Allah to witness that we dissociate ourselves from the whole idea and what is written in the document.' Hishām spoke in the same sense. Abū Jahl said: 'This is a matter which has been decided overnight. It has been discussed somewhere else.' Now Abū Ṭalib was sitting at the side of the mosque. When al-Muṭṭim went up to the document to tear it in pieces he found that worms had already eaten it except the words 'In Thy name O Allah'. (T. This is the customary formula with which Quraysh began their writing.) The writer of the deed was Manṣūr b. Ikrīma. It is alleged that his hand was brûlèd (212).

When the deed was torn up and made of none effect Abū Ṭalib composed the following verses in praise of those who had taken part in the annulment:

Has not our Lord's doing come to the ears of those who live far distant across the sea (for Allah is very kind to men), Telling them that the deed was torn up And all that was against God's wish had been destroyed? Lies and sorcery were combined in it, But sorcery never gets the upper hand. Those not involved in it assembled together for it in a remote place While its bird of ill omen hovered within its head.

It was such a heinous offence that it would be fitting That because of it hands and necks should be severed And that the people of Mecca should go forth and flee, Their hearts quaking for fear of evil And the ploughman be left in doubt what to do— Whether to go down to the lowland or up to the hills— And an army come up between Mecca's hills Equipped with bows, arrows, and spears. He of Mecca's citizens whose power rises (Let him know) that our glory in Mecca's vale is older. We grew up there when men were few And have ever waxed great in honour and reputation. We feed our guests till they leave a dish untasted When the hands of the mayār players would begin to tremble. God reward the people in al-Ḥajām who swore allegiance.

1 So the commentators, but an unnatural extension of the usual meaning of bahri is involved.
2 Commentators suggest as an alternative rendering 'those who took it seriously'. Quraysh means 'that soft ground'.
3 This seems to be an adaptation of Sūra 17, 14: 'We have fastened every man's bird of prey to his neck.' Dr. Arafa suggests that the ṭalā'ib here means 'ghost', the bird which emerges from the head of a murdered man, and the meaning would then be that the ghost fluttering within it before it finally emerges.
4 Reading tabiyya' with C. W. has tabība'.

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To a chief who leads with decision and wisdom,
Sitting by the near side of al-Hajjān as though princes,
Nay they are even more noble and glorious.
Every bold man helped therein
Clad in mail so long that it slowed his stride,
Running to portentous deeds
Like a flame burning in the torchbeare's hands.
The noblest of Lu'ayy b. Ghālib's line
When they are wronged their faces show their anger.
With long cord to his sword half his shank bare.
For his sake the clouds give rain and blessing.
Prince son of prince of princely hospitality
Gathering and urging food on his guests.
Building and preparing safety for the tribesmen
When we walk through the land.
Every blameless man kept this peace.
A great leader, there was he praised.
They accomplished their work in a night
While others slept; in the morning they took their ease.
They sent back Sahl b. Baidā' well pleased
And Abū Bakr and Muhammad rejoiced thereat.
When have others joined in our great exploits,
From of old have we shown each other affection?
Never have we approved injustice.
We got what we wanted without violence.
O men of Qusayy, won't you consider,
Do you want what will befall you tomorrow?
For you and I are as the words of the saying:
'You have the explanation if you could only speak, O Aswad.'

Mourning al-Mu't'im b. 'Adiy and mentioning his stand in getting the death annulled, Hassān b. Thabit composed the following:

Weep O eye the people's leader, be generous with thy tears.
If they run dry, then pour out blood.
Mourn the leader of both the pilgrim sites
To whom men owe gratitude so long as they can speak.
If glory could immortalize anyone.

His glory would have kept Mu't'im alive today,
You protected God's apostle from them and they became
Thy slaves so long as men cry lābayaḥa and don the pilgrim garb.
If Ma'add and Qahtān and all the rest
Of Jurhum were asked about him
They would say he faithfully performs his duty to protect
And if he makes a covenant he fulfills it.
The bright sun above them does not shine
On a greater and nobler than he;
More resolute in refusing yet most lenient in nature,
Sleeping soundly on the darkest night though responsible for his guest (213).

Hassān also said in praise of Hishām b. 'Amr for his part in the matter of the deed:

Is the protection of the Bānū Umayya a bond
As trustworthy a guarantee as that of Hishām?
Such as do not betray their protégés
Of the line of al-Hārith b. Ḥubayyib b. Sukhām.
When the Bānū Ḥisāl grant protection
They keep their word and their protégé lives securely.

AL-ṬUFAYL. 'AMR AL-DAUSĪ ACCEPTS ISLAM

In spite of his people's behaviour the apostle was continually giving them god counsel and preaching salvation from their evil state. When God protected him from them they began to warn all new-comers against him.

Al-Ṭufayl used to say that he came to Mecca when the apostle was there. One of the Quraysh immediately came up to him. (He was a poet standing and an intelligent man.) They told him that this fellow had done them much harm; had divided their community and broken up its unity; in fact he talked like a sorcerer separating a man from his father, his brother, or his wife. We are afraid that he will have the same effect on you and your people, so don't speak to him or listen to a word from him.'

They were so insistence that I decided not to listen to a word or to speak to him and I went so far as to stuff cotton in my ears when I went to the mosque fearing that I might overhear a word or two against my will.

Then I got to the mosque there was the apostle of God standing at prayer by the Ka'ba, so I stood near him. God had decreed that I should hear something of his speech and I heard a beautiful saying. So I said to myself, 'God bless my soul! Here am I, an intelligent man, a poet, knowing perfectly well the difference between good and evil, so what is to prevent me from listening to what this man is saying? If it is good I shall accept it; if it is bad I shall reject it.'

I stayed until the apostle went to his house and I followed him and
entered his house with him. I told him what his people had said and that they had so scared me that I had stuffed cotton in my ears lest I should hear what he was saying. But God had not allowed me to remain deaf and I heard a beautiful saying, ‘So explain the matter to me,’ I said. The apostle explained Islam to me and recited the Quran to me. By God I never heard anything finer nor anything more just. So I became a Muslim and bore true witness. I said, ‘O prophet of God, I am a man of authority among my people and when I go back and call them to Islam, pray to God to give me a sign which will help me when I preach to them.’ He said, ‘O God give him a sign.’

So I went back to my people and when I came to the pass which would bring me down to the settlement a light like a lamp played between my eyes and I said, ‘O God, not in my face! for I fear that they will think that a dire punishment has befallen my face because I have left their religion.’ So the light moved and lighted on the tip of my whips. The people began to look at that light attached to my whip like a candle while I was coming down from the pass to them.

When I got down my father came to me (he was a very old man) and I said, ‘Be off with you, father, for I have nothing to do with you or you with me!’ ‘But why, my son?’ he said. I said, ‘I have become a Muslim and follow the religion of Muhammad.’ He said, ‘All right, my son, then my religion is your religion.’ So I said, ‘Then go and wash yourself and clean your clothes; then come and I will teach you what I have been taught.’ He did so; I explained Islam to him and he became a Muslim.

Then my wife came to me and I said, ‘Be off with you, for I have nothing to do with you or you with me.’ ‘Why?’ she said, ‘my father and mother be your ransom!’ I said, ‘Islam has divided us and I follow the religion of Muhammad.’ She said, ‘Then my religion is your religion.’ I said, ‘Then go to the hīmah (207) (temenos?) of Dhū‘l-Sharārā and cleanse yourself from it.’ Now Dhū‘l-Sharārā was an image belonging to Daus and the hīmah was the temenos which they had made sacred to them; in it there was a trickle of water from a rivulet from the mountain. She asked me urgently, ‘Have you any fear from Dhū‘l-Sharārā on my account?’ ‘No,’ I said, ‘I will go surety for that.’ So she went and washed and when she returned

I explained Islam to her and she became a Muslim.

Then I preached Islam to Daus but they held back, and I went to the apostle in Mecca and said, ‘O prophet of God, frivolous precautions have been too much for me with Daus, so invoke a curse on them.’ But

1 No satisfactory explanation of this word is forthcoming, so probably we should slight Ibn Hishām’s reading.
2 On Dhū‘l-Sharārā (Dusares) see E.F. It is a title, not a name, of a god long associated with the Nabateans. In all probability the title is geographical, denoting ownership. Men cannot be safely said at present.
3 Or ‘on the children’s account’.
4 I have followed the commentators in taking a milder meaning than the ordinary one, which is ‘fornication’; if Dhū‘l-Sharārā was an Arab Diospyros, the normal meaning would not be out of place.

He said, ‘O God, guide Daus! Go back to your people and preach to them gently.’ I continued in the Daus country calling them to Islam until the apostle migrated to Medina and Badr, Uhud, and the Trench were passed. Then I went to the apostle with my converts while he was in Khaybar. I arrived at Medina with seventy or eighty households of Daus, and then we joined the apostle in Khaybar and he gave us an equal share of the booty with the Muslims.

I remained with the apostle until God opened Mecca to him and then I asked him to send me to burn Dhū‘l-Kaffayn, the image of ‘Amr b. Humama. As he lit the fire he said:

Not of your servants am I, Dhū‘l-Kaffayn, Our birth is far more ancient than thine. To stuff this fire in your heart I pine.

He returned to Medina to the apostle and remained with him until God took him. When the Arabs revolted he sided with the Muslims and fought with them until they disposed of Tulayḥa and the whole of Najd. Then he went with the Muslims to the Yamāma with his son ‘Amr, and while on the way he saw a vision of which he told his companions asking for an interpretation. ‘I saw my head had been shaved and a bird was coming out of my mouth and a woman met me and took me into her womb, and I saw my son seeking me anxiously; then I saw him withheld from me.’ They said that they hoped it would prove a good omen, but he went on to say that he himself would provide the interpretation of it. The shaving of his head meant that he would lay it down; the bird which flew from his mouth was his spirit; and the woman who received him into her womb was the earth which would be opened for him and he would be hidden therein; his son’s vain search for him meant that he would try to attain what he had attained. He was slain as a martyr in al-Yamāma while his son was severely wounded and recovered later. He was actually killed a year of the Yarmūk in the time of ’Umar, dying as a martyr (216).

He attacked Abū Jahl. Despite Abū Jahl’s hostility, hatred, and violence towards the apostle God humiliated him before him whenever he saw him.

I was told by ’Abdullāh b. Abdullah b. Abū Suffār al-Thuqaṭt who had a good memory: A man from Ḥishām (209) brought some camels of his to Mecca and Abū Jahl bought them from him. He kept back the money, so the man came to the assembly of Quraysh when the apostle was sitting at the side of the mosque and said: ‘Who among you will help me to get what is due to me from Abū‘l-Haṣām b. Ḥishām? I am a

According to Ibnul-Kullāb, al-Aṣāmī, Cairo, 1924, p. 37, it belonged to a sub-section of Daus, called the B. Mushribi.
stranger, a wayfarer, and he will not pay his debt.’ They said: ‘Do you see that man sitting there?’ pointing to the apostle. (In fact they were making a game of him for they knew quite well of the enmity between him and Abū Jahl.) ‘Go to him. He’ll help you to your right.’

So the man went and stood over the apostle and said, ‘O Servant of God, Abū-l-Hakam b. Hāshim has withheld the money he owes me. I am a stranger, a wayfarer, and I asked these men to tell me of someone who would help me to my right and they pointed to you, so get my money from him, God bless you.’ He said, ‘Go to him,’ and the apostle got up and went with him. When they saw this, the men said to one of their number, ‘Follow him.’ The apostle went to his house and knocked on the door, and when he asked who was there he said, ‘Muhammad! Come out to me.’ He came out to him pale with agitation, and the apostle said, ‘Put this man his due.’ ‘One moment until I give him his money,’ he said, and went indoors and came out again with the amount he owed and paid it to the man. The apostle went away saying, ‘Go about your business.’ The Irāshīte went back to the gathering and said, ‘May God reward him, for he has got me my due.’

Then the man they had sent after them came back and reported what he had seen. ‘It was extraordinary,’ he said; ‘he had hardly knocked on the door when out he came breathless with agitation,’ and he related what had been said. Hardly had he done so when Abū Jahl himself came up and said: ‘Whatever has happened, man? We’ve never seen anything like what you’ve done.’ ‘Confound you,’ he said; ‘By God as soon as he knocked on my door and I heard his voice I was filled with terror. And when I went out to him there was a camel stallion towering above his head. I’ve never seen such a head and shoulders and such teeth on a stallion before. By God, if I’d refused to pay up he would have eaten me.’

RUKĀNA AL-MUṬṬALĪB WRESTLES WITH THE APOSTLE

My father Išāq b. Yasār told me saying: Rukāna b. ‘Abdul Yazīd b. Hāshim b. ‘Abdul-Muṭṭalīb b. ‘Abdul Manāf was the strongest man amongst Quraysh, and one day he met the apostle in one of the passes of Mecca alone. ‘Rukāna,’ said he, ‘why won’t you fear God and accept my preaching?’ ‘If I knew that what you say is true I would follow you,’ he said. The apostle then asked him if he would recognize that he spoke the truth if he threw him, and when he said Yes they began to wrestle, and when the apostle got a firm grip of him he threw him to the ground, he being unable to offer any effective resistance. ‘Do it again, Muhammad,’ he said, and he did it again. ‘This is extraordinary,’ he said, ‘can you really throw me? I can show you something more wonderful than that if you wish. I will call this tree that you see and it will come to me.’ ‘Call it,’ he said. He called it and it advanced until it stood before the apostle. Then he said, ‘Retire to your place,’ and it did so.

Then Rukāna went to his people the B. ‘Abd Manāf and told them that their tribesmen could compete with any sorcerer in the world, for he had never seen such sorcery in his life, and he went on to tell them of what he had seen and what Muhammad had done.

A DEPUTATION OF CHRISTIANS ACCEPT ISLAM

While the apostle was in Mecca some twenty Christians came to him from Alysainah when they heard news of him. They found him in the mosque and sat and talked with him, asking him questions, while some Qurayshites were in their meeting round the Ka‘ba. When they had asked all the questions they wished the apostle invited them to come to God and read the Quran to them. When they heard the Quran their eyes flowed with tears, and they accepted God’s call, believed in him, and declared his truth. They recognized in him the things which had been said of him in their scriptures. When they got up to go away Abū Jahl with a number of Quraysh intercepted them, saying, ‘God, what a wretched band you are! Your people at home sent you to bring them information about the Quran, and as soon as you sat with him you renounced your religion and believed what he said. We don’t know a more assine band than you,’ or words to that effect. They answered: ‘Peace be upon you. We will not engage in foolish controversy with you. We have our religion and you have yours. We have not been remiss in seeking what is best.’

It is said that these Christians came from Najrān, but God knows whether that was so. It is also said, and again God knows best, that it was in reference to them that the verses ‘Those to whom we brought the book aforetime, they believe in it. And when it is read to them they say We believe in it. Verily it is the truth from our Lord. Verily aforetime we were Muslims,’ as far as the words, ‘We have our works and you have your works. Peace be upon you; we desire not the ignorant.’

I asked Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri about those to whom these verses had reference and he told me that he had always heard from the learned that they were sent down concerning the Negus and his companions and also the verses from the sûra of The Table from the words ‘That is because of them presbyters and monks and because they are not proud to the words ‘So inscribe us with those who bear witness’. When the apostle used to sit in the mosque with his more insignificant companions such as Khabāb, ‘Amrār, Abū Fukayya, Yasār, freedman of Sūfān b. Umayya b. Mūdharrīth, Suhayyab, and their like, Quraysh used to jeer at them and say to one another, ‘These are his companions, as you see. Is it such creatures that God has chosen from among us to give

1 I have endeavoured to reproduce the simple somewhat rough style of the original.
2 Sūra 28. 53-55.
3 Sūra 5. 85.
guidance and truth? If what Muhammad has brought were a good thing, these fellows would not have been the first to get it, and God would not have put them before us.' God revealed concerning them: 'Drive them away those who call upon their Lord night and morning seeking His face. You are in no way responsible for them, and they are in no way responsible for you, so that you should drive them away and become an evildoer. Thus We tempt some of others that they may say, Are these they whom God has favoured among us? Does not God know best about the grateful? And when those who believe in Our signs come to thee say Peace be upon you. Your Lord hath prescribed for Himself mercy that he who doeth evil in ignorance and repenteth afterwards and doeth right (to him) He is forgiving, merciful.'

According to my information the apostle used often to sit at al-Marwah at the booth of a young Christian called Jabr, a slave of the B. al-Hashram, and they used to say 'The one who teaches Muhammad most of what he brings is Jabr the Christian, slave of the B. al-Hashram.' Then God revealed in reference to their words 'We well know that they say, Only a mortal teaches him.' The tongue of him at that hint is foreign, and this is a clear Arabic tongue (218).}

THE COMING DOWN OF THE SURA AL-KAUTHAR

I have been told that when the apostle was mentioned Al-‘As b. W. al-Sahimi used to say, 'Let him alone for he is only a childless man with no offspring. If he were to die, his memory would perish and you would have rest from him.' God sent down in reference to that: 'We have given you al-Kauthar; something which is better for you than the world and all that it holds. Kauthar means great'. Labid b. Rabī‘a al-Kalibi said:

We were distressed at the death of the owner of Malhūb. And at al-Riddah is the house of another great man (kauthar) (219).

Ja‘far b. ‘Amir (220) told me on the authority of ‘Abdullah b. Muslih, the brother of Muhammad b. Muslih, b. Shihāb al-Zuhri from Anas b. Mālik that the latter said: 'When the apostle was asked what Kauthar was which God had given to him I heard him say it is a river as broad as from San‘a‘ to Aylā. Its water pots are in number as the stars of heaven. Birds go down to it with necks like camels. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭab said, 'O apostle of God the birds must be happy!' He answered 'He who eats them will be happier still!'

1 Sūra 6, 52.f.
2 Nöldeke, *Der Islam*, v (1914), 163, was of the opinion that this man was an Abūsand slave, the name Gabrū (Gabr) meaning 'slave of' in Eth.
3 Sūra 16, 105.
4 Malhūb is said to be either the name of water belonging to the B. Asad b. Khazayma or a village of the B. ‘Abdullah b. al-Duwāl b. Ḥanifa in al-Yamāma; or a horse. Cf. Dār al-‘Alā‘i, Wien, 1886, p. 28.
5 Ruđa is the name of a watering place of the B. al-‘Arab b. Ka‘b.

THE COMING DOWN OF ‘WHY HAS NOT AN ANGEL BEEN SENT DOWN TO HIM?’

The apostle called his people to Islam and preached to them, and Zama’a b. al-Aswād, and al-Nāf‘r b. al-Hārith, and al-Aswād b. ‘Abdū Yagūfūth, and ‘Abay b. Khalaf, and al-‘Arq b. Wālī said: ‘O Muhammad, if an angel had been sent with thee to speak to men about thee and to be seen with thee!' Then God sent down concerning these words of theirs: 'They say Why hath not an angel been sent down to him? If We sent an angel down the matter would be settled; they would be given no more time. Had We appointed him an angel We would have appointed him as a man and We should have obscured for them what they obscure.'

THE COMING DOWN OF ‘APOTLES HAVE BEEN MOCKED BEFORE THEE’

I have heard that the apostle passed by al-Walīd b. al-Mughira and ‘Umayya b. Khālif and Ābū Jahl b. Ḥishām and they reviled and mocked him, and this caused him distress. So God sent down to him concerning this: 'Apostles have been mocked before thee, but that which they mocked of hemmed them in.'

THE NIGHT JOURNEY AND THE ASCENT TO HEAVEN

Zayd b. ‘Abdullah al-Bakkā‘ī from Muhammad b. Ibūqā‘ī told me the following: Then the apostle was carried by night from the mosque at Mecca to the Masjid al-Aqṣā, which is the temple of Aelia, when Islam had spread in Mecca among the Quraysh and all the tribes.

The following account reached me from ‘Abdullah b. Mas‘ūd and Ābū Sā‘ūd al-Khudrī, and ‘Āisha the prophet’s wife, and Mu‘āwiyah b. Ābū Sū‘yān, and al-Ḥasan b. Ābū‘l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri and Qatā‘da and other traditionists, and Umm Hāni’ d., of Ābū ‘Ṭālib. It is pieced together in the story that follows, each one contributing something of what he was told about what happened when he was taken on the night journey. The matter of the place of the journey and what is said about it is a searching test and a matter of God’s power and authority wherein is a lesson for the intelligent; and guidance and mercy and strengthening to those who believe. It was certainly an act of God by which He took him
by night in what way He pleased to show him His signs which He will do to him so that he witnessed His mighty sovereignty and power to which He does what He wills to do.

According to what I have heard 'Abdullah b. Mas'ud used to say, the company of the prophets, and he prayed with them. Then he brought three vessels containing milk, wine, and water respectively. The apostle said: 'I heard a voice saying when these were offered to me: if he takes the wine he will go astray and his people also; if he takes the wine he will go astray and his people also; and if he takes the milk he will be rightly guided and his people also. So I took the vessel containing milk and drank it. Gabriel said to me, You have been rightly guided and so will your people be, Muhammad.'

I was told that al-Hasan said that the apostle said: 'While I was sleeping in the Hijr Gabriel came and stirred me with his foot. I sat up but saw nothing and lay down again. He came a second time and stirred me with his foot. I sat up but saw nothing and lay down again. He came to me the third time and stirred me with his foot. I sat up and took hold of my arm and I stood beside him and he brought me out to the door of the mosque and there was a white animal, half mule, half donkey, with wings on its sides with which it propelled its feet, putting down each forefoot at the limit of its sight and he mounted me on it. Then he went out with me keeping close to me.

I was told that Qatada said that he was told that the apostle said: 'When I came up to mount him he shied. Gabriel placed his hand on its mane and said, Are you not ashamed, O Buraq, to behave in this way? By God, none more honourable before God than Muhammad has ever ridden you before. The animal was so ashamed that he broke out into a sweat and stood still so that I could mount him.' In his story al-Hasan said: 'The apostle and Gabriel went their way until they arrived at the temple at Jerusalem. There he found Abraham, Moses, and Jesus among a company of the prophets. The apostle greeted them as their Imam in prayer. Then he was brought two vessels, one containing wine and the other milk. The apostle took the milk and drank it, leaving the wine. Gabriel said: 'You have been rightly guided to the way of nature and so will your people be, Muhammad. Wine is forbidden you.' Then the apostle returned to Mecca and in the morning he told Quraysh what had happened. Most of them said, "By God, this is a plain absurdity!"

1 I think that by Kaysa ibn' a the author means to leave open the question whether it was an actual physical journey or a nocturnal vision. See below.
2 Fitna is an elusive word. The meaning here may be 'the true primeval religion'.
3 This indicates that the meaning is not 'Vercious' but 'Testifier to the Truth'.
4 Sura 57. 62.
5 Sura 37. 102.
6 The verb implies grave doubt as to the speaker's veracity.
Moses was a ruddy faced man, tall, thinly fleshed, curly haired with a hooked nose as though he were of the Shamu'a. Jesus, Son of Mary, was a reddish man of medium height with lank hair with many freckles on his face as though he had just come from a bath. One would suppose that his head was dripping with water, though there was no water on it. The man most like him among you is 'Urwā b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafi (221).

The following report has reached me from Umm Hāni' d. of Atīb, whose name was Hind, concerning the apostle's night journey. She said: 'The apostle went on no night journey except while he was in my house. He slept that night in my house. He prayed the final night prayer, then he slept and we slept. A little before dawn the apostle woke us, and when we had prayed the dawn prayer, he said, 'O Umm Hāni', I pray with you the last evening prayer in this valley as you saw. Then I went to Jerusalem and prayed there. Then I have just prayed the morning prayer with you as you see.' He got up to go out and I took hold of his robe and laid bare his belly as though it were a folded Egyptian garment. I said, 'O prophet of God, don't talk to the people about it for they will give you the lie and insult you.' He said, 'By God, I certainly will tell them.' I said to a negro, a slave of mine, Follow the apostle and listen to what he says to the people, and what they say to him. He did tell them and they were amazed and asked what proof he had. He replied that he had passed the caravan of so-and-so and such-and-such a valley and the animal he bestrode scared them and a camel bolted, and I showed them where it was as I was on the way to Syria. I carried on until in Ḏajānād I passed by a caravan of the Banū so-and-so. I found the people asleep. They had a jar of water covered with something. I took the covering off and drank the water replacing the cover. The proof of that is that their caravan at this moment coming down from al-Ba'īdā by the pass of al-Tan'īm led a dusky camel loaded with two sacks one black and the other multihued. The people hurried to the pass and the first camel they met was as he had described. They asked the men about the vessel and they told them that they had left it full of water and covered it, that when they woke it was covered but empty. They asked the others too who were in Mecca and they said that it was quite right: they had been scared and a camel had bolted and they had heard a man calling to it so that they were able to recover it.'

THE ASCENT TO HEAVEN

One whom I have no reason to doubt told me on the authority of Abī Sa'īd al-Khudrī: I heard the apostle say, 'After the completion of prayer business in Jerusalem a ladder was brought to me finer than any I have ever seen. It was to which the dying man looks when death approaches. My companion mounted it with me until we came to one of the gates of heaven called the Gate of the Watchers. An angel called 'Isā'llāh was in charge of it, and under his command were twelve thousand angels each of them having twelve thousand angels under his command.' As he told this story the apostle used to say, and none knows the armies of God but He: 'When Gabriel brought me in, 'Isā'llāh asked who I was, and when he was told that I was Muhammad he asked if I had been given a mission, and on being assured of this he wished me well. A traditionist who had got it from one who had heard it from the apostle told me that the latter said: 'All the angels who met me when I entered the lowest heaven smiled in welcome and wished me well except one who said the same things but did not smile or show that joyful expression which the others had. And when I asked Gabriel the reason he told me that if he had ever smiled on anyone before or would smile on anyone thereafter he would have smiled on me; but he does not smile because he is Mālik, the Keeper of Hell. I said to Gabriel, he holding the position with regard to God which he has described to you "obeyed there, trustworthy," Will you not order him to show me hell?" And he said, 'Certainly! O Mālik, show Muhammad Hell.' Thereupon he removed its covering and the flames blazed high into the air until I thought that they would consume everything. So I asked Gabriel to order him to send back to their place which he did. I can only compare the effect of their withdrawal to the falling of a shadow, until when the flames retreated whence they had come, Mālik placed their cover on them.'

In his tradition Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī said that the apostle said: 'When I entered the lowest heaven I saw a man sitting there with the spirits of men passing before him. To one he would speak well and rejoice in him saying; 'A good spirit from a good body' and of another he would say 'Faugh!' and frown, saying; 'An evil spirit from an evil body.' In answer to my question Gabriel told me that this was our father Adam reviewing the spirits of his offspring; the spirit of a believer excited his pleasure, and the spirit of an infidel excited his disgust so that he said the words just quoted.

'Then I saw men with lips like camels; in their hands were pieces of fire like stones which they used to thrust into their mouths and they would come out of their posteriors. I was told that these were those who sinfully favoured the wealth of orphans.

'Then I saw men in the way of the family of Pharaoh, with such bellies as I have never seen; there were passing over them as it were camels

1 Dīnār = denoim and indicates the foreign origin of this legend. Cf. Mūsā b. Uqbah, No. 1, in Introduction, p. xiiii.
2 A mountain in the neighbourhood of Tihamah. According to al-Waqīq it is 25 m. from Mecca.
3 Ba'īdā is a hill near Mecca on the Medina side. Tan'īm is on high ground very near Mecca.
maddened by thirst when they were cast into hell, treading them down, they being unable to move out of the way. These were the usurers.

'Then I saw men with good fat meat before them side by side with lean stinking meat, eating of the latter and leaving the former. These are those who forsake the women which God has permitted and go after those he has forbidden.

'Then I saw women hanging by their breasts. These were those who had fathered bastards on their husbands.'

Ja'far b. 'Amr told me from al-Qasim b. Muhammad that the apostle said: 'Great is God's anger against a woman who brings a bastard into her family. He deprives the true sons of their portion and learns the secrets of the harim.'

To continue the tradition of Sa'id al-Khudri: 'Then I was taken up to the second heaven and there were the two maternal cousins Jesus, Son of Mary, and John, son of Zakariah. Then to the third heaven and there was a man whose face was as the moon at the full. This was my brother Joseph, son of Jacob. Then to the fourth heaven and there was a man called Idris. "And we have exalted him to a lofty place." Then to the fifth heaven and there was a man with white hair and a long beard, never have I seen a more handsome man than he. This was the beloved among his people Aaron son of Imran. Then to the sixth heaven, and there was a dark man with a hooked nose like the Shamiya. This was my brother Moses, son of Imran. Then to the seventh heaven and there was a man sitting on a throne at the gate of the immortals. Every day seventy thousand angels went in not to come back until the resurrection day. Never have I seen a man more like myself. This was my father Abraham. Then he took me up to Paradise and there I saw a damsel with dark red lips and I asked her to whom she belonged, for she pleased me much when I saw her, and she told me "Zayd b. Haritha". The apostle gave Zayd the good news about her.'

From a tradition of 'Abdullah b. Mas'ud from the prophet there has reached me the following: When Gabriel took him up to each of the heavens and asked permission to enter he had to say whom he had brought and whether he had received a mission and they would say 'God grants him life, brother and friend!' until they reached the seventh heaven and his Lord. There the duty of fifty prayers a day was laid upon him.

The apostle said: 'On my return I passed by Moses and what a true friend of yours he was! He asked me how many prayers had been laid upon me and when I told him fifty he said, "Prayer is a weighty matter and your people are weak, so go back to your Lord and ask him to reduce the number for you and your community". I did so and He took off ten. Again I passed by Moses and he said the same again; and so it went on until only five prayers for the whole day and night were left. Moses again give me the same advice. I replied that I had been back to my Lord and asked him to reduce the number until I was ashamed, and I would not do it again. He of you who performs them in faith and trust will have the reward of fifty prayers.'

HOW GOD DEALT WITH THE MOCKERS

The apostle remained firm count on God's assistance, admonishing his people in spite of their branding him as a liar and insulting and mocking him. The principal offenders — so Yazid b. Rümân from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me — were five men who were respected and honoured among their tribesmen: of the B. Asad . . . was al-Aswas b. al-Muttaqil b. Asad Abü Zama'a. (I have heard that the apostle had cursed him for his insults and mockery, saying, 'O God, blind him and bereave him of his son!') of the B. Zumara was . . . was al-Aswas b. 'Abdu Yaghuth. Of the B. Makküh . . . was al-Walid b. al-Mughrira . . . Of the B. Sahm b. 'Amr . . . was al-Jag b. Wâ'il b. Hishâm (222). Of the B. Khuzâ' was al-Hârith b. al-Tuljâla b. 'Amr b. al-Hârith b. 'Abdu 'Amr b. Lu'ayy b. Malakhân. When they persisted in evil and constantly mocked the apostle, God revealed: 'Proclaim what you have been ordered and turn away from the polytheists. We will surely protect you against the mockers who put another god beside God. In the end they will know.'

The same Yazid told me from 'Urwa (or it may have been from some other traditionists) that Gabriel came to the apostle when the mockers were going round the temple. He stood up and the apostle stood at his side; and as al-Aswas b. al-Muttaqil passed, Gabriel threw a green leaf in his face and he became blind. Then al-Aswas b. 'Abdu Yaghuth passed and he pointed at his belly which swollen so that he died of dropy. Next al-Walid passed by. He pointed at an old scar on the bottom of his ankle (the result of a wound he received some years earlier as he was trailing his gown when he passed by a man of Khuzâ' who was feathering an arrow, and the arrowhead caught in his wrapper and scratched his foot — a mere nothing). But the wound opened again and he died of it. Al-Jag passed. He pointed to his instep, and he went off on his ass making for al-'Aww. He tied the animal to a thorny tree and a thorn entered his foot and he died of it. Lastly al-Hârith passed. He pointed at his head. It immediately filled with pus and killed him.

THE STORY OF 'ABU UZAYHIR AL-DAUSI

When al-Walid's death was near he summoned his three sons Hishâm, al-Walid, and Khalîd and said: 'My sons, I charge you with three duties;

1 Sura 19. 38.
2 al-ḥayy at-tna'mūr. In view of what follows this would seem to mean Paradise itself (al-jannah).
3 Or 'been sent for', etc.
be not remiss in any of them. My blood lies on the Khuzā’ā: don’t let it remain uncompensated. I know that they are innocent of it, but I fear that you may be ill spoken of because of it when I am dead. ‘Thaggīf owes me money in interest; see that you get it. Lastly my dowry money is with Abū Uzayhir al-Daujū. Don’t let him keep it!’ Now Abū Uzayhir had married him to a daughter of his and then withheld her from him and did not let him have access to her up to the day of his death. When al-Walīd died, the B. Makhdūm leaped upon Khuzā’ā’s demanding blood-money for al-Walīd, saying, ‘It was your man’s arrow that killed him.’ He was one of the B. Ka’b, an ally of the B. ‘Abdullāh-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥāshīm. Khuzā’ā refused their demand and a competition in verse followed and the situation became tense. The man whose arrow had killed al-Walīd was one of the B. Ka’b b. ‘Amr of Khuzā’ā, and ‘Abdullāh b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra b. ‘Abdullah b. ‘Amr b. Makhdūm composed the following lines:

I’ll wager that you’ll soon run away
And leave al-Zahrān with its Yelping foxes.
And that you’ll leave the water in the vale of Aṭriqā
And that you’ll ask which Ārik trees are the best.
We are folk who do not leave our blood avenged
And those we fight do not get to their feet again.

Al-Zahrān and al-Ārik were camping-grounds of the B. Ka’b of Khuzā’ā.

Al-Jau b. Abūl-Jaun, brother of the B. Ka’b b. ‘Amr al-Khuzā’ā, answered him:

By God we will not pay unjust bloodwit for al-Walīd
Until you see a day when the stars wax faint;
When your stout ones will be overthrown one after another
Each in death helplessly opening his mouth.
When you eat your bread and your gruel,
Then all of you will weep and wail for al-Walīd.

There followed much argument and recrimination until it was apparent that it was prestige that was at stake, so Khuzā’ā paid some of the blood-money and they relinquished their claim to the rest. When peace had been made al-Jau b. Abūl-Jaun said:

Many a man and woman when we made peace
Spoke in surprise of what we paid for al-Walīd.
‘Did you not swear that you would not pay unjust compensation for al-Walīd
Until you had seen a day of great misfortune?’

1 Yāq. i. 310.
Hassān b. Thābit composed the following lines to excite feeling for the murder of Abū Uzayhir and to bring shame on Abū Suyfān for his cowardice and betrayal of trust:

The people on both sides of Dhūl-Majāz rose one morning,
But Ibn Harb’s protégé in Mughammās 1 did not!
The farting donkey did not protect him he was bound to defend,
Hind did not avert her father’s shame.
Hishām b. al-Walid covered you with his garments,
Wear them out and mend new ones like them later.
He got what he wanted from him and became famous,
But you were utterly useless.
If the shaykh at Badr had been present
The people’s sandals would have been red with blood newly shed.

When he heard of this satirist Abū Sufyān said: ‘Hassān wants us to fight one another for the sake of a man from Daus. By God, what a poor idea!’

Khalīd b. al-Walid when the people of Ta’if became Muslims spoke to the apostle about his father’s interest which Thaqif owed him, and a traditionist told me that those verses which prohibit the carrying over of usury from the Jāhiliya arose out of Khalid’s demanding interest: ‘Oh ye who believe, fear God and give up what usury remains to you if you are (really) believers’, to the end of the passage.

So far as we know there is no vengeance for Abū Uzayhir until Islam made a clear cut between men; however, Dirir b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Mirdān al-Fihr went out with a number of Quraysh to the Daus country, and came to the dwelling of a woman called Umm Ghaylān, a freedwoman of Daus. She used to comb the women’s hair and prepare brides for their husbands. Daus wanted to kill them in revenge for Abū Uzayhir, but Umm Ghaylān and the women stood in their way and defended them. It was in reference to that that Dirir said:

God reward Umm Ghaylān and her women well
For their coming without their finery with dishevelled hair.
They saved us at death’s very door
When the avengers of blood came forth.
She called on Daus and the sandbanks flowed with glory,
The streams on either side carried it on.
God require ‘Amr well. He was not weak,
He did his best for me.
I drew my sword and made play with its edge
For whom should I fight but myself (224)?

1 al-Mughannās was on the road to Ta’if.
2 Hassān was notorious for his coarseness in lampoons.
3 Sūra 2. 278.

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The Life of Muhammad

Those of his neighbours who ill treated the apostle in his house were Abū Lāhab, al-Ḥakam b. Abū’l-Ās ..., ‘Uqba b. Abī Mu’ayy, ‘Adiy b. Ḥamrā’ al-Thaqafī, and Ibnu’l-ʿAṣda’ al-Hudhāfī. Not one of them became a Muslim except al-Ḥakam. I have been told that one of them used to throw a sheep’s uterus at him while he was praying; and one of them used to throw it into his cooking-pot when it had been placed ready for him. Thus the apostle was forced to retire to a wall when he prayed. ‘Umar b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Urwā b. Zubayr told me on the authority of his father that when they threw this objectionable thing at him the apostle took it out on a stick, and standing at the door of his house, he would say, ‘O Banū ‘Abdu Manfī, what sort of protection is this?’ Then he would throw it into the street.

Khadija and Abū Ṭālib died in the same year, and with Khadija’s death troubles followed fast on each other’s heels, for she had been a faithful supporter of Islam, and he used to tell her of his troubles. With the death of Abū Ṭālib he lost a strength and stay in his personal life and a defence and protection against his tribe. Abū Ṭālib died some three years before he migrated to Medina, and it was then that Quraysh began to treat him in an offensive way which they would not have dared to follow in his uncle’s lifetime. A young lout actually threw dust on his head.

Khālid, on the authority of his father ‘Urwā told me that when this happened the apostle went into his house with the dust still on his head and one of his daughters got up to wash it away, weeping as she did so. ‘Don’t weep, my little girl,’ he said, ‘for God will protect your father.’ Meanwhile he was saying, ‘Quraysh never treated me thus while Abū Ṭālib was alive.’

When Abū Ṭālib fell ill and Quraysh learned of his grave condition they reminded one another that now that Ḥamza and ‘Umar had accepted Islam and Muhammad’s reputation was known among all the Quraysh clans, they had better go to Abū Ṭālib and come to some compromise lest they be robbed of their authority altogether.

Al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abdullāh b. Ma’bad b. ‘Abbās from one of his family from Ibn ‘Abbās told me that ‘Utbah and Shayba, sons of Rabī’ā, and Abū Ḥalfl and Umayya b. Khalāf and Abū Sufyān with sundry other notables went to Abū Ṭālib and said: ‘You know your rank with us and now that you are at the point of death we are deeply concerned on your account. You know the trouble that exists between us and your nephew, so call him and let us make an agreement that he will leave us alone and we will leave him alone; let him have his religion and we will have ours.’ When he came to Abū Ṭālib said, ‘Nephew, these notables have come to you that they may give you something and to take something from you.’ ‘Yes,’ he answered, ‘you may give me one word by which you can rule the Arabs and subject the Persians to you.’ ‘Yea,’ said Abū Ḥalfl, ‘and ten words.’ He said: ‘You must say there is no God but Allah and you must repudiate what you worship.
beside him.' They clapped their hands and said, 'Do you want to make all the gods into one God, Muhammad? That would be an extraordinary thing.' Then they said one to another, 'This fellow is not going to give you anything you want, so go and continue with the religion of your fathers until God judge between us.' So saying they departed.

Abû Tâlib said, 'Nephew, I don't think that you asked them anything extraordinary.' On hearing this the apostle had hoped that he would accept Islam, and he said at once, 'You say it, uncle, and then I shall be able to intercede for you on Resurrection Day.' Seeing the apostle's eagerness he replied, 'Were it not that I fear that you and your father's sons would be abused after my death and that Quraysh would think that I had only said it in fear of death, I would say it. I should only say it to give you pleasure. As his death was near, al-'Abbâs looked at him as he was moving his lips and put his ear close to him and said, 'Nephew, by God, my brother has spoken the word you gave him to say.' The apostle replied, 'I did not hear it.'

God revealed concerning the people who came to him with their proposals: 'Say. By the renowned Quran, Nay, those who disbelieve are in great straits and schism' as far as the words 'Does he make the gods one God.' This is an extraordinary thing. Their chiefs went off saying: Go and remain true to your gods. This is a thing designed. We have not heard of this in the last religion,' (meaning Christians because they say) 'Verily God is the third of three. This is nothing but an invention.' Then Abû Tâlib died.

THE APOSTLE GOES TO TA'IFI TO SEEK HELP

In consequence of the growing hostility of Quraysh after Abû Tâlib's death the apostle went to Ta'if to seek help from Thaqif and their defense against his tribe. Also he hoped that they would receive the message which God had given him. He went alone.

Yazid b. Ziyâd told me from Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Quraiji: 'When the apostle arrived at al-Ta'if he made for a number of Thaqif who were there that time leaders and chiefs, namely three brothers: Abdu'llâyal, Ma'ân and Habib, sons of 'Amr b. Umâr b. 'Auf b. Uqda b. Ghaybara b. 'Auf b. Thaqif. One of them had a Quraysh wife of the B. Jumâb. The apostle sat with them and invited them to accept Islam and asked them to help him against his opponents at home. One of them swore that he would try to drive the covering of the Ka'ba if God had sent him. The others said, 'Could not God have found someone better than you to send?' The third said, 'By God, don't let me ever speak to you. If you are an apostle from God as you say you are, you are far too important for me to reply to, and if you are lying against God it is not right that I should speak to you.' So the apostle got up and went, despairing of getting any good out of Thaqif.

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1 Sûra 36, v. 6.
2 Sûra 5, v. 77.
3 Sûra 38, v. 6.
4 For this idiom see Tab. Gloss., s.v. manâh.
passed by. They were—so I am told—seven jinn from Naṣlīn. They listened to him and when he had finished his prayer they turned back to their people to warn them having believed and responded to what they had heard. God has mentioned them in the words “And when We inclined to the certain of the jinn who were listening to the Qurān” as far as “and He will give you protection from a painful punishment”.

And again, “Say: It has been revealed unto me that a number of the jinn listened.”

THE APOSTLE OFFERS HIMSELF TO THE TRIBES

When the apostle returned to Mecca his people opposed him more bitterly than ever, apart from the few lower-class people who believed in him.

[Image 0x0 to 837x591]

Aslam from Rabī’ī, Ḥād al-Dīl or from one whom Ābū al-Zīnīd had told (226) and Hūṣayn b. ‘Abdullāh b. Ubaydullāh b. ‘Abbās told me: ‘I heard my father telling Rabī’ī b. ‘Abbād that when he was a youngster with his father in Mīnā when the apostle used to stop by the Arab encampments and tell them that he was the apostle of God who ordered them to worship Him and not associate anything with Him, and to renounce the idol gods which they worshipped, and believed in His apostle and protected him until God made plain His purpose in sending him, there followed him an arfūl spruce fellow with two locks of hair, wearing an Aden cloak.

When the apostle finished his appeal he used to say, “This fellow wishes only to get you to strip off al-Lāt and al-Uzza from your necks and your allies the jinn of B. Mālik b. Uqaysh for the misleading innovation he has brought. Don’t obey him and take no notice of him.” I asked my father who the man was who followed him and contradicted what he said, and he answered that it was his uncle ‘Abdul-Uzza b. ‘Abdu’ll-Muṭṭalib known as Ābī Lahab (227).

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri told me that he went to the tents of Kinda where there was a shaykh called Mula’y. He invited them to come to God and offered himself to them, but they declined.

Muḥammad b. ‘Abdu’ll-Rahmān b. ‘Abdullāh b. Hūṣayn said to me that he went to the tents of Kāl to a clan called B. ‘Abdullāh with the same message, adding, ‘O Banū ‘Abdullāh, God has given your father a noble name.’ But they would not give heed.

One of our companions from ‘Abdullāh b. Ka’b b. Mālik told me that the apostle went to the B. Ḥanīfa where he met with the worst reception of all.

Al-Zuhri told me that he went to the B. ‘Āmir b. Saḥa’a and one of them called Bayhara b. Fīrās (228) said: ‘By God, if I could take this man from Quraysh I could eat up the Arabs with him.’ Then he said, ‘If we actually give allegiance’ to you and God gives you victory over your opponents, shall we have authority after you?’ He replied, ‘Authority is a matter which God places where He pleses.’ He answered: ‘I suppose you want us to protect you from the Arabs with our breasts and then if God gives you victory someone else will reap the benefit! Thank you, No!’

Afters the B. ‘Āmir went back to an old shaykh of theirs who was unable to attend the fairs. Their custom was to give him all the news on their return. This year when he asked for the news they told him that a man from Quraysh—one of the B. ‘Abdu’ll-Muṭṭalib to be precise—presented that he was a prophet and invited them to protect him, to stand in with him, and to take him back to their country. The old man put his hands upon his head and said, ‘O Banū ‘Āmir, could it have been avoided? Can the past ever be regained? No Ismā’īl has ever claimed prophethood falsely. It was the truth. Where was your common sense?’

Whenever men came together at the fairs or the apostle heard of anyone

footnotes:
1 Some MSS. and T. 1022 have ‘if we follow you’.
2 T. ‘if you win’.

References:
1 Sūrā 46, 28–32.
2 Sūrā 72. 1.
3 Cf. I.H. on p. 251 of W.
of importance coming to Mecca he went to them with his message. 'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda al-Anṣārī—more precisely al-Zafārī—on the authority of some of his shaykhāt told me that they said that Suwayd b. al-Šāhib, brother of the B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, came to Mecca on pilgrimage. Suwayd's tribesmen used to call him al-Kāmil because of his toughness, his poetry, his honour, and his lineage. He it was who said:

There's many a man you call friend you'd be shocked
If you knew the lies he tells against you in secret.
While he's with you his words are like honey;
Behind your back a sword aimed at the base of the neck.
What you see of him pleases you, but underneath
He's a deceitful backbiting cutting through to the marrow.
His eyes will show you what he's concealing,
Rancour and hatred are in his evil look.
Strengthen me with good deeds long have you weakened me.¹
The best friends strengthen without weakening.

He once had a dispute with a man of the B. Sulaym—one of the B. Zihāb b. Mālik—over a hundred camels, and they appointed an Arab woman diviner arbitrator and she gave judgement in his favour, and he and the Sulaym went away alone. When they reached the parting of the ways Suwayd asked for his property. The man promised to send it, but Suwayd wanted to know who would guarantee that the animals would be handed over. As he could offer none but himself, Suwayd refused to leave him until he got his due. So they came to blows and Suwayd knocked him down, bound him closely and took him away to the country of the B. 'Amr; and there he had to stay until his tribesmen paid what was owing. It was in reference to that, Suwayd composed these lines:

Don't think, Ibn Zihāb son of Mālik, that I
Am like the man you deceitfully slew in secret.
When I had been thrown I manfully became your match—
Thus the resolute man can change his position—
I locked him under my left arm
And his cheek remained in the dirt.

When he heard about him the apostle sought him out and invited him to Islam. He said, 'Perhaps you've got something like that which I have.' And what is that?' asked the apostle. 'The roll of Luqmān,' he answered. 'Hand it to me,' said the apostle, and he handed it over and he said, 'This discourse is fine, but that which I have is better still, a Quran which God has revealed to me which is a guidance and a light.' And the apostle recited the Quran to him and invited him to Islam; he did not withdraw from it but said, 'This is a fine saying.' Then he went off and rejoined his people in Medina and almost at once the Khazraj killed him. Some of his family used to say, 'In our opinion he was a Muslim when he was killed'; he was (in fact) killed before the battle of Badūth.²

IYĀS ACCEPTS ISLAM

Al-Huṣayn b. 'Abdu'l-Ḥayyān b. 'Abdu'l-Hayyān b. 'Abdu'l-Ḥayyān b. 'Abdu'l-Ḥayyān b. Labīd told me that when Abū'l-Ḥayyān Anas b. Ṭanī came to Mecca with members of the B. 'Abdu'l-Aschāl including Iyās b. Mu‘ādh seeking an alliance with Quraysh against their sister tribe the Khazraj, the apostle heard about them. He came and sat with them and asked them if they would like to get something more profitable than their present errand. When they asked him what that could be he told them that he was God's apostle sent to humanity to call on them to serve God and not associate any other with Him; that He had revealed a book to him; then he told them about Islam and read to them some of the Qurān. Iyās, who was a young man, said, 'By God, people, this is something better than you came for!' Thereupon Abū'l-Ḥayyān took a handful of dirt from the valley and threw it in his face, saying, 'Shut up! We didn't come here for this.' So Iyās became silent. The apostle left them and they went to Medina and the battle of Badūth between Aus and Khazraj took place.

Within a little while Iyās died. Māḥmūd said: 'Those of his people who were present at his death told me that they heard him continually praising and glorifying God until he died. They had no doubt that he had become a Muslim, he having become acquainted with Islam at that gathering when he heard the apostle speak.

THE BEGINNING OF ISLAM AMONG THE HELPERS

When God wished to display His religion openly and to glorify His prophet and to fulfill His promise to him, the time came when He met a number of the Helpers at one of the fairs; and while he was offering himself to the Arab tribes as was his wont he met at al-'Aqaba a number of the Khazraj whom God intended to benefit.

'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda told me on the authority of some of the shaykhāt of his tribe that they said that when the apostle met them he began by inquiry that they were of the Khazraj and allies of the Jews. He invited them to sit with him and expounded to them Islam and recited the Qurān to them. Now God had prepared the way for Islam in that they lived side by side with the Jews who were people of the scriptures and knowledge, while they themselves were polytheists and idolaters. They had often raided them in their district and whenever bad feeling arose the

¹ Lit. 'feather me ... cut me'. The figure is that of an arrow which is feathered to increase its flight, and whitened into shape for the same reason. Feathering can do no harm, but whittling may cause the arrow to break: necessary it is, but it must not be overdone.
² The battle between Aus and Khazraj; v.i.
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From B. Salima: 'Uqba b. 'Āmir.

From B. Sawāda: Qutbā b. 'Āmir b. Ḥadīda. The Aus were represented by Abu'l-Haytham b. al-Tayyibān whose name was Mālik of the clan of B. Abū'l-Asḥaf b. Jushām b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khaṣraj b. 'Amr b. Mālik b. al-Aus (234).


Yazid b. Abū Habīb from Abū 'Arābhi. Abdullah b. Zayd b. al-Sāmit from B. Abūl-Raḥmān. 'Usayla b. al-Sa'dni from B. Ubāda b. al-Sāmit told me: I was present at the first 'Aqaba. There were twelve of us and we pledged ourselves to the prophet after the manner of women and that was before war was enjoined, the undertaking being that we should associate nothing with God; we should not steal; we should not commit fornication; nor kill our offspring; we should not slander our neighbours; we should not disobey him in what was right; if we fulfilled this promise we would be ours; if we committed any of those sins it was for God to punish or forgive as he pleased.

Al-Zuhri from 'Abdullāh al-Khaṭibīn Abū 'Idrīs said that Ubāda b. al-Sāmit told him that 'We gave allegiance to the apostle that we would associate nothing with God, not steal, not commit fornication, not kill our offspring, not slander our neighbour, not disobey him in what was right; if we fulfilled this promise we would be ours; and if we committed any of those sins we should be punished in this world and this would serve as expiation; if the sin was concealed until the Day of Resurrection then it would be for God to decide whether to punish or to forgive.'

When these men left, the apostle sent with them Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr b. Ḥishām b. Abū Manaf... and instructed him to read the Quran to them and to teach them Islam and to give them instruction about religion. In Medina Muṣ'ab was called 'The Reader'; he lodged with As'ād b. Zurāra. 'Āṣim b. 'Umar told me that he used to lead the prayers because 'Aqīd Khazraj could not bear to see one of their rivals take the lead.

The institution of Friday prayers in Medina

Muhammad b. Abū Umāma b. Sahl b. Hunayf from his father from Abūl-Raḥmān b. Ka'b b. Mālik told me that the latter said: 'I was leading my father Ka'b when he had lost his sight, and when I brought him out to the mosque and he heard the call to prayer he called down blessings on Abū Umāma As'ād b. Zurāra. This went on for some time: whenever he heard the adhān he blessed him and asked God's pardon for him. I thought that this was an extraordinary thing to do and decided to ask him why he did it. He told me that it was because he was the first man to bring them

1 i.e. no fighting was involved. Cf. Sūra 60: 12.

The first pledge at Al-'Aqaba and the mission of Muṣ'ab

In the following year twelve Helpers attended the fair and met at Al-'Aqaba—this was the first 'Aqaba—where they gave the apostle the 'pledge of women'. This was before the duty of making war was laid upon them.


Cf. Sūra 60: 12 where the wording is very similar.
together in the low ground of al-Nabī' in the quarter of the B. Bayāsh called Naql-i'-Khadimāt. I asked him how many of them there were, and he told me that they numbered forty men.  

'Ubaydallah b. al-Mughira b. Mu'ayqib and 'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Hazm told me that As'ad b. Zurāra went out with Muṣāb b. 'Umayr to the areas of B. 'Abdul-Asḥal and of B. Zair b. Sa'd b. al-Nu'mān b. Inār u'll-Qays b. Zayd b. 'Abdul-Asḥal was the son of As'ad's aunt. He entered with him one of the gardens of B. Zair (235) by a well called Maraq and sat in the garden and some of the men who had accepted Islam gathered together there. Now Sa'd b. Muṣāb and Usayd b. Ḫudayr were at that time leaders of their clan, the B. 'Abdul-Asḥal, and both followed the heathenism of their tribe. When they heard about Sa'd they asked to Usayd; 'Go to those fellow who have entered our quarters to make fools of our weak comrades, drive them out and forbid them to enter our quarters. If it were not that As'ad b. Zurāra is related to me as you know I would save you the trouble. He is my aunt's son and I can do nothing to him.' So Usayd took his lance and went to them; when As'ad saw him he said to Muṣāb, 'This is the chief of his tribe who is coming to you, so be true to God with him.' Muṣāb said, 'If he will sit down I will talk to him.' He stood over them looking furious and asking what they meant by coming to deceive their weaker comrades. 'Leave us if you value your lives.' Muṣāb said, 'Won't you sit down and listen. If you like what you hear you can accept it, and if you don't like it you can leave it alone.' He agreed that that was fair, stuck his lance in the ground, and sat down. He explained Islam to him and read him the Quran. Afterwards they said—according to what has been reported of them—'By God, before he spoke we recognized Islam in his face by its peacefull glory.' He said, 'What a wonderful and beautiful discourse this is! What does one do if he wants to enter this religion?' They told him that he must wash and purify himself and his garments, then bear witness to the truth and pray. He immediately did so and made two prostrations. Then he said, 'There is a man behind me who if he follows you every one of his people will follow suit. I will send him to you at once.' It is Sa'd b. Muṣāb.' Taking his lance he went off to Sa'd and his people who were sitting in concealment. When Sa'd saw him coming he said, 'By God, Usayd is coming with a different expression from that he had when he left you.' And when he came up he asked what had happened. He said, 'I have spoken to the two men and I find no harm in them. I forbade them to go on and they said to me, We will do what you like; and I was told that the B. Ḫarītha had gone out against As'ad to kill him because they knew that he was the son of your aunt so as to make you appear a treacherous protector of your guests. Sa'd enraged got up at once, alarmed at what had been said about the B. Ḫarītha. He took the lance from his hand, saying, 'By God, I see that you have been utterly ineffective.' He went out to them and when he saw them sitting comfortably he knew that Usayd had intended that he should listen to them. He stood over them, looking furious. To As'ad he said, 'Were it not for the relationship between us you would not have treated me thus. Would you behave in our houses in a way we detest?' (Now As'ad had said to Muṣāb, 'The leader whom his people follow has come to you. If he follows you, no two of them will remain behind.') So Muṣāb said to him, what he had said to Usayd, and Sa'd stuck his lance in the ground and sat down. The same thing happened again and he went to his people's meeting-place accompanied by Usayd. When they saw him coming they said, 'We swear by God Sa'd has returned with a different expression.' And when he stopped by them he asked them how they knew what had happened to him. They replied, (You are) our chief, the most active in our interests, the best in judgement and the most fortunate in leadership,' he said, 'I will not speak to a man or woman among you until you believe in God and His apostle.' As a result every man and woman among the 292 'Abdul-Asḥal joined Islam.  

Aš'ad and Muṣāb returned to Aš'ad's house and stayed there calling men to Islam until every house of the Ansār had men and men who were Muslims except those of B. Umayya b. Zayd, and Khaṭṭa and Wa'il and Wāṣif; the latter were Aus Allah and of Aus b. Ḫarītha. The reason was that Abī Qays b. al-Aslāf whose name was Ṣayfī was among them. He was their poet and leader and they obeyed him and he kept them back from Islam. Indeed he continued to do so until the apostle migrated to Medina, and Badr, and Ḫud, and al-Khandaq were over. He said concerning what he thought of Islam and how men differed about his state:

- Lord of mankind, serious things have happened. 
- The difficult and the simple are involved. 
- Lord of mankind, if we errred 
- Guide us to the good path. 
- Were it not for our Lord we should be Jews 
- And the religion of Jews is not convenient. 
- Were it not for our Lord we should be Christians 
- Along with the monks on Mount Ḥabarī. 
- But when we were created we were created 
- Hanifs; our religion is from all generations. 

We bring the sacrificial camels walking in fettlers 
Covered with cloths but their shoulders bare (236).

**The Second Pledge at al-'Aqaba**

Then Muṣāb returned to Mecca and the Muslim Ansār came to the fair place with the pilgrims of their people who were polytheists. They met 4 i.e. Galilee.
The apostle at al-'Aqaba in the middle of the days of Tashriq, when God intended to honour them and to help His apostle and to strengthen Islam and to humble heathenism and its devotees.

Ma'bad b. Ka'b b. Mā'ilik b. Abū Ka'b b. al-Qayn, brother of the B. Salima, told me that his brother 'Abdullah b. Ka'b who was one of the most learned of the Āngār told him that his father Ka'b was one of those who had been present at al-'Aqaba and did homage to the apostle, informing him saying: 'We went out with the polytheists pilgrims of our tradition who prayed and learned the customs of the pilgrimage. When al-'Aqaba was al-Baṣrī b. Ma'rūr our chief priest. When we had started our journey from Medina al-Baṣrī said, "I have come to a conclusion and don't know whether you will agree with me or not. I think that I will not turn my back on this building" (meaning the Ka'ba), "and that I shall pray towards it." We replied that so far as we knew our prophet prayed towards Syria and we did not wish to act differently. He said, "I am going to pray towards the Ka'ba." We said, "But we will not." When the time for prayer came we prayed towards Syria and he prayed towards the Ka'ba until we came to Mecca. We blamed him for what he was doing, but he refused to change. When we came to Mecca he said to me, "Nephew, let us go to the apostle and ask him about what I did on my journey. For I feel some misgivings since I have seen your opposition." So we went to ask the apostle. We did not know him and we had never seen him before. We met a man of Mecca and we asked him about the apostle; he asked if we knew him and we said that we did not. Then do you know his uncle, Al-Abbas b. 'Abdul-Muttalib? We said that we did because he was always coming to us as a merchant. He said, "When you enter the mosque he is the man sitting beside al-Abbas." So we went into the mosque and there was al-Abbas sitting with the apostle beside him; we saluted them and sat down. The apostle asked al-Abbas if he knew us, and he said that he did and named us. I shall never forget the apostle's words when Ka'b's name was mentioned, 'The poet?' Al-Baṣrī said, "O prophet of God, I came on this journey God having guided me to Islam and I felt that I could not turn my back on this building, so I prayed towards it; but when my companions opposed me I felt some misgivings. What is your opinion of apostle of God?" He replied, "You would have had a gibli if you had kept to it," so al-Baṣrī returned to the apostle's gibli and prayed with us towards Syria. But his people assert that he prayed towards the Ka'ba until the day of his death; but this was not so. We know more about that than they (237).\footnote{1}

1 The days of the Tashriq are the three days following the day of sacrifice, i.e. 11th, 12th and 13th of Dhu'l-Hijja. Various explanations are given by the lexicographers: (a) because the victims were not sacrificed until the sun rose; (b) because the flesh of the victims was cut into strips and left to dry in the sun on those days; and (c) because in pagan times it was used to stay at that time Adirix Thabit ka'ma naghw. Show the sun, O Thabit, that we pass on quicki. See further E.I. and literature cited there.\footnote{2}

The apostle in the caravan as far as the gullies by al-'Aqaba. There were seventy-three men with two of our women: Nusayba d. of Ka'b Usman Isrā', one of the women of B. Mazin b. al-Najjar, and Asmā d. of Amr b. Adiy b. Nābi, one of the women of B. Salima who was known as Usman Māqān. We gathered together in the gully waiting for the apostle until he came with his uncle al-Abbas who was at that time a polytheist; albeit he was to be present at his nephew's business and see that he had a firm guarantee. When he sat down he was the first to speak and said: 'O people of al-Khazraj (the Arabs used the term to cover both Khazraj and Aus). You know what position Muhammad holds among us. We have protected him from our own people who think as we do about him. He lives in honour and safety among his people, but he will turn you and join you. If you think that you can be faithful to what you have promised him and protect him from his opponents, then assume the burden you have undertaken. But if you think that you will betray and abandon him after he has gone out with you, then leave him now. For he is safe where he is.' We replied, 'We have heard what you say. You speak, O apostle, and choose for yourself and for your Lord what you wish.' The apostle spoke and recited the Quran and invited men to God and convinced Islam and then said: 'I invite your allegiance on the basis that you protect me as you would your women and children.' Al-Baṣrī took his hand and said, 'By Him Who sent you with the truth we will protect you as we protect our women. We give our allegiance and we are men of war possessing arms which have been passed on from father to son.' While al-Baṣrī was speaking Abūl-Haytham b. 'Adıyihūn interrupted him and said, 'O apostle, we have ties with other men (he meant the Jews) and if we sever them perhaps when we have done that and God will have given you victory, you will return to your people and leave us? The apostle smiled and said: 'Nay, blood is blood and blood not to be paid for.
is blood not to be paid for.¹ I am of you and you are of me. I will war against them that war against you and be at peace with those at peace with you (238).

Ka'b continued: 'The apostle said, "Bring out to me twelve leaders that they may take charge of your people's affairs." They produced nine from al-Khazraj and three from al-Aus.'

THE NAMES OF THE TWELVE LEADERS AND THE REST OF THE STORY OF AL-'AQABA

According to what Ziyād b. 'Abdullāh al-Bakkā'ī told us from Muḥammad b. Ishaq al-Muṭṭalibī (they were):


'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr told me that the apostle said to the Leaders: You are the sureties for your people just as the disciples of Jesus, Son of Mary, were responsible to him, while I am responsible for my people, i.e. the Muslims.¹ They agreed.

'Āṣim b. Umar b. Qatāda told me that when the people came together to plight their faith to the apostle, al-'Abbās b. 'Ubbād b. Naḍlā al-Ārīdī b. B. Sālim b. 'Auf, said, 'O men of Khazraj, do you realize what you are committing yourselves in pledging your support to this man? It is to war against all and sundry.² If you think that if you lose your property and your nobles are killed you will give him up, then do so, for it would bring you shame in this world and the next (if you did so).

¹ i.e. He would treat blood revenge and its obligation as common to both parties. See L.H.'s note.
² Lit. 'red and black men'.