THE LODGEMENTS OF THE EMMIGRANTS IN MEDINA

321 'Umar accompanied by various members of his family, and his brother Zayd, and 'Amr and 'Abdullah the sons of Surāqā b. al-Mu'tamir, and Khunays b. Ḥudhāfa al-Samit (who had married 'Umar's daughter Ḥafṣa whom the apostle married after the death of her husband), and Waqīq b. 'Abdullah al-Tamāmī an ally of theirs, and Khail and Māq b. Abū Khauli, two allies (265), and four sons of al-Bukayr, namely Iyās, 'Aqil, 'Āmir, and Khālid; and their allies from B. Sa'd b. Layb, when they arrived at Medina stayed with Rifī'ī b. 'Abdul-Mundhir b. Zanbar among B. 'Amr b. 'Auf in Qubā'. 'Ayyāsh also stayed with him when he came to Medina.

Then came successive waves of emigrants: Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Uthmān; Șuhab b. Sinān stayed with Khubayb b. Ṣa'īf brother of the B. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj, in al-Sunā; Others deny this and say that Ṭalḥa stayed with As'ād b. Zurārī brother of the B. al-Najjār (266).

The following stayed with Kuhlām b. Ḥidm brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf in Qubā': Hāmza b. 'Abdul-Muṭṭalīb; Zayd b. Ḥāritha; Abū Marthad Kannūz b. Ḥārūn (267); and his son Marthad of the tribe Ghant, alias of Ḥāmza; Anasā; and Abū Kabbāsha, freedmen of the apostle. Other reports are that they stayed with Sa'd b. Khaythama; and that Ḥamza stayed with As'ad b. Zurārī.

The following stayed with 'Abdullah b. Salama brother of the B. ahl Qubā': 'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith and his brother al-'Uthaybīn b. al-Ḥārith; Miṣbah b. Uthātha b. 'Abbād b. al-Muṭṭalīb; Suwaybī b. Sa'd b. Ḥuraymīla brother of the B. 'Abdu'l-Dār: Ṭalḥa b. 'Umayr brother of the B. Abū b. Qūṣayy; and Khabbāb, freedman of 'Uthb b. Ghazwān.

With Sa'd b. al-Ra'bī' brother of the B. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj in the house of the latter stayed 'Abdu'l-Ra'mān b. 'Auf with some male emigrants.


With Sa'd b. Mu'ād b. al-Nu'mān brother of the B. 'Abdu'l-Aslah in their dwelling stayed Mus'ab b. 'Umayr b. Hāshim brother of the B. 'Abdu'l-Dār.

323 With 'Abbād b. Ṣaḥr b. Waqīq brother of the B. 'Abdu'l-Aslah in the latter's dwelling stayed Abū Ḥudhāfa b. 'Uthb b. Rabī' and his freedman Sālim; and 'Uthb b. Ghazwān b. Jābir (268).

With Aus b. Thabit b. al-Mundhir, brother of Ḥassān b. Thabit in the dwelling of B. al-Najjār stayed 'Uthmān b. Affān. This was the reason why Ḥassān was so fond of 'Uthmān and lamented him when he was slain.

It is said that the celibate emigrants stayed with Sa'd b. Khaythama because he himself was unmarried; but God knows best about that.

1 In the upper part of Medina.
After his companions had left, the apostle stayed in Mecca waiting for permission to migrate. Except for Abū Bakr and 'Ali, none of his supporters were left but those under restraint and those who had been forced to apostatise. The former kept asking the apostle for permission to emigrate and he would answer, 'Don't be in a hurry; it may be that God will give you a companion.' Abū Bakr hoped that it would be Muhammad himself.

When the Quraysh saw that the apostle had a party and companions out of their tribe and outside their territory, and that his companions had migrated to join them, and knew that they had settled in a new home and had gained protectors, they feared that the apostle might join them, since they knew that he had decided to fight them. So they assembled in their council chamber, the house of Qusayy b. Kilâb where all their important business was conducted, to take counsel what they should do in regard to the apostle, for they were now in fear of him.

One of our companions whom I have no reason to doubt told me on the authority of 'Abdullah b. Abī Najīh from Mujāhid b. 'Ubayr father of al-Hajjāj; and another person of the same character on the authority of 324 'Abdullāh b. 'Abbās told me that when they had fixed a day to come to a decision about the apostle, on the morning of that very day which was called the day of al-Zahma the devil came to them in the form of a handsome old man clad in a mantle and stood at the door of the house. When they saw him standing there they asked him who he was and he told them that he was a shaykh from the highlands who had heard of their intention and had come to hear what they had to say and perhaps to give them counsel and advice. He was invited to enter and there he found the leaders of Quraysh. From R. 'Abdul Shams were 'Utbah and Shyba sons of Rabī'; and Abū Sufyān. From B. Naufal b. 'Abdul Manaf Ṭu‘ayma b. 'Adiy; 'Ubayr b. Mus‘im; and al-Hārith b. 'Amir b. Naufal. From B. Abūl-Dar al-Nadīr b. al-Ḥārith b. Kalada. From B. Ṭāhir b. Abūl-Insābāt b. Hishām and Zam‘a b. al-Awāzib b. al-Muṭṭalib; and Hakīm b. Ḥizām. From R. Makhzūm Abī Jahl b. Hishām. From H. Sahm Nubayh and Munabbih the sons of al-Hajjāj. From R. Jumāh 'Uṣayy b. Khalaf, and others including some who were not of Quraysh.

The discussion opened with the statement that now that Muhammad had gained adherents outside the tribe they were no longer safe against a sudden attack and the meeting was to determine the best course to pursue. One advised that they should put him in irons behind bars and keep him until the same fate overtook him as befell his like, the poets Maryy and Nābigha, and others. The shaykh objected to this on the ground that news would leak out that he was imprisoned, and immediately his followers would attack and snatch him away; then their numbers would so grow that they would destroy the authority of Quraysh altogether.
They must think of another plan. Another man suggested that they should drive him out of the country. They did not care where he went or what happened to him once he was out of sight and they were rid of him. They then could restore their social life to its former state. Again the shaykh objected that it was not a good plan. His fine speech and beautiful diction and the compelling force of his message were such that if he settled with some Bedouin tribe he would win them over so that they would follow him and come and attack them in their land and rob them of their position and authority and then he could do what he liked with them. They must think of a better plan.

Thereupon Abū Jahl said that he had a plan which had not been suggested hitherto, namely that each clan should provide a young, powerful, well-born, aristocratic warrior; that each of these should be provided with a sharp sword; then that each of them should strike a blow at him and kill him. Thus they would be relieved of him, and responsibility for his blood would lie upon all the clans. The B. 'Abdu Manāf could not fight them all and would have to accept the blood-money which they would all contribute to. The shaykh exclaimed: 'The man is right. In my opinion it is the only thing to do.' Having come to a decision the people dispersed.

Then Gabriel came to the apostle and said: 'Do not sleep tonight on the bed on which you usually sleep.' Before much of the night had passed they assembled at his door waiting for him to go to sleep so that they might fall upon him. When the apostle saw what they were doing he told 'Alī to lie on his bed and to wrap himself in his green Hadīth mantle; for no harm would befall him. He himself used to sleep in his mantle.

Yazid b. Ziyād on the authority of Muhammad b. Ka'b, al-Qurairi told me that when they were all outside his door Abū Jahl said to them: 'Muhammad alleges that if you follow him you will be kings of the Arabs and the Persians. Then after death you will be raised to gardens like those of the Jordan. But if you do not follow him you will be slaughtered; and when you are raised from the dead you will be burned in the fire of hell.' The apostle came out to them with a handful of dust saying: 'I do not say that. You are one of them.' God took away their sight so that they could not see him and he began to sprinkle the dust on their heads as he recited these verses: 'Ya Sin, by the wise Quran. Thou art of those that are sent on a straight path, a revelation of the Mighty the Merciful' as far as the words 'And we covered them and they could not see'.1 When he had finished reciting not one of them but had dust upon his head. Then he went wherever he wanted to go and someone not of their company came up and asked them what they were waiting for. Then they said that they were waiting for Muhammad he said: 'But good heavens Muhammad came out to you and put dust on the head of every single man of you and then went off on his own affairs. Can't you see what has happened to you?' They put up their hands and felt the dust on their heads. Then they began to search and saw 'Alī on the bed wrapped in the apostle's mantle and said, 'By God it is Muhammad sleeping in his mantle.' Thus they remained until the morning when 'Alī rose from the bed and then they realized that the man had told them the truth.

Among the verses of the Quran which God sent down about that day and what they had agreed upon are: 'And when the unbelievers plot to drag thee up or to kill thee or to drive thee out they plot, but God plots do, and God is the best of plots;2 and 'Or they say he is a poet for whom we may expect the misfortune of fate. Say: Go on expecting for you the expectant' (269).3

It was then that God gave permission to his prophet to migrate. Now Abū Bakr was a man of means, and at the time that he asked the apostle's permission to migrate and he replied 'Do not hurry; perhaps God will give you a companion,' hoping that the apostle meant himself he bought ten camels and kept them tied up in his house supplying them with fodder in preparation for departure.

A man whom I have no reason to doubt told me as from 'Urwa b. al-Abbār that 'A'isha said: The apostle used to go to Abū Bakr's house every day either in the early morning or at night; but on the day when he was given permission to migrate from Mecca he came to us at noon, and our which he was not wont to come. As soon as he saw him Abū Bakr realized that something had happened to bring him to this hour. When it came in Abū Bakr gave up his seat to him. Only my sister Asmā' b. Zayd was there and the apostle asked him to send us away. 'But they are my two daughters and they asked me do no harm, may my father and my eldest be your ransom,' said Abū Bakr. 'God has given me permission to depart and migrate,' he answered. 'Together?' asked Abū Bakr. Together,' he replied. And by God before that day I had never seen anyone weep for joy as Abū Bakr wept then. At last he said, 'O prophet of God, these are the two camels which I have held in readiness for this.' They hired 'Abdul-b. Arqa', a man of B. 'Abd-Di'il b. Bakr whose mother was a woman of B. Saāhin b. 'Amr, and a polytheist to lead them on the way, and they handed over to him their two camels and he kept them and took them until the appointed day came.4

1 Sūra 36, 5–10.

2 Sūra 37, 30.

3 At this point in Subayhi's commentary (ii, p. 9) there is a note of considerable importance in the light it throws on the textual tradition of our author. It runs thus: Ibn Iṣaqq (in a narrative which does not come via Ibn Hishām) in a long, sound, tradition which has been shortened that when Abū Bakr migrated with the apostle he left his daughters behind in Mecca. When they got to Medina the apostle sent Zayd b. Khālid and Abū Rāfī' his bodyguard; and Abū Bakr sent 'Abdul-b. Arqa' with 500 dirhems with which they bought a mount in Qudayd. Arrived at Mecca they brought away Sa'ūda b. Zayd's of Zayd's of Tāmir and Umān Kuhlām. 'A'isha said: My mother came out to them and 'Ibīb b. 'Udayyān travelled together and when we were in Qudayd the camel on which my sister Umān Rūzān and I were riding in a litter, bolted, and my mother began to cry for my daughter, alas my husband!' In the tradition of 'Umm from Ibn Iṣaqq there is
According to what I have been told none knew when the apostle left except 'Ali and Abū Bakr and the latter's family. I have heard that the apostle told 'Ali about his departure and ordered him to stay behind in Mecca in order to return goods which men had deposited with the apostle for anyone in Mecca who had property which he was anxious about left with him because of his notorious honesty and trustworthiness.

When the apostle decided to go he came to Abū Bakr and the two of them left by a window in the back of the latter's house and made for a cave on Thaur, a mountain below Mecca. Having entered, Abū Bakr ordered his son ‘Abdullah to listen to what people were saying and to come to them by night with the day's news. He also ordered ‘Amir b. Fuhayra, his freedman, to feed his flock by day and to bring them to them in the evening in the cave. Asma‘ b. ‘Abdul Quāfīa, his daughter used to come at night with food to sustain them (270).

The two of them stayed in the cave for three days. When Quraysh missed the apostle they offered a hundred she-camels to anyone who would bring him back. During the day ‘Abdullah was listening to their plans and conversation and would come at night with the news. ‘Amir used to pasture his flock with the shepherds of Mecca and when night fell would bring them to the cave where they milked them and slaughtered some. When ‘Abdullah left them in the morning to go to Mecca, ‘Amir would take the sheep over the same route to cover his tracks. When those three days had passed and men's interest waned, the man they had hired came with their camels and one of his own. Asma‘ came too with a bag of provisions; but she had forgotten to bring a rope, so that when she started she could not tie the bag on the camel. Thereupon she undid the girdle and using it as a rope tied the bag to the saddle. For this reason she got the name 'She of the girdle' (271).

When Abū Bakr brought the two camels to the apostle he offered the better one to him and invited him to ride her. But the apostle refused to ride an animal which was not his own and when Abū Bakr wanted to give him it he demanded to know what he had paid for it and bought it from him. They rode off, and Abū Bakr carried ‘Amir his freedman behind him to act as a servant on the journey.

I was told that Asma‘ said, 'When the apostle and Abū Bakr had gone a number of Quraysh including Abū Jahl came to us and stood at the door. When I went out to them they asked where my father was and when I said that I did not know Abū Jahl, who was a rough dissolute man, slapped my face so violently that my earring flew off. Then they took themselves off and we remained for three days without news until we got mention of this hadith. In it ‘A‘isha said 'I heard a voice but could see no one . . . , and she goes on to describe how they came to Medina and found the apostle building a mosque and houses for himself. 'I stayed with Abū Bakr's family and Sauda in her own house, and Abū Bakr asked the apostle if he would not build for his family, and when he said that he would if he had the money Abū Bakr gave him 12 kes and 20 dirhams.' This tradition ‘A‘isha comes via Ibn Abīl-Zubayr from Hishām b. ‘Urwā from his father.'
he stumbled and threw me. I thought this was somewhat unusual, so I resorted to the dividing arrows again and out came the detestable "Do him no harm." But I refused to be put off and rode on in pursuit. Again, my horse stumbled and threw me, and again I tried the arrows with the same result. I rode on, and at last as I saw the little band my horse stumbled with me and its forelegs went into the ground and I fell. Then as it got its legs out of the ground smoke arose like a sandstorm. When I saw that I knew that he was protected against me and would have the upper hand. I called to them saying who I was and asking them to wait for me; and that they need have no concern, for no harm would come to them from me. The apostle told Abū Bakr to ask what I wanted and I said, "Write a document for me, which will be a sign between you and me" and the apostle instructed Abū Bakr to do so.

He wrote it on a bone, or a piece of paper, or a potsherds and threw it to me and I put it in my quiver and went back. I kept quiet about the whole affair until when the apostle conquered Mecca and finished with al-Taʿālī and Hunayn I went out to give him the document and I met him in al-Firādān. I got among a squadron of the Anṣār cavalry and they began to beset me with their spears, saying, "Be off with you; what on earth do you want?" However, I got near to the apostle as he sat on his camel and his stirrup looked to me like the trunk of a palm-tree. I lifted my hand with the document, saying what it was and what my name was. He said: "I am a day of repaying and goodness. Let him come near." So I approached him and accepted Islam. Then I remembered something that I wanted to ask him. All I can remember now is that I said "Stray camels used to come to my cistern which I kept full for my own camels. Shall I get a reward for having let them have water?" "Yes," he said, "for water every thirsty creature there is a reward." Then I returned to my people and brought my alms to the apostle' (274).

Their guide, 'Abdullāh b. Arqāt, took them below Mecca; then along the shore until he crossed the road below 'Usfān; then below Amājī; then after passing Qudayd by way of al-Khārār and 'Thaniyyatul-Maïra to Liqf (275). He took them past the waterhole of Liqf, then down to Ma'dān Mahāj (276), then past Marjīh Maḥāj, then down to Marjīh of Dhi-Qābir (277), then the valley of Dhi Kashr; then by al-Jadājār, this al-Ajrād, then Dhi Salām of the valley of A'īl, the waterhole of Thulā, then by al-'Abbāb (278), then by way of al-Fājīa (279). Then he took them down to al-'Arj and one of their mounts being dragged behind, a man of Ashām, Aus b. Hujr by name, took the prophet to Medina on his camel which was called Ibn al-Ridā', sending with him a servant called

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1 This story is cast in the familiar form of the story-teller: the same words are repeated again and again until the climax is reached. In the translation given above the sense is given—not the repetitions.

2 A place near Mecca on the road to al-Tā'if.
bring her the pieces to use as fuel. 'Ali used to talk of this incident until Sahl died in Iraq while he was with him. Hind b. Sa'd b. Sahl b. Hushayth told me this story from what 'Ali said.

The apostle stayed in Qubā' among B. 'Amr b. 'Auf from Monday to Thursday and then he laid the foundation of his mosque. Then God brought him out from them on the Friday. The B. 'Amr alleges that he stayed longer with them, and God knows the truth of the matter. Friday prayer found the apostle among B. Sālim b. 'Auf and he prayed it in the mosque which is in the bottom of the Wādi Rāmnūs. This was the first Friday prayer that he prayed in Medina.

'Abd b. Malik and 'Abdāb b. Ubāda b. Naḍła with some of B. Sālim b. 'Auf came and asked him to live with them and enjoy their wealth and protection, but he said, 'Let her go her way,' for his camel was under God's orders; so she let her go until she came to the home of B. Baydā', where he was met by Ziyād b. Labāb and Farwa b. 'Amr with some of their clansmen. They gave the same invitation and met with the same reply. The same thing happened with B. Ṣā'id when Sa'd b. Ubāda and al-Mundhir b. 'Amr invited him to stay; and with B. 'Il-Harith b. al-Khaṣraw represented by Sa'd b. al-Rabi' and Khārijra b. Zayd and 'Abdullāh b. Rawaṣa; and with B. Adīy b. al-Najjār (who were his nearest maternal relatives the mother of 'Abdu'll-Muṭṭalib Salmā d. 'Amr being one of their women), being represented by Sallūt b. Qays and Abū Sallūt and Usayyā b. Abū Khārijra. Finally the camel came to the home of B. Malik b. al-Najjār when it knelt at the door of his mosque, which at that time was used as a drying-place for dates and belonged to two young orphans of B. al-Najjār of B. Malik clan, who were under the protection of Muṣā'īd b. 'Affā. Sahl and Suḥayl the sons of 'Amr. When it knelt the apostle did not stand, and got up and went a short distance. The apostle left its rein free, guiding it, and it turned in its tracks and returned to the place where it had knelt at first and knelt there again. It shook itself and lay exhausted with its chest upon the ground. The apostle alighted and Abū Ayyūb Khalīb b. Zayd took his baggage into the house ('T. The Anṣār invited him to stay with them, but he said 'A man (stays) with his baggage') and the apostle stayed with him. When he asked to whom the date-store belonged Muṣā'īd b. 'Affā' told him that the owners were Sahl and Suḥayl the sons of 'Amr who were orphans in his care and that he could take it for a mosque and he would pay the young men for it.

The apostle ordered that a mosque should be built, and he stayed with Abū Ayyūb until the mosque and his houses were completed. The apostle joined in the work to encourage the Muslims to work and the muḥājirīn and the anṣār laboured hard. One of the Muslims rhymed:

If we sat down while the prophet worked
It could be said that we had shirked.

1 T. 1259, 7.

As they built, the Muslims sung a rajz verse:

There's no life but the life of the next world.
O God, have mercy on the anṣār and the muḥājirīn (281).

The apostle used to sing it in the form

There's no life but the life of the next world.
O God, have mercy on the muḥājirīn and the anṣār.

'Amrā b. Yaşār came in when they had overloaded him with bricks, saying, 'They are killing me. They load me with burdens they can't carry themselves.' Umm Salama the prophet's wife said: I saw the apostle run his hand through his hair—for he was a curvy-haired man—and say 'Alas Ibn Summayya! It is not they who will kill you but a wicked band of men.'

'Ali composed a rajz verse on that day:

There's one that labours night and day
To build us mosques of brick and clay
And one who turns from dust away! (282.)

And 'Amrā learned it and began to chant it.

When he persisted in it one of the prophet's companions thought that was he who was referred to in it according to what Ziyād b. 'Abdullāh al-Bakkā'ī told me from Ibn Išāq. The latter had actually named the man. He said: 'I have heard what you have been saying for a long time, O Ibn Summayya, and by God I think I'll hit you on the nose! Now he had a tick in his hand and the apostle was angry and said, 'What is wrong between them and 'Amrā? He invites them to Paradise while they invite him to hell. 'Amrā is as dear to me as my own face. If a man behaves like this he will not be forgiven, so avoid him.'

Suḥayūn b. Uwayn mentioned on the authority of Zakariyya b. Shā'ī that the first man to build a mosque was 'Amrā b. Yaşār.

The apostle lived in Abū Ayyūb's house until his mosque and dwelling-houses were built; then he removed to his own quarters.

Yaṣīd b. Abū Ḥabīb from Marthad b. 'Abdullāh al-Yazānī from Abū Rāmūn al-Sumā'ī told me that Abū Ayyūb told him: 'When the apostle came to lodge with me in my house he occupied the ground floor, while I and Umm Ayyūb were above. I said to him, 'O prophet of God, you

1 By this alteration the rhyme and rhythm were destroyed.
2 This prophecy is said to have been fulfilled when 'Amrā was killed at Siffin; Suḥayūn, 283.
3 Suḥayūn says: Ibn Išāq did name the man, but Ibn Ḥishām preferred not to do so so as not to mention one of the prophet's companions in discreditable circumstances. [Cl. the Ibn Ḥishām says in his introduction.] Therefore it can never be right to inquire after his identity. Abū Dhar says: Ibn Išāq did name the man and said 'This man was 'Uthmān bin Affīn.' The Cairo editors say that in the Mawlid al-Iṣāfī (al-Qastallānī, d. a.d. 1317) the man is said to be 'Uthmān b. Maṣ‘ūn. This late writer may safely be ignored on this point.
The Life of Muhammad

are dear to me as my parents, and I am distressed that I should be above you and you below me. So leave your present quarters and exchange places with us," He replied: "O Abū Ayyūb, it is more convenient for me and my guests that we should be on the ground floor of the house." So we remained as we were. Once we broke a jar of water and Umm Ayyūb and I took one of our garments to mop up the water in fear that it would drop on the apostle and cause him annoyance. We had no cloth which we could use.

"We used to prepare his evening meal and send it to him. When he returned what was left, Umm Ayyūb and I used to touch the spot where his hand had rested and eat from that in the hope of gaining a blessing. One night we prepared for him onions or garlic and the apostle returned and I saw no mark of his hand in it. I went to him in some anxiety to tell him of our practice and that there was no mark of his hand, and he replied that he had perceived the smell of the vegetables and he was a man who had to speak confidentially to people but that we should eat them. So we ate the dish and never sent him onions again."

The emigrants followed one another to join the apostle, and none was left in Mecca but those who had apostatized or been detained. Whole families with their property did not come together except the B. Maqūn from B. Jumah; the B. Jaḥṣ b. Ri'āb, allies of B. Umayya; and the B. Bukayr from B. Sa'd b. Layth, allies of B. 'Ady b. Ka'b. Their houses in Mecca were locked up when they migrated, leaving no inhabitant.

When the B. Jaḥṣ gave up their house Abū Sufyān went and sold it to 'Amr b. 'Āqīma brother of B. 'Amir b. Lu'a'y. When the owners heard of this 'Abdullāh b. Jaḥṣ told the apostle of it, and he replied: "Are you not pleased that God will give you a better house in Paradise?" And when he answered Yes, he said, "Then you have it." When the apostle got possession of Mecca Abū Aḥmad spoke to him about their house; and the apostle delayed his reply. People said to him, "The apostle dislikes your reopening the question of your property which you lost in God's service, so don't speak to him about it again." Abū Aḥmad said in reference to Abū Sufyān:

Tell Abū Sufyān of a matter he will live to regret.
You sold your cousin's house to pay a debt you owed.
Your ally by God the Lord of men swears an oath:
Take it, Take it, may [your treachery] cling to you like the ring of the dove.

The apostle stayed in Medina from the month of Rabi'ā'-awwal to Safar of the following year until his mosque and his quarters were built. This tribe of the Anṣār all accepted Islam and every house of the Anṣār except Khaṭma, Waqīf, Wānī, and Umayya who were the Aus Allah, a clan of Aus who clung to their heathenism.

The first address which the apostle gave according to what I heard on the authority of Abū Salama b. 'Abdu'l-Rahmān—God save me from attributing to the apostle words which he did not say—was as follows: he praised and glorified God as was His due and then said: O men, send forward (good works) for yourselves. You know, by God, that one of you may be smitten and will leave his flock without a shepherd. Then his Lord will say to him—there will be no interpreter or chamberlain to veil him from Him—Did not My apostle come to you with a message, and did not I give you wealth and show you favour? What have you sent forth for yourselves? Then will he look to right and left and see nothing; he will look in front of him and see nothing but hell. He who can shield his face from the fire even with a little piece of date let him do so; and he who cannot find that then with a good word; for the good deed will be rewarded infold yea to twice seven hundred fold. Peace be upon you and God's mercy and blessing.

Then the apostle preached on another occasion as follows: Praise belongs to God whom I praise and whose aid I implore. We take refuge in God from our own sins and from the evil of our acts. He whom God guides none can lead astray; and whom He leads astray none can guide.
I testify that there is no God but He alone, He is without companion. The finest speech is the Book of God. He to whom God has made it seem glorious and made him enter Islam after unbelief, who has chosen it above all other speech of men, doth prosper. It is the finest speech and the most penetrating. Love what God loves. Love God with all your hearts, and wary not of the word of God and its mention. Harden not your hearts from it. Out of everything that God creates He chooses and selects; the nations He chooses He calls kāhir; the people He chooses He calls mustafid; and the speech He chooses He calls fālih. From everything that is brought to man there is the lawful and the unlawful. Worship God and associate with Him; fear Him as He ought to be feared; Carry out loyalty towards God what you say with your mouths. Love one another in the spirit of God. Verily God is angry when His covenant is broken. Peace be upon you.

The Covenant Between the Muslims and the Medinans and with the Jews

The apostle wrote a document concerning the emigrants and the helpers in which he made a friendly agreement with the Jews and established them in their religion and their property, and stated the reciprocal obligations, as follows: In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful. This is a document from Muhammad the prophet [governing the relations] between the believers and Muslims of Quraysh and Yathrib, and those who

1 Or, perhaps simply "seven hundredfold". Here, as in the rest of the sermon, there is an allusion to the Quran. Cf. 24. 36 where commentators differ as to the exact meaning of dif'.
followed them and joined them and laboured with them. They are one
community (ummah) to the exclusion of all men. The Quraysh emigrants
according to their present custom shall pay the bloodwit within the
number and shall redeem their prisoners with the kindness and justice
common among believers.

The B. 'Auf according to their present custom shall pay the bloodwit
they paid in heathenism; every section shall redeem its prisoners with the
kindness and justice common among believers. The B. Sā'ida, the B.
T-Hārith, and the B. Jusham, and the B. al-Najājr, B. al-Hārith, B. Sā'ida, B. Jusham, B. al-
Aus, B. Tha'laba, and the Jafna, a clan of the Tha'laba and the B.
Shuṭayba. Loyalty is a protection against treachery.1 The freedmen
of Tha'laba are as themselves. The close friends2 of the Jews are as themselves.
None of them shall go out to war save with the permission of Muhammad,
but he shall not be prevented from taking revenge for a wound. He who
days a man without warning slays himself and his household, unless it be
one who has wronged him, for God will accept that. The Jews must bear
their expenses and the Muslims their expenses. Each must help the other
against anyone who attacks the people of this document. They must seek
mutual advice and consultation, and loyalty is a protection against treachery.
A man is not liable for his ally's misdeeds. The wronged must be helped.
The Jews must pay with the believers so long as war lasts. Yathrib shall
be a sanctuary for the people of this document. A stranger under
protection shall be as his host doing no harm and committing no crime. A
woman shall only be given protection with the consent of her family. If
any dispute or controversy likely to cause trouble should arise it must be
referred to God and to Muhammad the apostle of God. God accepts
what is nearest to piety and goodness in this document. Quraysh and their
helpers shall not be given protection. The contracting parties are bound
to help one another against any attack on Yathrib. If they are called to
make peace and maintain it they must do so; and if they make a similar
demand on the Muslims it must be carried out except in the case of a holy
war. Every one shall have his portion from the side to which he belongs;3 the Jews of al-Aus, their freedmen and themselves have the
time standing with the people of this document in pure loyalty from the
people of this document (284).

Loyalty is a protection against treachery: He who acquires aught
requires it for himself. God approves of this document. This deed will
not protect the unjust and the sinner. The man who goes forth to fight
and the man who stays at home in the city is safe unless he has been
and sinned. God is the protector of the good and God-fearing man
and Muhammad is the apostle of God.

1 Will Hausen, "Skizzen und Vorarbeiten," v. Berlin, 1889, p. 70, renders 'Lautekeit steht
weg' and accuses Sprunger and Kreil of inexactness. S. has 'sie müssen loyal und
schleich handeln' where a 'general' truth is in question. Sulayfi says the meaning
is 'loyalty and loyalty stand in the way of treachery' (ii. 17).

1 For the meaning of this word cf. 519. 4 where bīthānā clearly has such a connotation.
2 This is not clear to me.
3 For this idiom cf. Sūrūn 6. 44.
4 Or 'in Medina'. Whether Medina is meant or not the passage stands self-condemned as
false interpolation because the town is consistently called Yathrib.
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BROTHERHOOD BETWEEN EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS

The apostle instituted brotherhood between his fellow emigrants and the helpers, and he said according to what I have heard—and I appeal to God lest I should attribute to him words that he did not say—'Let each of you take a brother in God.' He himself took 'Ali by the hand and said, 'This is my brother.' So God's apostle, the lord of the sent ones and leader of the God-fearing, apostle of the Lord of the worlds, the peerless and unequalled, and 'Ali b. Abū Ta'llib became brothers. Ḥamza, the son of God and the lion of his apostle and his uncle, became the brother of Zayd b. Ḥāritha the apostle's freedman. To him Ḥamza gave his last testament on the day of Ḫudūd when battle was imminent in case he should meet his death. Ja'far b. Abū Ta'llib—the 'one of the wings' who was to fly in Paradise—and Mu'ād b. Jabal brother of B. Salama became brothers (28).3

The pairs were arranged thus:


Ṭālah b. Abū Balṭa'a, ally of B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-Uzza' and Uwaym b. Sa'īda brother of B. 'Amm b. 'Auf. Sālimān the Persian and Abū'l-Dārsī 'Uwaymār b. Thā'lab b. al-Ḥārith (287). Some say 'Uwaymār was the son of 'Amr or of Zayd. Bilāl freedman of Abū Bakr and the apostle's muezzin and Abū Ruwayhah.4

1 A kunya characteristic of a negro, 'the father of the faint smell'. Cf. H. Lancoux, L'Arabe occidental avant l'Hégire, p. 249.

2 Sūra 39. 9.

ABŪ UMĀMA

During the months in which the mosque was being built Abū Umāma b. Zūrā∴ died; he was seized by diphtheria and a rattling in the throat.

'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm told me on the authority of Yahyā b. 'Abdullāh b. Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. As'ad b. Zūrā∴ that the apostle said: 'How unfortunate is the death of Abū Umāma! The Jews and the Arab hypocrites are sure to say "If he were a prophet his companion would not die" and (truly) I have no power from God for myself or for my companion (to avert death).'

' Ağīm b. 'Umar b. Qatāda al-Anṣārī told me that when Abū Umāma died, B. al-Najjar came to the apostle, for Abū Umāma was their leader, saying that he held the high rank the apostle knew of and would he appoint someone from among them to act in his place; to which the apostle replied, 'You are my maternal uncles, and we belong together so I will be your leader.' The apostle did not want to prefer any one of them to the others. Henceforth the B. al-Najjar regarded themselves as highly honoured in having apostle as their leader.

THE CALL TO PRAYER

When the apostle was firmly settled in Medina and his brethren the emigrants were gathered to him and the affairs of the helpers were arranged he came firmly established. Prayer was instituted, the alms tax and fasting were prescribed, legal punishments fixed, the forbidden and the permitted prescribed, and Islam took up its abode with them. It was this call the helpers who 'have taken up their abode (in the city of the prophet) and in the faith.'1 When the apostle first came, the people gathered to ten for prayer at the appointed times without being summoned. At first the apostle thought of using a trumpet like that of the Jews who used it to summon to prayer. Afterwards he disliked the idea and ordered a clapper

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to be made, so it was duly fashioned to be beaten when the Muslims should pray.

Meanwhile 'Abdullah b. Zayd b. Tha'laba b. Abdu Rabbibi, brother of B. al-Hārith heard a voice in a dream, and came to the apostle saying: 'A phantom visited me in the night. There passed by me a man wearing two green garments carrying a clapper in his hand, and I asked him to tell it to me. When he asked me what I wanted it for I told him that I was to summon people to prayer, whereupon he offered to show me a better way: it was to say thrice 'Allah Akbar. I bear witness that there is no God but Allah I bear witness that the apostle is the prophet of God. Come to prayer. Come to prayer. Come to divine service.' Come to divine service. Allah Akbar. Allah Akbar. There is no God but Allah. When the apostle was told of this he said it was a true vision if God had willed it, and that he should go with Bilāl and communicate it to him so that he might call to prayer thus, for he had a more penetrating voice. When Bilāl acted as muezzin 'Umar heard him in his house and came to the apostle dragging his cloak on the ground and saying that he had seen precisely the same vision. The apostle said, 'God be praised for that!' I was told of this tradition by Muhammad b. Ibrahīm b. al-Hārith on the authority of Muhammad b. 'Abdullah b. Zayd b. Tha'laba himself (288).

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me on the authority of 'Umar b. al-Zubayr from a woman of B. al-Najār who said: My house was the highest of those round the mosque and Bilāl used to give the call from the top of it at dawn every day. He used to come before daybreak and would sit on the housetop waiting for the dawn. When he saw it he would stretch his arms and say, 'O God, I praise thee and ask thy help for Quraysh that they may accept thy religion.' I never knew him to omit these words for a single night.

ABŪ QAYS B. ABŪ ANAS

When the apostle was established in his house and God had manifested his religion therein and made him glad with the company of the emigres and helpers Abū Qays spoke the following verses (289).

He was a man who had lived as a monk in heathen days and worn a black mantle of camel-hair, given up idols, washed himself after impurity, kept himself clean from women in their courses. He had thought of adopting Christianity but gave it up and went into a house of his and made

1 *Fadila*. This word is generally rendered 'salvation' or 'prosperity'; cf. Lane, 4174. But it has always seemed to me that it must be an ambivalent form of the Arabic *fadilah* divine worship. Its original meaning is clearly cutting, especially ploughing. Among Arabic-speaking Jews and Christians it was connected with the service of God. Between the words 'Come to the fadila and Allah Akbar' the Shī'a cry 'Come to the beat work' (fādilā) which must surely be a memory of the original meaning of fadila. I. Suyūṭī's Nīsā' (Dīwān Abū 'Abd Allāh, Cairo, 1356, i. 266, quotes this story in what appears to be a more primitive form.

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A. Dh. explains that 'wudū', a serious incurable disease, is a metaphor. Commentators differ on the meaning of this phrase. Another possibility is: 'Though an odour is short their hearts are generous'. All through these verses one feels that the whole rhymester is imprisoned within his rhymes.
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My sons, transgress not the proper limits
Transgressing the bounds brings one to a halt.
O my sons, trust not the days,
Beware their treachery and the passage of time.
Know that it consumes all creation,
Both the new and the old.
Live your lives in piety and godliness.
Abandon obscenity and hold fast to what is right.  

In the following poem he mentioned how God had honoured them with Islam and His special favour in sending His apostle to them:

He abode among Quraysh some ten years
Hoping for a friend to help him,
He displayed himself to those who came to the fairs
But found none to offer him hospitality.
But when he came to us God displayed his religion
And he became happy and contented in Medina.
He found friends and ceased to long for home
And was plainly helped by God.
He told us what Noah said to his people
And what Moses answered when he was called.
None near at hand need he fear
And those afar he recked not of.
We spent on him the best of our possessions,
Sparing our lives in war at his side.
We know that there is nought beside God
And we know that God is the best guide.
We shall fight any man that fights Him,
Be he our dearest friend.
In every mosque when I pray to Thee
I say Blessed art Thou (Oft have I mentioned Thy name).
I say when I traverse a land I fear
'Mercy! Let not my enemies triumph over me.'
Go where you will death comes in many guises
And you cannot live for ever.
A man does not know how to protect himself
Unless he makes God his protector.
The palm that needs water cares naught for its owner
If it has moisture, though he be dead (291).

1 The influence of Syriac as in the words shammasa and tabḥām is clear, and some of the verses are reminiscent of the Psalms.
2 Thå, 'the Fragrant,' is the ancient honorific of Medina. Cf. Ḥassân's opening lines in p. 1022, 'In Thå are the monuments of his luminous sojourn'.
3 W.'s text: 'He was a plain help to us from God' seems inferior to the C. text.
4 The verse is just as banal in the original.
5 I follow C. in reading musllma for W.'s musllma, and tāḍāiya for ṣādīya 'standing'.

THE NAMES OF THE JEWISH ADVERSARIES

About this time the Jewish rabbis showed hostility to the apostle in envy, hatred, and malice, because God had chosen His apostle from the Arabs. They were joined by men from al-Aus and al-Khazraj who had obstinately clung to their heathen religion. They were hypocrites, clinging to the polytheism of their fathers denying the resurrection; yet when Islam spread and their people flocked to it they were compelled to pretend a belief to save their lives. But in secret they were hypocrites whose animadversion was directed against the Jews because they considered the apostle a liar and strove against Islam.

It was the Jewish rabbis who used to annoy the apostle with questions introducing confusion, so as to confound the truth with falsity. The Qur'an used to come down in reference to these questions of theirs, though some of the questions about what was allowed and forbidden came from the Muslims themselves. These are the names of those Jews:


From B. Tha'lîba b. al-Fīyûm: 'Abdullāh b. Shūrīya the one-eyed who was the most learned man of his time in the Hijaz in Torah studies; Ibn Shūrī; and Mukhayyiq their rabbi who became a Muslim.

From B. Qaynuqā': Yazîd b. al-Luṣît (291); Sa'd b. Ḥunayf; Mahmūd b. Ṣayhān; ‘Uzayr b. Abū ‘Uzayr; and Abdullah b. Ṣayf (292). Suwayd b. al-Ḥārith; Rûfâ'ī b. Qays; Fīnāhā; Ashīyā; Nu’mān b. Aḍā; Bâhîry b. 352

1 This paragraph is part of a long chapter which T. devotes to the question of chronology in reference to the principal events in the prophet's life. It is put here because the last stage he quotes from I. is the poem of Abū Qays mentioning the length of the prophet's sojourn in Mecca after the beginning of his mission; the connexion with chronology is clear.
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"Abdullah b. Suqayn b. Abū Suqayn; Adiy b. Zayd; Nu'mān b. Abī Auš; Abī Amr, Mahmūd b. Dāyah; Mālik b. Sayf (293). Ka'b b. Rāshid; "Azār; Rāfi' b. Abī Rāfi'; Khālid; Azār b. Abū Azār (254); Rāfi' b. Hāritha; Rāfi' b. Ḥuraymla; Rāfi' b. Khārijah; Mālik b. 'Aur; Rāfi' b. Zayd b. Abī Talib. 'Abdullah b. Salmān b. al-Hārith; who was their rabbi and most learned man. His name was al-Ḥusayn. The apostle named him 'Abdullah when he accepted Islam.


From B. Zahrā: Labīd b. A'sām who bewitched the apostle of God so that he could not come at his wife.1

From B. Hāritha: Kīnāna b. Sūriyā. B. 'Amr b. 'Aur; Qardam b. 'Amr.


These were the Jewish rabbis, the rancorous opponents of the apostle and his companions, the men who asked questions, and stirred up trouble against Islam to try to extinguish it, except for 'Abdullah b. Salmān and Mukhayrīq.2

'ABDULLAH B. SALAM ACCEPTS ISLAM

I was told the story of 'Abdullah b. Salmān, a learned rabbi, by one of his family. He said: 'When I heard about the apostle I knew by his description, name, and the time at which he appeared that he was the one we were waiting for, and I rejoiced greatly thereat, though I kept silent about it until the apostle came to Medina. When he stayed in Qubā' among us, 'Abdul b. 'Aur a man came with the news while I was working at the top of a palm-tree and my aunt Khālidah d. al-Hārith was sitting below. When I heard the news I cried Allah Akbar and my aunt said, 'Good gracious, if you had heard that Moses b. Imrān had come you could not have made more fuss!' 'Indeed, aunt,' I said, 'he is the brother of Moses and follows his religion, being sent with the same mission.' She asked, 'Is he really

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1 In commenting on this Subaylī asserts that the tradition is sound and is accepted by its traditions. He found in the "first" of Mu'āwīya b. Rāshid (a work which I cannot mention by Brockhauer) the statement that the spell lasted for a year. He adds that Mu'tazils and Modernists who rejected the tradition on the ground that the prophets could not bewitch otherwise would reject sin and that would be contrary to the world that the tradition unattainable is properly attested and intellectually acceptable. The prophets were not preserved from bodily afflictions in which category soreness falls.

2 It is noteworthy how few Hebrew names are to be found among the Jews of Medina.
I went up to them in childish pleasure as I always did, and they were sunk in gloom that they took no notice of me. I heard my uncle say to my father, “Is he he? Do you recognize him, and can you be sure?” “Yes,” “And what do you feel about him?” “By God I shall be his enemy as long as I live!”

**The Jews Are Joined by Ansāri Hypocrites**

The following hypocrites from al-Aus and al-Khazraj joined the Jews according to information given me. God knows best about the truth.

From Aus of the section of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf b. Mālik of the subhīyūn Laudhān b. 'Amr b. 'Auf: zuwāy b. al-Hārith. From B. Hujayy b. 'Amr b. 'Auf: Julās b. Suwāy b. al-Sāmit and his brother al-Hārith. Julās was one of those who withdrew from the apostle in the raid on Tabāk. He said, “If this man is right we are worse than donkeys.”

Umayr b. Sa’d, one of them, was closely related to Julās, he having married his mother after his father's death, reported what he said to the apostle. But first he said to Julās: “You are dearer to me than any man, the most generous to me, and it is most painful to me that anything should happen to upset you; but you have said words which if I repeat them I shall bring shame upon you, and if I keep silence I shall bring my religion into peril. One is preferable to the other.” Then he went to the apostle and told him what Julās had said. Julās swore by God that he had not said the words attributed to him by Umayr. And God sent down concerning him:

“They swear by God that they did not say, when they did actually say words of unbelief and disbelieve after they had surrendered themselves. They planned what they could not carry out and they had nothing to avenge but that God and His apostle had enriched them by His bounty. If they repent it will be better for them; and if they turn back God will afflict them with a painful punishment in this world and the next. In this world they have no friend or helper” (295).

His brother al-Hārith who killed al-Mujādilī b. Hāyād b. Balāwī and Qays b. Zayd one of B. Duḥayya b. Uḥd, went out with the Muslims. He was a hypocrite, and when battle was joined he fell upon these two men, killed them, and attached himself to Quraysh (296).

Mu‘ādh b. 'Afrā killed Suwāy treacherously when there was no war. He shot him with an arrow before the battle of Bu‘āth.

The apostle—so they say—had ordered ‘Umar to kill him if he could get hold of him, but he escaped and got to Mecca. Then he sent to his brother Julās asking for forgiveness so that he might return to his people.

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1 What Arabic writers mean by ‘hypocrites’ has been made clear in the section on the Jewish adversaries. It is not a really good rendering of mawṣūla, but no one word suits itself as better. Muslims look with a tolerant eye on a man who conceals his belief through force majeure, but to pretend to be a Muslim is a crime.

2 Sūra 6:75.

3 Sūra 3. 86.

4 Sūra 9. 61.

5 Sūra 3. 148.

6 Sūra 3. 12.
Zayd and Mujammî. 'They were also concerned with the mosque of al-Dirâr. Mujammî' was a youth who had collected most of the Quran and he used to lead them in prayer. When the mosque had been destroyed and certain men of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf who used to lead their people in prayer at their mosque, died, in the time of 'Umar, Mujammî' was mentioned as leader, but 'Umar would not have it, saying, 'Wasn't he the imam of the hypocrites in the mosque of al-Dirâr?' He replied: 'By God, I knew nothing of their affairs. But I was a youngster who could recite the Quran, whereas they could not, so they put me forward to lead the prayers. Their affair seemed to me to accord with the best account they gave.' They alleged that 'Umar let him go and lead the prayers of his people.

Of B. Umayya b. Zayd b. Mâlîk: Wadî'a b. Thâbit, one of the builders of the Dirâr mosque who said, 'We were only talking and jesting.' So God sent down: 'If you ask them they will say we were only talking and jesting. Say: Is it about God and His signs and His apostle you are jesting?' to the end of the passage.

Of B. Ubâyda b. Zayd b. Mâlîk: Khîdâm b. Khânîd, from whose house the mosque of al-Dirâr was carved out; and Bîshr and Râfî the two sons of Zayd.

Of B. al-Nabît (298) of the clan of B. Hâaritha b. al-Hârith b. al-Khaizar b. 'Amr b. Mâlîk b. al-Aus: Murba' b. Qayzî who said to the apostle when he passed through his garden on his way to Uthâb: 'I do not allow you Muhammad to pass through my garden even if you are a prophet.' He took a handful of dust and said: 'By God, if I did not know that I might throw it on others I would throw this dirt at you.' The people pressed on him to kill him and the apostle said: 'Let him alone. For this blind man is blind of heart and blind of perception.' Sa'd b. Zayd brother of B. 'Abdu'l-As-hâl hit him with his bow and wounded him; also his brother Aus b. Qayzî, who said to the apostle on the day of the Trench: 'Our houses lie open to the enemy, so give us leave to go back to them.' So God revealed concerning him: 'They say Our houses lie open to the enemy. They are not open; all they want is to run away' (399).1

Of B. Zafar (Zâfar's name was Ka'b b. Hârith b. al-Khaizar): Hâjib b. Umayya b. Râfî. He was a sturdy old man steeped long in paganism. A son of his was one of the best of the Muslims, Yazid by name. He was disabled by wounds received at Uthâb and was carried to the house of the B. Zafar.

Ašîm b. 'Umar b. Qatâda told me that the Muslims there both men and women gathered to him when he was at the point of death and were saying: 'Rejoice, O son of Hâjib, in the thought of paradise!' Then his hypocrisy showed itself, for his father said, 'Humph! By God it is a garden of mine. You have sent this poor fellow to his death by your deception.'

Also Bushayr b. Ubayrîq Abû Tus'ma, the 'Stealer of the Two Breastplates' concerning whom God sent down: 'And argue not on behalf of those who deceive themselves. God does not love a sinful deceiver.' Also Qusmân, an ally of theirs.

The same 'Ašîm told me that the apostle used to say: 'He belongs to the people of hell.' At Uthâb he fought so valiantly that he killed several polytheists. But they severely wounded him and he was carried to the quarters of the B. Zafar. The Muslims said, 'Cheer up, O Qusmân; you have done gallantly today and your sufferings have been for God's sake.' He said: 'Why should I cheer up? I fought only to protect my people.' And when the pain of his wounds became unendurable he took an arrow from his quiver and cut a vein in his hand and thus committed suicide.

Among B. 'Abdu'l-Ashâl no hypocrite male or female was known except al-Dahhâk b. Thâbit, one of the B. Ka'b of the family of Sa'd b. Zayd. He was suspected of hypocrisy and love of the Jews. Hâsûn b. Thâbit said of him:2

Who will tell al-Dahhâk that his veins Were unable to be glorified in Islam? Do you love the Jews of al-Hijâz and their religion, You liver-hearted ass, and not love Muhammad? Their religion will never march with ours As long as men roam the open desert.

I have heard that before his repentance Julâs together with Mu'attib, Râfî, and Bishr used to make false profession of Islam.3 Some Muslims asked them to go to the apostle to settle a matter in dispute between them, while they wanted to refer it to the kahins who acted as arbitrators in the pagan era. So God sent down concerning them: 'Hast thou considered those who allege that they believe in what has been sent down to thee and what was sent down before thee who wish to go to idolatry for arbitration when they have been commanded to give up belief in it? Satan wishes to lead them far astray.'4


Of B. Jusham of the clan of B. Sâlima: Al-Jâd b. Qays who said, 'O Muhammad, give me leave (to stay at home) and tempt me not.' So God sent down concerning him: 'Of them is he who says, Give me leave (to stay at home) and tempt me not. Surely it is into temptation that they have fallen and hell encompasses the unbelievers.'5

Of B. 'Auf b. al-Khazraj: 'Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Sâlih. He was the head of the hypocrites. They used to gather to him and it was he who said, 'If we go back to Medina the stronger will drive out the weaker.' This was during the raid on the B. al-Muṣtaqâl and the whole sîra of the

1 Sûra 9. 66.
2 Sûra 1. 177. I.I. has omitted much of what Yûnis reported from I.I. See Sulayhî, 4, 251.
3 Dhim, p. 34.
4 Read yudâd'â'una (against both C. and W.) in accord with Sûra 66, 27; and for the mean-
5 Sûra 4, 63.
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Hypocrites came down about him and Wādī'a a man of B. 'Auf and Mālik b. Abū Qa'qal and Suwayd and Dā'is of the clan of 'Abdullah b. Umayy. Those were the men who sent secret messages to B. al-Nādi'ī when the apostle besieged them: 'Stand fast, for by God if you are driven out we will go forth with you and we will never obey anyone against you and if you are attacked we will help you.' So God sent down concerning them: 'Has thou not considered the hypocrites who say to their brethren of the scripture folk, If you are driven out we will go forth with you and we will never obey anyone against you and if you are attacked we will help you. God bears witness that they are liars,' as far as His words 'Like Satan when he says to men, "Disbelieve," and when they disbelieve he says, "I am not responsible for you; for part of I pray God the Lord of the worlds."' 

The Rabbis Who Accepted Islam Hypocratically

The following are the Jewish rabbis who took refuge in Islam along with the Muslims and hypocritically professed it: Of B. Qaynuqā': Sa'd b. Hunayf; Zayd b. al-Luṣayt; Nu'mān b. Auffa b. 'Amir; Uthmān b. Auffa; Zayd b. al-Luṣayt who fought with 'Umar in the market of the B. Qaynuqā'. He was the man who said when the apostle's camel wandered off: 'Muhammad alleges that revelations come to him from heaven and he doesn't know where his camel is!' When the apostle heard of what the enemy of God had said and God had told him where his camel was he said, 'I only know what God lets me know. And God has shown me. It is such-and-such a glen caught by its rope to a tree.' The Muslims went and found it in that very spot caught up as the apostle had said. Also Rūfī b. Ḥuraymila of whom I have heard that the prophet said, 'One of the greatest hypocrites has died today.' And Rūfī b. Zayd b. al-Ṭibīb of whom the prophet said: There was a high wind as he was returning from the expedition against the B. al-Muṣṭaļiq and the Muslims were in great anxiety: 'Don't be afraid; the wind is blowing because a great unbeliever is dead.' When he got back to Medina he found the Rūfī had died the day the wind blew. Also Sīsīla b. Barhām and Ḥumāin b. Sārya. These hypocrites used to assemble in the mosque and listen to the stories of the Muslims and laugh and scoff at their religion. When some of them were there one day the apostle saw them talking with lowered voice among themselves huddled together. He ordered that they should be ejected and they were put out with some violence. Ḥāfīz b. Zayd b. Kūlah got up and went to 'Amr b. Qays, one of B. Gānim.

References to the Hypocrites and the Jews in the Sūra Entitled 'The Cow'

The first hundred verses of the Sūra of the Cow came down in reference to these Jewish rabbis and the hypocrites of Aus and Khazraj, according to what I have been told, and God knows best. He said: 'Allāh Lām Mim. That is the book wherein there is no doubt.' The word rayh means doubt.

A guidance to the god-fearing, i.e. those who fear God's punishment for abandoning the guidance they recognize, and hope for His mercy through believing in what has come to them from Him. 'Who believe in the unseen and establish prayer and give out what We have provided them with,' i.e. they establish prayer in its prescribed form and pay the
poor-tax expecting a (future) reward for it. 'And those who believe in what has been sent down to thee and to those who were before thee, i.e. they believe thee to be true in what thou hast brought from God and what the sent ones brought before thee, making no difference between them are opposing what they brought from their Lord. 'And are certain of the latter end,' i.e. the waking from death, the resurrection, paradise and hell, the reckoning and the scales, i.e. these are those who allege that they believe in what was before thee and in what has come to thee from thy Lord. 'These live in guidance from their Lord,' i.e. according to light from their Lord and uprightly according to what has come to them. 'These are they who prosper,' i.e. who attain what they seek and escape the evil they fear from. 'As for those who disbelieve,' i.e. in what has been sent down to thee though they say we have long believed in what came to us before thee, it is all one to them whether thou warn them or do not warn them, they will not believe,' i.e. they disbelieve that thou art mentioned (in the books) they have and they reject the covenant which was made with them with reference to thee. They disbelieve in what has come to thee and in what they have already which others brought to them so how will they listen to warning and exhortation from thee when they have denied that they have any knowledge of thee? 'God hath sealed their hearts and their hearing and over their sight there is a covering,' i.e. so that they will never find guidance, meaning: because they have declared you a liar so that they will not believe in the truth which has come to thee from thy Lord though they believe in all that came before thee. For opposing thee they will have an awful punishment. Thus far concerning the Jewish rabbis for calling his truth a lie after they knew it.

'And there are some men who say, We believe in God and the last day when they do not believe.' He means the hypocrites of Aus and Khazraj and their followers. 'They would deceive God and those who believe, but they deceive only themselves, and perceive it not. In their hearts is a sickness,' i.e. doubt. 'And God increases their sickness,' i.e. doubt. A painful punishment is theirs because they lie. And when it is said to them, 'Do not make mischief in the land they say we are only putting things to right,' i.e. we only wish to make peace between the two parties of the believers and the scripture folk. God said: 'Are not they indeed the mischief makers but they perceive it not? And when it is said to them, Believe as the people believe they say: Are we to believe as the foolish believe? Surely they are the foolish but they know it not. And when they meet those who believe they say, We believe; and when they go apart to their leaders,' i.e. the Jews who order them to deny the truth and contradict what the apostle brought, 'They say Certainly we are with you,' i.e. we agree entirely with you. 'We were only mocking,' i.e. mocking the people and jesting with them. God said: 'God will mock at them and let them continue to wander blindly in their error' (303).

1 Lit. 'their satans'.

These are they who buy error at the price of guidance,' i.e. disbelief for faith. 'So their traffic is not profitable and they are not rightly guided.' Then God employed a simile and said: 'They are like a man who lights fire and when it lightens his environment God takes away his light and leaves them in darkness unable to see,' i.e. they cannot see the truth and profess it so that when they go out with it from the darkness of unbelief they extinguish it with their unbelief and hypocrisy, and God leaves them in the darkness of unbelief and they do not see guidance and are not upright in truth. 'Deaf, dumb, blind, and they return not,' i.e. they return not to guidance, deaf, dumb, blind to what is good, they return not to good and find no escape from their condition. 'Or like a rainstorm from heaven wherein is darkness and thunder and lightning. They put their fingers in their ears because of the thunderings, in fear of death. God encompasses the unbelievers' (304), i.e. because of the darkness of unbelief and the fear of death in which they are, arising from their opposition and fear of you, they are like the man in the rainstorm who puts his fingers in his ears at the thunderclaps in fear of death. He says: And God brings that vengeance upon them, i.e. He encompasses the unbelievers. 'The lightning almost takes away their sight,' i.e. because of the ceasing brightness of the truth. 'Whenever it gives light to them they walk in it and when it is dark for them they stand still,' i.e. they know the truth and talk about it and so far as their talk goes they are on the straight path but when they relapse from it into infidelity they come to a halt in wilful licentiousness. 'And if God willed He could take away their hearing and their sight,' i.e. because they have forsaken the truth after they knew it. God is able to do all things.'

Then He says: 'O men, worship your Lord,' addressing both unbelievers and hypocrites, i.e. acknowledge His unity. 'Who created you and those before you, perchance you may ward off evil. Who has made the earth a bed for you and the heaven a building, and sent down water from heaven and has brought forth fruits thereby as food for you. So make not rivals of God when you know (better)!' (305), i.e. do not associate with God rivals which can neither profit nor harm when you know that you have no Lord that can feed you other than He, and you know that the monotheism to which the apostle calls you is the truth about which there is no doubt. 'And if you are in doubt about that which We have sent down to our servant,' i.e. in doubt about what he has brought you, 'then produce a div like it and summon your witnesses other than God,' i.e. whatever helpers you can get 'if you are truthful; and if you do not and you cannot' tell the truth has become clear to you, 'then fear hell whose fuel is men and stones' prepared for the unbelievers,' i.e. for those who are in a state of infidelity like you.

Then he appeals to their interest and warns them against breaking the covenant which He made with them in reference to His prophet when 1 It is said that the stones were those worshipped by the pagan Arabs.
He came to them, and He reminds them of the beginning of their creation, when He created them, and what happened to their forefather Adam and how he was dealt with for his disobedience; then He says: 'O children of Israel,' addressing the Jewish rabbis, 'Remember the favour I showed you, i.e. My care for you and your fathers, wherewith He delivered them from Pharaoh and his army. 'And fulfil My covenant' which I placed on your necks with regard to My prophet Ahmad when he should come to you. 'I shall fulfil My part of the covenant.' I shall carry out what I promised you for believing in and following him by removing the bonds and chains which were upon your necks because of the sins which you had committed. 'And stand in awe of Me,' i.e. lest I bring down on you what I brought down on your fathers before you—the vengeance that you know of bestial transformation and the like. 'And believe in what I have sent down, confirming what you already have, and be not the first to disbelieve in seeing that you have knowledge which others have not about it. 'And fear Me and do not mingle truth with falsehood nor hide the truth which you know,' i.e. do not conceal the knowledge which you have about My apostle and what he has brought when you will find it with you in what you know of the books which are in your hands. 'Would you tell men to be good and forget to be so yourselves, you being readers of scripture? Do you not understand?' i.e. would you forbid men to disbelieve in the prophecy you have and the covenant of the Torah and abandon it yourselves? I.e. when you deny that it contains My covenant with you that you must pronounce My apostle to be true, and you break My agreement and you contradict what you know to be in My book.

Then He recounts their sins, mentioning the calf and what they did with it; how He forgave them and pardoned them; then their words 'Show us God plainly' (306); and how the storm came upon them because of their presumptuousness; then He quickened them after they had died, overshadowed them with the cloud, sent down to them manna and quail and said to them, 'Enter the gate with prostrations and say Hiṭa,' i.e. say what I command you, and I will remove your sins from you; and their changing that word making a mockery of His command; and His forgiving them after their mockery (307).

With regard to their changing that word, the apostle said according to what Shāliḥ b. Kaisān from Shāliḥ, freedman of al-Tau'ama d. Unayzah b. Khałaf from Abū Hurayra and someone above suspicion from Ibrahīm 'Abbās: They entered the gate they were ordered to enter with prostrations in a crowd saying, 'Wheat is in the barley' (308). (He also reminded them of) Moses praying for water for his people and His commanding him to strike the rock with his staff so that the water gushed forth in twelve streams, one for each tribe to drink from, each tribe knowing the

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1. verse 40.
2. The meaning of this word (lit. unloading, or relief), and indeed the significance of the whole passage, is obscure. Presumably a Jewish midrash lies behind it. Cf. Geiger, op. cit. 19.
they go apart with one another they say, Will you talk about what God has revealed to you that they may contend with you about it before your Lord? Have you no understanding?" i.e. maintain that he is a prophet since you know that God has made a covenant with you that you should follow him, while he tells you that he is the prophet whom we are expecting and wait in our book. Oppose him and do not recognize him. God said: 'Do they not know that God knows what they conceal and what they proclaim, and some of them aregentiles who do not know the book but merely recite passages (310)." 'They only think they know,' i.e. they don't know the book and they do not know what is in it, yet they oppose the prophethood on mere opinion. 'And they say the fire will not touch us except for a limited time. Say, Have ye received a covenant from God? God will not break His covenant—or do you say what you do not know about God?'

A freelance of Zayd b. Thabit told me as from 'Ikrin or from Sadd b. Jubayr from Ibn 'Abbās: The apostle came to Medina when the Jews were saying that the world would last for seven thousand years and that God would only punish men in hell one day in the next world for every thousand in this world. There would be only seven days and then punishment would cease. So God sent down concerning this saying: 'And they say, The fire will not touch us except for a limited time. Say, Have ye received a covenant from God? God will not break His covenant—or do you say what you do not know about God? Nay whose does evil and his sin encompasses him,' i.e. he who does as he do and disbelieves as you disbelieve, his unbelief encompasses the good he has acquired with God. 'They are the people of hell; they will be there eternally,' i.e. forever. 'And those who do good, they are the people of paradise; they will be there eternally,' i.e. those who believe in what you deny and do what you have left undone of His religion. They shall have paradise for ever. It tells them that the recompense for good and evil is eternal: it will never cease.

Then He said in blaming them, 'And when We made a covenant with the children of Israel,' i.e. your covenant. 'Worship none but God, show kindness to parents and to near relatives, and to orphans and the poor, and speak kindly to men, and establish prayer and pay the poor-tax; then you turned your backs except a few of you, being averse,' i.e. you abandoned all that—nothing less. 'And when we made a covenant with you, shed not your blood' (111). 'And do not turn (some of) your people out of your dwellings. Then ye ratified it and you are witnesses thereof; i.e. that My covenant condition truly binds you. Then you are they who kill your people and drive some of them from their houses, supporting one another against them by crime and transgression,' i.e. the polytheists, so that they shed their blood along with them and drive them from their houses along with them. 'And if they came to you as prisoners you would ransom them' knowing that that is incumbent upon you in your religion, while their expulsion is forbidden to you' in your scripture. 'Will you believe in a part of the scripture and disbelieve in another part?' i.e. will you ransom them believing in one part and expel them disbelieving in another part? 'And what is the recompense of those of you who do that but shame in this world and on the day of resurrection they will be sent to the severest punishment. For God is not unaware of what you are doing. These are they who buy this life at the price of the next life. Their punishment will not be lightened nor will they be helped.' Thus God blamed them for what they were doing. He having in the Torah prohibited them from shedding each other's blood and charged them to redeem their prisoners.

There were two parties: The B. Qaynuqa' and their adherents, allies of Khazraj; and al-Naḍir and Qurayza and their adherents allies of Aus. When there was war between Aus and Khazraj the B. Qaynuqa' went out with Khazraj, and al-Naḍir and Qurayza with Aus, each side helping his allies against his own brethren so that they shed each other's blood, while the Torah was in their hands by which they knew what was allowed and what was forbidden. Aus and Khazraj were polytheists worshipping idols knowing nothing about paradise and hell, the waking and the resurrection, the scriptures, the permitted and the forbidden. When the war came to an end they ransomed their prisoners in accordance with the Torah with side redeeming those of their men who had been captured by the other side, disregarding the bloodshed that had been incurred in helping the polytheists. God said in blaming them for that: 'Will you believe in a part of the scripture and disbelieve in another part' i.e. would you redeem him in accordance with the Torah and kill him when the Torah forbids you to do so, killing him and driving him out of his house and helping the polytheist who worships idols instead of God against him, all for the sake of this world's gain? According to my information this passage came down with reference to their behaviour with Aus and Khazraj.

He continued: 'We gave Moses the scripture and We sent apostles after him and We gave Jesus, Son of Mary, the clear proofs,' i.e. the signs which were brought by Him in raising the dead; forming the likeness of birds from clay and then breathing into them so that they became birds by God's permission; healing the sick; and news of many hidden things which

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1 'This word ammi is generally translated 'illiterate'. In Sura 7, 157 and 158 Muhammad calls himself 'the gentle prophet'; but practically all Arab writers claim that he could not read or write (see, e.g., Pickthall's translation). Geiger, op. cit. 46 f., think, the first to point out the only possible derivation of the word, and he has been followed by every subsequent European Arabist. But this passage brings to light the fact that he is preceded by these two early traditionists who identified the ammiyin as Arab proselytes who did not themselves know the scriptures.

2 That is to say these Arabs cannot read the sacred books, but they can join in the Jewish liturgy reciting the prayers and responses.

3 v. 77.
they stored in their houses; and His conquering them from the Torah and Gospel which God had created for Him. Then he mentions their disbelief in all that and says: 'Is it that whenever there comes to you an apostle with what you do not like you act arrogantly; some you declare liars and some you put to death?' Then he says: 'And they said, Our hearts are uncircumcised,' i.e. in coverings. 'Nay, but God has cursed them for their unbelief. Little do they believe. And when a scripture comes to them from God confirming what they already have, they turn before that they were asking for a victory over the unbelievers, when then comes to them what they know they deny it. God's curse is on the unbelievers.'

‘Āṣim b. Umar b. Qatāda told me that shaykh's of his people said: This passage came down about us and them. We had got the better of them in the pagan era, we being polytheists and they scripture folk. They used to say to us, 'Soon a prophet will be sent whom we shall follow; this time is at hand. With his help we shall kill you like 'Ad and Iram.' And when God sent His apostle from Quraysh and we followed him they denied him. God said: 'And when there comes to you what they know they deny it. God's curse is on the unbelievers. Wretched is the way for which they sell themselves in disbelief in what God has sent down, grudging that God should send down of His bounty upon whom He will of His servants,' i.e. that He should have given it to one who was not of them. 'They have incurred anger upon anger and for the unbelievers there is a shameful punishment' (412).

The double anger is His anger at what they have disregarded of the Torah which they had and His anger at their disbelief in this prophecies whom God had sent to them. Then He told them of the raising of the mountain above them and their taking the calf as a god instead of their Lord. God then said: 'Say, If the last dwelling with God is for you alone, excluding others, then long for death if you are truthful,' i.e. pray for death to which of the two parties is most false with God. And they refused the apostle's suggestion. God said to His prophet: 'They will never long for it because of what they have sent before them, i.e. because they know about them by the knowledge which they have and deny it. It is said that if they had longed for it the day he said to them, not a single Jew would have remained on the earth but would have died. Then He mentions their love of this life and of a long life and God said: 'Thou wilt find them the most eager of men for life,' the Jews; 'even more than the polytheists; each one would like to live a thousand years and to be allowed to live long would not remove him from the punishment' i.e. it would not deliver him from it. The reason is that the polytheist

1 'Abdahha ilayhi. Apparently this is a pregnant construction meaning 'created and sent to him'.

2 'Abdahha ilayhim.

3 The text of W. and C. annabahum ‘blamed them' yields no suitable meaning. The text is given in W.'s notes, ii. 111, mabahum. I owe this correction to Dr. Arafah.

4 i.e. their past deeds.

1 This formula is repeated four times.

2 v. 94.
the kidneys and the fat (except what was upon the back), for that used to be offered in sacrifice and the fire consumed it."

The apostle wrote to the Jews of Khaybar according to what a freedman of the family of Zayd b. Thabit told me from 'Ikrima or from Sa'd b. Jubayr from Ibn 'Abbás: 'In the name of God the compassionate, the merciful from Muhammad the apostle of God friend and brother of Moses who confirms what Moses brought. God says to you, O scripture folk, and you will find it in your scripture 'Muhammad is the apostle of God; and those with him are severe against the unbelievers, merciful among themselves. Thou seest them bowing, falling prostrate seeking bounty and acceptance from God. The mark of their prostrations is on their foreheads. That is their likeness in the Torah and in the Gospel like a seed which sends forth its shoot and strengthens it and it becomes tall and rises straight upon its stalk delighting the sowers that He may anger the unbelievers with them. God has promised those who believe and do well forgiveness and a great reward.'[22] I adjure you by God, and by what He has sent down to you, by the manna and quails He gave as food to your tribes before you, and by His drying up the sea for your fathers when He delivered them from Pharaoh and His works, that you tell me, Do you find in what He has sent down to you that you should believe in Muhammad? If you do not find that in your scripture then there is no compulsion upon you. 'The right path has become plainly distinguished from error' so I call you to God and His prophet' (314).

Among those people concerning whom the Quran came down, especially the rabbis and unbelieving Jews who used to ask him questions and oppose him in confusing truth with falsehood—as I was told on the authority of 'Abdullāh b. 'Abbās and Jābir b. 'Abdullāh b. Rā'īb—was 'Abd Yāsir b. Hāθab who passed by the apostle as he was reciting the opening words of The Cow: 'Alif, Lām, Mīm, That is the book about which there is no doubt.' He came to his brother Ḥuyyāy who was with some other Jews and said: 'Do you know that I have heard Muhammad reciting in what he be sent down to him Alīf Lām Mīm, &c.' After expressing surprise Ḥuyyāy and these men went to the apostle and told him what had been reported to them and asked if Gabriel had brought the message from God. When he said that he had said they: God sent prophets before you but we do not know of anyone of them being told how long his kingdom would last and how long his community would last. Ḥuyyāy went up to his men and said to them: 'Alīf is 1; Lām is 30; and Mīm is 40; i.e. 71 years. As you going to adopt a religion whose kingdom and community will last for only 71 years?' Then he went to the apostle and said, 'Have you any thing else, Muhammad?' 'Yes, Alīf Lām Mīm Śād.' 'This by God's more weighty and longer: Alīf 1; Lām 30; Mīm 40; Śād 90, i.e. 161 years.

[1] This is the sacrificial law given in Leviticus 3, 10, 15, &c., and the tradition shows remarkable knowledge of the Jewish Law.
[5] This and similar passages seem to indicate that the messianic hope was strong among the Jews.
[8] Sūra 2, 94.
[9] 480
book; bring it down to us from heaven that we may read it; bring our rivers for us from the earth, then we will follow you and believe in you. So God sent down concerning that: ‘Or do you wish to question your apostle as Moses was questioned aforetime; he who exchanges faith for unbelief has wandered from the straight road.’

380 Ḥuyayy and Abū Yāsir were the most implacable enemies of the Arabs when God chose to send them an apostle from among themselves and they used to do all they could to turn men away from Islam. So God sent down concerning them: ‘Many of the scripture folk wish to make you unbelievers once again after you have believed being envious on their own account after the truth has become plain to them. But forgive and be indulgent until God shall give you His orders. God can do anything.’

When the Christians of Najrān came to the apostle the Jewish rabbi came also and they disputed one with the other before the apostle. Rāfi said, ‘You have no standing,’ and he denied Jesus and the Gospel; and a Christian said to the Jews, ‘You have no standing’ and he denied that Moses was a prophet and denied the Torah. So God sent down concerning them: ‘The Jews say the Christians have no standing; and the Christians say that Jews have no standing, yet they read the scriptures. They do not know what they are talking about. God will judge between them on the day of resurrection concerning their controversy,’ i.e. each one reads in his book the confirmation of what he denies, so that the Jews deny Jesus though they have the Torah in which God required them by the word of Moses to hold Jesus true; while in the Gospel is what Jesus brought in confirmation of Moses and the Torah he brought from God: so each one denies what is in the hand of the other.

Rāfi said: ‘If you are an apostle from God as you say, then ask God to speak to us so that we may hear His voice.’ So God revealed concerning that: ‘And those who do not know say, Why does not God speak to us so we may know? Those who were before them said the same. Their minds are just the same. We have made the signs clear to a people who are sure: Abdullah b. Šurayj, the one-eyed man, said to the apostle, ‘The assistance is to be found with us, so follow us, Muhammad, and you will be rightly guided.’ The Christians said the same. So God sent down concerning both: ‘And they say, Be Jews or Christians then you will be rightly guided. Say, Nay, the religion of Abraham a ħanif who was not a polytheist,’ as far as the words ‘Those are a people who have passed away; they have what they earned and you have what you have earned and you will not be asked about what they used to do.’

And when the qibla was changed from Syria to the Ka’ba—it was changed in Rajab at the beginning of the seventeenth month after the apostle’s arrival in Medina—Rif‘a b. Qays; Qardam b. ‘Amr; Ka’b b. al-Asra’f; Rāfi b. Abū Rāfi; al-Hajjāj b. ‘Amr, an ally of Ka’b’s; al-Rahīb al-Rahīb; Abūl-Huqayq; and Kainān b. al-Rahīb b. Abūl-Huqayq came to the apostle asking why he had turned his back on the qibla he used to face when he alleged that he followed the religion of Abraham. If he would return to the qibla in Jerusalem they would follow him and declare him to be true. Their sole intention was to seduce him from his religion. So God sent down concerning them: ‘The foolish people will say: What made them turn their back on the qibla that they formerly observed? Say, To God belongs the east and the west. He guides whom He will to the straight path. Thus we have made you a central community that you may be witnesses against men and that the apostle may be a witness against you. And we appointed the qibla which thou didst formerly observe only that we might know who will follow the apostle from him who turns upon his heels,’ i.e. to test and find them out. ‘Truly it was a hard test except for those whom God guided,’ i.e. a temptation, i.e. those whom Allah established. ‘It was not Allah’s purpose to make your faith vain,’ i.e. your faith is the first qibla, your believing your prophet, and your following him to the latter qibla and obeying your prophet therein, i.e. so that he may give you the reward of both of them. ‘God is kind and compassionate to men.’

Then God said, ‘We sometimes see thee turning thy face towards the east and We will make thee turn towards a qibla which will please thee; a qibla which shall bring thee near to the sacred mosque and wherever you are turn your face towards it.’ ‘Those who have received the scripture know that it is the truth from their Lord, and God is not unmindful of what they do. If thou dost bring to those who have the scripture every sign they could not follow thy qibla and thou wouldst not follow their qibla nor would some of them follow the qibla of others. If thou shouldst follow thy desires after the knowledge which has come to thee then thou wouldst be an evildoer,’ as far as the words ‘It is the truth from thy Lord he not of the doubters.’

Mu‘ādh b. Jabal and Sa‘d b. Mu‘āadh brother of B. ‘Abdu’l-Ashal, and Kharija b. Zayd brother of B. al-Hārith b. al-Khasraji, asked some of the Jewish rabbis about something in the Torah and they concealed it from them and refused to tell them anything about it. So God sent down about them: ‘Those who conceal the proofs and guidance We have sent down after We have made it plain to men in the book, God will curse them and those who curse will curse them.’

The apostle summoned the Jewish scripture folk to Islam and made it attractive to them and warned them of God’s punishment and vengeance. Hīj b. Khārija and Mālik b. ‘Auf said to him that they would follow the region of their fathers, for they were more learned and better men than we. So God sent down concerning their words: ‘And when it is said to them, Follow what God has sent down, they say: Nay, but we will follow what we found our fathers doing. What! even if their fathers understood nothing and were not rightly guided?”
The Life of Muhammad

When God smote Quraysh at Badr, the apostle assembled the Jews in the market of the B. Qaynuqā' when he came to Medina and called on them to accept Islam before God should treat them as he had treated Quraysh. They answered, 'Don’t deceive yourself, Muhammad. You have killed a number of inexperienced Quraysh who did not know how to fight. But if you fight us you will learn that we are men and that you have met your equal.' So God sent down concerning their words: 'Say to those who disbelieve, You will be defeated and gathered into hell, a wretched resting-place. You had a sign in the two parties which met: one party fought in the way of God and the other was unbelieving seeing twice their number within their very eyes. God will strengthen with His help whom He will. In that there is a warning for the observant.'

The apostle entered a Jewish school there where was a number of Jews and called them to God. Al-Nu'mān b. 'Amr b. al-Hārīth b. Zayd said to him:

'What is your religion, Muhammad?'

'The religion of Abraham.'

'But Abraham was a Jew.'

'Then let the Torah judge between us,'

They refused, and so God sent down concerning them: 'Hast thou not seen how those who have received a portion of scripture when invited to God’s book that it may judge between them, a party of them turn their backs in opposition. That is because they say, The fire will not touch us except for a limited time. What they were inventing has deceived them in their religion.'

The Jewish rabbis and the Christians of Najrān, when they were together before the apostle, broke into disputing. The rabbis said that Abraham was nothing but a Jew. The Christians said he was nothing but a Christian, so God revealed concerning them: 'O Scripture folk, Why do you argue about Abraham when the Torah and the Gospel were not sent down and after his time? Can it be that you do not understand? Behold, you are they who argue of what you know nothing, but why do you argue about what you know nothing? God knows but you do not know. Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian but he was a Muslim ḫanīf and he was not a polytheist. Those who are the nearest to Abraham are those who follow him and this prophet and those who believe, God being the friend of believers.'

'Abdullāh b. Ṣayf and 'Adīy b. Zayd and al-Hārīth b. 'Auf agreed among themselves that they should affect to believe in what had been sent down to Muhammad and his companions at one time and deny it at another so as to confuse them, with the object of getting them to follow their example and give up his religion. So God sent down concerning them: 'O Scripture folk, why confuse ye the true with the false and conceal the truth which you know? Some of the Scripture folk said, Believe in the

which has been sent down to those that believe at the beginning of the day and deny it at the end of the day; perhaps they will go back on it. Believe only in one who follows your religion. Say, The guidance is God’s guidance that anyone should be given the like of what you have been given or that they may argue with you before their Lord. Say: the bounty is in the hand of God. He giveth it to whom He pleases and God is all-embracing and all-knowing.'

Abī Rāfī' al-Qurāzī said when the rabbis and the Christians from Najrān had assembled before the apostle and he invited them to Islam, 'Do you want us, Muhammad, to worship you as the Christians worship Jesus, Son of Mary?' One of the Christians called al-Ribāb (or al-Ris or al-Ra's) said, 'Is that what you want of us and invite us to, Muhammad?' or words to that effect. The apostle replied, 'God forbid that I would worship anyone but God or order that any but He should be worshipped. God did not send me and order me to do that' or words to that effect. So God sent down concerning their words: 'No mortal to whom God has sent a book and authority and prophecy could say to men, Worship me instead of God; but Be learned in that you teach the book and in that you study it' as far as the words 'after ye had become Muslims'.

And he did not command you to take the angels and prophets as 385 guards. Would He command you to disbelieve after you had become Muslims?

Then he mentions how God had imposed on them and on their prophets the obligation to hear witness to his truth when he came to them and their using that upon themselves and he says: 'When God made His covenant with the prophets (He said) Behold that which I have given you—a book and wisdom. Then when an apostle shall come to you confirming what you have, you shall believe in him and help him. He said, Do you agree and take upon yourselves my burden? They answered, We agree. He said, Then hear witness, I being with you as a witness' to the end of the passage. Shāh b. Qays, who was an old man hardened in unbelief and most bitter against the Muslims and exceeding envious of them, passed by a number of the apostle’s companions from Aus and Khazraj in a meeting while they were talking together. When he saw their amiety and unity and their happy relations in Islam after their enmity in pagan times he was filled with rage and said: 'The chiefs of B. Qayla in this country having sat there will be no firm place for us with them.' So he gave orders to a Jewish youth who was with them to go to them and sit with them and mention the battle of Bu‘āth and the preceding events, and recite to them some of the poetry composed by each side.

Now at the battle of Bu‘āth Aus and Khazraj fought and the victory went to Aus who were commanded at the time by Ijdayar b. Simāk 386 al-Asḥāḥī the father of Usayd b. Ijdayar, Khazraj being led by 'Amr b. al-Nu'mān al-Bayāḍī, and both were killed (317).
The youth did so. Thereupon the people began to talk and to quarrel and to boast until two men of the two clans leapt up, Aus b. Qays r. Hāritha b. Hārith of Aus and Jabbār b. Sa'khr of B. Salama of Khaṭra. They began to hold forth against each other until one of them said, if you wish we will do the same again.' Thereupon both sides became enraged and said, 'We will. Your meeting-place is outside—that being the volume tract—To arms! To arms! So out they went and when the news reached the apostle he went out with such of the emigrants as were with him and said to them: 'O Muslima, remember God. Remember God. Will you act as pagans while I am with you after God has guided you to Islam and honoured you thereby and made a clean break with paganism; delivered you thereby from unbelief; made you friends thereby?' Then the people realized that the dissension was due to Satan and the guile of their enemies. They wept and the men of Aus and Khazraj embraced one another. Then they went off with the apostle, attentive and obedient, God having quenched the guile of the enemy of God Shaks b. Qays. So God sent down concerning him, and what he did: 'Say: O Scripture folk, why do you deny God's signs while God is witness of what you do? Say, O Scripture folk, why do you keep those who believe from God's way wishing to make it crooked when you are witnesses and God is not unmindful of what you are doing.'

God sent down concerning Aus and Jabbār and the people who were with them when Shaks brought back for a moment the atmosphere of pagan days, 'O you who believe, if you obey some of those to whom a book has been given they will make you unbelievers again after your faith. How can you disbelieve when God's verses are read to you and his apostle is with you? He who holds fast to God is guided to a straight path. O ye who believe, fear God as He ought to be feared and die not except as Muslims' as far as the words 'Those shall have a painful punishment.'

When Abdullah b. Salām, Tha'labah b. Sa'ya, and Usayd b. Sa'ya, and Asad b. Ubayd and other Jews became Muslims and believed and were earnest and firm in Islam, the rabbis who disbelieved said that it was only the bad Jews who believed in Muhammad and followed him. Had they been good men they would not have forsaken the religion of their fathers and adopted another. So God sent down concerning what they had said: 'They are not (all) alike: of the scripture folk there is an upright community who read God's verses in the night season prostrating themselves; They believe in God and the last day and enjoin good conduct and forbid evil and vie with one another in good works. Those are the righteous.'

Some Muslims remained friends with the Jews because of the tie of mutual protection and alliance which had subsisted between them, so God sent down concerning them and forbidding them to take them as intimate friends: 'O you who believe, do not choose those outside your community as intimate friends. They will spare no pains to corrupt you.

The key to this seemingly blasphemous utterance is in the words 'as your master pre-empted'. Later Muslim scholars would have called it an claim, a form of the argumentum ad hominem in which an opponent's proposition is adopted and followed to its (absurd) conclusion. The Jews had objected to contributing to the cost of the war against the Meccans, saying that if God needed their money as the apostle said they must be better off than He!"
The Life of Muhammad

their backs and sold it for a small price. Wretched is the exchange! Think not that those who rejoice in what they have done and want to be praised for what they have not done—think not that they will escape the punishment: theirs will be a painful punishment. 1

He means Firdaws and Asha' and the rabbis like them who rejoice in what they enjoy of worldly things by making error attractive to men and wish to be praised for what they have not done so that men will say they are learned when they are nothing of the kind, not bringing them to truth and guidance and wanting men to say that they have so done.

Kardam, Usāna, Nāfi', Bahrī, Huyayy, and Rīfā'i 2 used to go to some of the helpers advising them not to contribute to the public expenses, 'for we fear that you will come to poverty. Don't be in a hurry to contribute, for you do not know the outcome.' So God sent down concerning them: 'Who are avaricious and enjoin avarice on others concealing the bounty they have received from God', i.e. the Torah which confirms what Muhammad brought. 3 'We have prepared for the unbelievers a shameful punishment, and those who spend their money to be seen of men and believe not in God and the last day' as far as the words 'God knows about them'.

Rīfā'i was a notable Jew. When he spoke to the apostle he twisted his tongue and said: 'Give us your attention, Muhammad, so that we can make you understand.' Then he attacked Islam and reviled it. So God sent down concerning him: 'Hast thou considered those to whom a part of the book has been given how they buy error and wish that thou should err as to the way. But God knows best about your enemies. God is sufficient as a friend and helper. Some of the Jews change words from their contexts and say: We hear and disbelieve; hear thou as one that heareth not and listen to us, twisting their tongues and attacking religion. Had they said, We hear and we obey; hear thou and look at us, it would have been better for them and more upright. But God has cursed them for their unbelief and only a few will believe. 4

The apostle spoke to two of the chiefs of the Jewish rabbis 'Abdallāh b. Ṣhrīyā al-Awar and Ka'b b. Assad calling on them to accept Islam, for they knew that he had brought them the truth; but they denied that they knew it and were obstinate in their unbelief. So God sent down concerning them: 'O you to whom the book was sent, Believe in what We have sent down in confirmation of what you have before We effected your features and turn them back to front or curse you as We cursed the Sabbath-breakers when God's command was carried out'. 5

And those who formed parties of Quraysh and Ghatafan and B. Qurayza were Huyayy and Sallām and Abū Rāfī' and al-Rabi' and Abū 'Ammār and Wahb b. 'Amir, and Haudha b. Qays, the latter three being of B. Wā'il while the rest were of B. al-Naḍīr. When they came to Quraysh they told them that these were Jewish rabbis, the folk who possessed the first (sacred) book, and they could ask them whether their religion or that of Muhammad was the better. When they did ask them they answered: 'Your religion is better than his and you are on a better path than he and those who follow him.' So God sent down concerning them: 'Hast thou considered those to whom a part of the book has been sent how they believe in al-Jibl and al-'Taghūt? 6 And they say of those who disbelieve: These are better guided to the right path than those who believe' as far as the words 'or are they envious of men because God has given them of His bounty. We gave the family of Abraham the book and wisdom and We gave them a great kingdom. 7

Sukayn and 'Adī b. Zayd said: 'O Muhammad, we do not know of God's having sent down to mortals anything after Moses.' So God sent down concerning their words: 'We have revealed unto thee as we revealed unto Noah and the prophets after him, and we revealed unto Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes and Jesus and Job and Jonah and Aaron and Solomon and we brought to David the Psalms; and apostles We have told thee of before and apostles We have not told thee of; and God spoke directly to Moses; apostles bringing good news and warning that men might have no argument against God after the apostles (had come). God is Mighty, Wise. 8

A number of them came in to the apostle and he said to them, 'Surely you know that I am an apostle from God to you.' They replied that they did not know it and would not hear witness to him. So God sent down concerning their words: 'But God testifies concerning what He has sent down to thee. With His knowledge did He send it down and the angels bear witness. And God is sufficient as a witness.'

The apostle went out to the B. al-Naḍīr to ask their help in the matter of the blood-money of the two 'Amirites whom 'Amr b. Umayya al-Dumār said slay. And when they were alone together they said, 'You will not find Muhammad nearer than he is now; so what man will get on top of the house and throw a stone on him so that we may be rid of him?' 'Amr b. Ḫāsh b. Ka'b volunteered to do so. The apostle got to know of their scheme and he left them and God sent down concerning him and his people's intention: 'O you who believe, remember God's favour to you when people pretended to stretch out their hands against you and He withheld their hands from them. Fear God and on God let the believers rely.'

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1 Sūra 4. 50.
2 Sūra 4. 57.
3 Sūra 4. 161.
4 Sūra 5. 14.