

THE PROPHET'S MISSION

When Muhammad the apostle of God reached the age of forty God sent him in compassion to mankind, 'as an evangelist to all men'.² Now God had made a covenant with every prophet whom he had sent before him that he should believe in him, testify to his truth and help him against his adversaries, and he required of them that they should transmit that to everyone who believed in them, and they carried out their obligations in that respect. God said to Muhammad, 'When God made a covenant with the prophets (He said) this is the scripture and wisdom which I have given you, afterwards an apostle will come confirming what you know that you may believe in him and help him.' He said, 'Do you accept this and take up my burden?' i.e. the burden of my agreement which I have laid upon you. They said, 'We accept it.' He answered, 'Then bear witness and I am a witness with you.'³ Thus God made a covenant with all the prophets that they should testify to his truth and help him against his adversaries and they transmitted that obligation to those who believed in them among the two monotheistic religions.

(T. One whom I do not suspect told me from Sa'id b. Abu 'Aruba from ' Qatada b. Di'ama al-Sadusi from Abu'l-Jald: 'The Furqan came down on the 14th night of Ramadan. Others say, No, but on the 17th; and in support of this they appeal to God's word: 'And what we sent down to our servant on the day of al-Furqan, the day the two companies met which was the meeting of the apostle and the polytheists at Badr, and that took place on the morning of Ramadan 17th.)

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

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

Wahb b. Kaisan a client of the family of al-Zubayr told me: I heard 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr say to 'Ubayd b. 'Umayr b. Qatada the Laythite, 'O 'Ubayd tell us how began the prophethood which was first bestowed on the apostle when Gabriel came to him.' And 'Ubayd in my presence related to 'Abdullah and those with him as follows: The apostle would pray in seclusion on Hira' every year for a month to practice *tahannuth* as was the custom of Quraysh in heathen days. *Tahannuth* is religious devotion. Abu Talib said:

By Thaur and him who made Thabir firm in its place
And by those going up to ascend Hira' and coming down (147).²

Wahb b. Kaisan told me that 'Ubayd said to him: Every year during that month the apostle would pray in seclusion and give food to the poor that

T.1142

151

152

came to him. And when he completed the month and returned from his seclusion, first of all before entering his house he would go to the Ka'ba and walk round it seven times or as often as it pleased God; then he would go back to his house until in the year when God sent him, in the month of Ramadan in which God willed concerning him what He willed of His grace, the apostle set forth to Hira' as was his wont, and his family with him. When it was the night on which God honoured him with his mission and showed mercy on His servants thereby, Gabriel brought him the command of God. 'He came to me,' said the apostle of God, 'while I was asleep, with a coverlet of brocade whereon was some writing, and said, "Read!" I said, "What shall I read?" He pressed me with it so tightly that I thought it was death; then he let me go and said, "Read!" I said, "What shall I read?" He pressed me with it again so that I thought it was death; then he let me go and said "Read!" I said, "What shall I read?" He pressed me with it the third time so that I thought it was death and said, "Read!" I said, "What then shall I read?" and this I said only to deliver myself from him, lest he should do the same to me again. He said:

"Read in the name of thy Lord who created,
 Who created man of blood coagulated.
 Read! Thy Lord is the most beneficent,
 Who taught by the pen,
 Taught that which they knew not unto men."¹

T.1150

So I read it, and he departed from me. And I awoke from my sleep, and it was as though these words were written on my heart. (T. Now none of God's creatures was more hateful to me than an (ecstatic) poet or a man possessed: I could not even look at them. I thought, Woe is me poet or possessed-Never shall Quraysh say this of me! I will go to the top of the mountain and throw myself down that I may kill myself and gain rest. So I went forth to do so and then) when I was midway on the mountain, I heard a voice from heaven saying, "O Muhammad! Thou art the apostle of God and I am Gabriel." I raised my head towards heaven to see (who was speaking), and lo, Gabriel in the form of a man with feet astride the horizon, saying, "O Muhammad! Thou art the apostle of God and I am Gabriel." I stood gazing at him, (T. and that turned me from my purpose) moving neither forward nor backward; then I began to turn my face away from him, but towards whatever region of the sky I looked, I saw him as before. And I continued standing there, neither advancing nor turning back, until Khadija sent her messengers in search of me and they gained the high ground above Mecca and returned to her while I was standing in the same place; then he parted from me and I from him, returning to my family. And I came to Khadija and sat by her thigh and drew close to her. She said, "O Abu'I-Qasim,² where hast thou been? By God, I sent my messengers in search of thee, and they reached the high ground above Mecca and returned to me." (T. I said to her, "Woe is me poet or possessed." She said, "I take refuge in God from that O Abu'l-Qasim. God would not treat you thus since he knows your truthfulness, your great trustworthiness, your fine character, and your kindness. This cannot be, my dear. Perhaps you did see something." "Yes, I did," I said.) Then I told her of what I had seen; and she said, "Rejoice, O son of my uncle, and be of good heart. Verily, by Him in whose hand is Khadija's soul, I have hope that thou wilt be the prophet of this people." Then she rose and gathered her garments about her and set forth to her cousin Waraqa b. Naufal b. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza b. Qusayy, who had become a Christian and read the scriptures and learned from those that follow the Torah and the Gospel. And when she related to him what the apostle of God told her he had seen and heard, Waraqa cried, 'Holy! Holy! Verily by Him in whose hand is Waraqa's soul, if thou hast spoken to me the truth, O Khadija, there hath come unto him the greatest Namus (T.

154

meaning Gabriel) who came to Moses afore-time, and lo, he is the prophet of this people. Bid him be of good heart.' So Khadija returned to the apostle of God and told him what Waraqa had said. (T. and that calmed his fears somewhat.) And when the apostle of God had finished his period of seclusion and returned (to Mecca), in the first place he performed the circumambulation of the Ka'ba, as was his wont. While he was doing it, Waraqa met him and said, 'O son of my brother, tell me what thou hast seen and heard.' The apostle told him, and Waraqa said, 'Surely, by Him in whose hand is Waraqa's soul, thou art the prophet of this people. There hath come unto thee the greatest Namus, who came unto Moses. Thou wilt be called a liar, and they will use thee despitefully and cast thee out and fight against thee. Verily, if I live to see that day, I will help God in such wise as He knoweth.' Then he brought his head near to him and kissed his forehead; and the apostle went to his own house. (T. Waraqa's words added to his confidence and lightened his anxiety.)

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

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

PART II MUHAMMAD'S CALL AND PREACHING IN MECCA

THE BEGINNING OF THE SENDING DOWN OF THE QURAN

The apostle began to receive revelations in the month of Ramadan. In the words of God, 'The month of Ramadan in which the Quran was brought down as a guidance to men, and proofs of guidance and a decisive criterion.'¹ And again, 'Verily we have sent it down on the night of destiny, and what has shown you what the night of destiny is? The night of destiny is better than a thousand months. In it the angels and the spirit descend by their Lord's permission with every matter. It is peace until the rise of dawn.'² Again, 'HHM. by the perspicuous book, verily we have sent it down in a blessed night. Verily, we were warning. In it every wise matter is decided as a command from us. Verily we sent it down.'³ And again, 'Had you believed in God and what we sent down to Our servant on the day of decision, the day on which the two parties met',⁴ i.e. the meeting of the

apostle with the polytheists in Badr. Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Ali b. al-Husayn told me that the apostle of God met the polytheists in Badr on the morning of Friday, the 17th of Ramada.

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

KHADIJA, DAUGHTER OF KHUWAYLID, ACCEPTS ISLAM

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

Hisham b. 'Urwa told me on the authority of his father 'Urwa b. alZubayr from 'AbduIIahb. Ja'far b. Abu Talib that the apostle said, 'I was commanded to give Khadija the good news of a house of qasab wherein would be no clamor and no toil' (148).

Then revelations stopped for a time so that the apostle of God was dis-tressed and grieved. Then Gabriel brought him the Sura of the Morning, in which his Lord, who had so honoured him, swore that He had not forsaken him, and did not hate him. God said, 'By the morning and the night when it is still, thy Lord hath not forsaken nor hated thee,' meaning that He has not left you and forsaken you, nor hated you after having loved you. 'And verily, the latter end is better for you than the beginning,'² i.e. What I have for you when you return to Me is better than the honor which I have given you in the world. 'And your Lord will give you and will satisfy you,' i.e. of victory in this world and reward in the next. 'Did he not find you an orphan and give you refuge, going astray and guided you, found you poor and made you rich?' God thus told him of how He had begun to honor him in his earthly life, and of His kindness to him as an orphan poor and wandering astray, and of His delivering him from all that by His compassion (149).

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

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

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

THE PRESCRIPTION OF PRAYER

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

A learned person told me that when prayer was laid on the apostle Gabriel came to him while he was on the heights of Mecca and dug a hole for him with his heel in the side of the valley from which a fountain gushed

156

157

158

forth, and Gabriel performed the ritual ablution as the apostle watched him. This was in order to show him how to purify himself before prayer. Then the apostle performed the ritual ablution as he had seen Gabriel do it. Then Gabriel said a prayer with him while the apostle prayed with his prayer. Then Gabriel left him. The apostle came to Khadija and performed the ritual for her as Gabriel had done for him, and she copied him. Then he prayed with her as Gabriel had prayed with him, and she prayed his prayer.

'Utba b. Muslim freedman of B. Taym from Nafi' b. Jubayr b. Mutim (who was prolific in relating tradition) from I. 'Abbas told me: 'When prayer was laid upon the apostle Gabriel came to him and prayed the noon prayer when the sun declined. Then he prayed the evening prayer when his shadow equaled his own length. Then he prayed the sunset prayer when the sun set. Then he prayed the last night prayer when the twilight had disappeared. Then he prayed with him the morning prayer when the dawn rose. Then he came to him and prayed the noon prayer on the morrow when his shadow equaled his height. Then he prayed the evening prayer when his shadow equaled the height of both of them. Then he prayed the sunset prayer when the sun set at the time it had the day before. Then he prayed with him the last night prayer when the first third of the night had passed. Then he prayed the dawn prayer when it was clear but the sun was not shining. Then he said, "O Muhammad, prayer is in what is between your prayer today and your prayer yesterday." (T. I Yunus b. Bukayr said that Muhammad b. Ishaq told him that Yahya b. Abu'l-Ash'ath al-Kindi of the people of Kufa said that Isma'il b. Iyas b. 'Afif from his father from his grandfather said, 'When I was a merchant

T. 1161

I came to al-'Abbas during the days of pilgrimage; and while we were together a man came out to pray and stood facing the Ka'ba; then a woman came out and stood praying with him; then a young man came out and stood praying with him. I said to 'Abbas, "What is their religion? It is some thing new to me." He said, "This is Muhammad b. Abdullah who alleges that God has sent him with it and that the treasures of Chosrhoes and Caesar will be opened to him. The woman is his wife Khadija who believes in him, and this young man is his nephew 'Ali who believes in him." 'Afif said, "Would that I could have believed that day and been a third!"²

T. 1162

(T. Ibn Hamid said that Salama b. al-Fagl and 'Ali b. Mujahid told' him. Salama said, Muhammad b. Ishaq told me from Yahya b. Abu'l-Ash'ath-Tabari said, 'It is in another place in my book from Yahya b. al-Ash'ath from Isma'il b. Iyas b. 'Mif al-Kindi, 'Afif being the brother of al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindi by the same mother and the son of his uncle from his father, from his grandfather 'Miif: 'Al-Abbas b. 'Abdu'l-Mutta-lib was a friend of mine who used to go often to the Yaman to buy aroma-tics and sell them during the fairs. While I was with him in Mina there came a man in the prime of life and performed the full rites of ablution and then stood up and prayed. Then a woman came out and did her ablutions and stood up and prayed. Then out came a youth just approach-ing manhood, did his ablutions, then stood up and prayed by his side. When I asked al-'Abbas what was going on, he said that it was his nephew Muhammad b. 'Abdullah b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib who alleges³ that Allah has sent him as an apostle; the other is my brother's son 'Ali b. Abu Talib who has followed him in his religion; the third is his wife Khadija d.

Khuwaylid who also follows him in his religion.' 'Anf said after he had become a Muslim and Islam was firmly established in his heart, "Would that I had been a fourth!"¹

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

'Ali was the first may to believe in the apostle of God, to pray with him and to believe in his divine message, when he was a boy of ten. God

favoring him in that he was brought up in the care of the apostle before Islam began.

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

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

Zayd the freedman of the apostle was the first male to accept Islam after 'Ali (151). Then Abu Bakr b. Abu Quhafa whose name was 'Atiq became a Muslim. His father's name was 'Uthman b. 'Amir b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghalib b. Fihir. When he became a Muslim, he showed his faith openly and called others to God and his apostle. He was a man whose society was desired, well liked and of easy manners. He knew more about the genealogy of Quraysh than anyone else and of their faults and merits. He was a merchant of high character and kindness. His people used to come to him to discuss many matters with him because of his wide knowledge, his experience in commerce, and his sociable nature. He began to call to God and to Islam all whom he trusted of those who came to him and sat with him (152).

[I.K. iii, 24. The following day 'Ali b. Abu Talib came as the two of them were praying and asked, 'What is this, Muhammad?' He replied, 'It is God's religion which He has chosen for Himself and sent His apostles with it. I call you to God, the One without an associate, to worship Him and to disavow al-Lat and al-'Uzza.' 'Ali said, 'This is something that I have never heard of before today. I cannot decide a matter until I have talked about it with Abu Talib.' Now the apostle did not want his secret to be divulged before he applied himself to the publication of his message, so he said, 'If you do not accept Islam, then conceal the matter.' 'Ali tarried that night until God put Islam into his heart. Early next morning he went to the apostle and asked him what his orders were. He said, 'Bear witness that there is no god but Allah alone without associate, and disavow al-Lat and al-'Uzza, and renounce rivals.' 'Ali did so and became a Mus-lim. He

refrained from coming to him out of fear of Abu Talib and concealed his Islam and did not let it be seen.

Zayd b. Haritha became a Muslim and the two of them tarried nearly a month. (Then) 'Ali kept coming to the apostle. It was a special favor to 'Ali from God that he was in the closest association with the apostle before Islam.]

THE COMPANIONS WHO ACCEPTED ISLAM AT THE INVITATION OF ABU BAKR

162

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

'Uthman b. 'Affan b. Abu'l-'As b. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Manaf b. Qu_sayy ... I b. Lu'ayy; al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwam b. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza b. Qu_sayy ... b. Lu'ayy; 'Abdu I-Rahman b. 'Auf b. 'Abdu 'Auf b. 'Abd b. al-Harith b. Zuhra ... b. Lu'ayy; Sa'd b.

Abu Waqqas. (The latter was Malik b. Uhayb b. 'Abdu Manaf b. Lu'ayy); Taiha b. 'Ubaydullah b. 'Uthman b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd . b. Lu'ayy.
~ T ~

He brought them to the apostle when they had accepted his invitation and they accepted Islam and prayed. I have heard that the apostle of God used to say: 'I have never invited anyone to accept Islam but he has shown signs of reluctance, suspicion, and hesitation, except Abu Bakr. When I told him of it he did not hold back or hesitate' (153).*

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

After them came:

Abu 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrah whose name was 'Amir b. 'Abdullah b. al-Jarrah b. Hilal b. Uhayb b. Dabba b. al-Harith b. Fihir. Abu Salama whose name was 'Abdullah b. 'Abdu'l-Asad ... b. Lu'ayy. Al-Arqam b. Abu'l-Arqam. (The latter's name was 'Abdu Manaf b. Asad-and Asad bore the honorific of Abu Jundub-b. 'Abdullah b. 'Amr ... b. Lu'ayy.) 'Uthman b. Maz'un b. Habib b. Wahb b. Hudhafa ... b. Lu'ayy. His two brothers Qudama and 'Abdullah, sons of Ma'un. 'Ubayda b. al-Harith b. al-Muttalib b. 'Abdu Manaf ... b. Lu'ayy. Sa'id b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza b. 'Abdullah b. Qurt ... b. Lu'ayy, and his wife Fatima d. al-Khattab b. Nufayl just mentioned, she being the sister of 'Umar b. al-Khattab. Asma' d. Abu Bakr, together with his little daughter 'A'isha. Khabbab b. al-Aratt ally of the B. Zuhra (154). 'Umayr b. Abu Waqqas, brother of Sa'd. 'Abdullah b. Mas'ud b. al-Harith b. Shamkh b. Makhzum b. Sahila b. Kahil b. al-Harith b. Tamim b. Sa'd b. Hudhayl, ally of the B. Zuhra. Mas'ud b. al-Qari who was the son of Rabi'a b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza b. Hamala b. Ghalib b. Muhallim b. 'Aidha b. Subay' b. Al-Hun b. Khuzayma from al-Qara (155). Salit b. 'Amr b. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Wudd b. Nasr ... b. Lu'ayy. 'Ayyash b. Abu Rabi'a b. al-Mughira b. 'Abdullah b. 'Amr ... b. Lu'ayy, and his wife Asma' d. Salama b. Mukharriba the Tamimite. Khunays b. Hudhafa b. Qays b. 'Adiy b. Sa'd b. Sahm b. Amr ... b. Lu'ayy. 'Amir b. Rabi'a of 'Anz b. Wa'il, ally of the family of al-Khattab b. Nufayl b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza (156). 'Abdullah b. Jahsh b. Ri'ab b. Ya'mar b. Sabira b. Murra b. Kabir b. Ghanm b. Duda b. Asad b. Khuzayma, and his brother Abu Ahmad, both allies of the B. Umayya. Ja'far b. Abu Talib and his wife Asma' d. 'Umays b. Nu'man b. Ka'b b. Malik b. Quhafah of Khath'am. Hatib b. al-Harith b. Ma'mar b. Habib b. Wahb b. Hudhafa ... b. Lu'ayy, and his wife Fatima d. al-Mujallil b. 'Abdullah b. Abu Qays b. 'Abdu Wudd b. Nasr b. Malik ... b. Lu'ayy. And his brother Hattab' b. al-Harith and his wife

163

164

Fukayha d. Yasar. Ma'mar b. al-Harith above. AL-Sa'ib b. 'Uthman b. Ma'zun above. AL-Muttalib b. Azhar b. 'Abdu 'Auf b. 'Abd b. al-

Harith b. Lu'ayy, and his wife Ramla d. Abu 'Auf b. Subayra b. Su'ayd b. Lu'ayy. Al-Nahham whose name was Nu'aym b. 'Abdullah b. Asid b. Lu'ayy (157). 'Amir b. Fuhayra, freedman of Abu Bakr (158). Khalid b. Sa'id b. al'As b. Umayya ... b. Lu'ayy and his wife Umayna (159) d. Khaia b. As'ad b. 'Amir b. Bayada b. Subay' ... from Khuza'a; Hatib b. 'Amr b. 'Abdu Shams ... b. Lu'ayy; Abu Hudhayfa (160); Waqid b. 'Abdullah b. 'Abdu Manaf b. 'Arin b. Tha'laba b. Yarbu' b. Hanzala b. Malik b. Zayd Manat b. Tamim an ally of B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b (161); Khalid, 'Amir, 'Aqil, Iyas, the sons of al-Bukayr b. 'Abdu Yalil b. Nashib b. Ghiyara b. Sa'd b. Layth b. Bakr b. 'Abdu Manat b. Kinana, allies of B. 'Adiy; 'Ammar b. Yasir, ally of B. Makhzum b. Yaqaza (162); Suhayb b. Sinan one of the Namir b. Qasit, an ally of B. Taym b. Murra (163).

165

THE APOSTLE'S PUBLIC PREACHING AND THE RESPONSE

166

People began to accept Islam, both men and women, in large numbers until the fame of it was spread throughout Mecca, and it began to be talked about. Then God commanded His apostle to declare the truth of what he had received and to make known His commands to men and to call them to Him. Three years elapsed from the time that the apostle concealed his state until God commanded him to publish his religion, according to information that has reached me. Then God said, 'Proclaim what you have been ordered and turn aside from the polytheists.'¹ And again, 'Warn thy family, thy nearest relations, and lower thy wing to the followers who follow thee.'² And 'Say, I am the one who warns plainly' (164).³

T.1171

(T. Ibn Hamid from Salama from Ibn Ishaq from 'Abdullah b. al- ' Ghaffar b. al-Qasim from al-Minhal b. 'Amr from 'Abdullah b. al-Harith b. Naufal b. al-Harith b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib from 'Abdullah b. 'Abbas from cAli b. Abu Talib said: When these words 'Warn thy family, thy nearest relations' came down to the apostle he called me and said, 'God has ordered me to warn my family, my nearest relations and the task is beyond my strength. I know that when I made this message known to them I should meet with great unpleasantness so I kept silence until Gabriel came to me and told me that if I did not do as I was ordered my Lord would punish me. So get some food ready with a leg of mutton and fill a cup with milk and then get together the sons of 'Abdu'l-Muttalib so that I can address them and tell them what I have been ordered to say.' I did what he ordered and summoned them. There were at that time forty men more or less including his uncles Abu Talib, Hamza, al- 'Abbas, and Abu Lahab. When they were assembled he told me to bring in the food which I had prepared for them, and when I produced it the apostle took a bit of the meat and split it in his teeth and threw it into the dish. Then he said, 'Take it in the name of God.' The men ate till they could eat no more, and all I could see (in the dish) was the place where their hands had been. And as sure as I live if there had been only one man he could have eaten what I put before the lot of them. Then he said, 'Give the people to drink', so I brought them the cup and they drank until they were all satisfied, and as sure as I live if there had been, only one man he could have drunk that amount. When the apostle wanted to address them Abu Lahab got in first and said, 'Your host has bewitched you'; so they dispersed before the apostle could address them. On the morrow he said to me, 'This man spoke before I could, and the people dispersed before I could address them, so do exactly as you did yesterday.' Everything went as before and then the apostle said, 'O Sons of 'Abdu'l-Muttalib, I know of no Arab who has come to his people with a nobler message than mine. I have brought you the best of this world and the next. God has ordered me to call you to Him. So which of you will co-operate with me in this matter, my brother, my executor, and my successor being among you?' The men

remained silent and I, though the youngest, most rheumy-eyed, fattest in body and thinnest in legs, said: 'O prophet of God, I will be your helper in this matter.' He laid his hand on the back of my neck and said, 'This is my brother, my executor, and my successor among you. Hearken to him and obey him.' The men got up laughing and saying to Abu Talib, 'He has ordered you to listen to your son and obey him!')

(T. 1173. Ibn Hamid from Salama from Ibn Ishaq from 'Amrb. 'Ubayd from al-Hasan b. Abu'l-Hasan said: When this verse came down to the apostle, he stood in the vale and said, 'O Sons of 'Abdu'l-Muttalib; O Sons of 'Abdu Manaf; O Sons of Qusayy.'-Then he named Quraysh tribe by tribe until he came to the end of them-'I call you to God and I warn you of his punishment.')

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

When the apostle openly displayed Islam as God ordered him his people did not withdraw or turn against him, so far as I have heard, until he spoke disparagingly of their gods. When he did that they took great offense and resolved unanimously to treat him as an enemy, except those whom God had protected by Islam from such evil, but they were a despised minority. Abu Talib his uncle treated the apostle kindly and protected him, the latter continuing to obey God's commands, nothing turning him back. When Quraysh saw that he would not yield to them and withdrew from them and insulted their gods and that his uncle treated him kindly and stood up in his defense and would not give him up to them, some of their leading men went to Abu Talib, namely 'Utba and Shayba, both sons of Rabi'a b. 'Abdu Shams ... and Abu Sufyan (165) b. Harb . . and Abu'l-Bakhtari whose name was al-'As b. Hisham b. al-Harith b. Asad ... and al-Aswad b. al-Muttalib b. Asad ... and Abu Jahl (whose name was 'Amr, his title being Abu'l-Hakam) b. Hisham b. al Mughira •.. and al-Walid b. al-Mughira ... and Nubayh and Munabbih two sons of al-Hajjaj b. 'Amir b. Hudhayfa ... and al-'As b. Wa'il (166). They said, 'O Abu Talib, your nephew has cursed our gods, insulted our religion, mocked our way of life¹ and accused our forefathers of error; either you must stop him or you must let us get at him, for you yourself are in the same position as we are in opposition to him and we will rid you of him.' He gave them a conciliatory reply and a soft answer and they went away.

The apostle continued on his way, publishing God's religion and calling men thereto. In consequence his relations with Quraysh deteriorated and men withdrew from him in enmity. They were always talking about him and inciting one another against him. Then they went to Abu Talib a second time and said, 'You have a high and lofty position among us, and we have asked you to put a stop to your nephew's activities but you have not done so. By God, we cannot endure that our fathers should be reviled, our customs mocked and our gods insulted. Until you rid us of him we will fight the pair of you until one side perishes,' or words to that effect. Thus saying, they went off. Abu Talib was deeply distressed at the breach with his people and their enmity but he could not desert the apostle and give him up to them.

Ya'qub b. 'Utba b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas told me that he was told that after hearing these words from the Quraysh Abu Talib sent for his nephew and told him what his people had said. 'Spare me and yourself,' he said. 'Do not put on me a burden greater than I can bear.' The apostle thought that his uncle had the idea of abandoning and betraying him, and that he was going

to lose his help and support. He answered, 'O my uncle, by God, if they put the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left on condition that I abandoned this course, until God has made it victorious, or I perish therein, I would not abandon it.' Then the apostle broke into tears, and got up. As he turned away his uncle called him and said, 'Come back, my nephew,' and when he came back, he said, 'Go and say what you please, for by God I will never give you up on any account.'

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

son that I should feed him for you, and should I give you my son that you should kill him? By God, this shall never be.' AL-Mut'im b. 'Adiy said, 'Your people have treated you fairly and have taken pains to avoid what you dislike. I do not think that you are willing to accept anything from them.' Abu Talib replied, 'They have not treated me fairly, by God, but you have agreed to betray me and help the people against me, so do what you like,' or words to that effect. So the situation worsened, the quarrel became heated and people were sharply divided, and openly showed their animosity to their opponents. Abu Talib wrote the following verses, indirectly attacking Mut'im, and including those who had abandoned him from the 'Abdu Manar, and his enemies among the tribes of Quraysh. He mentions therein what they had asked of him and his estrangement from them.

Say to 'Amr and al-Walid and Mut'im
 Rather than your protection give me a young camel,
 Weak, grumbling and murmuring,
 Sprinkling its flanks with its urine
 Lagging behind the herd, and not keeping up.
 When it goes up the desert ridges, you would call it a weasel.
 I see our two brothers, sons of our mother and father,
 When they are asked for help, say 'It is not our business.'
 Nay, it is their affair, but they have fallen away,
 As a rock fails from the top of Dhu 'Alaq.¹
 I mean especially 'Abdu Shams and Naufal,
 Who have flung us aside like a burning coal.
 They have slandered their brothers among the people;
 Their hands are emptied of them.
 They shared their fame with men of low birth,
 With men whose fathers were whispered about;
 And Taym, and Makhzum, and Zuhra, are of them
 Who had been friends of ours when help was sought;
 By God, there will always be enmity between us
 As long as one of our descendants lives.
 I Their minds and thoughts were foolish,
 They were entirely without judgment (167).²

Then the Quraysh incited people against the companions of the apostle who had become Muslims. Every tribe fell upon the Muslims among them, beating them and seducing them from their religion. God protected His apostle from them through his uncle, who, when he saw what Quraysh were doing, called upon B. Hashim and B. al-Muttalib to stand with him in

protecting the apostle. This they agreed to do, with the exception of Abu Lahab, the accursed enemy of God.

Abu Talib was delighted at the response of his tribe and their kindness, and began to praise them and to bring to men's memory their past. He mentioned the superiority of the apostle among them and his position so that he might strengthen their resolve and that they might extend their kindness to him. He said:

If one day Quraysh gathered together to boast,
'Abdu Manaf would be their heart and soul;
And if the nobles of 'Abdu Manaf were reckoned,
Amongst Hashim would be their noblest and chief;
If they boast one day, then Muhammad
Would be the chosen noble and honorable one.
Quraysh summoned everyone against us;
They were not successful and they were beside themselves.
Of old we have never tolerated injustice;
When people turned away their faces in pride we made them face us.
We protected their sanctuary whenever danger threatened
And drove the assailant from its buildings.
Through us the dry wood becomes green,
Under our protection its roots expand and grow.

AL-WALID B. AL-MUGHIRA

171

When the fair was due, a number of the Quraysh came to al-Walid b. ai-Mughira, who was a man of some standing, and he addressed them in these words: 'The time of the fair has come round again and representatives of the Arabs will come to you and they will have heard about this fellow of yours, so agree upon one opinion without dispute so that none will give the lie to the other.' They replied, 'You give us your opinion about him.' He said, 'No, you speak and I will listen.' They said, 'He is a *kahin*.' He said, 'By God, he is not that, for he has not the unintelligent murmuring and rhymed speech of the *kahin*.' 'Then he is possessed,' they said. 'No, he is not that,' he said, 'we have seen possessed ones, and here is no choking, spasmodic movements and whispering.' 'Then he is a poet,' they said. 'No, he is no poet, for we know poetry in all its forms and meters.' 'Then he is a sorcerer.' 'No, we have seen sorcerers and their sorcery, and here is no spitting and no knots.'¹ 'Then what are we to say, O Abu 'Abdu Shams?' they asked. He replied, 'By God, his speech is sweet, his root is a palm-tree whose branches are fruitful (168), and every-thing you have said would be known to be false. The nearest thing to the truth is your saying that he is a sorcerer, who has brought a message by which he separates a man from his father, or from his brother, or from his wife, or from his family.'

At this point they left him, and began to sit on the paths which men take when they come to the fair. They warned everyone who passed them about Muhammad's doings. God revealed concerning al-Walid:

Leave to Me him I made,
Giving him wealth and trade,
While sons before him played,
The road for him I laid,
Then he coveted more of My Aid,
Ay, Our signs hath he gainsaid (169).¹

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

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

Then God revealed concerning the men who were with him, composing a term to describe the apostle and the revelation he brought from God, 'As we-sent down upon the dividers who had split the Quran into parts, by thy Lord we will ask them all about what they used to do' (171).²

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

When I saw the people had no love for us
 And had severed every tie and relationship,
 And shown us enmity and ill-will,
 Obeying the orders of persecuting enemies,
 And had ailed themselves with treacherous people against us,
 Biting their fingers in rage at our backs,
 I stood firm against them with my pliant spear,
 And my shining sword, heirloom of princes.
 Round the temple I gathered my clan and my brothers,
 And laid hold of the striped red cloth³ that covered it,
 Standing together, facing its gates,
 Where everyone who takes an oath completes his vow,
 Where the pilgrims make their camels kneel,
 Where the blood flows between Isaf and Na'ila,
 Camels marked on the shoulders or neck,
 Tamed ones, between six and nine years old;
 You see amulets on them, and alabaster ornaments
 Bound on their necks like date-bearing branches.
 I take refuge with the Lord of men from every adversary
 And every lying assailant;
 From the hater with his hurtful slander,
 And from him who adds to religion what we have not tried.
 By Thaur and Him who fixed Thabir in his place,
 And by him who goes up and down Hira;¹
 By the true temple of the valley of Mecca;
 By God who is never unmindful;
 By the black stone, when they stroke it
 When they go round it morning and evening;
 By Abraham's footprint in the rock still fresh,
 With both feet bare, without sandals;
 By the running between Marwa and Safa,
 And by the statues and images therein;
 By every pilgrim riding to the house of God,
 And everyone with a vow and everyone on foot;
 By Ilal, the furthest sacred spot² to which they go
 Where the streamlets open out;
 By their halt at even above the mountains
 When they help the camels by their hands to rise;³
 By the night of the meeting, by the stations of Mina,
 Are any holy places and stations superior?

By the crowd, when the home-going horses pass by quickly
 As though escaping from a storm of rain ;
 By the great stone heap,⁴ when they make for it
 Aiming at its top with stones;
 By Kinda, when they are at al-Hisab at even,
 When the pilgrims of Bakr b. Wa'il pass by them
 Two allies who strengthened the tie between them,
 And directed to it all means of unity;
 By their breaking the acacias and shrubs of al-Sifah¹,
 And its bushes too, as they galloped like flying ostriches.
 Is there any better refuge for one who seeks it?
 Is there a righteous god-fearing man who will grant it?
 Our aggressors get their way with us, and wish
 That the gates of Turk and Kabul² were blocked with our bodies.
 You lie, by God's house, we will not leave Mecca, and go forth,
 Until your affairs are in confusion.
 You lie, by God's house, Muhammad shall not be maltreated
 Before we shoot and, thrust in his defense,
 We will not give him up till we lie dead around him,
 And be unmindful of our wives and children;
 Until a people in arms rise and fight you,
 As camels carrying water rise under empty waterskins,⁴
 Until you see the enemy failing face down in his blood
 From the spear thrust weighed down and tottering.
 By God, if what I see should become serious
 Our swords will mingle with the best of them
 In the hands of a young warrior, like a flame,
 Trustworthy, defender of the truth, hero,
 For days, months, a whole year,
 And after next year, yet another.
 What people, confound you, would abandon a chief,
 Who protects his dependants? No foul-mouthed weakling,
 A noble man, for whose sake the clouds drop rain,
 The support of orphans, the defense of widows,
 Hashim's family, ready to perish, resort to him,
 There they find pity and kindness.
 Asid and his firstborn made us hated
 And cut us up for others to devour;⁵
 Neither 'Uthman nor Qunfudh sympathized with us
 But obeyed the command of those tribes.

They obeyed Ubayy and the son of their 'Abdu Yaguth,
 And did not observe what others said of us;
 So, too, were we treated by Subay' and Naufal,
 And everyone who turned away from us, not treating us kindly.
 If they throw down their arms, or God give us the better of them,
 We will pay them measure for measure.
 That fellow Abu 'Amr would do naught but hate us,
 To send us away among shepherds and camel-drivers;
 He talks about us confidentially night and morning.
 Atik on, Abu 'Amr, with your guile!
 He swears by God he won't deceive us,
 But we see him openly doing nothing else;
 He hates us so much that the hill-tops
 Between Mecca's hills and Syria's forts
 Are too narrow to hold him.
 Ask Abu'l-Walid, what have you done to us with your slander
 Turning away like a deceitful friend.

You were a man by whose opinion men guided their lives,
 And you were kind to us, nor are you a fool.
 O 'Utba, do not listen to an enemy's words against us;
 Envious, lying, hating and malicious.
 Abu Sufyan averted his face from me as he passed,
 Sweeping along as though he were one of the great ones of the earth,
 He betook himself to the high ground and its cool waters,
 Pretending that he does not forget us.
 He tells us that he is sorry for us like a good friend,
 But he hides evil designs in his heart.
 O, Mut'im! I did not desert you when you called for help,
 Nor on the day of battle when mighty deeds were called for,
 Nor when they came against you full of enmity,
 Opponents whose strength matched yours.
 O Mut'im, the people have given you a task to do,
 I too when entrusted with a task do not try to evade it.
 God requite 'Abdu Shams and Naufal for us
 With evil punishment quick and not delayed,
 With an exact balance, not a grain too little,
 The balance its own witness that it is exact.
 Foolish are the minds of people who exchanged us
 For Banu Khalaf and the Ghayatil.¹
 We are the pure stock from the summit of Hashim
 And the family of Qusayy in matters of import.
 Sahm and Makhzum stirred up against us
 Every scoundrel and lowborn churl.
 'Abdu Manaf, you are the best of your people,
 Do not make common cause with every outsider.
 You have proved feeble and weak
 And done a thing far from right.
 You were till lately the sticks under one pot
 But now you are the sticks under many pots and vessels.
 Let the Banu } 'Abdu Manaf get satisfaction from parting from us,
 Deserting us and leaving us imprisoned in our quarters!
 If we are men we shall take revenge I for what you have done
 And you will suffer the full effects of war.
 The best men among Lu'ayy b. Ghalib,
 Every bold chief exiled to us;
 The family of Nufayl is the worst that ever trod the earth,
 The most contemptible of all the sons of Ma'add.
 Tell Qusayy that our cause will be blazed abroad,
 And give Qusayy the good news that after us there will be a failing
 apart (among our enemies).
 Yet if calamity befell Qusayy one night,
 We should have been the first to protect them;
 If they fought bravely in defense of their houses,
 We should show them how to protect the mothers of children.
 Yet every friend and nephew on whom we ought to count
 We find useless when put to the test
 Except for certain men of Kilab b. Murra
 Whom we exempt from the stigma of the deserter;²
 Undeniably fine is Zuhayr, our nephew,
 A sword loosed from belts,
 The proudest of the proudest chiefs,
 Belonging to the finest stock in glory.
 I'faith I am devoted to Ahmad and his brethren,
 As a constant lover.¹
 For who among men can hope to be like him
 When judges assess rival claim to merit,

Clement, rightly guided, just, serious,
 The friend of God, ever mindful of Him.
 By God! but that I might create a precedent²
 That would be brought against our sheikhs in assemblies,
 We would follow him whatever fate might bring,
 In deadly earnest, not in idle words.
 They know that our son is not held a liar by us,
 And is not concerned with foolish falsehood.
 Ahmad has struck so deep a root among us
 That the attacks of the arrogant fail to affect him.
 I shielded and defended him myself by every means (172).³

177

The Ghayatil are of B. Sahn b. 'Amr b. Husays; Abu Sufyan is IHarb b. Umayya; Mut'im is I 'Adiy b. Naufal b. 'Abdu Manaf; Zuhayr is I Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira b. 'Abdullah b. 'Umar b. Makhzum, his mother being 'Atika d. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib. Asid and his firstborn, i.e. 'Attab b. Asid b. Abu'l-'Is b. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Manaf. 'Uthman is I 'Ubaydullah the brother of Taiha b. 'Ubaydullah al- Taymi; Qunfudh is I 'Umayr b. Jud'an b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murra. Abu'l-Walid is 'Utba b. Rabi'a; and Ubayy is al-Akhnas b. Shariq al-Thaqafi ally of B. Zuhra b. Kilab (173).⁴

AL-Aswad is I 'Abdu Yaghuth b. Wahb b. 'Abdu Manaf b. Zuhra b.

Kilab; Subay' is I Khalid brother of B. al-Harith b. Fihri; Naufal is I Khuwaylid b. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza b. Qusayy. He was I al-'Adawiya, one of the 'satans' of Quraysh. He it was who roped together Abu Bakr and Taiha b. 'Ubaydullah when they went over to Islam. They got the name 'the two-tied-together-ones' from this. 'Ali killed him at the battle of Badr. Abu 'Amr is Qurza b. 'Abdu 'Amr b. Naufal b. 'Abdu Manaf. The 'treacherous people' are B. Bakr b. 'Abdu Manaf b. Kinana. These are the Arabs whom Abu Talib enumerated in his verse (174).

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

B. Waqif, composed the verses given below (175).

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

O rider, when you meet Lu'ayy ibn Ghalib
 Give him a message from me,
 The tidings of a man who though far from you
 Is distressed at what is between you, sad and worried.
 I have become the caravanserai of cares,
 Because of them I cannot do what I should.
 I learn that you are divided into camps,
 One party kindles the fire of war, the other provides the fuel.
 I pray God to protect you from your evil act,
 Your wicked quarrel and the insidious attack of scorpions,
 Defamatory reports and secret plots
 Like pricking awls which never fail to pierce.

178

179

Remind them of God, first of all things,
 And the sin of breaking the taboo on travel-worn gazelles.¹
 Say to them, (and God will give His judgment)
 If you abandon war it will go far from you.
 When you stir it up you raise an evil thing;
 'Tis a monster devouring everything near and far,
 It severs kinship and destroys people;
 It cuts the flesh from the hump and the back.
 You will give up the finest clothes of Yaman
 For a soldier's garb and coat of mail,
 Musk and camphor for dust-colored armor
 With buttons like the eyes of a locust.
 Beware of war! Do not let it cling to you;
 A stagnant pool has a bitter draught.
 War-it first seems fine to men
 But afterwards they plainly recognize an old hag.
 It scorches unsparingly the weak,
 And Aims death-dealing blows at the great.
 Know you not what happened in the war of Dahis?
 Or the war of Hatib? Take a lesson from them!
 How many a noble chief it slew,
 The generous host whose guest lacked naught,
 A huge pile of ashes beneath his pot,
 Praised by all, noble in character, his sword
 Drawn only in righteous cause;
 'Tis as water poured out at random,
 As if winds from all quarters scattered the clouds;¹
 A truthful, knowledgeable man will tell you of its battles
 (For real knowledge is the result of experience).
 So sell your spears to those who love war
 And remember the account you must render, for God is the best
 reckoner.
 Man's Lord has chosen a religion,
 So let none guard you but the Lord of heaven,
 Raise up for us a *hanifi* religion.
 You are our object; one is guided in travel by heights.
 You are a light and protection to this people,
 You lead the way, not lacking virtues.
 If men were valued, you would be a jewel;
 The best of the vale is yours in noble pride.
 You preserve noble, ancient peoples
 Whose genealogy shows no foreign blood;
 You see the needy come to your houses
 Wave after wave of starving wights.
 The people know that your leaders
 Are ever the best people of the stations of Mina,²
 Best in counsel, loftiest in custom,
 Most truthful amid the assemblies.
 Rise and pray to your Lord and rub yourselves
 Against the comers of this house between the mountains.
 He gave you a convincing test¹
 On the day of Abu Yaksum, leader of the squadrons,
 His cavalry was in the plains,
 His infantry upon the passes of the hills.
 When the help of the Lord of the throne reached you
 His armies repulsed them, pelting them, and covering them with
 dust;
 Quickly they turned tail in flight
 And none but a few returned to his people from the army.

If you perish, we shall perish, and the fairs by which men live.
These are the words of a truthful man (176).

182

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

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

183

HOW THE APOSTLE WAS TREATED BY HIS OWN PEOPLE

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

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

mode of life foolish, insulted their forefathers, reviled their religion, divided the community, and cursed their gods. What they had borne was past all bearing, or words to that effect.'

While they were thus discussing him the apostle came towards them and kissed the black stone, then he passed them as he walked round the temple. As he passed they said some injurious things about him. This I could see from his expression. He went on and as he passed them the second time they attacked him similarly. This I could see from his expression. Then he passed the third time, and they did the same. He stopped and said, 'Will you listen to me O Quraysh? By him who holds my life in His hand I bring you slaughter.'¹ This word so struck the people that not one of them but stood silent and still; even one who had hitherto been most violent spoke to him in the kindest way possible, saying, 'Depart, O Abu'l-Qasim, for by God you are not violent.' So the apostle went away, and on the morrow they assembled in the Hijr, I being there too, and they asked one another if they remembered what had taken place between them and the apostle so that when he openly said something unpleasant they let him alone. While they were talking thus the apostle appeared, and they leaped upon him as one man and encircled him, saying, 'Are you the one who said so-and-so against our gods and our religion?' The apostle said, 'Yes, I am the one who said that.' And I saw one of them seize his robe. Then Abu Bakr interposed himself weeping and saying, 'Would you kill a man for saying Allah is my Lord?' Then they left him. That is the worst that I ever saw Quraysh do to him.

184

One of the family of Umm Kulthum, Abu Bakr's daughter, told me that she said, 'Abu Bakr returned that day with the hair of his head torn. He was a very hairy man and they had dragged him along by his beard' (177).

HAMZA ACCEPTS ISLAM

A man of Aslum, who had a good memory, told me that Abu Jahl passed by the apostle at al-Safa, insulted him and behaved most offensively, speak-ing spitefully of his religion and trying to bring him into disrepute. The apostle did not speak to him. Now a freedwoman, belonging to 'Abdullah b. Jud'an b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murra, was in her house listening to what went on. When he went away he betook himself to the assembly of Quraysh at the Ka'ba and sat there. Within a little while Hamza b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib arrived, with his bow hanging from his shoulder, returning from the chase, for he was fond of hunting and used to go out shooting. When he came back from a hunt he never went home until he had circumambulated the Ka'ba, and that done when he passed by an assembly of the Quraysh he stopped and saluted and talked with them. He was the strongest man of Quraysh, and the most unyielding. The apostle had gone back to his house when he passed by this woman, who asked him if he had heard of what Abu'I-Hakam b. Hisham had done just recently to his nephew, Muhammad; how he had found him sitting quietly there, and insulted him, and cursed him, and treated him badly, and that Muhammad had answered not a word. Hamza was filled with rage, for God purposed to honor him, so he went out at a run and did not stop to greet anyone, meaning to punish Abu Jahl when he met him. When he got to the mosque he saw him sitting among the people, and went up to him until he stood over him, when he lifted up his bow and struck him a violent blow with it, saying, 'Will you insult him when I follow his religion, and say what he says? Hit me back if you can!' Some of B. Makhzum got up to go to Abu Jahl's help, but he said, 'Let Abu 'Umara alone for, by God, I insulted his nephew deeply.' Hamza's Islam was complete, and he followed the apostle's commands. When he became a Muslim the Quraysh recognized that the apostle had become strong, and had found a protector in Hamza, and so they abandoned some of their ways of harassing him.

185

WHAT 'UTBA SAID ABOUT THE PROPHET

Yazid b. Ziyad from Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazi told me that he was told that 'Utba b. Rabi'a, who was a chief, said one day while he was sitting in the Quraysh assembly and the apostle was sitting in the mosque by himself, 'Why should I not go to Muhammad and make some proposals to him which if he accepts in part, we will give him whatever he wants, and he will leave us in peace?' This happened when Hamza had accepted Islam and they saw that the prophet's followers were increasing and multiplying. They thought it was a good idea, and 'Utba went and sat by the prophet and said, 'O my nephew, you are one of us as you know, of the noblest of the tribe and hold a worthy position in ancestry. You have come to your people with an important matter, dividing their community thereby and ridiculing their customs, and you have insulted their gods and their reli-gion, and declared that their forefathers were unbelievers, so listen to me and I will make some suggestions, and perhaps you will be able to accept one of them.' The apostle agreed, and he went on, 'If what you want is money, we will gather for you of our property so that you may be the richest of us; if you want honor, we will make you our chief so that no one can decide anything apart from you; if you want sovereignty, we will make you king, and if this ghost which comes to you, which you see, is such that you cannot get rid of him, we will find a physician for you, and exhaust our means in getting you cured, for often a familiar spirit gets possession of a man until he can be

186

who has sent you, to remove for us these mountains which shut us in, and to straighten out our country for us, and to open up in it rivers like those of Syria and Iraq, and to resurrect for us our forefathers, and let there be among those that are resurrected for us Qusayy b. Kilab, for he was a true shaikh, so that we may ask them whether what you say is true or false. If they say you are speaking the truth, and you do what we have asked you, we will believe in you, and we shall know what your position with God is, and that He has actually sent you as an apostle as you say.' He replied that he had not been sent to them with such an object. He had conveyed to them God's message, and they could either accept it with advantage, or reject it and await God's judgment. They said that if he would not do that for them, let him do something for himself. Ask God to send an angel with him to confirm what he said and to contradict them; to make him gardens and castles, and treasures of gold and silver to satisfy his obvious wants. He stood in the streets as they did, and he sought a livelihood as they did. If he could do this, they would recognize his merit and position with God, if he were an apostle as he claimed to be. He replied that he would not do it, and would not ask for such things, for he was not sent to do so, and he repeated what he had said before. They said, 'Then let the heavens be dropped on us in pieces,' as you assert that your Lord could do if He wished, for we will not believe you unless you do so.' The apostle replied that this was a matter for God; if He wanted to do it with them, He would do it. They said, 'Did not your Lord know that we would sit with you, and ask you these questions, so that He might come to you and instruct you how to answer us, and tell you what He was going to do with us, if we did not receive your message? Information has reached us that you are taught by this fellow in al-Yamama, called al-Rahman, and by God we will never believe in the Rahman. Our conscience is clear. By God, we will not leave you and our treatment of you, until either we destroy you or you destroy us.' Some said, 'We worship the angels, who are the daughters of Allah.' Others said, 'We will not believe in you until you come to us with God and the angels as a surety.'

When they said this the apostle got up and left them. 'Abdullah b. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira b. 'Abdullah b. 'Umar b. Makhzum (who was the son of his aunt 'Atika d. of 'Abdu'l-Muttalib) got up with him and said to him, 'O Muhammad, your people have made you certain propositions, which you have rejected; first they asked you things for themselves that they might know that your position with God is what you say it is so that they might believe in you and follow you, and you did nothing; then they asked you to take something for yourself, by which they might know your superiority over them and your standing with God, and you would not do it; then they asked you to hasten some of the punishment with which you were frightening them, and you did not do it', or words to that effect, 'and by God, I will never believe in you until you get a ladder to the sky, and mount up it until you come to it, while I am looking on, and until four angels shall come with you, testifying that you are speaking the truth, and by God, even if you did that I do not think I should believe you.' Then he went away, and the apostle went to his family, sad and grieving, because his hope that they had called him to accept his preaching was vain, and because of their estrangement from him. When the apostle had gone Abu Jahl spoke, making the usual charges against him, and saying, 'I call God to witness that I will wait for him tomorrow with a stone which I can hardly lift,' or words to that effect, 'and when he prostrates himself in prayer I will split his skull with it. Betray me or defend me, let the B. 'Abdu Manaf do what they like after that.' They said that they would never betray him on any account, and he could carry on with his project. When morning came Abu Jahl took a stone and sat in wait for the apostle, who behaved as usual that morning. While he was in Mecca he faced Syria in prayer, and when he prayed, he prayed between the southern comer and the black stone, putting

190

191

the Ka'ba between himself and Syria. The apostle rose to pray while Quraysh sat in their meeting, waiting for what Abu Jahl was to do. When the apostle prostrated himself, Abu Jahl took up the stone and went towards him, until when he got near him, he turned back in flight, pale with terror, and his hand had withered upon the stone, so that he cast the stone from his hand. The Quraysh asked him what had happened, and he replied that when he got near him a camel's stallion got in his way. 'By God', he said, 'I have never seen anything like his head, shoulders, and teeth on any stallion before, and he made as though he would eat me.'

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

When Abu Jahl said that to them, al-Nadr b. al-Harith b. Kalada b. 'Aiqama b. Abdu Manaf b. Abdu'l-Dar b. Qusayy (178) got up and said: 'O Quraysh, a situation has arisen which you cannot deal with. Muhammad Was a young man most liked among you, most truthful in speech, and most trustworthy, until, when you saw grey hairs on his temple, and he brought you his message, you said he was a sorcerer, but he is not, for we have seen such people and their spitting and their knots; you said, a diviner, but we have seen such people and their behavior, and we have heard their rhymes; and you said a poet, but he is not a poet, for we have heard all kinds of poetry; you said he was possessed, but he is not, for we have seen the possessed, and he shows no signs of their gasping and whispering and delirium. Yemen of Quraysh, look to your affairs, for by God, a serious thing has befallen you.' Now al-Nadr b. al-Harith was one of the satans of Quraysh; he used to insult the apostle and show him enmity. He had been to al-Hira and learnt there the tales of the kings of Persia, the tales of Rustum and Isbandiyar. When the apostle had held a meeting in which he reminded them of God, and warned his people of what had happened to bygone generations as a result of God's vengeance, al-Nadr got up when he sat down, and said, 'I can tell a better story than he, come to me.' Then he began to tell them about the kings of Persia, Rustum and Isbandiyar, and then he would say, 'In what respect is Muhammad a better story-teller than I?' (179).

Ibn 'Abbas, according to my information, used to say eight verses of the Quran came down in reference to him, 'When our verses are read to him, he says fairy tales of the ancients';¹ and all those passages in the Quran in which 'fairy tales' are mentioned.

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

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

He said to them, 'I will give you your answer tomorrow,' but he did not say, 'if God will.' So they went away; and the apostle, so they say, waited for fifteen days without a revelation from God on the matter, nor did

Gabriel come to him, so that the people of Mecca began to spread evil reports, saying, 'Muhammad promised us an answer on the morrow, and today is the fifteenth day we have remained without an answer.' This delay caused the apostle great sorrow, until Gabriel brought him the Chapter of The Cave, in which he reproaches him for his sadness, and told him the answers of their questions, the youths, the mighty traveler, and the spirit.

I was told that the apostle said to Gabriel when he came, 'You have shut yourself off from me, Gabriel, so that I became apprehensive.' He answered, 'We descend only by God's command, whose is what lies before us, behind us, and what lies between, and thy Lord does not forget.'¹

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

'Verily thou art an apostle from Me,' i.e. confirming what they ask about thy prophethood. 'He hath not made therein crookedness, it is straight,' Le. it is level, without any difference. 'To warn of a severe punishment from Him,' that is, His immediate judgment in this world. 'And a painful judgment in the next,' that is, from thy Lord, who has sent thee as an apostle. 'To give those who believe, who do good works, the good news that they will have a glorious reward, enjoying it everlastingly,' i.e. the eternal abode. 'They shall not die therein: i.e. those who have accepted your message as true, though others have denied it, and have done the works that you have ordered them to do. 'And to warn those who say God has taken a son.' He means the Quraysh when they say, 'We worship the angels who are the daughters of Allah.' 'They have no knowledge about it, nor had their forefathers', who take hardly your leaving them and shaming their religion. 'Dreadful is the word that proceedeth from their mouth' when they say the angels are God's daughters. 'They say nothing but a lie, and it may be that thou wilt destroy thyself,' O Muhammad. 'In grief over their course if they believe not this saying,' i.e. because of his sorrow when he was disappointed of his hope of them; i.e. thou shalt not do it (180). 'Verily We have made that which is upon the earth an ornament to it to try them which of them will behave the best,' i.e. which of them will follow My commandment and act in obedience to Me. 'And verily we will make that which is upon it a barren mound,' i.e. the earth and what is upon it will perish and pass away, for all must return to Me that I may reward them according to their deeds, so do not despair nor let what you hear and see therein grieve you (181).

Then comes the story of what they asked him about the young men, and God said: 'Have you considered that the dwellers in the Cave and alRaqim were wonders from our signs?' i.e. there were still more wonderful signs in the proofs I have given to men (182). Then God said: 'When the young men took refuge in the Cave they said, O Lord, show us kindness and give us guidance by Your command, so We sealed up their hearing in the Cave for many years. Then We brought them to life again that We might know which of the two parties would best aciculate the time that they had been there.' Then He said: 'We will tell you the true account of them; they were young men who believed in their Lord, and We gave them further guidance, and We strengthened their hearts. Then they stood and said, Our Lord is the Lord of heaven and earth. We will pray to no other god but Him. If we were to say otherwise we should speak blasphemy,' i.e. they did not associate anyone with Me as you have associated with Me what you know nothing about (183). 'These people of ours have chosen gods in addition to Him, though they bring no plain authority for them,' i.e. a clear proof. 'Who is more wicked than he who invents a lie against God? When you withdraw from them and what they worship instead of God, then take refuge in the Cave; your Lord will spread for you by His mercy and prepare a pillow for

194

195

196

you in your plight. You might see the sun when it rises move away from their Cave towards the right, and when it sets it would go past them to the left, while they were in a cleft of the Cave' (184). 'That was one of the signs of God', i.e. for a proof against those of the people of the scriptures who knew their story and who ordered those men to ask you about them concerning the truth of your prophecy in giving a true account of them. 'Whom God guides is rightly guided, and for him whom He leads astray you will find no friend to direct. And you would think they were awake while they were sleeping, and we would turn them over to the right and the left, while their dog was lying with its forepaws on the threshold' (185). 'If you observed them closely you would turn your backs on them fleeing, and be afraid of them' up to the words 'those who gained their point said,' i.e. the people of power and dominion among them. 'Let us build a mosque above them; they will say,' i.e. the Jewish rabbis who ordered them to ask these questions. 'Three, their dog being the fourth of them, and some say five, their sixth being the dog, guessing in the dark,' i.e. they know nothing about it, 'and they say seven and their dog the eighth. Say: My Lord knows best about their number; none knows them save a few, so do not contend with them except with an open contention,' i.e. do not be proud with them. 'And do not ask anyone information about them,' for they know nothing about it. 'And do not say of anything I will do it tomorrow unless you say, If God will. And mention your Lord if you have forgotten and say, Perhaps my Lord will guide me to a nearer way of truth than this,' i.e. do not say about anything which they ask you what you said about this, viz. I will tell you tomorrow, and make God's will the condition, and remember Him when you have forgotten to do so and say, Perhaps my Lord will guide me to what is better than what they ask of me in guidance, for you do not know what I am doing about it. 'And they remained in their Cave three hundred years and they added nine,' i.e. they will say this. 'Say: Your Lord knows best how long they stayed there. The secrets of heaven and earth are with Him. How wonderfully He sees and hears. They have no friend but Him, and He allows none in His dominion as a partner,' i.e. nothing of what they ask you is hidden from Him.

And He said about what they asked him in regard to the mighty traveler, 'And they will ask you about Dhu'l-Qarnayn; say, I will recite to you a remembrance of him. Verily We gave him power in the earth, and We gave to him every road and he followed it;' so far as the end of his story.

It is said that he attained what no other mortal attained. Roads were stretched out before him until he traversed the whole earth, east and west. He was given power over every land he trod on until he reached the farthest confines of creation.

A man who used to purvey stories of the foreigners which were handed down among them, told me that Dhu'l-Qarnayn was an Egyptian, whose name was Marzuban b. Mardhaba, the Greek, descended from Yunan b. Yafith b. Nuh). (186).

Thaur b. Yazid from Khalid b. Ma'dan Al-Kala'i, who was a man who reached Islamic times, told me that the apostle was asked about Dhu'l-Qarnayn, and he said, 'He is an angel who measured the earth beneath by ropes.'

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

God said concerning what they asked him about the Spirit, "They will ask you about the Spirit, say, the Spirit is a matter for my Lord, and you have only a little knowledge about it."²

I was told on the authority of Ibn 'Abbas that he said, When the apostle came to Medina, the Jewish rabbis said, "When you said, "And you have

only a little knowledge about it," did you mean us or your own people?' He said, 'Both of you.' They said, 'Yet you will read in what you brought that we were given the Taurat in which is an exposition of everything.' He replied that in reference to God's knowledge that was little, but in it there was enough for them if they carried it out. God revealed concerning what they asked him about that 'If all the trees in the world were pens and the ocean were ink, though the seven seas reinforced it, the words of God would not be exhausted. Verily God is mighty and wise.³ i.e. The Taurat compared with God's knowledge is little. And God revealed to him concerning what his people asked him for themselves, namely, removing the mountains, and cutting the earth, and raising their forefathers from the dead, 'If there were a Quran by which mountains could be moved, or the earth split, or the dead spoken to [it would be this one], but to God belongs the disposition of all things,' i.e. I will not do anything of the kind unless I choose. And He revealed to him concerning their saying, 'Take for yourself', meaning that He should make for him gardens, and castles, and treasures, and should send an angel with him to confirm what he said, and to defend him. 'And they said, "What is this apostle doing, eating food, and waiking in the markets? Unless an angel were sent to him to be a warner with him, or he were given a treasure or a garden from which he might eat [we would not believe]"; and the evildoers say, "You follow only a man bewitched". See how they have coined proverbs of thee, and have gone astray and cannot find the way. Blessed is He, who if He willed, could make for thee something better than that,' i.e. than that you should walk in the marketplaces, seeking a livelihood. 'Gardens beneath which run rivers, and make for thee castles.!'

And He revealed to him concerning their saying, 'When We sent messengers before thee they did eat and walk in the markets, and we made some of you a test for others, whether you would be steadfast, and your Lord is looking on,² i.e. I made some of you a test for others that you might be steadfast. Had I wanted to make the world side with my apostles, so that they would not oppose them, I would have done so.

And he revealed to him concerning what 'Abdullah b. Umayya said, 'And they said, "We will not believe in thee until fountains burst forth for us from the earth, or you have a garden of dates and grapes and make the rivers within it burst forth copiously, or make the heavens fall upon us in fragments as you assert, or bring God and the angels as a surety, or you get a house of gold, or mount up to heaven, we will not believe in thy ascent until you bring down to us a book which we can read." Say: exalted be my Lord, am I aught but a mortal messenger' (187).³

He revealed to him with reference to their saying 'We have heard that a man in al-Yamama called al-Rahman teaches you. We will never believe in him'. 'Thus did We send you to a people before whom other peoples had passed away that you might read to them that which We have revealed to thee, while they disbelieved in the Rahman. Say, He is my Lord, there is no other God but He. In Him I trust and unto Him is the return.⁴

And He revealed to him concerning what Abu Jahl said and intended: 'Have you seen him who prohibited a servant when he prayed, have you seen if he was rightly guided or gave orders in the fear of God, have you seen if he lied and turned his back; does he not know that Allah sees everything? If he does not cease we will drag him by the forelock, the lying sinful forelock; let him call his gang, we will call the guards of hell. Thou shalt certainly not obey him, prostrate thyself and draw near to God' (188).

And God revealed concerning what they proposed to him in regard to their money, 'Say, I ask no reward of you, it is yours; my reward is God's concern alone and He witnesses everything.'⁵ When the apostle brought to them what they knew was the truth so that they recognized his truthfulness and his position as a prophet in bringing them tidings of the unseen when they asked him about it, envy prevented them from admitting his truth, and

199

200

201

they became insolent against God and openly forsook his commands and took refuge in their polytheism. One of them said, 'Do not listen to this Quran; treat it as nonsense and probably you will get the better of it', i.e. treat it as nonsense and false; and treat him as a mere raver – you will probably get the better of him, whereas if you argue or debate with him any time he will get the better of you.

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

Da'ud b. al-Husayn freedman of 'Amr b. 'Uthman told me that 'Ikrima freedman of Ibn 'Abbas had told them that 'Abdullah b. 'Abbas had told them that the verse, 'Don't speak loudly in thy prayer and don't be silent; adopt a middle course,'² was revealed because of those people. He said, 'Don't speak loudly in thy prayer' so that they may go away from you, and 'Don't be silent' so that he who wants to hear, of those who listen stealthily; cannot hear; perhaps he will give heed to some of it and profit thereby.

202

THE FIRST ONE WHO PRONOUNCED THE QURAN LOUDLY

Yahya b. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me as from his father that the first man to speak the Quran loudly in Mecca after the apostle was 'Abdullah b. Mas'ud. The prophet's companions came together one day and remarked that Quraysh had never heard the Quran distinctly read to them, and who was there who would make them listen to it? When 'Abdullah said that he would, they replied that they were afraid on his behalf and they wanted only a man of good family who would protect him from the populace if they attacked him. He replied, 'Let me alone, for God will protect me.' So in the morning he went to the sanctuary while Quraysh were in their conferences, and when he arrived at the Maqam, he read, 'In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful,'¹ raising his voice as he did so, 'the compassionate who taught the Quran.' Then he turned towards them as he read so that they noticed him, and they said, 'What on earth is this son of a slave woman saying?' And when they realized that he was reading some of what Muhammad prayed, they got up and began to hit him in the face; but he continued to read so far as God willed that he should read. Then he went to his companions with the marks of their blows on his face. They said, 'This is just what we feared would happen to you.' He said, 'God's enemies were never more contemptible in my sight than they are now, and if you like I will go and do the same thing before them tomorrow.' They said, 'No, you have done enough, you have made them listen to what they don't want to hear.'

203

THE QURAYSH LISTEN TO THE PROPHET'S READING

Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri told me that he was told that Abu Sufyan b. Harb and Abu Jahl b. Hisham and al-Akhnas b. Shariq b. 'Amr b. Wahb al-Thaqafi, an ally of B. Zuhra, had gone out by night to

listen to the apostle as he was praying in his house. Everyone of them chose a place to sit where he could listen, and none knew where his fellow was sitting. So they passed the night listening to him, until as the dawn rose, they dispersed. On the way home they met and reproached one another, and one said to the other, 'Don't do it again, for if one of the light-minded fools sees you, you will arouse suspicion in his mind.' Then they went away, until on the second night everyone of them returned again to his place, and they passed the night listening. Then at dawn the same thing happened again, and again on the third night, when on the morrow they said to one another, 'We will not go away until we take a solemn obligation that we will not return.' This they did and then dispersed. In the morning al-Akhnas took his stick and went to the house of Abu Sufyan, and asked him to tell him his opinion of what he had heard from Muhammad. He replied, 'By God, I heard things that I know, and know what was meant by them, and I heard things whose meaning I don't know, nor what was intended by them.' AL-Akhnas replied, 'I feel precisely the same.' Then he left him and went to Abu Jahl's house, and asked him the same question. He answered, 'What did I hear! We and B. 'Abdu Manaf have been rivals in honor. They have fed the poor, and so have we; they have assumed others' burdens, and so have we; they have been generous, and so have we, until we have progressed side by side,² and we were like two horses of equal speed. They said, "We have a prophet to whom revelation comes from heaven", and when shall we attain anything like that? By God, we will never believe in him and treat him as truthful.' Then al-Akhnas got up and left him.

When the apostle recited the Quran to them and called them to God, they said in mockery, 'Our hearts are veiled, we do not understand what you say. There is a load in our ears so that we cannot hear what you say, and a curtain divides us from you, so follow your own path and we will follow ours, we do not understand anything you say.' Then God revealed, 'And when you read the Quran we put between you and those who do not believe in the last day a hidden veil,¹ as far as the words 'and when you mention your Lord alone in the Quran they turn their backs in aversion', that is, how can they understand thy assertion that thy Lord is one if I have put veils over their hearts and heaviness in their ears, and between you and them is a curtain as they allege?' i.e. that I have not done it. 'We know best about what they listen to when they listen to you, and when they take secret counsel, the wicked say, "You are only following a man bewitched",' i.e. that is the way they order people not to listen to the message I have given you. 'See how they have made parables of you, and gone astray, and cannot find the way,' i.e. they have made false proverbs about you, and cannot find the right path, and what they say is not straightforward. 'And they say, when we are bones and dried morsels shall we be raised a new creation?' i.e. you have come to tell us that we shall be raised after death when we are bones and dried fragments, and that is something that cannot be. 'Say, Be ye hard stones or iron, or anything that you think in your minds is harder, they will say, "Who will raise us?" Say, He who created you in the beginning,' i.e. He who created you from what you know, for to create you from dust is no more difficult than that to him.

'Abdullah b. Abu Najih from Mujahid from Ibn 'Abbas told me that the latter said, 'I asked him what was meant by the word of God "or something that you think is harder" and he said, "Death." '

THE POLYTHEISTS PERSECUTE THE MUSLIMS OF THE LOWER CLASSES

Then the Quraysh showed their enmity to all those who followed the apostle; every clan which contained Muslims attacked them, imprisoning them, and beating them, allowing them no food or drink, and exposing them to the burning heat of Mecca, so as to seduce them from their religion.

Some gave way under pressure of persecution, and others resisted them, being protected by God.

Bilal, who was afterwards freed by Abu Bakr but at that time belonged to one of B. Jumah, being slave born, was a faithful Muslim, pure of heart. His father's name was Ribah and his mother was Hamama. Umayya b. Khaiaf b. Wahb b. Hudhafa b. Jumah used to bring him out at the hottest part of the day and throw him on his back in the open valley and have a great rock put on his chest; then he would say to him, 'You will stay here till you die or deny Muhammad and worship Al-Lat and al-'Uzza.' He used to say while he was enduring this, 'One, one!'

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

Before he migrated to Medina he freed six slaves in Islam, Bilal being the seventh, namely: 'Amir b. Fuhayra, who was present at Badr and Uhud and was killed at the battle of Bi'r Ma'una; and Umm 'Ubays and Zinnira (she lost her sight when he freed her and Quraysh said, 'Al-Lat and al-'Uzza are the ones that have taken away her sight'; but she said, 'By the house of God, you lie. Al-Lat and al-'Uzza can neither harm nor heal,' so God restored her sight).

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

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

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

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

It was that evil man Abu Jahl who stirred up the Meccans against them.

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

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

Al-Zubayr b. 'Ukasha b. 'Abdullah b. Abu Ahmad told me that he was told that some men of B. Makhzum went to Hisham b. al-Walid when his brother al-Walid b. al-Walid became a Muslim. They had agreed to seize some young men who had become Muslims, among whom were Saima b. Hisham and 'Ayyash b. Abu Rabi'a. They were afraid of his violent temper and so they said, 'We wish to' admonish these men because of this religion which they have newly introduced; thus we shall be safe in the case of others.' 'All right,' he said, 'admonish him, but beware that you do not kill him.' Then he began to recite:

My brother 'Uyays shall not be killed,
Otherwise there will be war between us for ever.²

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

THE FIRST MIGRATION TO ABYSSINIA

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

The first of the Muslims to go were: B. Umayya: ... ' 'Uthman b. 'Affan ... with his wife Ruqayya, d. the apostle.

B. 'Abdu'l-Shams: ... Abu Hudhayfa b. 'Utba ... with his wife

Sahla d. Suhayl b. 'Amr one of B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy .

B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza: al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam B. 'Abdu'l-Dar: ... Mus'ab b. 'Umayr.

B., Zuhra b. Kilab: 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Auf

B. Makhzum b. Yaqua: ... Abu Salama b. 'Abdu'l-Asad ... with his wife Umm Salama d. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira

B. Jumah b. 'Amr b. Huṣays: ... 'Uthman b. Maz'un

B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b: 'Amir b. Rabi'a, an ally of the family of al-Khattab of Anz b. Wa'il (189), with his wife Layla d. Abu Hathma b. Hudhafa ...

B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy: Abu Sabra b. Abu Ruhm b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza b. Abu Qays ... b. 'Amir. Others say it was Abu Hatib b. 'Amr b. 'Abdu Shams of the same descent. It is said that he was the first to arrive in Abyssinia.

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

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

B. Hashim: Ja'far ... who took his wife Asma' d. 'Umays b. al-Nu'man ... She bare him 'Abdullah in Abyssinia.

B. Umayya: 'Uthman b. 'Affan ... with his wife Ruqayya; ... 'Amr b. Sa'id b. al-'As ... with his wife Fatima d. Safwan b. Umayya b. Muhar-rith b. Khumal b. Shaqq b. Raqaba b. Mukhdij al-Kinani, and his brother

O Khalid with his wife Umayna (191) d. Khalilf of Khuza'a. She bare him his son Sa'id in Abyssinia, and his daughter Ama who afterwards married al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwam and bare to him 'Amr and Khalid. Of their allies of B. Asad b. Khuzayma: 'Abdullah b. Jahsh .•. b. Asad and his brother 'Ubaydullah with his wife U mm Habiba d. Abu Sufyan b.Harb; ... and Qays b. 'Abdullah ... with his wife Baraka d. Yasar, a freedwoman of

Abu Sufyan; and Mu'ayqib b. Abu Fatima. These belonged to the family of Sa'id b. al-'As, seven persons in all (192).

B. 'Abdu Shams: ... Abu Hudhayfa b. 'Utba; ... Abu Musa al-Ash'ari whose name was 'Abdullah b. Qays, an ally of the family of 'Utba. Two men.

B. Naufal b. 'Abdu Manaf: 'Utba b. Ghazwan b. Jabir b. Wahb b.

Nasib ... b. Qays b. 'Aylan, an ally of theirs. One man.

B. Asad: ... al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwam; ... al-Aswad b. Naufal; ...

Yazid b. Zama'a; ... 'Amr b. Umayya b. al-Harith. Four men.

B. 'Abd b. Qu,ayy: Tulayb b. 'Umayr One man.

B. 'Abdu'l-Dar: Mu,ab b. 'Umayr; Suwaybit b. Sa'd; ... Jahm b.

Qays ... with his wife Umm Harmala d. 'Abdu'l-Aswad ... of Khuza'a and his two sons 'Amr and Khuzayma; Abu'l-Rum b. 'Umayr b. Hashim; . . . Firas b. al-Nadr b. al-Harith Five persons.

B. Zuhra: ... 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Auf; ... 'Amir b. Abu Waqqas; (Abu

Waqqas was Malik b. Uhayb); al-Muttalib b. Azhar ... with his wife Ramla d. Abu 'Auf b. Dubayra She bare his son 'Abdullah in Abyssinia. Their allies: of Hudhayl: 'Abdullah b. Mas'ud ... and his brother 'Utba. Of Bahra': al-Miqdad b. 'Amr b. Tha'laba b. Malik b. Rabi'a b. Thumama b. Matrud b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Zuhayr b. Lu'ayy b. Tha'laba b. Malik b. al-Sharid b. Abu Ahwaz b. Abu Fa'ish b. Duraym b. al-Qayn b. Ahwad b. Bahra' b. 'Amr b. al-Haf b. Quda'a (193). (He used to be called Miqdad b. al-Aswad b. 'Abdu Yaghuth b. Wahb b. 'Abdu Manaf b. Zuhra because he had adopted him before Islam and taken him into his tribe.) Six persons.

B. Taym b. Murra: al-Harith b. Khalid ... with his wife Rayta d. alHarith b. Jabala She bare his son Musa in Abyssinia and .his daughters 'A'isha and Zaynab and Fatima; 'Amr b. 'Uthman b. 'Amr. Two men.

B. Makhzum b. Yaqaza ... Abu Salama b. 'Abdu'l-Asad ... with his wife Umm Salama d. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira She bare him a daughter, Zaynab, in Abyssinia. (His name was 'Abdullah and his wife's name was Hind.) Shammas b. 'Uthman b. al-Sharid; .. (194). Habbar b. Sufyan b. 'Abdu'l-Asad arid his brother 'Abdullah; Hisham b. Abu Hudhayfa b. al-Mughira; Salama b. Hisham; ... 'Ayyash b. Abu Rabi'a Of their allies Mu'attib b. 'Auf ... of Khuza'a who was called 'Ayhama. Eight persons (195).

B. Jumah b. 'Amr: ... 'Uthman b. Maz'un ... and his son al-Sa'ib; his two brothers Qudama and 'Abdullah; Hatib b. al-Harith ... with his wife Fatima d. al-Mujailil ... and his two sons Muhammad and al-Harith; and his brother Hattab with his wife Fukayha d. Yasar; Sufyan b. Ma'mar ... with his two sons Jabir and Junada with his wife Hasana who was their mother; and their

brother on their mother's side Shurahbil b. 'Abdullah one of the Ghauth (196); 'Uthman b. Rabi'a b. Ughan b. Wahb b. Hudhafa. Eleven men.

B. Sahn b. 'Amr: ... Khunays b. Hudhafa: ... 'Abdullah b. al-Harith b. Qays b. 'Adiy b. Sa'd b. Sahn; Hisham b. al-'As b. Wa'il b. Sa'd b. Sahn (197); Qays b. Hudhafa; ... Abu Qays b. al-Harith; ... 'Abdullah b. Hudhafa ... al-Harith b. al-Harith; ... Ma'mar b. al-Harith; ... Bishr b. al-Harith ... and a brother of his from a Tamimite mother called Sa'id b. 'Amr; Sa'id b. al-Harith; ... al-Sa'ib b. al-Harith; ... 'Umayr b. Ri'ab b. Hudhayfa b. Muhashshim; .. Mahmiya b. al-Jaza', an ally of theirs from B. Zubayd. Fourteen men.

B. 'Adiyyb. Ka'b: Ma'marb. 'Abdullah; ... 'Urwab. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza; ... 'Adiy b. Nadla b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza ... and his son al-Nu'man; 'Amir b. Rabi'a, an ally of the family of al-Khattab from 'Anz b. Wa'il with his wife Layla. Five.

B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy: Abu Sabra b. Abu Ruhm ... with his wife Umm Kulthum d. Suhayl b. 'Amr; ... 'Abdullah b. Makhrama b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza; 'Abdullah b. Suhayl ... Salit b. 'Amr b. 'Abdu Shams ... and his brother al-Sakran with his wife Sauda d. Zama'a b. Qays b. 'Abdu Shams; ... Malik b. Zama'a b. Qays ... with his wife 'Amra d. al-Sa'di b. Waqdan b. 'Abdu Shams; ... Hatib b. 'Amr b. 'Abdu Shams; ... Sa'd b. Khaula an ally of theirs. Eight persons (198).

B. al-Harith b. Fihir: Abu 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrah who was 'Amir b. 'Abdullah b. al-Jarrah; ... Suhayl b. Bayda' who was Suhayl b. Wahb b. Rabi'a b. Hilal b. Uhayb b. Dabba ... (but he was always known by his mother's name, she being Da'd d. Jahdam b. Umayya b. Zarib b. al-Harith ... and was always called Bayda'); 'Amr b. Abu Sarh b. Rabi'a ... 'Iyad b. Zuhayr b. Abu Shaddad b. Rabi'a b. Hilal b. Uhayb b. Dabba b. al-Harith; but it is said that this is wrong and that Rabi'a was the son of Hilal b. Malik b. Dabba; and 'Amr b. al-Harith; ... 'Uthman b. 'Abdu Ghanm b. Zuhayr; and Sa'd b. 'Abdu Qays b. Laqit .. and his brother al-Harith. Eight persons.

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

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

O rider, take a message from me
To those who hope for the demonstration of God and religion,¹
To everyone of God's persecuted servants,
Mistreated and hard tried in Mecca's vale,
Namely, that we have found God's country spacious,
Giving security from humiliation, shame and low-repute,
So do not live a life in humiliation
And shame in death, not safe from blame.
We have followed the apostle of God, and they
Have rejected the words of the prophet, and been deceitful.¹
Visit thy punishment on the people who transgress
And protect me lest they rise and lead me astray.

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

My heart refuses to fight them
And so do my fingers; I tell you the truth.

214

215

216

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

He also said:

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

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

'Uthman b. Maz'un, reproaching Umayya b. Khaiaf b. Wahb b. Hudhafa b. Jumah, who was his cousin, and who used to ill-treat him because of his belief, made the following verses. Umayya was a leader among his people at that time.

O Taym b. 'Amr, I wonder at him who came in enmity,
When the sea and the broad high land lay between us,²
Did you drive me out of Mecca's vale where I was safe
And make me live in a loathsome white castle.¹
You feather arrows, whose feathering will not help you;
You sharpen arrows, whose feathers are all' for you;
You fight noble strong people
And destroy those from whom you once sought help.
You will know one day, when misfortune attacks you
And strangers betray you, what you have done.

Taym b. 'Amr, whom 'Uthman addresses, was Jumah. His name was Taym.

THE QURAYSH SEND TO ABYSSINIA TO GET THE EMIGRANTS RETURNED

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

Would that I knew how far-away Ja'far and 'Amr fare,
(The bitterest enemies are oft the nearest in blood).
Does the Negus still treat Ja'far and his companions kindly,
Or has the mischief-maker prevented him?

Thou art noble and generous, mayst thou escape calamity;
No refugees are unhappy with thee.
Know that God has increased thy happiness
And all prosperity cleaves to thee.
Thou art a river whose banks overflow with bounty
Which reaches both friend and foe.

218

Muhammad b. Muslim al-Zuhri from Abu Bakr b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. al-Harith b. Hisham al-Makhzumi from Umm Salama d. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira wife of the apostle said, 'When we reached Abyssinia the Negus gave us a kind reception. We safely practiced our religion, and we worshipped God, and suffered no wrong in word or deed. When the Quraysh got to know of that, they decided to send two determined men to the Negus and to give him presents of the choicest wares of Mecca. Leatherwork was especially prized there, so they collected a great many

skins so that they were able to give some to every one of his generals. They sent 'Abdullah and 'Amr with instructions to give each general his present before they spoke to the Negus about the refugees. Then they were to give their presents to the Negus and ask him to give the men up before he spoke to them. They carried out these instructions to the letter, and said to each of the generals, 'Some foolish fellows from our people have taken refuge in the king's country. They have forsaken our religion and not accepted yours, but have brought in an invented religion which, neither we nor you know anything about. Our nobles have sent us to the king to get him to return them, so when we speak to the king about them advise him to surrender them to us and not to speak to them, for their own people have the keenest insight and know most about their faults.' This the generals agreed to do. They took their gifts to the Negus and when he had accepted them, they said to him what they had already said to the generals about the refugees. Now there was nothing which 'Abdullah and 'Amr disliked more than that the Negus should hear what the Muslims had to say. The generals about his presence said that the men had spoken truly, and their own people best knew the truth about the refugees, and they recommended the king to give them up and return them to their own people. The Negus was enraged and said, 'No, by God, I will not surrender them. No people who have sought my protection, settled in my country, and chosen me rather than others shall be betrayed, until I summon them and ask them about what these two men allege. If they are as they say, I will give them up to them and send them back to their own people; but if what they say is false, I will protect them and see that they receive proper hospitality while under my protection.'

Then he summoned the apostle's companions, and when his messenger came they gathered together, saying one to another, 'What will you say to the man when you come to him?' They said, 'We shall say what we know and what our prophet commanded us, come what may.' When they came into the royal presence they found that the king had summoned his bishops with their sacred books exposed around him. He asked them what was the religion for which they had forsaken their people, without entering into his religion or any other. Ja'far b. Abu Taiib answered, 'O King, we were an uncivilized people, worshipping idols, eating corpses, committing abominations, breaking natural ties, treating guests badly, and our strong devoured our weak. Thus we were until God sent us an apostle whose lineage, truth, trustworthiness, and clemency we know. He summoned us to acknowledge God's unity and to worship him and to renounce the stones and images which we and our fathers formerly worshipped. He commanded us to speak the truth, be faithful to our engagements, mindful of the ties of kinship and kindly hospitality, and to refrain from crimes and bloodshed. He forbade us to commit abominations and to speak lies, and to devour the property of orphans, to vilify chaste women. He commanded us to worship

219

220

God alone and not to associate anything with Him, and he gave us orders about prayer, almsgiving, and fasting (enumerating the commands of Islam). We confessed his truth and believed in him, and we followed him in what he had brought from God, and we worshipped God alone without associating aught with Him. We treated as forbidden what he forbade, and as lawful what he declared lawful. Thereupon our people attacked us, treated us harshly and seduced us from our faith to try to make us go back to the worship of idols instead of the worship of God, and to regard as lawful the evil deeds we once committed. So when they got the better of us, treated us unjustly and circumscribed our lives, and came between us and our religion, we came to your country, having chosen you above all others. Here we have been happy in your protection, and we hope that we shall not be treated unjustly while we are with you, O King.'

The Negus asked if they had with them anything which had come from God. When Ja'far said that he had, the Negus commanded him to read it to him, so he read him a passage from (Sura) KHY'S¹. The Negus wept until his beard was wet and the bishops wept until their scrolls were wet, when they heard what he read to them. Then the Negus said, 'Of a truth, this and what Jesus² brought have come from the same niche. You two may go, for by God, I will never give them up to them and they shall not be betrayed.'

When the two had gone, 'Amr said, 'Tomorrow I will tell him something that will uproot them all.' Abdullah, who was the more godfearing of them in his attitude towards us, said, 'Do not do it, for they are our kindred though they have gone against us.' He said, 'By God, I will tell him that they assert that Jesus, son of Mary, is a creature.'³ He went to him in the morning and told him that they said a dreadful thing about Jesus, son of Mary, and that he should send for them and ask them about it. He did so. Nothing of the kind had happened to them before, and the people gathered together asking one another what they should say about Jesus when they were asked. They decided that they would say what God had said and what the prophet had brought, come what may. So when they went into the royal presence and the question was put to them, Ja'far answered, 'We say about him that which our prophet brought, saying, he is the slave of God, and his apostle, and his spirit, and his word, which he cast into Mary the blessed virgin.' The Negus took a stick from the ground and said, 'By God, Jesus, son of Mary, does not exceed what you have said by the length of this stick.' His generals round about him snorted when he said this, and he said, 'Though you snort, by God! Go, for you are safe in my country.' (*Shuyum* means *al-aminuna*.)⁴ Then he repeated three times the words, 'He who curses you will be fined. Not for a mountain of gold would I allow a man of you to be hurt' (199). Give them back their presents, for I have no use for them. God took no bribe from me when He gave me back my kingdom, that I should take a bribe for it, and God did not do what men wanted against me, so why should I do what they want against Him.' So they left his presence, crestfallen, taking away their rejected gifts, while we lived with him comfortably in the best security.

While we were living thus, a rebel arose to snatch his kingdom from him, and I never knew us to be so sad as we were at that, in our anxiety lest this fellow would get the better of the Negus, and that a man would arise who did not know our case as the Negus did. He went out against him, and the Nile lay between the two parties. The apostle's companions called for a man who would go to the battle and bring back news, and al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwam volunteered. Now he was the youngest man we had. We inflated a waterskin and he put it under his chest, and swam across until he reached that point of the Nile where the armies faced one another. Then he went on until he met them. Meanwhile we prayed to God to give the Negus victory over his enemy and to establish him in his own country; and as we were doing so, waiting for what might happen, up came al-Zubayr running, waving his clothes as he said, 'Hurrah, the Negus has conquered and God

has destroyed his enemies and established him in his land.' By God, I never knew us to be so happy before. The Negus came back, God having destroyed his enemy and established him in his country, and the chiefs of the Abyssinians rallied to him. Meanwhile we lived in happiest conditions until we came to the apostle of God in Mecca.

HOW THE NEGUS BECAME KING OF ABYSSINIA

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

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

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

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

THE ABYSSINIANS REVOLT AGAINST THE NEGUS

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

224

'UMAR ACCEPTS ISLAM

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

Al-Bakka'i said:¹

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

'Abdu'l-Rahman b. al-Harith b. 'Abdullah b. 'Ayyash b. Abu Rabi'a from Abdu'l-'Aziz b. 'Abdullah b. 'Amir b. Rabi'a from his mother Umm 'Abdullah d. Abu Hathma who said: 'We were on the point of setting out for Abyssinia, and 'Amir had gone out for something we needed, when 'Umar came and stopped beside me, he being a polytheist at the time, and we were receiving harsh treatment and affliction from him. He said, "So you are off, O mother of 'Abdullah." "Yes," I said, "we are going to God's' country. You have violently ill-treated us until God has given us a way out." He said, "God be with you," and I saw in him a compassion which I had never seen before. Then he went away, and I could see plainly that our departure pained him; and when 'Amir came back with the thing he needed I said to him, "O father of 'Abdullah, I wish you had seen 'U mar just now and the compassion and sorrow he showed on our account." When he asked me if I had hopes of his becoming a Muslim, I replied that I had, to which he answered, "The man you saw will not become a Muslim until al-Khattab's

225

donkey does." This he said in despair of him because of his harshness and severity against Islam.'

The Islam of 'Umar, so I have heard, was on this wise. His sister was Fatima d. al-Khattab, and was married to Sa'id b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl, both of whom had become Muslims and concealed the fact from 'Umar. Now Nu'aym b. 'Abdullah al-Nahham, a man of his tribe from B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b, had become a Muslim and he also concealed the fact out of fear of his people. Khabbab b. al-Aratt used often to come to Fatima to read the Quran to her. One day 'Umar came out, girt with his sword, making for the apostle, and a number of his companions, who he had been informed had gathered in a house at al-Safa, in all about forty, including women. With the apostle was his uncle Hamza, and Abu Bakr, and 'Ali, from among the Muslims who stayed with the apostle and had not gone out with those who went to Abyssinia. Nu'aym met him and asked him where he was going. 'I am making for Muhammad, the apostate, who has split up the Quraysh, made mockery of their traditions, insulted their faith and their gods, to kill him.' 'You deceive yourself, 'Umar,' he answered, 'do you suppose that B. 'Abdu Manaf will allow you to continue waiking upon the earth when you have killed Muhammad? Had not you better go back to your own family and set their affairs in order?' 'What is the matter with my family?' he said. 'Your brother-in-law, your nephew Sa'id, and your sister Fatima, have both become Muslims and followed Muhammad in his religion, so you had better go and deal with them.' Thereupon 'Umar returned to his sister and brother-in-law at the time when Khabbab was with them with the manuscript of Ta Ha, which he was reading to them. When they heard 'Umar's voice Khabbab hid in a small room, or in a part of the house, and Fatima took the page and put it under her thigh. Now 'Umar had heard the reading of Khabbab as he came near the house, so when he came in he, said, 'What is this balderdash I heard ?' 'You have not heard anything,' they answered. 'By God, I have,' he said, 'and I have been told that you have followed Muhammad in his religion;' and he seized his brother-in-law Sa'id, and his sister Fatima rose in defense of her husband, and he hit her and wounded her. When he did that they said to him, 'Yes, we are Muslims, and we believe in God and His apostle, and you can do what you like.' When 'Umar saw the blood on his sister he was sorry for what he had done and turned back and said to his sister, 'Give me this sheet which I heard you reading just now so that I may see just what it is which Muhammad has brought,' for 'Umar could write. When he said that, his sister replied that she was afraid to trust him with it. 'Do not be afraid,' he said, and he swore by his gods that he would return it when he had read it. When he said that, she had hopes that he would become a Muslim, and said to him, 'My brother, you are unclean in your polytheism and only the clean may touch it.' So 'Umar rose and washed himself and she gave him the page in which was Ta Ha, and when he had read the beginning he said, 'How fine and noble is this speech.' When he heard that, Khabbab emerged and said, 'O 'Umar, by God, I hope that God has singled you out by His prophet's call, for but last night I heard him saying, "O God, strengthen Islam by Abu'l-Hakam b. Hisham or by 'Umar b. al-Khattab." Come to God, come to God, O 'Umar.' At that 'Umar said, 'Lead me to Muhammad so that I may accept Islam.' Khab-bab replied that he was in a house at al-Safa with a number of his com-panions. So 'Umar took his sword and girt it on, and made for the apostle and his companions, and knocked on the door. When they heard his voice one of the companions got up and looked through a chink in the door, and when he saw him girt with his sword, he went back to the apostle in fear, and said, 'It is 'Umar with his sword on.' Hamza said, 'Let him in; if he has come with peaceful intent, we will treat him well ; if he has come with ill intent, we will kill him with his own sword.' The apostle gave the word and he was let in. The apostle rose and met him in the room, seized him round the girdle or by the middle of his cloak, and dragged him along

violently, saying, 'What has brought you, son of Khattab, for by God, I do not think you will cease (your persecution) until God brings calamity upon you.' Umar replied, 'O Apostle of God, I have come to you to believe in God and His apostle and what he has brought from God.' The apostle gave thanks to God so loudly that the whole household knew that Umar had become a Muslim.

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

'Abdullah b. Abu Najih, the Meccan, from his companions 'Ata' and Mujahid, or other narrators, said that Umar's conversion, according to what he used to say himself, happened thus: 'I was far from Islam. I was a winebibber in the heathen period, used to love it and rejoice in it. We used to have a meeting-place in al-Hazwara at which Quraysh used to gather¹ near the houses of the family of Umar b. 'Abd b. Imran al-Makhzumi. I went out one night, making for my boon companions in that gathering, but when I got there, there was no one present, so I thought it would be a good thing if I went to so-and-so, the wineseller, who was selling wine in Mecca at the time, in the hope that I might get some-thing to drink from him, but I could not find him either, so I thought it would be a good thing if I went round the Ka'ba seven or seventy times. So I came to the mosque meaning to go round the Ka'ba and there was the apostle standing praying. As he prayed he faced Syria, putting the Ka'ba between himself and Syria. His stance was between the black stone and the southern comer. When I saw him I thought it would be a good thing if I could listen to Muhammad so as to hear what he said. If I came near to listen to him I should scare him, so I came from the direction of the *hijr* and got underneath its coverings and began to walk gently. Meanwhile the prophet was standing in prayer reciting the Quran until I stood in his qibla facing him, there being nothing between us but the covering of the Ka'ba. When I heard the Quran my heart was softened and I wept, and Islam entered into me; but I ceased not to stand "in my place until the apostle had finished his prayer. Then he went away. When he went away he used to go past the house of the son of Abu Husayn, which was on his way, so that he crossed the path where the pilgrims run. Then he went between the house of 'Abbas and Ibn Azhar b. 'Abdu 'Auf al-Zuhri; then by the house of Al-Akhnas b. Shariq until he entered his own house. His dwelling was in al-Dar al-Raqtā', which was in the hands of Mu'awiya b. Abu Sufyan. I continued to follow him, until when he got between the house of 'Abbas and Ibn Azhar I overtook him, and when he heard my voice he recognized me and supposed that I had followed him only to ill-treat him, so he repelled me, saying, "What has brought you at this hour?" I replied that I had come to believe in God and His apostle and what he had brought from God. He gave thanks to God and said, "God has guided you." Then he rubbed my breast and prayed that I might be steadfast. Afterwards I left him. He went into his house.' But God knows what the truth was.

Nafi' freedman of 'Abdullah b. Umar on the authority of Ibn Umar said: When my father Umar became a Muslim he said, 'Which of the Quraysh is best at spreading reports?' and was told that it was Jamil b. Ma'mar al-Jumahi. So he went to him, and I followed after to see what he was doing, for although I was very young at the time I understood every-thing I saw. He went to Jamil and asked him if he knew that he had become a Muslim and entered into Muhammad's religion; and, by God, hardly had he spoken to him when he got up dragging his cloak on the ground as Umar followed him and I followed my father, until he stood by the door of the mosque and cried at the top of his voice while the Quraysh were in their meeting-places round the Ka'ba, "Umar has apostatized," while

'Umar behind him shouted, 'He is a liar; but I have become a Muslim and I testify that there is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His servant and apostle.' They got up to attack him and fighting went on between them until the sun stood over their heads, and he became weary and sat down while they stood over him, as he said, 'Do as you will, for I swear by God that if we were three hundred men we would have fought it out on equal terms.' At this point a shaykh of the Quraysh, in a Yamani robe and an embroidered shirt, came up and stopped and inquired what was the matter. When he was told that 'Umar had apostatized he said, 'Why should not a man choose a religion for himself, and what are you trying to do? Do you think that B. 'Adiy will surrender their companion to you thus? Let the man alone.' By God, it was as though they were a garment stripped off him. I After my father had migrated to Medina I asked him who the man was who drove away the people on the day he became a Muslim while they were fighting him, and he said, 'That, my son, was al-'As b. Wa'il al-Sahmi (200).'

'Abdu'l-Rahman b. al-Harith from one of 'Umar's clan or one of his family said that 'Umar said, 'When I became a Muslim that night I thought of the man who was the most violent in enmity against the apostle so that I might come and tell him that I had become a Muslim, and Abu Jahl came to my mind.' Now 'Umar's mother was Hantama d. Hisham b. ai-Mughira. So in the morning I knocked on his door, and he came out and said, 'The best of welcomes, nephew, what has brought you?' I answered that I had come to tell him that I believed in God and His apostle Muham-mad and regarded as true what he had brought. He slammed the door in my face and said, 'God damn you, and damn what you have brought.'

THE DOCUMENT PROCLAIMING A BOYCOTT

When Quraysh perceived that the apostle's companions had settled in a land in peace and safety, and that the Negus had protected those who sought refuge with him, and that 'Umar had become a Muslim and that both he and Hamza were on the side of the apostle and his companions, and that Islam had begun to spread among the tribes, they came together and decided among themselves to write a document in which they should put a boycott on B. Hashim and B. Muttalib that they should not marry their women nor give women to them to marry; and that they should neither buy from them nor sell to them, and when they agreed on that they wrote it in a deed. Then they solemnly agreed on the points and hung the deed up in the middle of the Ka'ba to remind them of their obligations. The writer of the deed was Manṣur b. 'Ikrima b. 'Amir b. Hashim b. 'Abdu Manaf b. 'Abdu'l-Dar b. Qusayy (201) and the apostle invoked God against him and some of his fingers withered.

When Quraysh did that, the two clans of B. Hashim and B. al-Muttalib went to Abu Taiib and entered with him into his alley and joined him. Abu Lahab 'Abdu'l-'Uzza went out from B. Hashim and helped Quraysh.

Husayn b. 'Abdullah told me that Abu Lahab met Hind d. 'Utba when he had left his people and joined Quraysh against them, and he said, 'Haven't I helped al-Lat and al-'Uzza and haven't I abandoned those who have abandoned them and assisted their opponents?' She said, 'Yes, and may God reward you well, O Abu 'Utba.' And I was told that among the things that he said were, 'Muhammad promises me things which I do not see. He alleges that they will happen after my death; what has he put in my hands after that?' Then he blew on his hands and said, 'May you perish. I can see nothing in you of the things which Muhammad says.'

So God revealed concerning him the words, 'Abu Lahab and his hands God blast (202).'¹

When Quraysh had agreed on this and had done what has just been described, Abu Taiib said:

Tell Lu'ayy, especially Lu'ayy of the Banu Ka'b,
 News of our condition.
 Did you not know that we have found Muhammad,
 A prophet like Moses described in the oldest books,
 And that love is bestowed on him (alone) of mankind
 And that none is better than he whom God has singled out in love,
 And that the writing you have fixed
 Will be a calamity like the cry of the hamstring camel?²
 Awake, awake before the grave is dug
 And the blameless and the guilty are as one.
 Follow not the slanderers, nor sever
 The bonds of love and kinship between us.
 Do not provoke a long-drawn-out war,
 Often he who brings on war tastes its bitterness.
 By the Lord of the temple we will not give up Ahmad,
 To harsh misfortunes and times' troubles,
 Before hands and necks, yours and ours,
 Are cut by the gleaming blades of Qusas³
 In a close-hemmed battlefield where you see broken spears
 And black-headed vultures circling round like a thirsty crowd.
 The galloping of the horses about the scene
 And the shout of warriors are like a raging battle.
 Did not our father Hashim gird up his loins
 And teach his sons the sword and spear?
 We do not tire of war until it tires of us;
 We do not complain of misfortune when it comes.
 We keep our heads and our velour
 When the bravest lose heart in terror.
 They remained thus for two or three years until they were exhausted,
 nothing reaching them except what came from their friends unknown to
 Quraysh.

Abu Jahl, so they say, met Hakim b.Hizam b. Khuwaylid b. Asad with whom was a slave carrying flour intended for his aunt Khadija, the prophet's wife, who was with him in the alley. He hung on to him and said, 'Are you taking food to the B. Hashim? By God, before you and your food move from here I will denounce you in Mecca.' Abu'l-Bakhtari came to him and said, 'What is going on between you two?' When he said that Hakim was taking food to the B. Hashim, he said: 'It is food he has which

belongs to his aunt and she has sent to him about it. Are you trying to prevent him taking her own food to her? Let the man go his way!' Abu Jahl refused until they came to blows, and Abu'l-Bakhtari took a camel's jaw and knocked him down, wounded him, and trod on him violently, while Hamza was looking on near by. They did not wish the apostle and his companions to hear this news 'and rejoice over their discomfiture. Meanwhile the apostle was exhorting his people night and day, secretly and publicly, openly proclaiming God's command without fear of anyone.

THE ILL-TREATMENT THE APOSTLE RECEIVED FROM HIS PEOPLE

His uncle and the rest of B. Hashim gathered round him and protected him from the attacks of the Quraysh, who, when they saw that they could not get at him, mocked and laughed at him and disputed with him. The Quran began to come down concerning the wickedness of Quraysh and those who showed enmity to him, some by name and some only referred to in general. Of those named are his uncle Abu Lahab and his wife Umm Jamil, 'the bearer of the wood'. God called her this because she, so I am

told, carried thorns and cast them in the apostle's way where he would be passing. So God sent down concerning the pair of them:

Abu Lahab and his hands, God blast,
His wealth and gains useless at the last,
He shall roast in flames, held fast,
With his wife, the bearer of the wood, aghast,
On her neck a rope of palm-fiber cast. (203)¹

I was told that Umm Jamil, the bearer of the wood, when she heard what had come down about her and about her husband in the Quran, came to the apostle of God, when he was sitting in the mosque by the Ka'ba with Abu Bakr, with a stone pestle in her hand, and when she stood by the pair of them God made her unable to see the apostle so that she saw only Abu Bakr and asked him where his companion was, 'for I have been told that he is satirizing me,² and by God, if I had found him I would have smashed his mouth with this stone. By God, I am a poet.' Then she said:

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

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

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

[Another referred to in the Quran] is Umayya b. Khaif b. Wabh b.

Hudhafa b. Jumah. Whenever he saw the apostle he slandered and reviled him, so God sent down concerning him, 'Woe to every slandering backbiter, who has gathered wealth and increased it, and thinks that his wealth will make him immortal. No, he will be thrown to the devouring fire. What will make you realize what that is? It is God's fire kindled which mounts over the hearts. It is shut in on them in wide columns (205).¹

Khabbab b. al-Aratt, the prophet's companion was a smith in Mecca who used to make swords. He sold some to al-'As b. Wa'il so that he owed him some money and he came to him to demand payment. He answered, 'Does not Muhammad, your companion whose religion you follow, allege that in Paradise there is all the gold and silver and clothes and servants that his people can desire?' 'Certainly,' said Khabbab. 'Then give me till the day of resurrection until I return to that house and pay your debt there; for by God, you and your companion will be no more influential with God than I, and have no greater share in it.' So God revealed concerning him, 'Have you considered him who disbelieves Our signs and says, I shall be given wealth and children. Hath he studied the unseen?' so far as the words, 'and we shall inherit from him what he speaks of and he will come to us alone.'²

Abu Jahl met the apostle, so I have heard, and said to him, 'By God, Muhammad, you will either stop cursing our gods or we will curse the God you serve.' So God revealed concerning that, 'Curse not those to whom they pray other than God lest they curse God wrongfully through lack of knowledge.'³ I have been told that the apostle refrained from cursing their gods, and began to call them to Allah.

Al-Nadr b. al-Harith b. 'Aiqama b. Kalada b. 'Abdu Manaf whenever the apostle sat in an assembly and invited people to God, and recited the Quran, and warned the Quraysh of what had happened to former peoples, followed him when he got up and spoke to them about Rustum the Hero and Isfandiyar and the kings of Persia, saying, 'By God, Muhammad cannot tell a better story than I and his talk is only of old fables which he has

234

235

copied⁴ as I have.' So God revealed concerning him, 'And they say, Stories of the ancients which he has copied down, and they are read to him morning and night. Say, He who knows the secrets of heaven and earth has sent it down. Verily, He is merciful, forgiving.'¹

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

And again, 'Woe to every sinful liar who hears God's verses read before him. Then he continues in pride as though he had not heard them, as though in his ears was deafness. Tell him about a painful punishment' (206).²

The apostle sat one day, so I have heard, with al-Walid b. al-Mughira in the mosque, and al-Nadr b. al-Harith came and sat with them in the assembly where some of Quraysh were. When the apostle spoke al-Nadr interrupted him, and the apostle spoke to him until he silenced him. Then he read to him and to the others: 'Verily ye and what ye serve other than God is the fuel of hell. You will come to it. If these had been gods they would not have come to it, but all will be in it everlastingly. There is wailing and there they will not hear' (207).³

Then the apostle rose and 'Abdullah b. al-Ziba'ra al-Sahmi came and sat down. Al-Walid said to him: 'By God al-Nadr could not stand up to the (grand)son of 'Abdu'l-Muttalib just now and Muhammad alleged that we and our gods are fuel for hell.' 'Abdullah said: 'If I had found him I would have refuted him. Ask Muhammad, "Is everything which is worshipped besides God in Gehenna with those who worship it?" We worship the angels; the Jews worship 'Uzayr; and the Christians worship Jesus Son of Mary.' Al-Walid and those with him in the assembly marveled at 'Abdullah's words and thought that he had argued convincingly. When the apostle was told of this he said: 'Everyone who wishes to be worshipped to the exclusion of God will be with those who worship him. They worship only satans and those they have ordered to be worshipped.' So God revealed concerning that 'Those who have received kindness from us in the past will be removed far from it and will not hear its sound and they abide eternally in their heart's desire',⁴ i.e. Jesus Son of Mary and 'Uzayr and those rabbis and monks who have lived in obedience to God, whom the erring people worship as lords beside God. And He revealed concerning their assertion that they worship angels and that they are the daughters of God, 'And they say the Merciful has chosen a son, (exalted be He above this); nay, they are but honoured slaves, they do not speak before He speaks, and they carry out His commands', as far as the words, 'and he of them who says, I am God as well as He, that one we shall repay with Gehenna. Thus do they repay the sinful ones.'⁵

*****And He revealed concerning what he mentioned about Jesus, Son of Mary, that he was worshipped beside God, and the astonishment of al-Walid and those who were present, at his argument and disputation, 'And when Jesus, Son of Mary, was cited as an example thy people laughed thereat';¹ i.e. they rejected your attitude to what they say.²

Then He mentions Jesus, Son of Mary, and says, 'He was nothing but a slave to whom We showed favor and made him an example to the children of Israel. If We had wished We could have made from you angels to act as vice-regents in the earth. Verily, there is knowledge of the [last] hour, so doubt not about it but follow Me. This is an upright path,' i.e. the signs which I gave him in raising the dead and healing the sick, therein is sufficient proof of the knowledge of the hour. He says: 'Doubt not about it, but follow Me. This is an upright path.'

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

236

237

238

He did not say zanim in the sense of 'ignoble' to insult his ancestry, because God does not insult anyone's ancestry, but he confirmed thereby the epithet given to him so that he might be known. Zanim means an adopted member of the tribe. Al-Khatim al-Tamimi said in pagan days:

An outsider whom men invite as a supernumerary
As the legs are useless additions to the width of a pelt.

Al-Walid said: 'Does God send down revelations to Muhammad and ignore me, the greatest chief of Quraysh, to say nothing of Abu Mas'ud 'Amr b. 'Umayr al-Thaqafi, the chief of Thaqif, we being the great ones of Ta'if and Mecca?' So God sent down concerning him, so I am told, 'They said, if this Quran had been revealed to a great man of the two towns,' as far as the words, 'than what they amass'.⁴

Ubayy b. Khalaf b. Wahb b. Hudhafa and 'Uqba b. Abu Mu'ayt were very close friends. Now 'Uqba had sat and listened to the apostle and when Ubayy knew of that he came to him and said, 'Do I hear that you have sat with Muhammad and listened to him? I swear I will never see you or speak to you again (and he swore a great oath) if you do the same again, or if you do not go and spit in his face.' 'Uqba, the enemy of God, actually did this, God curse him. So God sent down concerning the pair of them, 'On the day that the sinner bites his hands, saying, would that I had chosen a path with the apostle,' as far as the words 'a deserter of men'.¹

Ubayy took to the apostle an old bone, crumbling to pieces, and said, 'Muhammad, do you allege that God can revivify this after it has decayed?' Then he crumbled it in his hand and blew the pieces in the apostle's face. The apostle answered : 'Yes, I do say that. God will raise it and you, after you have become like this. Then God will send you to Hell.' So God revealed concerning him, 'He gave us a parable, and he forgot that he was created, saying, who will revivify bones which are rotten? Say, He who gave them life in the first instance will revivify them. He who knows about all creation, who has made for you fire from the green wood, and lo, you kindle flame from it.'²

There met the apostle, as he was going round the Ka'ba, so I have been told,³ AL-Aswad b. al-Muttalib b. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza and al-Walid b. al-Mughira and Umayya b. Khalaf and al-'As b. Wa'il al-Sahmi, men of reputation among their people. They said: 'Muhammad, come let us worship what you worship, and you worship what we worship. You and we will combine in the matter. If what you worship is better than what we worship we will take a share of it, and if what we worship is better than what you worship, you can take a share of that.' So God revealed concerning them, 'Say, a disbelievers, I do not worship what you worship, and you do not worship what I worship, and I do not worship what you worship, and you do not worship what I worship; you have your religion and I have mine,'⁴ i.e. If you will only worship God on condition that I worship what you worship, I have no need of you at all. You can have your religion, all of it, and I have mine.

(T. Now the apostle was anxious for the welfare of his people, wishing to attract them as far as he could. It has been mentioned that he longed for a way to attract them, and the method he adopted is what Ibn Hamid told me that Salama said M. b. Ishaq told him from Yazid b. Ziyad of Medina from M. b. Ka'b al-Qurazi: When the apostle saw that his people turned their backs on him and he was pained by their estrangement from what he brought them from God he longed that there should come to him from God a message that would reconcile his people to him. Because of his love for his people and his anxiety over them it would delight him if the obstacle that made his task so difficult could be removed; so that he meditated on the project and longed for it and it was dear to him. Then God sent down 'By the star when it sets your comrade errs not and is not deceived, he

239

T.1192

speaks not from his own desire,' and when he reached His words 'Have you thought of al-Lat and al-'Uzza and Manat the third, the other',⁵ Satan, when he was meditating upon it, and desiring to bring it (*sc.* reconciliation) to his people, put upon his tongue 'these are the exalted Gharaniq' whose intercession is approved.² When Quraysh heard that, they were delighted and greatly pleased at the way in which he spoke of their gods and they listened to him; while the believers were holding that what their prophet brought them from their Lord was true, not suspecting a mistake or a vain desire or a slip, and when he reached the prostration³ and the end of the Sura in which he prostrated himself the Muslims prostrated themselves when their prophet prostrated confirming what he brought and obeying his command, and the polytheists of Quraysh and others who were in the mosque prostrated when they heard the mention of their gods, so that everyone in the mosque believer and unbeliever prostrated, except al-Walid b. al-Mughira who was an old man who could not do so, so he took a handful of dirt from the valley and bent over it. Then the people dispersed and Quraysh went out, delighted at what had been said about their gods, saying, 'Muhammad has spoken of our gods in splendid fashion. He alleged in what he read that they are the exalted Gharaniq whose intercession is approved.'

The news reached the prophet's companions who were in Abyssinia, it being reported that Quraysh had accepted Islam, so some men started to return while others remained behind. Then Gabriel came to the apostle and said, 'What have you done, Muhammad ? You have read to these people something I did not bring you from God and you have said what He did not say to you. The apostle was bitterly grieved and was greatly in fear of God. So God sent down (a revelation), for He was merciful to him, comforting him and making light of the affair and telling him that every prophet and apostle before him desired as he desired and wanted what he wanted and Satan interjected something into his desires as he had on his tongue. So God annulled what Satan had suggested and God established His verses i.e. you are just like the prophets and apostles. Then God sent down: 'We have not sent a prophet or apostle before you but when he longed Satan cast suggestions into his longing. But God will annul what Satan has suggested. Then God will establish his verses, God being knowing and wise.'⁴ Thus God relieved his prophet's grief, and made him feel safe from his fears and annulled what Satan had suggested in the words used above about their gods by his revelation 'Are yours the males and His the females? That were indeed an unfair division' (i.e. most unjust); 'they are nothing but names which your fathers gave them as far as the words 'to whom he pleases and accepts',⁵ i.e. how can the intercession of their gods avail with Him?

When the annulment of what Satan had put upon the prophet's tongue came from God, Quraysh said: 'Muhammad has repented of what he said about the position of your gods with Allah, altered it and brought some-thing else.' Now those two words which Satan had put upon the apostle's tongue were in the mouth of every polytheist and they became more violently hostile to the Muslims and the apostle's followers. Meanwhile those of his companions who had left Abyssinia when they heard that the people of Mecca had accepted Islam when they prostrated themselves with the apostle, heard when they approached Mecca that the report was false and none came into the town without the promise of protection or secretly. Of those who did come into Mecca and stayed there until he migrated to Medina and were present at Badr with him was 'Uthman b. 'Affan ... with his wife Ruqayya d. of the apostle and Abu Hudhayfa b. 'Utba with his wife Sahla d. of Suhayl, and a number of others, in all thirty-three men.¹

Abu Jahl b. Hisham, when God mentioned the tree of al-Zaqqum to strike terror into them, said: 'O Quraysh, do you know what the tree of al-Zaqqum with which Muhammad would scare you is?' When they said that

they did not he said: 'It is Yathrib dates buttered. By Allah, if we get hold of them we will gulp them down in one!' So God sent down concerning him, 'Verily the tree of al-Zaqqum is the food of the sinner like molten brass seething in their bellies like boiling water,'² i.e. it is not as he said (208). God revealed concerning it, 'And the tree which is cursed in the Quran; and We will frighten them, but it increases them in naught save great wickedness.'³

Al-Walid was having a long conversation with the apostle who greatly desired to convert him to Islam when I. Umm Maktum, a blind man, passed by and began to ask the apostle to recite the Quran. The prophet found this hard to bear and it annoyed him, because he was diverting him from al-Walid and spoiling the chance of his conversion; and when the man became importunate he went off frowning and left him. So God revealed concerning him, 'He frowned and turned his back when the blind man came to him' as far as the words 'in books honoured, exalted, and purified',⁴ i.e. I sent you only to be an evangelist and a reprover; I did not specify one person to the exclusion of another, so withhold not (the message) from him who seeks it, and do not waste time over one who does not want it (209).

THE RETURN OF THOSE WHO HAD FLED TO ABYSSINIA

241

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

From B. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Manaf b. Qusayy: 'Uthman b. 'Affan b. Abu'l-'As b. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams and his wife, the apostle's daughter Ruqayya; Abu Hudhayfa b. 'Utba b. Rabia and his wife Sahla d. Suhayl b. 'Amr; and one of their allies 'Abdullah b. Jahsh b. Ri'ab.

From B. Naufal b. 'Abdu Manaf: 'Utba b. Ghazwan, an ally of theirs from Qays b. 'Aylan.

From B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza b. Qusayy: al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwam b. Khuwaylid b. Asad.

From B. 'Abdu'l-Dar b. Qusayy: Mus'ab b. 'Umayr b. Hashim b. 'Abdu Manaf; and Suwaybit b. Sa'd .Harmala.

From B. 'Abd b. Qusayy: Tulayb b. 'Umayr b. Wahb.

From B. Zuhra b. Kilab: 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Auf b. 'Abdu 'Auf b. 'Abd b. al-Harith b. Zuhra; and al-Miqdad b. 'Amr an ally, and 'Abdullah b. Mas'ud also an ally.

From B. Makhzum b. Y Yaqaza: Abu Salama b. 'Abdu'l-Asad b. Hilal b. 'Abdullah b. 'Amr with his wife Umm Salama d. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira; and Shammās b. 'Uthman b. al-Sharid b. Suwayd b. Harmiy b. 'Amir; and Salama b. Hisham b. al-Mughira whom his uncle imprisoned in Mecca so that he did not get to Medina until after Badr and Uhud and the Trench; 'Ayyash b. Abu Rabi'a b. al-Mughira. He migrated to Medina with the prophet, and his two brothers on his mother's side followed him and brought him back to Mecca and held him there until the three battles were over. Their names were Abu Jahl and al-Harith, sons of Hisham. Of their allies 'Ammar b. Yasir, though it is doubted whether he went to Abyssinia or not; and Mu'attib b. 'Auf b. 'Amir b. Khuza'a.

From B. Jumah b. 'Amr b. Husays b. Ka'b: 'Uthman b. Maz'un b. Habib b. Wahb b. Hudhafa and his son al-Sa'ib b. 'Uthman; and Qudama b. Maz'un; and 'Abdullah b. Maz'un.

242

From B. Sahn b. 'Amr b. Husays b. Ka'b: Khunays b. Hudhafa b. Qays b. 'Adiy; and Hisham b. al-'As b. Wa'il who was imprisoned in Mecca after the apostle migrated to Medina until he turned up after the three battles above mentioned.

From B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b: 'Amir b. Rabi'a; one of their allies, with his wife Layla d. Abu Hathma b. Hudhafa b. Ghanim.

From B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy: 'Abdullah b. Makhrama b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza b. Abu Qays; 'Abdullah b. Suhayl b.'Amr. He was held back from the apostle of God when he emigrated to Medina until when the battle of Badr was joined he deserted the polytheists and joined the battle on the side of the apostle. Abu Sabra b. Abu Ruhm b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza with his wife Umm Kulthum d. Suhayl b. 'Amr; Sakran b. 'Amr b. 'Abdu Shams

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

From B. l-Harith b. Fihri: Abu 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrah whose name was 'Amir b. 'Abdullah; 'Amr b. al-Harith b. Zuhayr b. Abu Shaddad; Suhayl b. Bayda' who was the son of Wahn b. Rabi'a b. Hilal; and 'Amr

b. Abu Sarh). b. Rabi'a b. Hilal.

The total number of his companions who came to Mecca from Abyssinia was thirty-three men. The names given to us of those who entered under promise of protection are 'Uthman b. Maz'un protected by al-Walid b. al-Mughira; Abu Salama under the protection of Abu Talib who was his uncle, Abu Salama's mother being Barra d. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib.

'UTHMAN B. MAZ'UN RENOUNCES AL-WALID'S PROTECTION

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

[On another occasion when] Labid b. Rabi'a b. Malik b. Ja'far b. Kilab was in an assembly of the Quraysh when 'Uthman was present he recited a verse:

Everything but God is vain,

True! interjected 'Uthman; but when he went on:

And everything lovely must inevitably cease,

'Uthman cried, 'You lie! The joy of Paradise' will never cease.' Labid said: 'O men of Quraysh your friends never used to be annoyed thus. Since when has this sort of thing happened among you?' One of the audience answered: 'This is one of those louts with Muhammad. They have abandoned our religion. Take no notice of what he says.' 'Uthman objected so energetically that the matter became serious. Whereupon that man rose to his feet and hit him in the eye so that it became black. Now al-Walid was

hard by watching what happened to 'Uthman and he said: 'O nephew, your eye need not have suffered this had you remained in sure protection.' 'Uthman answered: 'Nay by God my good eye needs what happened to its fellow for God's sake, and I am under the protection of One who is stronger and more powerful than you, O Abu 'Abdu Shams.' Al-Walid only said, 'Come, nephew, my protection is airways open to you,' but he declined it.

HOW ABU SALAMA FARED WITH HIS PROTECTOR

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

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

A man whose uncle is Abu 'Utayba
 Is in a garden where he is free from violence.
 I say to him (and how does such a man need my advice?)
 O Abu Mu'tib stand firm upright.
 Never in your life adopt a course
 For which you will be blamed when men meet together.
 Leave the path of weakness to others,
 For you were not born to remain weak.
 Fight! For war is fair;
 You will never see a warrior humiliated till he surrenders.
 How should you when they have done you no great injury
 Nor abandoned you in the hour of victory or defeat?
 God requite for us 'Abdu Shams and Naufal and Taym
 And Makhzum for their desertion and wrong
 In parting from us after affection and amity
 So that they might get unlawful gains.
 By God's House you lie! Never will we abandon Muhammad
 Before you see a dust-raising day in the *shi'b* (210).¹

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

Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri from 'Urwa from 'A'isha told me that when the situation in Mecca became serious and the apostle and his companions suffered ill treatment from the Quraysh, Abu Bakr asked the apostle's permission to emigrate, and he agreed. So Abu Bakr set forth and when he had gone a day or two's journey from Mecca he fell in with Ibn al-Dughunna, the brother of the B. Harith b. 'Abdu Manat b. Kinana, who was at that time head of the Ahabish. (They were the B. al-Harith; and Al-Hun b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika; and the B. al-Mustaliq of Khuza'a.) (211.)

Replying to Ibn al-Dughunna's inquiries Abu Bakr told him that his people had driven him out and ill-treated him. 'But why,' he exclaimed, 'when you are an ornament of the tribe, a standby in misfortune, always kindly in supplying the wants of others? Come back with me under my

protection.' So he went back with him and Ibn al-Dughunna publicly proclaimed that he had taken him under his protection and none must treat him other than well.

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

'Abdu'l-Rahman b. al-Qasim told me from his father al-Qasim b. Muhammad that as Abu Bakr was going to the Ka'ba one of the loutish fellows of Quraysh met him and threw dust on his head. Al-Walid b. al-Mughira, or it may have been al-'As b. Wa'il, passed him and he said: 'Do you see what this lout has done to me?' He replied, 'You have done it to yourself!' Meanwhile he was saying three times 'O Lord how long-suffering Thou art!'

247

THE ANNULING OF THE BOYCOTT

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

He went to Zuhayr b. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira whose mother was 'Atika d. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib and said: 'Are you content to eat food and wear clothes and marry women while you know of the condition of your maternal uncles? They cannot buy or sell, marry, nor give in marriage. By God I swear that if they were the uncles of Abu'l-Hakam b. Hisham and you asked him to do what he has asked you to do he would never agree to it.' He said, 'Confound you, Hisham, what can I do? I'm only one man. By God if I had another man to back me I would soon annul it.' He said, 'I have found a man. Myself.' 'Find another,' said he. So Hisham went to Al-Mut'im b. 'Adiy and said, 'Are you content that two clans of the B. 'Abdu Manaf should perish while you look on consenting to follow Quraysh? You will find that they will soon do the same with you.' He made the same reply as Zuhayr and demanded a fourth man, so Hisham went to Abu'l-Bakhtari b. Hisham who asked for a fifth man, and then to Zama'a b. Al-Aswad b. al-Muttalib b. Asad and reminded him of their kinship and duties. He asked whether others were willing to cooperate in this task and he gave him the names of the others. They all arranged to meet at night on the nearest point

248

of al-Hajun above Mecca, and there they bound themselves to take up the question of the document until they had secured its annulment. Zuhayr claimed the right to act and speak first. So on the morrow when the people met together Zuhayr clad in a long robe went round the Ka'ba seven times; then he came forward and said: 'O people of Mecca, are we to eat and clothe ourselves while the B. Hashim perish, unable to buy or sell? By God I will not sit down until this evil boycotting document is tom up!' Abu Jahl, who was at the side of the mosque; exclaimed, 'You lie by Allah. It shall not be torn up.' Zama'a said, 'You are a greater liar; we were not satisfied with the document when it was written'. Abu'l-Bakhtari said, 'Zama'a is right. We are not satisfied with what is written and we don't hold with it.' AL-Mut'im said, 'You are both right and anyone who says otherwise is a liar. We take Allah to witness that we dissociate ourselves from the whole idea and what is written in the document.' Hisham spoke in the same sense. Abu Jahl said: 'This is a matter which has been decided overnight. It has been discussed somewhere else.' Now Abu Talib was sitting at the side of the mosque. When al-Mut'im went up to the document to tear it in pieces he found that worms had already eaten it except the words 'In Thy name O Allah'. (T. This was the customary formula with which Quraysh began their writing.) The writer of the deed was Mansur b. 'Ikrima. It is alleged that his hand shriveled (212).

249

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

Has not our Lord's doing come to the ears of those
 Far distant across the sea¹ (for Allah is very kind to men),
 Telling them that the deed was torn up
 And all that was against God's wish had been destroyed?
 Lies and sorcery were combined in it,
 But sorcery never gets the upper hand.
 Those not involved in it assembled together for it in a remote place²
 While its bird of ill omen hovered within its head.³
 It was such a heinous offence that it would be fitting
 That because of it hands and necks should be severed
 And that the people of Mecca should go forth and flee,
 Their hearts quaking for fear of evil
 And the ploughman be left in doubt what to do-
 Whether to go down to the lowland or up to the hills-
 And an army come up between Mecca's hills
 Equipped with bows, arrows, and spears.
 He of Mecca's citizens whose power rises
 (Let him know) that our glory in Mecca's vale is older.
 We grew up there when men were few
 And have ever waxed great in honor and reputation.
 We feed our guests till they leave a dish untasted
 When the hands of the *maysir* players would begin to tremble.
 God reward the people in al-Hajun who swore allegiance⁴
 To a chief who leads with decision and wisdom,
 Sitting by the near side of al-Hajun as though princes,
 Nay they are even more noble and glorious.
 Every bold man helped therein
 Clad in mail so long that it slowed his stride,
 Running to' portentous deeds
 Like a flame burning in the torchbearer's hands.
 The noblest of Lu'ayy b. Ghalib's line
 When they are wronged their faces show their anger.
 With long cord to his sword half his shank bare.
 For his sake the clouds give rain and blessing.

250

Prince son of prince of princely hospitality
 Gathering and urging food on his guests.
 Building and preparing safety for the tribesmen
 When we walk through the land.
 Every blameless man kept this peace.
 A great leader, there was he praised.
 They accomplished their work in a night
 While others slept; in the morning they took their ease.
 They sent back Sahl b. Baida' well pleased
 And Abu Bakr and Muhammad rejoiced thereat.
 When have others joined in our great exploits,
 From of old have we shown each other affection?
 Never have we approved injustice.
 We got what we wanted without violence.
 O men of Qusayy, won't you consider,
 Do you want what will befall you tomorrow?
 For you and I are as the words of the saying:
 'You have the explanation if you could only speak, O Aswad.'²

Mourning al-Mutim b. 'Adiy and mentioning his stand in getting the deed annulled, Hassan b. Thabit composed the following:³

251

Weep O eye the people's leader, be generous with thy tears.
 If they run dry, then pour out blood.
 Mourn the leader of both the pilgrim sites³
 To whom men owe gratitude so long as they can speak.
 If glory could immortalize anyone
 His glory would have kept Mutim alive today.
 You protected God's apostle from them and they became
 Thy slaves so long as men cry *labbayka* and don the pilgrim garb.
 If Ma'add and Qahtan and all the rest
 Of Jurhum were asked about him
 They would say he faithfully performs his duty to protect
 And if he makes a covenant he fulfils it.
 The bright sun above them does not shine
 On a greater and nobler than he;
 More resolute in refusing yet most lenient in nature,
 Sleeping soundly on the darkest night though responsible for his guest
 (213).

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

Is the protection of the Banu Umayya a bond
 As trustworthy a guarantee as that of Hisham?
 Such as do not betray their protégés
 Of the line of al-Harith b. Hubayyib b. Sukham.
 When the Banu Hishl grant protection
 They keep their word and their protégé lives securely.

AL-TUFAYL B. 'AMR AL-DAUSI ACCEPTS ISLAM

252

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

Al-Tufayl used to say that he came to Mecca when the apostle was there and some of the Quraysh immediately came up to him. (He was a poet of standing and an intelligent man.) They told him that this fellow had done them much harm; had divided their community and broken up its unity; 'in

253

fact he talks like a sorcerer separating a man from his father, his brother, or his wife. We are afraid that he will have the same effect on you and your people, so don't speak to him or listen to a word from him.'

They were so insistent that I decided not to listen to a word or to speak to him and I went so far as to stuff cotton in my ears when I went to the mosque fearing that I might overhear a word or two against my will. When I got to the mosque there was the apostle of God standing at prayer by the Ka'ba, so I stood near him. God had decreed that I should hear something of his speech and I heard a beautiful saying. So I said to myself, 'God bless my soul! Here am I, an intelligent man, a poet, knowing perfectly well the difference between good and evil, so what is to prevent me from listening to what this man is saying? If it is good I shall accept it; if it is bad I shall reject it.'

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

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

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

Then my wife came to me and I said: 'Be off with you, for I have nothing to do with you or you with me'. 'Why?' she said, 'my father and mother be your ransom!' I said, 'Islam has divided us and I follow the religion of Muhammad.' She said, 'Then my religion is your religion.' I said, 'Then go to the *hina*¹ (207) (temenos?) of Dhu'l-Shara² and cleanse yourself from it.' Now Dhu'l-Shara was an image belonging to Daus and the *hima* was the temenos which they had made sacred to him; in it there was a trickle of water from a rivulet from the mountain. She asked me urgently, 'Have you any fear from Dhu'l-Shara on my account's 'No,' I said, 'I will go surety for that.' So she went and washed and when she returned I explained Islam to her and she became a Muslim.

Then I preached Islam to Daus but they held back, and I went to the apostle in Mecca and said, 'O prophet of God, frivolous preoccupation⁴ has been too much for me with Daus, so invoke a curse on them.' But he said, 'O God, guide Daus! Go back to your people and preach to them gently.' I continued in the Daus country calling them to Islam until the apostle migrated to Medina and Badr, Uhud, and the Trench were passed. Then I went to the apostle with my converts while he was in Khaybar. I arrived at Medina with seventy or eighty households of Daus, and then we joined the apostle in Khaybar and he gave us an equal share of the booty with the Muslims.

I remained with the apostle until God opened Mecca to him and then I asked him to send me to burn Dhu'l-Kaffayn,¹ the image of 'Amr b. Humama. As he lit the fire he said:

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

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

255

THE AFFAIR OF THE IRASHITE WHO SOLD HIS CAMELS TO ABU JAHL

257

Despite Abu Jahl's hostility, hatred, and violence towards the apostle God humiliated him before him whenever he saw him.

I was told by 'Abdu'l-Malik b. 'Abdullah b. Abu Sufyan al Thaqafi who had a good memory: A man from 'Irash (209) brought some camels of his to Mecca and Abu Jahl bought them from him. He kept back the money, so the man came to the assembly of Quraysh when the apostle was sitting at the side of the mosque and said: 'Who among you will help me to get what is due to me from Abu'l-Hakam b. Hisham? I am a stranger, a wayfarer, and he will not pay his debt.' They said: 'Do you see that man sitting there?' pointing to the apostle. (In fact they were making game of him for they knew quite well of the enmity between him and Abu Jahl.) 'Go to him. He'll help you to your right.'

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

Then the man they had sent after them came back and reported what he had seen. 'It was extraordinary,' he said; 'he had hardly knocked on the door when out he came breathless with agitation,' and he related what had been said. Hardly had he done so when Abu Jahl himself came

258

up and they said: 'Whatever has happened, man ? We've never seen anything like what you've done.' 'Confound you,' he said; 'By God as soon as he knocked on my door and I heard his voice I was filled with terror. And when I went out to him there was a camel stallion towering above his head. I've never seen such a head and shoulders and such teeth on a stallion before. By God, if I'd refused to pay up he would have eaten me.'

RUKANA AL-MUTTALIBI WRESTLES WITH THE APOSTLE

My father Ishaq b. Yasar told me saying: Rukana b. 'Abdu Yazid b. Hashim b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib b. 'Abdu Manaf was the strongest man among Quraysh, and one day he met the apostle in one of the passes of Mecca alone: 'Rukana,' said he, 'why won't you fear God and accept my preaching?' 'If I knew that what you say is true I would follow you,' he said. The apostle then asked him if he would recognize that he spoke the truth if he threw him, and when he said Yes they began to wrestle, and when the apostle got a firm grip of him he threw him to the ground, he being unable to offer any effective resistance. 'Do it again, Muhammad,' he said, and he did it again. 'This is extraordinary,' he said, 'can you really throw me?' 'I can show you something more wonderful than that if you wish. I will call this tree that you see and it will come to me.' 'Call it,' he said. He

called it and it advanced until it stood before the apostle. Then he said, 'Retire to your place,' and it did so.

Then Rukana went to his people the B. 'Abdu Mana and told them that their tribesman could compete with any sorcerer in the world, for he had never seen such sorcery in his life, and he went on to tell them of what he had seen and what Muhammad had done.

A DEPUTATION OF CHRISTIANS ACCEPT ISLAM

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

It is said that these Christians came from Najran, but God knows whether that was so. It is also said, and again God knows best, that it was in reference to them that the verses 'Those to whom we brought the book aforetime, they believe in it. And when it is read to them they say We believe in it. Verily it is the truth from our Lord. Verily aforetime we were Muslims,' as far as the words, 'We have our works and you have your works. Peace be upon you; we desire not the ignorant.'²

I asked Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri about those to whom these verses had reference and he told me that he had always heard from the 'learned that they were sent down concerning the Negus and his companions and also the verses from the *sura* of The Table from the words 'That is because there are of them presbyters and monks and because they are not proud' up to the words 'So inscribe us with those who bear witness'.³

When the apostle used to sit in the mosque with his more insignificant companions such as Khabbab, 'Ammar, Abu Fukayha, Yasar, freedman of Safwan b. Umayya b. Muharrith, Suhayb, and their like, Quraysh used to jeer at them and say to one another, 'These are his companions, as you see. Is it such creatures that God has chosen from among us to give guidance and truth? If what Muhammad has brought were a good thing these fellows would not have been the first to get it, and God would not have put them before us.' God revealed concerning them: 'Drive not away those who call upon their Lord night and morning seeking His face. You are in no way responsible for them, and they are in no way responsible for you, so that you should drive them away and become an evildoer. Thus We tempt some by others that they may say, Are these they whom God has favored among us? Does not God know best about the grateful? And when those who believe in Our signs come to thee say Peace be upon you. Your Lord hath prescribed for Himself mercy that he who doeth evil in ignorance and repenteth afterwards and doeth right (to him) He is forgiving, merciful.'¹

According to my information the apostle used often to sit at al-Marwa at the booth of a young Christian called Jabr,² a slave of the B. al-Hadrami, and they used to say 'The one who teaches Muhammad most of what he brings is Jabr the Christian, slave of the B. al-Hadrami.' Then God revealed in reference to their words 'We well know that they say, "Only a mortal teaches him".' The tongue of him at whom they hint is foreign, and this is a clear Arabic tongue (218).³

THE COMING DOWN OF THE SURA AL-KAUTHAR

I have been told that when the apostle was mentioned Al-'As b. Wa'il al-Sahmi used to say, 'Let him alone for he is only a childless man with no offspring. If he were to die, his memory would perish and you would have rest from him.' God sent down in reference to that: 'We have given you al-Kauthar,'⁴ something which is better for you than the world and all that it holds. Kauthar means 'great'. Labid b. Rabi'a al-Kilab¹ said:

We were distressed at the death of the owner of Maihub⁵
And at al-Rida⁶ is the house of another great man (*kauthar*) (219).

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

In this connection (or perhaps some other) I heard that he said: 'He that drinketh thereof shall never thirst.'¹

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

The apostle called his people to Islam and preached to them, and Zama'a b. al-Aswad, and al-Nadr b. al-Harith, and al-Aswad b. 'Abdu

Yaghuth, and Ubayy b. Khalaf, and al-'As b. Wa'il said: "O Muhammad, if an angel had been sent with thee to speak to men about thee and to be seen with thee!" Then God sent down concerning these words of theirs: 'They say Why hath not an angel been sent down to him? If We sent an angel down the matter would be settled; they would be given no more time. Had We appointed him an angel We would have appointed him as a man and We should have obscured for them what they obscure.'²

THE COMING DOWN OF 'APOSTLES HAVE BEEN MOCKED BEFORE THEE'

I have heard that the apostle passed by al-Walid b. al-Mughira and Umayya b. Khaiaf and Abu Jahl b. Hisham and they reviled and mocked him, and this caused him distress. So God sent down to him concerning this: 'Apostles have been mocked before thee, but that which they mocked at hemmed them in.'³

THE NIGHT JOURNEY AND THE ASCENT TO HEAVEN

Ziyad b. 'Abdullah al-Bakka'i from Muhammad b. Ishaq told me the following: Then the apostle was carried by night from the mosque at Mecca to the Masjid al-Aqsa, which is the temple of Aelia, when Islam had spread in Mecca among the Quraysh and all the tribes.

The following account reached me from 'Abdullah b. Mas'ud and Abu Sa'id al-Khudri, and 'Aisha the prophet's wife, and Mu'awiya b. Abu Sufyan, and Al-Hasan b. Abu'l-Hasan al-Basri, and Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri and Qatada and other traditionists, and Umm Hani' d. of Abu Taiib. It is pieced together in the story that follows, each one contributing something of what he was told about what happened when he was taken on the night journey. The matter of the place⁴ of the journey and what is said about it is a searching test and a matter of God's power and authority wherein is a lesson for the intelligent; and guidance and mercy and strengthening to those who believe. It was certainly an act of God by which He took him by night in what way He pleased¹ to show him His signs which He willed him to see so that he witnessed His mighty sovereignty and power by which He does what He wills to do.

According to what I have heard 'Abdullah b. Mas'ud used to say: Buraq, the animal whose every stride carried it as far as its eye could reach On which the prophets before him used to ride was brought to the apostle and he was mounted on it. His companion (Gabriel) went with him to see the wonders between heaven and earth, until he came to Jerusalem's temple. There he found Abraham the friend of God, Moses, and Jesus assembled with a company of the prophets, and he prayed with them. Then he was brought three vessels containing milk, wine, and water respectively; The apostle said: 'I heard a voice saying when these were offered to me: If he takes the water he will be drowned and his people also; if he takes the wine he will go astray and his people also; and if he takes the milk he will be rightly guided and his people also. So I took the vessel containing milk and drank it. Gabriel said to me, You have been rightly guided and so will your people be, Muhammad.'

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

down each forefoot at the limit of its sight and he mounted me on it. Then he went out with me keeping close to me.

I was told that Qatada said that he was told that the apostle said: 'When I came up to mount him he shied. Gabriel placed his hand on its mane and said, Are you not ashamed, a Buraq, to behave in this way? By God, none more honorable before God than Muhammad has ever ridden you before. The animal was so ashamed that he broke out into a sweat and stood still so that I could mount him.'

In his story al-Hasan said: 'The apostle and Gabriel went their way until they arrived at the temple at Jerusalem. There he found Abraham, Moses, and Jesus among a company of the prophets. The apostle acted as their imam in prayer. Then he was brought two vessels, one containing wine and the other milk. The apostle took the milk and drank it, leaving the wine. Gabriel said : "You have been rightly guided to the way of nature² and so will your people be, Muhammad. Wine is forbidden you." Then the apostle returned to Mecca and in the morning he told Quraysh what had happened. Most of them said, "By God, this is a plain absurdity! A caravan takes a month to go to Syria and a month to return and can Muhammad do the return journey in one night?" Many Muslims gave up their faith; some went to Abu Bakr and said, "What do you think of your friend now, Abu Bakr? He alleges that he went to Jerusalem last night and prayed there and came back to Mecca." He replied that they were lying about the apostle; but they said that he was in the mosque at that very moment telling the people about it. Abu Bakr said, "If he says so then it is true. And what is so surprising in that? He tells me that communications from God from heaven to earth come to him in an hour of a day or night and I believe him, and that is more extraordinary than that at which you boggle!" He then went to the apostle and asked him if these reports were true, and when he said they were, he asked him to describe Jerusalem to him.' Al-Hasan said that he was lifted up so that he could see the apostle speaking as he told Abu Bakr what Jerusalem was like. Whenever he described a part of it he said, 'That's true. I testify that you are the apostle of God' until he had completed the description, and then the apostle said, 'And you, Abu Bakr, are the *Siddiq*.'¹ This was the occasion on which he got this honorific.

Al-Hasan continued: God sent down concerning those who left Islam for this reason: 'We made the vision which we showed thee only for a test to men and the accursed tree in the Quran. We put them in fear, but it only adds to their heinous error.'² Such is al-Hasan's story with additions from Qatada.

One of Abu Bakr's family told me that 'Aisha the prophet's wife used to say: 'The apostle's body remained where it was but God removed his spirit by night.'

Ya'qub b. 'Utba b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas told me that Mu'awiya b. Abu Sufyan when he was asked about the apostle's night journey said, 'It was a true vision from God.' What these two latter said does not contradict what Al-Hasan said, seeing that God Himself said, 'We made the vision which we showed thee only for a test to men;' nor does it contradict what God said in the story of Abraham when he said to his son, 'O my son, verily I saw in a dream that I must sacrifice thee,'³ and he acted accordingly. Thus, as I see it revelation from God comes to the prophets waking or sleeping.

I have heard that the apostle used to say, 'My eyes sleep while my heart is awake.' Only God knows how revelation came and he saw what he saw. But whether he was asleep or awake, it 'was all true and actually happened.

AL-Zuhri alleged⁴ as from Sa'id b. al-Musayyab that the apostle described to his companions Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, as he saw them

that night, saying: 'I have never seen a man more like myself than Abraham.

Moses was a ruddy faced man, tall, thinly fleshed, curly haired with a hooked nose as though he were of the Shanu'a. Jesus, Son of Mary, was a reddish man of medium height with lank hair with many freckles on his face as though he had just come from a bath.¹ One would suppose that his head was dripping with water, though there was no water on it. The man most like him among you is 'Urwa b. Mas'ud al-Thaqafi (221).'

The following report has reached me from Umm Hani' d. of Abu Taiib, whose name was Hind, concerning the apostle's night journey. She said: 'The apostle went on no night journey except while he was in my house. He slept that night in my house. He prayed the final night prayer, then he slept and we slept. A little before dawn the apostle woke us, and when we had prayed the dawn prayer he said, "O Umm Hani', I prayed with you the last evening prayer in this valley as you saw. Then I went to Jerusalem and prayed there. Then I have just prayed the morning prayer with you as you see." He got up to go out and I took hold of his robe and laid bare his belly as though it were a folded Egyptian garment. I said, "O prophet of God, don't talk to the people about it for they will give you the lie and insult you." He said, "By God, I certainly will tell them." I said to a Negress, a slave of mine, Follow the apostle and listen to what he says to the people, and what they say to him. He did tell them and they were amazed and asked what proof he had. He replied that he had passed the caravan of so-and-so in such-and-such a valley and the animal he bestrode scared them and a camel bolted, "and I showed them where it was as I was on the way to Syria. I carried on until in Dajanan² I passed by a caravan of the Banu so-and-so. I found the people asleep. They had a jar of water covered with something. I took the covering off and drank the water replacing the cover. The proof of that is that their caravan is this moment coming down from al-Baida' by the pass of al-Tan'im³ led by a dusky camel loaded with two sacks one black and the other multihued". The people hurried to the pass and the first camel they met was as he had described. They asked the men about the vessel and they told them that they had left it full of water and covered it and that when they woke it was covered but empty. They asked the others too who were in Mecca and they said that it was quite right: they had been scared and a camel had bolted, and they had heard a man calling them to it so that they were able to recover it.'

THE ASCENT TO HEAVEN

One whom I have no reason to doubt told me on the authority of Abu Sa'id al-Khudri: I heard the apostle say, 'After the completion of my business in Jerusalem a ladder was brought to me finer than any I have ever seen. It was that to which the dying man looks when death approaches. My companion mounted it with me until we came to one of the gates of heaven called the Gate of the Watchers. An angel called Isma'il was in charge of it, and under his command were twelve thousand angels each of them having twelve thousand angels under his command.' As he told this story the apostle used to say, 'and none knows the armies of God but He.'¹ When Gabriel brought me in, Isma'il asked who I was, and when he was told that I was Muhammad he asked if I had been given a mission,² and on being assured of this he wished me well.

A traditionist who had got it from one who had heard it from the apostle told me that the latter said: 'All the angels who met me when I entered the lowest heaven smiled in welcome and wished me well except one who said the same things but did not smile or show that joyful expression which the

others had. And when I asked Gabriel the reason he told me that if he had ever smiled on anyone before or would smile on anyone hereafter he would have smiled on me; but he does not smile because he is Malik, the Keeper of Hell. I said to Gabriel, he holding the position with regard to God which he has described to you "obeyed there, trustworthy",³ "Will you not order him to show me hell?" And he said, "Certainly! o Malik, show Muhammad Hell." Thereupon he removed its covering and the flames blazed high into the Air until I thought that they would consume everything. So I asked Gabriel to order him to send them back to their place which he did. I can only compare the effect of their withdrawal to the failing of a shadow, until when the flames retreated whence they had come, Malik placed their cover on them.'

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

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

'Then I saw men in the way of the family of Pharaoh,⁴ with such bellies as I have never seen; there were passing over them as it were camels maddened by thirst when they were cast into hell, treading them down, they being unable to move out of the way. These were the usurers.

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

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

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

To continue the tradition of Sa'id al-Khudri: 'Then I was taken up to the second heaven and there were the two maternal cousins Jesus, Son of Mary, and John, son of Zakariah. Then to the third heaven and there was a man whose face was as the moon at the full. This was my brother Joseph, son of Jacob. Then to the fourth heaven and there was a man called Idris. "And we have exalted him to a lofty place."¹ Then to the fifth heaven and there was a man with white hair and a long beard, never have I seen a more handsome man than he. This was the beloved among his people Aaron son of 'Imran. Then to the sixth heaven, and there was a dark man with a hooked nose like the Shamu'a. This was my brother Moses, son of 'Imran. Then to the seventh heaven and there was a man sitting on a throne at the gate of the immortal mansion.² Every day seventy thousand angels went in not to come back until the resurrection day. Never have I seen a man more like myself. This was my father Abraham. Then he took me into Paradise and there I saw a damsel with dark red lips and I asked her to whom she belonged, for she pleased me much when I saw her, and she told me "Zayd b. Haritha". The apostle gave Zayd the good news about her.'

From a tradition of 'Abdullah b. Mas'ud from the prophet there has reached me the following: When Gabriel took him up to each of the heavens and asked permission to enter he had to say whom he had brought and whether he had received a mission³ and they would say 'God grant him

life, brother and friend!' until they reached the seventh heaven and his Lord. There the duty of fifty prayers a day was laid upon him.

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

HOW GOD DEALT WITH THE MOCKERS

The apostle remained firm counting on God's assistance; admonishing his people in spite of their branding him as a liar and insulting and mocking him. The principal offenders-so Yazid b. Ruman from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me-were five men who were respected and honoured among their tribesmen: of the B. Asad ... was al-Aswad b. al-Muttalib b. Asad Abu Zama'a. (I have heard that the apostle had cursed him for his insults and mockery, saying, 'O God, blind him and bereave him of his son!') Of the B. Zuhra ... was al-Aswad b. 'Abdu Yaghuth. Of the B. Makhzum ... was al-Walid b. al-Mughira ... Of the B. Sahn b. 'Amr ... was al-'As b. Wa'il b. Hisham (222). Of the B. Khuza'a was al-Harith b. al-Tulatila b. 'Amr b. al-Harith b. 'Abd b. 'Amr b. Lu'ayy b. Malakan.

When they persisted in evil and constantly mocked the apostle, God revealed: 'Proclaim what you have been ordered and turn away from the polytheists. We will surely protect you against the mockers who put another god beside God. In the end they will know.'¹

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

THE STORY OF ABU UZAYHIR AL-DAUSI

When al-Walid's death was near he summoned his three sons Hisham, al-Walid, and Khalid and said: 'My sons, I charge you with three duties; be not remiss in any of them. My blood lies on the Khuza'a: don't let it remain uncompensated. I know that they are innocent of it, but I fear that you may be ill spoken of because of it when I am dead. Thaqif owe me money in interest; see that you get it. Lastly my dowry money is with Abu Uzayhir al-Dausi. Don't let him keep it.' Now Abu Uzayhir had married him to a daughter of his and then withheld her from him and did not let him have access to her up to the day of his death.

272

273

When al-Walid died, the B. Makhzum leaped upon Khuza'a demanding blood-money for al-Walid, saying, 'It was your man's arrow that killed him.' He was one of the B. Ka'b, an ally of the B. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib b. Hashim. Khuza'a refused their demand and a competition in verse followed and the situation became tense. The man whose arrow had killed al-Walid was one of the B. Ka'b b. 'Amr of Khuza'a, and 'Abdullah b. Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira b. 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. Makhzum composed the following lines: ¹

I'll wager that you'll soon run away
And leave al-Zahran with its yelping foxes.
And that you'll leave the water in the vale of Atriqa
And that you'll ask which Arak trees are the best.
We are folk who do not leave our blood unavenged
And those we fight do not get to their feet again.

Al-Zahran and al-Arak were camping-grounds of the B. Ka'b of Khuza'a.

Al-Jaun b. Abu'l-Jaun, brother of the B. Ka'b b. 'Amr al-Khuza'i, answered him:

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

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

Many a man and woman when we made peace
Spoke in surprise of what we paid for al-Walid.
'Did you not swear that you would not pay unjust compensation for al-Walid
Until you had seen a day of great misfortune?'
But we have exchanged¹ war for peace
Now every traveler may go safely where he will.

But al-Jaun did not stop there but went on to boast of the killing of al-Walid, saying that they had brought about his end, All of which was false. As a result al-Walid, his son, and his tribe met what they had been warned against. Al-Jaun said:

Did not al-Mughira claim that in Mecca Ka'b was a great force?
Don't boast, Mughira, because you see us
True Arabs and by-blows walk its streets.
We and our fathers were born there
As surely as Thabir stands in its place.
Al-Mughira said that to learn our state
Or to stir up war between us.
For Walid's blood will not be paid for:
You know that we do not pay for blood we shed.
The auspicious warrior hit him with an arrow
Poisoned, while he was full and out of breath.
He fell full length in Mecca's vale.
'Twas as though a camel fell.
'Twill save me delaying payment for Abu Hisham with
Miserable² little curly haired camels (223).

Then Hisham b. al-Walid attacked Abu Uzayhir while he was in the market of Dhu'l-Majaz. Now his daughter 'Atika was the wife of Abu Sufyan b. Barb. Abu Uzayhir was a chief among his people and Hisham killed him for the dowry money belonging to al-Walid which he had re-tained, in accordance with his father's dying injunction. This happened after the apostle's migration to Medina. Badr was over and many of the leaders of heathen Quraysh had been slain. Yazid b. Abu Sufyan went out and collected the B. 'Abdu Manaf while Abu Sufyan was in Dhu'l-Majaz, and people said Abu Sufyan's honor in the matter of his father-in-law had been violated and he will take vengeance for him. When Abu Sufyan heard of what his son Yazid had done he came down to Mecca as fast as he could. He was a mild but astute man who loved his people exceedingly, and he was afraid that there might be serious trouble among Quraysh because of Abu Uzayhir. So he went straight to his son, who was armed among his people the B. 'Abdu Manaf and the 'scented ones', took his spear out of his hand and hit him hard on the head with it, saying, 'God damn you! Do you wish to cause civil war among Quraysh for the sake of a man from Daus ? We will pay them the bloodmoney if they will accept it.' Thus he put an end to the matter.

Hassan b. Thabit composed the following lines to excite feeling for the murder of Abu Uzayhir and to bring shame on Abu Sufyan for his cowardice and betrayal of trust:

The people on both sides of Dhu'l-Majaz rose one morning,
 But Ibn Harb's protégé in Mughammas¹ did not!
 The farting donkey did not protect him he was bound to defend.²
 Hind did not avert her father's shame.
 Hisham b. al- Walid covered you with his garments,
 Wear them out and mend new ones like them later.
 He got what he wanted from him and became famous,
 But you were utterly useless.
 If the shaykhs at Badr had been present
 The people's sandals would have been red with blood newly shed.

When he heard of this satire Abu Sufyan said: 'Hassan wants us to fight one another for the sake of a man from Daus. By God, what a poor idea!'

Khalid b. al-Walid when the people of Ta'if became Muslims spoke to the apostle about his father's interest which Thaqif owed him, and a traditionist told me that those verses which prohibit the carrying over of usury from the Jahiliya arose out of Khalid's demanding interest: 'O ye who believe, fear God and give up what usury remains to you if you are (really) believers', to the end of the passage.³

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

God reward Umm Ghaylan and her women well
 For their coming without their finery with disheveled hair.
 They saved us at death's very door
 When the avengers of blood came forth.

She called on Daus and the sandbanks flowed with glory,
The streams on either side carried it on.
God requite 'Amr well. He was not weak,
He did his best for me.
I drew my sword and made play with its edge
For whom should I fight but myself (224)?

THE DEATH OF ABU TALIB AND KHADIJA

Those of his neighbors who ill-treated the apostle in his house were Abu Lahab, al-Hakam b. Abu'l-As ... , 'Uqba b. Abu Mu'ayt, 'Adiy b. Hamra' al-Thaqafi, and Ibnu'l-Asda' al-Hudhali. Not one of them became a Muslim except al-Hakam. I have been told that one of them used to throw a sheep's uterus at him while he was praying; and one of them used to throw it into his cooking-pot when it had been placed ready for him. Thus the apostle was forced to retire to a wall when he prayed. 'Umar b. 'Abdul-lah b. 'Urwa b. Zubayr told me on the authority of his father that when they threw this objectionable thing at him the apostle took it out on a stick, and standing at the door of his house, he would say, " O Banu 'Abdu Manaf, what sort of protection is this?" Then he would throw it into the street.

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

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

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

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

Abu Talib said, 'Nephew, I don't think that you asked them anything extraordinary.' On hearing this the apostle had hopes that he would accept Islam, and he said at once, 'You say it, uncle, and then I shall be able to

277

278

intercede for you on Resurrection Day.' Seeing the apostle's eagerness he replied, 'Were it not that I fear that you and your father's sons would be abused after my death and that Quraysh would think that I had only said it in fear of death, I would say it. I should only say it to give you pleasure.' As his death was near, al-'Abbas looked at him as he was moving his lips and put his ear close to him and said, 'Nephew, by God, my brother has spoken the word you gave him to say.' The apostle replied, 'I did not hear it.'

God revealed concerning the people who came to him with their propo-sals: 'Sad. By the renowned Quran, Nay, those who disbelieve are in pride and schism' as far as the words 'Does he make the gods one God. This is an extraordinary thing. Their chiefs went off saying: Go and remain true to your gods. This is a thing designed. We have not heard of this in the last religion,'¹ (meaning Christians because they say) 'Verily God is the third of three.'² 'This is nothing but an invention.'³ Then Abu Talib died.

THE APOSTLE GOES TO THAQIF TO SEEK HELP

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

Yazid b. Ziyad told me from Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazi: 'When the apostle arrived at al- Ta'if he made for a number of Thaqif who were at that time leaders and chiefs, namely three brothers: 'Abdu Yalayl, Mas'ud, and Habib, sons of 'Amr b. 'Umayr b. 'Auf b. 'Uqda b. Ghiyara b. 'Auf b. Thaqif. One of them had a Quraysh wife of the B. Jumah. The apostle sat with them and invited them to accept Islam and asked them to help him against his opponents at home. One of them swore that he would tear up the covering⁴ of the Ka'ba if God had sent him.⁴ The other said, "Could not God have found someone better than you to send?" The third said, "By God, don't let me ever speak to you. If you are an apostle from God as you say you are, you are far too important for me to reply to, and if you are lying against God it is not right that I should speak to you!" So the apostle got up and went, despairing of getting any good out of Thaqif.

I have been told that he said to them, "Seeing that you have acted as you have, keep the matter secret," for he was loath that his people should hear about it, so that they would be still further emboldened against him (225). But they did not do so and stirred up their louts and slaves to insult him and cry after him until a crowd came together, and compelled him to take refuge in an orchard belonging to 'Utba b. Rabi'a and his brother Shayba who were in it at the time. The louts who had followed him went back, and he made for the shade of a vine and sat there while the two men watched him, observing what he had to endure from the local louts. I was told that the apostle had met the woman from the B. J umah and said to her, "What has befallen us from your husband's people?"

'When the apostle reached safety he said, so I am told, "O God, to Thee I complain of my weakness, little resource, and lowliness before men. O Most Merciful, Thou art the Lord of the weak, and Thou art my Lord. To whom wilt Thou confide me? To one afar who will misuse me? Or to an enemy to whom Thou hast given power over me? If Thou art not angry with me I care not. Thy favor is more wide for me. I take refuge in the light of Thy countenance by which the darkness is illumined, and the things of this world and the next are rightly ordered, lest Thy anger descend upon me or Thy wrath light upon me. It is for Thee to be satisfied until Thou art well pleased. There is no power and no might save in Thee."

'When 'Utba and Shayba saw what happened they were moved with compassion and called a young Christian slave of theirs called 'Addas and told him to take a bunch of grapes on a platter and give them to him to eat. 'Addas did so, and when the apostle put his hand in the platter he said "In

the name of God" before eating. 'Addas looked closely into his face and said, "By God, this is not the way the people of this country speak." The apostle then asked "Then from what country do you come, O 'Addas? and what is your religion?" He replied that he was a Christian and came from Nineveh. "From the town of the righteous man Jonah son of Mattal," said the apostle. "But how did you know about him?" asked 'Addas. "He is my brother; he was a prophet and I am a prophet," answered the apostle. 'Addas bent over him and kissed his head, his hands, and his feet.

"The two brothers were looking on and one said to the other, "He's already corrupted your slave!" And when 'Addas came back they said to him : "You rascal, why were you kissing that man's head, hands, and feet?" He answered that he was the finest man in the country who had told him things that only a prophet could know. They replied, "You rascal, don't let him seduce you from your religion, for it is better than his."

"Then the apostle returned from Ta'if when he despaired of getting anything out of Thaqif. When he reached Nakhla¹ he rose to pray in the middle of the night, and a number of jinn whom God has mentioned

passed by. They were-so I am told-seven jinn from Nasibin. They listened to him and when he had finished his prayer they turned back to their people to warn them having believed and responded to what they had heard. God has mentioned them in the words" And when We inclined to thee certain of the jinn who were listening to the Quran" as far as "and He will give you protection from a painful punishment" And again, "Say: It has been revealed unto me that a number of the jinn listened."²

THE APOSTLE OFFERS HIMSELF TO THE TRIBES

When the apostle returned to Mecca his people opposed him more bitterly than ever, apart from the few lower-class people who believed in him. (T. One of them said that when the apostle left al-Ta'if making for Mecca a Meccan passed and he asked him if he would take a message for him; and when he said that he would he told him to go to al-Akhnas b. Shariq and say, 'Muhammad says: Will you give me protection so that I may convey the message of my Lord?' When the man delivered his message al-Akhnas replied that an ally could not give protection against a member of the home tribe. When he told the apostle of this he asked him if he would go back and ask Suhayl b. 'Amr for his protection in the same words. Suhayl sent word that the B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy do not give protection against B. Ka'b. He then asked the man if he would go back and make the same application to al-Mutim b. 'Adiy. The latter said, 'Yes, let him enter,' and the man came back and told the apostle. In the morning al-Mutim having girt on his weapons, he and his sons and his nephews went into the mosque. When Abu Jahl saw him he asked, 'Are you giving protection or following him?' 'Giving protection, of course,' he said. 'We give protection to him whom you protect,' he said. So the prophet came into Mecca and dwelt there. One day he went into the sacred mosque when the polytheists were at the Ka'ba, and when Abu Jahl saw him he said, 'This is your prophet, O B. 'Abdu Manaf.' 'Utba b. Rabi'a replied: 'And why should you take it amiss if we have a prophet or a king?' The prophet was told of this, or he may have heard it, and he came to them and said, 'O 'Utba, you were not angry on God's behalf or his apostle's behalf, but on your own account. As for you, O Abu Jahl, a great blow of fate will come upon you so that you will laugh little and weep much; and as for you, O Leaders of Quraysh, a great blow of fate will come upon you so that you will experience what you most abhor and that perforce!')³

The apostle offered himself to the tribes of Arabs at the fairs whenever opportunity came, summoning them to God and telling them that he was a prophet who had been sent. He used to ask them to believe in him and

protect him until God should make clear to them the message with which he had charged his prophet.

One of our friends whom I hold above suspicion told me from Zayd b. Aslam from Rabi'a b. 'Ibad al-Dili or from one whom Abu al-Zinad had told (226) and Husayn b. 'Abdullah b. 'Ubaydullah b. 'Abbas told me: 'I heard my father telling Rabi'a b. 'Abbad that when he was a youngster with his father in Mina when the apostle used to stop by the Arab encampments and tell them that he was the apostle of God who ordered them to worship Him and not associate anything with Him, and to renounce the rival gods which they worshipped, and believe in His apostle and protect him until God made plain His purpose in sending him, there followed him an artful spruce fellow with two locks of hair, wearing an Aden cloak. When the apostle finished his appeal he used to say, "This fellow wishes only to get you to strip off al-Lat and al-'Uzza from your necks and your allies the jinn of B. Malik b. Uqaysh for the misleading innovation he has brought. Don't obey him and take no notice of him." I asked my father who the man was who followed him and contradicted what he said, and he answered that it was his uncle 'Abdu'l-'Uzza b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib known as Abu Lahab (227).'

283

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

Muhammad b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Abdullah b. Husayn told me that he went to the tents of Kaib to a clan called B. 'Abdullah with the same message, adding, 'O Banu 'Abdullah, God has given your father a noble name.' But they would not give heed.

One of our companions from 'Abdullah b. Ka'b b. Malik told me that the apostle went to the B.Hanifa where he met with the worst reception of all.

AL-Zuhri told me that he went to the B. 'Amir b. Sa'sa'a and one of them called Bayhara b. Firas (228) said: 'By God, if I could take this man from Quraysh I could eat up the Arabs with him.' Then he said, 'If we actually give allegiance I to you and God gives you victory over your opponents, shall we have authority after you?' He replied, 'Authority is a matter which God places where He pleases.' He answered: 'I suppose you want us to protect you from the Arabs with our breasts and then if God gives you victory² someone else will reap the benefit! Thank you, No!'

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

Whenever men came together at the fairs or the apostle heard of anyone of importance coming to Mecca he went to them with his message. 'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada al-Ansari-more precisely al-Zafari-on the authority of some of his shaykhs told me that they said that Suwayd b. al-Samit, brother of the B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, came to Mecca on pilgrimage. Suwayd's tribesmen used to call him al-Kamil because of his toughness, his poetry, his honor, and his lineage. He it was who said:

There's many a man you call friend you'd be shocked
If you knew the lies he tells against you in secret.
While he's with you his words are like honey;
Behind your back a sword
Aimed at the base of the neck.
What you see of him pleases you, but underneath

284

He's a deceitful backbiter cutting through to the marrow.
 His eyes will show you what he's concealing,
 Rancor and hatred are in his evil look.
 Strengthen me with good deeds: long have you weakened me.¹
 The best friends strengthen without weakening.

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

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

285

When he heard about him the apostle sought him out and invited him to Islam. He said, 'Perhaps you've got something like that which I have.' 'And what is that?' asked the apostle. 'The roll of Luqman,' meaning the wisdom of Luqman, he answered. 'Hand it to me,' said the apostle, and he handed it over and he said, 'This discourse is fine, but that which I have is better still, a Quran which God has revealed to me which is a guidance and a light.' And the apostle recited the Quran to him and invited him to Islam; he did not withdraw from it but said, 'This is a fine saying.' Then he went off and rejoined his people in Medina and almost at once the Khazraj killed him. Some of his family used to say, 'In our opinion he was a Muslim when he was killed'; he was (in fact) killed before the battle of Bu'ath.¹

IYAS ACCEPTS ISLAM

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

Within a little while Iyas died. Mahmud said: 'Those of his people who were present at his death told me that they heard him continually praising

286

and glorifying God until he died. They had no doubt that he died a Muslim, he having become acquainted with Islam at that gathering when he heard the apostle speak.

THE BEGINNING OF ISLAM AMONG THE HELPERS

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

'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada told me on the authority of some of the shaykhs of his tribe that they said that when the apostle met them he learned by inquiry that they were of the Khazraj and allies of the Jews. He invited them to sit with him and expounded to them Islam and recited the Quran to them. Now God had prepared the way for Islam in that they lived side by side with the Jews who were people of the scriptures and knowledge, while they themselves were polytheists and idolaters. They had often raided them in their district and whenever bad feeling arose the Jews used to say to them, 'A prophet will be sent soon. His day is at hand. We shall follow him and kill you by his Aid as 'Ad and Iram perished.' So when they heard the apostle's message they said one to another: 'This is the very prophet of whom the Jews warned us. Don't let them get to him before us!' Thereupon they accepted his teaching and became Muslims, saying, 'We have left our people, for no tribe is so divided by hatred and rancor as they. Perhaps God will unite them through you. So let us go to them and invite them to this religion of yours; and if God unites them in it, then no "man will be mightier than you.'" Thus saying they returned to Medina as believers.

There were six of these men from the Khazraj so I have been told. From B. Al-Najjar, i.e. Taym Allah of the clan of B. Malik ... : As'ad b. Zurara b. 'Udas b. 'Ubayd b. Tha'laba b. Ghanm b. Malik b. Al-Najjar known as Abu Umama; and 'Aufb. al-Harith b. Rifa'a b. Sawad b. Malik ... known as Ibn 'Mra' (229).

From B. Zurayq b. 'Amir b. Zurayq b. 'Abdu Haritha b. Ghagb b.

Jusham ... : Rafi' b. Malik b. al-'Ajlan b. 'Amr b. 'Amir b. Zurayq (230).

From B. Salima b. Sa'd b. 'Ali b. Asad b. Sarida b. Tazid b. Jusham ... of the clan of B. Sawad b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salima: Qutba b. 'Amir b. Hadida b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. Sawad (231).

From B. Haram b. Ka'b b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama: 'Uqba b. 'Amir b. Nabi b. Zayd b. Haram.

From B. 'Ubayd b. 'Adiy b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama: Jabir b. 'Abdul-lah b. Ri'ab b. al-Nu'man b. Sinan b. 'Ubayd ..

When they came to Medina they told their people about the apostle and invited them to accept Islam until it became so well known among them that there was no home belonging to the Helpers but Islam and the apostle had been mentioned therein.

THE FIRST PLEDGE AT AL-'AQABA AND THE MISSION OF MUS'AB

In the following year twelve Helpers attended the fair and met at al-'Aqaba -this was the first 'Aqaba-where they gave the apostle the 'pledge of women'.¹ This was before the duty of making war was laid upon them.

These men were: From B. Al-Najjar: As'ad b. Zurara; 'Aufb. al-Harith and Mu'adh his brother, both sons of 'Afra'. From B. Zurayq b. 'Amir:

Rafi' b. Malik and Dhakwan b. 'Abdu Qays b. Khalada b. Mukhlid b. 'Amir b. Zurayq (232).

From B. 'Auf of the clan of B. Ghanm b. 'Auf b. 'Amr b. 'Auf who were the Qawaqil: 'Ubada b. al-Samit b. Qays b. Asram b. Fihir b. Tha'laba b. Ghanm; and Abu 'Abdu'l-Rahman who was Yazid b. Tha'laba b. Khazma b. ram b. 'Amr b. 'Ammara of B. Ghusayna of Baliy, an ally of theirs (233).

From B. Salim b. 'Auf b. 'Amr b. Al-Khazraj of the clan of B. al-'Ajlān b. Zayd b. Ghanm b. Salim: al-'Abbas b. 'Ubada b. Nagai. b. Malik b. al-'Ajlān.

From B. Salima: 'Uqba b. 'Amir.

From B. Sawad: Qutba b. 'Amir b. Hadida. The Aus were represented by Abu'l-Haytham b. al-Tayyihan whose name was Malik of the clan of B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhai b. Jusham b. al-Harith b. Ai Khazraj b. 'Amr b. Malik b. al-Aus (234).

From B. 'Amr b. 'Auf b. Malik b. Al-Aus: 'Uwaym b. Sa'ida.

Yazid b. AbuHabib from Abu Marthad b. 'Abdullah al-Yazani from 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Usayla al-Sannaji from 'Ubada b. al-Samit told me: 'I was present at the first 'Aqaba. There were twelve of us and we pledged ourselves to the prophet after the manner of women and that was before war was enjoined, the undertaking being that we should associate nothing with God; we should not steal; we should not commit fornication; nor kill our offspring; we should not slander our neighbors; we should not disobey him in what was right; if we fulfilled this paradise would be ours; if we committed any of those sins it was for God to punish or forgive as He pleased. I

Al-Zuhri from 'A'ldhullah b. 'Abdullah al-Khaulani Abu Idris said that 'Ubada b. al-Samit told him that 'We gave allegiance to the apostle that we would associate nothing with God, not steal, not commit fornication, not kill our offspring, not slander our neighbor, not disobey him in what was right; if we fulfilled this paradise would be ours; and if we committed any of those sins we should be punished in this world and this would serve as expiation; if the sin was concealed until the Day of Resurrection, then it would be for God to decide Whether to punish or to forgive.'

When these men left, the apostle sent with them Mus'ab b. 'Umayr b. Hashim b. 'Abdu Manaf ... and instructed him to read the Quran to them and to teach them Islam and to give them instruction about religion. In Medina Mus'ab was called 'The Reader'; he lodged with As'ad b. Zurara.

Asim b. 'Umar told me that he used to lead the prayers because Aus and Khazraj could not bear to see one of their rivals take the lead.

THE INSTITUTION OF FRIDAY PRAYERS IN MEDINA

Muhammad b. Abu Umama b. Sahl b. from his father from Abdu'l-Rajman b. Ka 'b b. Malik told me that the latter said: 'I was leading my father Ka'b when he had lost his sight, and when I brought him out to the mosque and he heard the call to prayer he called down blessings on Abu Umama As'ad b. Zurara. This went on for some time: whenever he heard the *adhan* he blessed him and asked God's pardon for him. I thought that this was an extraordinary thing to do and decided to ask him why he did it. He told me that it was because he was the first man to bring them together in the low ground of al-Nabit¹ in the quarter of the B. Bayada called Naqi'u'l-Khadimat. I asked him how many of them there were, and he told me that they numbered forty men.'

'UbaydAllah b. al-Mughira b. Mu'ayyiqib and 'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Hazm told me that As'ad b. Zurara went out with Mus'ab b. 'Umayr to the areas of B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhai and of B. Zafar. Sa'd b. al-Nu'man b. Imru'u'l-Qays b. Zayd b. 'Abdu'l-Ashhai was the son of As'ad's aunt. He entered with him one of the gardens of B. Zafar (235) by a well called Maraqa and sat in the garden and some of the men who had accepted Islam gathered together there. Now Sa'd b. Mu'adh and Usayd b.

Hudayr were at that time leaders of their clan, the B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal, and both followed the heathenism of their tribe. When they heard about him Sa'd said to Usayd: 'Go to these fellows who have entered our quarters to make fools of our weak comrades, drive them out and forbid them to enter our quarters. If it were not that As'ad b. Zurara is related to me as you know I would save you the trouble. He is my aunt's son and I can do nothing to him.' So Usayd took his lance and went to them; and when As'ad saw him he said to Musab, 'This is the chief of his tribe who is coming to you, so be true to God with him.' Mus'ab said, 'If he will sit down I will talk to him.' He stood over them looking furious and asking what they meant by coming to deceive their weaker comrades. 'Leave us if you value your lives.' Mus'ab said, 'Won't you sit down and listen. If you like what you hear you can accept it, and if you don't like it you can leave it alone.' He agreed that that was fair, stuck his lance in the ground, and sat down. He explained Islam to him and read him the Quran. Afterwards they said-according to what has been reported of them-'By God, before he spoke we recognized Islam in his face by its peaceful glow.' He said, 'What a wonderful and beautiful discourse this is! What does one do if he wants to enter this religion?' They told him that he must wash and purify himself and his garments, then bear witness to the truth and pray. He immediately did so and made two prostrations. Then he said, 'There is a man behind me who if he follows you every one of his people will follow suit. I will send him to you at once. It is Sa'd b. Mu'adh.' Taking his lance he went off to Sa'd and his people who were sitting in conclave. When Sa'd saw him coming he said, 'By God, Usayd is coming with a different expression from that he had when he left you.' And when he came up he asked what had happened. He said, 'I have spoken to the two men and I find no harm in them. I forbade them to go on and they said to me, We will do what you like; and I was told that the B. Haritha had gone out against As'ad to kill him because they knew that he was the son of your aunt so as to make you appear a treacherous protector of your guests.'

Sa'd enraged got up at once, alarmed at what had been said about the B. Haritha. He took the lance from his hand, saying, 'By God, I see that you have been utterly ineffective.' He went out to them and when he saw them sitting comfortably he knew that Usayd had intended that he should listen to them. He stood over them, looking furious. To As'ad he said, 'Were it not for the relationship between us you would not have treated me thus. Would you behave in our houses in a way we detest?' (Now As'ad had said to Mus'ab, 'The leader whom his people follow has come to you. If he follows you, no two of them will remain behind.') So Mus'ab said to him what he had said to Usayd, and Sa'd stuck his lance in the ground and sat down. The same thing happened again and he went to his people's meeting-place accompanied by Usayd. When they saw him coming they said, 'We swear by God Sa'd has returned with a different expression.' And when he stopped by them he asked them how they knew what had happened to him. They replied, '(You are) our chief, the most active in our interests, the best in judgment and the most fortunate in leadership.' He said, 'I will not speak to a man or woman among you until you believe in God and His apostle.' As a result every man and woman among the B. 'Abdu'l-Ashbal joined Islam.

As'ad and Mus'ab returned to As'ad's house and stayed there calling men to Islam until every house of the Ansar had men and women who were Muslims except those of B. Umayya b. Zayd, and Khatma and Wa'il and Waqif; the latter were Aus Allah and of Aus b. Haritha. The reason was that Abii Qays b. al-Aslat whose name was Sayfi was among them. He was their poet and leader and they obeyed him and he kept them back from Islam. Indeed he continued to do so until the apostle migrated to Medina, and Badr, and Uhud, and al-Khandaq were over. He said concerning what he thought of Islam and how men differed about his state:

Lord of mankind, serious things have happened.
 The difficult and the simple are involved.
 Lord of mankind, if we have erred
 Guide us to the good path.
 Were it not for our Lord we should be Jews
 And the religion of Jews is not convenient.
 Were it not for our Lord we should be Christians
 Along with the monks on Mount Jalil
 But when we were created we were created
 Hanifs; our religion is from all generations.
 We bring the sacrificial camels waiking in fetters
 Covered with cloths but their shoulders bare (236).

THE SECOND PLEDGE AT AL-AQABA

Then Musab returned to Mecca and the Muslim Ansar came to the fair there with the pilgrims of their people who were polytheists. They met the apostle at al-'Aqaba in the middle of the days of Tashriq, I when God intended to honor them and to help His apostle and to strengthen Islam and to humiliate heathenism and its devotees.

Ma'bad b. Ka'b b. Malik b. Abu Ka'b b. al-Qayn, brother of the B. Salima, told me that his brother 'Abdullah b. Ka'b who was one of the most learned of the Ansar told him that his father Ka'b who was one of those who had been present at al-'Aqaba and did homage to the apostle, informed him saying: 'We went out with the polytheist pilgrims of our people having prayed and learned the customs of the pilgrimage. With us was al-Bara' b. Ma'rriir our chief and senior. When we had started our journey from Medina al-Bara' said, "I have come to a conclusion and I don't know whether you will agree with me or not. I think that I will not turn my back on this building" (meaning the Ka'ba), "and that I shall pray towards it." We replied that so far as we knew our prophet prayed towards Syria and we did not wish to act differently. He said, "I am going to pray towards the Ka'ba." We said, "But we will not." When the time for prayer came we prayed towards Syria and he prayed towards the Ka'ba until we came to Mecca. We blamed him for what he was doing, but he refused to change. When we came to Mecca he said to me, "Nephew, let us go to the apostle and ask him about what I did on our journey. For I feel some misgivings since I have seen your opposition." So we went to ask the apostle. We did not know him and we had never seen him before. We met a man of Mecca and we asked him about the apostle; he asked if we knew him and we said that we did not. Then do you know his uncle, al' Abbas b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib? We said that we did because he was always coming to us as a merchant. He said, "When you enter the mosque he is the man sitting beside al-'Abbas." So we went into the mosque and there was al-'Abbas sitting with the apostle beside him; we saluted them and sat down. The apostle asked al-'Abbas if he knew us, and he said that he did and named us. I shall never forget the apostle's words when Ka'b's name was mentioned, "The poet?" AL-Bara' said, "O prophet of God, I came on this journey God having guided me to Islam and I felt that I could not turn my back on this building, so I prayed towards it; but when my companions opposed me I felt some misgivings. What is your opinion, O apostle of God?" He replied, "You would have had a qibla if you had kept to it," so al-Bara' returned to the apostle's qibla and prayed with us towards Syria.³ But his people assert that he prayed towards the Ka 'ba until the day of his death; but this was not so. We know more about that than they (237)."

Ma'bad b. Ka'b told me that his brother 'Abdullah told him that his father Ka'b b. Malik said: "Then we went to the hajj and agreed to meet the apostle at al-'Aqaba in the middle of the days of the tashriq. When we had completed the hajj and the night came in which we had agreed to meet the

apostle there was with us 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. Haram Abu Jabir, one of our chiefs and nobles whom we had taken with us. We had concealed our business from those of our people who were polytheists. We said to him, "You are one of our chiefs and nobles and we want to wean you from your present state lest you become fuel for the fire in the future." Then we invited him to accept Islam and told him about our meeting with the apostle at al-'Aqaba. Thereupon he accepted Islam and came to al-'Aqaba with us, and became a naqib (leader).¹

"We slept that night among our people in the caravan until when a third of the night had passed we went stealing softly like sand grouse to our appointment with the apostle as far as the gully by al-'Aqaba. There were seventy-three men with two of our women: Nusayba d. of Ka'b Umm 'Umara, one of the women of B. Mazin b. al-Najjar, and Asma' d. of 'Amr b. 'Adiy b. Nabi, one of the women of B. Salima who was known as Umm Mani'. We gathered together in the gully waiting for the apostle until he came with his uncle al-'Abbas who was at that time a polytheist; albeit he wanted to be present at his nephew's business and see that he had a firm guarantee. When he sat down he was the first to speak and said: "O people of al-Khazraj (the Arabs used the term to cover both Khazraj and Aus). You know what position Muhammad holds among us. We have protected him from our own people who think as we do about him. He lives in honor and safety among his people, but he will turn to you and join you. If you think that you can be faithful to what you have promised him and protect him from his opponents, then assume the burden you have undertaken. But if you think that you will betray and abandon him after he has gone out with you, then leave him now. For he is safe where he is." We replied, "We have heard what you say. You speak, O apostle, and choose for yourself and for your Lord what you wish."

"The apostle spoke and recited the Quran and invited men to God and commended Islam and then said: "I invite your allegiance on the basis that you protect me as you would your women and children." AL-Bara' took his hand and said "By Him Who sent you with the truth we will protect you as we protect our women. We give our allegiance and we are men of war possessing arms which have been passed on from father to son." While al-Bara' was speaking Abu'l-Haytham b. al-Tayyihan interrupted him and said, "O apostle, we have ties with other men (he meant the Jews) and if we sever them perhaps when we have done that and God will have given you victory, you will return to your people and leave us?" The apostle smiled and said: "Nay, blood is blood and blood not to be paid for is blood not to be paid for. I am of you and you are of me. I will war against them that war against you and be at peace with those at peace with you (238)."

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

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

According to what Ziyad b. 'Abdullah al-Bakka'l told us from Muhammad b. Ishaq al-Muttalibi (they were):

From al-Khazraj: Abu Umama As'ad b. Zurara ... b. Al-Najjar who was Taym Allah b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. al-Khazraj; Sa'd b. al-Rabi' b. 'Amr b. Abu Zuhayr b. Malik b. Imru'u'l-Qays b. Malik b. Tha'laba b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj; 'Abdullah b. Rawaha b. Tha'laba of the same line; Rafi' b. Malik b. al-'Ajlan b. 'Amr ... ; al-Bara' b. Ma'rur b. Sakhr b. Khansa' b. Sinan b. 'Ubayd b. 'Adiy b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama b. Sa'd b. 'Ali b. Asad b. Sarida b. Tazid b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj; 'Abdul-lah b. 'Amr b. Haram b. Tha'laba b. Haram b. Ka'b b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama ...

; 'Ubada b. al-ṣamit b. Qays b. Asram ... (239). Sa'd b. 'Ubada b. Dulaym b. Haritha b. Abu Hazima b. Tha'laba b. Tarif b. al-Khazraj b. Sa'ida b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj; al-Mundhir b. 'Amr b. Khunays b. Haritha b. Laudhanb. 'Abdu Wudd b. Zayd b. Tha'laba b. al-Khazraj of the same line (240).

From al-Aus: Usayd b. Hudayr b. Simak b. 'Atik b. Rafi' b. Imru'u'l-Qays b. Zayd b. 'Abdu'l-Ashhai b. Jusham b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj b. 'Amr b. Malik b. al-Aus; Sa'd b. Khaythama b. al-Harith b. Malik b. Ka'b b. al-Nahhat b. Ka'b b. Haritha b. Ghanm b. al-Salim b. Imru'u'l-Qays b. Malik b. al-Aus; Rifa'a b. 'Abdu I-Mundhir b. Zubayr b. Zayd b. Umayya b. Zayd b. Malik b. 'Auf b. 'Amr b. 'Auf b. Malik b. al-Aus (241).

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

'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada told me that when the people came together to plight their faith to the apostle, al-'Abbas b. 'Ubada b. Nadla Al-Ansari, brother of B. Salim b. 'Auf, said, 'O men of Khazraj, do you realize to what you are committing yourselves in pledging your support to this man? It is to war against all and sundry.² If you think that if you lose your property and your nobles are killed you will give him up, then do so now, for it would bring you shame in this world and the next (if you did so later); but if you think that you will be loyal to your undertaking if you lose your property and your nobles are killed, then take him, for by God it will profit you in this world and the next.' They said that they would accept the apostle on these conditions. But they asked what they would get in return for their loyalty, and the apostle promised them paradise. They said, 'Stretch forth your hand,' and when he did so they pledged their word. 'Asim added that al-'Abbas said that only to bind the obligation more securely on them. 'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr said that he said it merely to keep the people back that night, hoping that 'Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul would come and so give more weight to his people's support. But God knows best which is right (242).

The B. Al-Najjar allege that As'ad b. Zurara was the first to strike his hand in fealty; the B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhai say that he was not, for Abu'l-Haytham was the first. Ma'bad b. Ka'b told me in his tradition from his brother 'Abdullah b. Ka'b from his father Ka'b b. Malik that al-Bara' was the first and the people followed him. When we had all pledged ourselves Satan shouted from the top of al-'Aqaba in the most penetrating voice I have ever heard, 'O people of the stations of Mina, do you want this reprobate¹ and the apostates² who are with him? They have come together to make war on you!' The apostle said, 'This is the Izb³ of the hill. This is the son of Azyab. Do you hear, O enemy of God, I swear I will make an end of you! (243).'

The apostle then told them to disperse and go back to their caravan, and al-'Abbas b. 'Ubada said, 'By God, if you wish it we will fail on the people of Mina tomorrow with our swords.' He replied, 'We have not been com-manded to do that; but go back to your caravan.' So we went back to our beds and slept until the morrow.

With the morning the leaders of Quraysh came to our encampment say-ing that they had heard that we had come to invite Muhammad to leave them and had pledged ourselves to support him in war against them, and that there was no Arab tribe that they would fight more reluctantly than us. Thereupon the polytheists of our tribe swore that nothing of the kind had happened and they knew nothing of it. And here they were speaking the truth, for they were in ignorance of what had happened. We looked at one another. Then the people got up, among them al-Harith b. Hisham b. ai-Mughira al-Makhzumi who was wearing a pair of new sandals. I spoke a word to him as though I wanted to associate the people with what they had

said, 'O Abu Jabir, seeing that you are one of our chiefs, can't you get hold of a pair of sandals such as this young Qurayshite has? AL-Harith heard me and took them off his feet and threw them at me saying, 'By God you can have them!' Abu Jabir said, 'Gently now, you have angered the young man, so give him back his sandals.' 'By God, I will not,' I said; 'it is a good omen and if it proves to be true I shall plunder him.'

'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that they came to 'Abdullah b. Ubayy and said to him much the same as Ka'b had said and he replied, 'This is a serious matter; my people are not in the habit of deciding a question with-out consulting me in this way and I do not know that it has happened.' Thereupon they left him.

When the people had left Mina they investigated the report closely and found that it was true. So they went in pursuit of (our) people and over-took Sa'd b. 'Ubada in Adhakhir and also al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, brother of B. Sa'ida, both of them being 'leaders'. The latter got away, but they caught Sa'd and tied his hands to his neck with the thongs of the girth and brought him back to Mecca beating him on the way and dragging him by the hair, for he was a very hairy man. Sa'd said, 'As they held me, a number of Quraysh came up, among them a tall, white, handsome man of pleasant appearance and I thought that if there was any decency among them this man would show it. But when he came up he delivered me a violent blow in the face and after that I despaired of fair treatment. As they were dragging me along, a man took pity on me and said, "You poor devil, haven't you any right to protection from one of the Quraysh?" "Yes," I said, "I have. I used to guarantee the safety of the merchants of Jubayr b. Mut'im b. 'Adiy b. Naufaia b. 'Abdu Manaf and protect them from those who might have wronged them in my country; also al-Harith b. Harb b. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Manaf." "Very well, then, call out the names of these two men and say what tie there is between you," he said. This I did and that man went to them and found them in the mosque beside the Ka'ba and told them of me and that I was calling for them and mentioning my claim on them. When they heard who I was they acknowledged the truth of my claim and came and delivered me.' So Sa'd went off. The name of the man who hit him was Suhayl b. 'Amr, brother of B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy (244).

The first poetry about the Migration was two verses composed by Dirar b. al-Khattab b. Mirdas, brother of B. Muharib b. Fihir:

I overtook Sa'd and took him by force.
 It would have been better if I had caught Mundhir.
 If I had got him his blood would not have to be paid for.
 He deserves to be humiliated and left unavenged (244a).
 Hassan b. Thabit answered him thus:
 You were not equal to Sa'd and the man Mundhir
 When the people's camels were thin.
 But for Abu Wahb (my) verses would have passed over
 The top of al-Barqa'l swooping down swiftly²
 Do you boast of wearing cotton
 When the Nabataeans wear dyed¹ wrappers?
 Be not like a sleeper who dreams that
 He is in a town of Caesar or Chosroes.
 Don't be like a bereaved mother who
 Would not have lost her child had she been wise;
 Nor like the sheep which with her forelegs
 Digs the grave she does not desire;
 Nor like the barking dog that sticks out his neck
 Not fearing the arrow of the unseen archer.
 He who directs poetry's shafts at us
 Is like one who sends dates to Khaybar.²

THE IDOL OF AMR IBNU'L-JAMUH

When they came to Medina they openly professed Islam there. Now some of the shaykhs still kept to their old idolatry, among whom was 'Amr b. Al-Jamul). b. Yazid b. Haram b. Ka'b b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama whose son, Mu'adh, had been present at al'Aqaba and had done homage to the apostle there. 'Amr was one of the tribal nobles and leaders and had set up in his house a wooden idol called Manat³ as the nobles used to do, making it a god to reverence and keeping it clean. When the young men of the B. Salama Mu'adh b. Jabal and his own son Mu'adh adopted Islam with the other men who had been at al- 'Aqaba they used to creep in at night to this idol of 'Amr's and carry it away and throw it on its face into a cesspit. When the morning came 'Amr cried, 'Woe to you! Who has been at our gods this night?' Then he went in search of the idol and when he found it he washed it and cleaned it and perfumed it saying, 'By God, if I knew who had done this I would treat him shamefully!' When night came and he was fast asleep they did the same again and he restored the idol in the morning. This happened several times until one day he took the idol from the place where they had thrown it, purified it as before, and fastened his sword to it, saying, 'By God, I don't know who has done this; but if you are any good at all defend yourself since you have this sword.' At night when he was asleep they came again and took the sword from its neck and hung a dead dog to it by a cord and then threw it into a cesspit. In the morning 'Amr came and could not find it where it normally was; ultimately he found it face downwards in that pit tied to a dead dog. When he saw it and perceived what had happened and the Muslims of his clan spoke to him he accepted Islam by the mercy of God and became a good Muslim. He wrote some verses when he had come to a knowledge of God in which he mentioned the image and its impotence and thanked God for having delivered him from the blindness and error in which he had lived hitherto:

304

By Allah, if you had been a god you would not have been
Tied to a dead dog in a cesspit.
Phew! that we ever treated you as a god, but now
We have found you out and left our wicked folly.
Praise be to God most High, the Gracious,
The Bountiful, the Provider, the Judge of all religions
Who has delivered me in time to save me
From being kept in the darkness of the grave.

CONDITIONS OF THE PLEDGE AT THE SECOND 'AQABA

When God gave permission to his apostle to fight, the second 'Aqaba contained conditions involving war which were not in the first act of fealty. Now they bound themselves to war against all and sundry for God and his apostle, while he promised them for faithful service thus the reward of paradise.

'Ubada b. al-Walid b. 'Ubada b. al-Samit from his father from his grandfather 'Ubada b. al-Samit who was one of the Leaders told me, 'We pledged ourselves to war in complete obedience to the apostle in weal and woe, in ease and hardship and evil circumstances; that we would not wrong anyone; that we would speak the truth at all times; and that in God's service we would fear the censure of none.' 'Ubada was one of the twelve who gave his word at the first 'Aqaba.

305

THE NAMES OF THOSE PRESENT AT THE SECOND 'AQABA

There were seventy-three men and two women of Aus and Khazraj.¹
Of Aus there were:

Usayd b. Hudayr ... a leader who was not at Badr. Abu'l-Haytham b. Tayyahan who was at Badr. Saima b. Salama b. Waqsh b. Zughba b. Zu'ura' b. 'Abdu'l-Ashhai who was at Badr (245). Total 3.

From B. Haritha b, al-Harith ... Zuhayr b, Rafi' b. 'Adiy b. Zayd b.

Jusham b. Haritha, and Abu Burda b. Niyar whose name' was Hani' b. Niyar b. 'Amr b. 'Ubayd b. Kilab b. Duhman b. Ghanm b. Dhubyān b. Humaym b. Kamil b. Dhuhl b. Haniy b. Baiiy b. 'Amr b. al-Haf b. Quda'a, one of their allies. He was at Badr. Nuhayr b. al-Haytham of B. Nabi b. Majda'a b. Haritha. Total 3.

Of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf b. Malik: Sa'd b. Khaythama a 'leader' who was present at Badr and was killed there as a martyr beside the apostle (246). Rifa'a b. 'Abdu'l-Mundhir, a leader present at Badr. 'Abdullah b. Jubayr b. al-Nu'man b. Umayya b. Al-Burak, the name of Al-Burak being Imru'u'l-Qays b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr who was present at Badr and was killed as a martyr at Uhud commanding the archers for the apostle (247). And Ma'an b. 'Adiy b. al- Jad b. al- 'Ajlan b. Haritha b. Dubay'a, a client of theirs from Baiiy present at Badr, Uhud, and al-Khandaq and all the apostle's battles. He was killed in the battle of al- Y amama as a martyr in the caliphate of Abu Bakr. And 'Uwaym b. Sa'ida who was present at Badr, Uhud, and al-Khandaq. Total 5.

The total for all clans of Aus was 11.

Of al-Khazraj there were:

Of B. Al-Najjar who was Taymullah b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr: Abu Ayyub Khalid b. Zayd b. Kulayb b. Tha'laba b. 'Abd b. 'Auf b. Ghanm b. Malik b. Al-Najjar. He was present at all the apostle's battles and died in Byzantine territory as a martyr in the time of Mu'awiya. Mu'adh b. al-Harith b. Rifa'a b. Sawad b. Malik b. Ghanm. Present at all battles. He was the son of 'Afra' and his brother was 'Auf b. al-Harith who was killed at Badr as a martyr. Mu'awwidh his brother shared the same glory. It was he who killed Abu Jahl b. Hisham b. al-Mughira; he too was 'Afra's son (248). And 'Umara b. Hazm b. Zayd b. Laudhan b. 'Amr b. 'Abdu 'Auf b. Ghanm. He was present at all battles and died a martyr in the battle of al-Yamama in the caliphate of Abu Bakr. As'ad b. Zurara, a leader. He died before Badr when the apostle's mosque was being built. Total 6.

Of B. 'Amr b. Mabdhul who was 'Amir b. Malik: Sahl b. 'Atik b. Nu'man b. 'Amr b. 'Atik b. 'Amr. Was at Badr. Total 1

Of B. 'Amr b. Malik b. Al-Najjar who are the B. Hudayla (249). Aus b.

Thabit b. al-Mundhir b. Haram b. 'Amr b. Zayd Manat b. 'Adiy b. 'Amr b. Malik, present at Badr; Abu Taiha Zayd b. Sahl b. al-Aswad b. Haram b. 'Amr b. Zayd Manat ... present at Badr. Total 2.

Of B. Mazin b. Al-Najjar: Qays b. Abu Sa'sa'a whose name was 'Amr b. Zayd b. 'Auf b. Mabdhul b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. Mazin. Present at Badr where the apostle put him in command of the rearguard. 'Amr b. Ghaziya

b. 'Amr b. Tha'laba b. Khansa' b. Mabdhul ... Total 2.

The total for B. Al-Najjar was II (250).

Of B. al-Harith b. Khazraj: Sa'd b. Al-Rabi', a leader. Was at Badr and died a martyr at Uhud. Kharija b. Zayd b. Abu Zuhayr b. Malik b. Imru'ul-Qays b. Malik al-Agharr b. Tha'laba b. Ka'b. Present at Badr and killed at Uihud as a martyr. 'Abdullah b. Rawaha, a leader, present at all the apostle's battles except the occupation of Mecca and was killed at Muta as a martyr as one of the apostle's commanders. Bashir b. Sa'd b. Tha'laba b. Khaia b. Zayd b. Malik ... , the father of al-Nu'man was present at Badr. 'Abdullah b. Zayd b. Tha'laba b. 'Abdullah b. Zayd Manat b. al-Harith. Present at Badr. He it was who was shown how to call to prayer and was ordered by the apostle to perform it. Khallad b. Suwayd b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. Haritha b. Imru'ul-Qays b. Malik. Present at Badr, Uhud, and al-Khandaq and was killed as a martyr in fighting B. Qurayza when a millstone was thrown from one of their castles and crushed his skull. The apostle said-so

306

307

308

they say-that he will have the reward of two martyrs. 'Uqba b. 'Amr b. Tha'laba b. Usayra b. 'Usayra b. Jadara b. 'Auf who is Abu Mas'ud, the youngest of those at al-'Aqaba. Died in the time of Mu'awiya. Was not at Badr. Total 7.

Of B. Bayada b. 'Amir b. Zurayq b. 'Abdu Haritha: Ziyad b. Labid b.

Tha'laba b. Sinan b. 'Amir b. 'Adiy b. Umayya b. Bayada. Present at Badr. Farwa b. 'Amr b. Wadhafa b. 'Ubayd b. 'Amir b. Bayada. Present at Badr (251). Khalid b. Qays b. Malik b. al-'Ajlan b. 'Amir. At Badr. Total 3.

Of B. Zurayq b. 'Amir b. Zurayq b. 'Abdu Haritha b. Malik b. Ghadb b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj: Rafi' b. al-'Ajlan, a leader. Dhakwan b. 'Abdu Qays b. Khalda b. Mukhallad b. 'Amir. He went out to the apostle and stayed with him in Mecca after he had migrated from Medina; thus he got the name of Ansari Muhajiri. He was at Badr and was killed as a martyr at Uhud. 'Abbad b. Qays b. 'Amir b. Khalda, &c. Was at Badr. AlHarith b. Qays b. Khalid b. Mukhallad b. 'Amir, who was Abu Khalid. Present at Badr. Total 4.

Of B. Salama b. Sa'd b. 'Ali b. Asad b. Sarida b. Tazid ... Al-Bara' b. Ma'ur b. Sakhr ... a leader who, the B. Salama allege, was the first to strike his hand on the apostle's when the conditions of the second 'Aqaba were agreed to. He died before the apostle came to Medina. His son Bishr was at Badr, Uhud, and al-Khandaq and he died in Khaybar of eating with the apostle the mutton that was poisoned. He it was to whom the apostle referred when he asked B. Salama who their chief was and they replied, 'AL-Judd b. Qays in spite of his meanness!' He said, 'What disease is worse than meanness? The chief of B. Salama is the white curly haired Bishr b. al-Bara' b. Ma'ur.' Sinan b. Sayfi b. Sakhr b. Khansa' b. Sinan b. 'Ubayd who was at Badr and died a martyr at al-Khandaq. AL- Tufayl b. Nu'man b. Khansa' b. Sinan b. 'Ubayd with the same record. Ma'qil b. al-Mundhir b. Sarh b. Khuna b. Sinan b. 'Ubayd who was at Badr, together with his brother Yazid. Mas'udb. Yazid b. Subay' b. Khansa' b. Sinan b. 'Ubayd. AL-Dahhak b. Haritha b. Zayd b. Tha'laba b. 'Ubayd who was present at Badr. Yazid b. Haram b. Subay' b. Khansa b. Sinan b. 'Ubayd. Jubba b. Sakhr b. Umayya b. Khansa' b. Sinan b. 'Ubayd

present at Badr (252). AL-Tufayl b. Malik b. Khansa' b. Sinan b. 'Ubayd who was present at Badr¹ Total 11.

Of B. Sawad b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama of the clan of Banu Ka'b b. Sawad: Ka'b b. Malik b. Abu Ka'b b. al-Qayn b. Ka'b. Total 1.

Of B. Ghanm b. Sawad b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama. Salim b. 'Amr b. Hadida b. 'Amr b. Ghanm who was at Badr. Qutba b. 'Amir b. Hadida b. 'Amr b. Ghanm who was at Badr. Yazid his brother known as Abu'l-Mundhir; was at Badr. Ka'b b. 'Amr b. 'Abbad b. 'Amr b. Ghanm known as Abu'l-Yasar. At Badr. Sayfi b. Sawad b. 'Abbad b. 'Amr b. Ghanm (253)- Total 5.

Of B. Nabi b. 'Amr b. Sawad b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama: Tha'laba b. Ghanama b. 'Adiy b. Nabi was at Badr and was killed as a martyr at al-Khandaq. 'Amr b. Ghanama b. 'Adiy b. Nabi. 'Abs b. 'Amir b. 'Adiy was at Badr. 'Abdullah b. Unays an ally from Quda'a. Khalid b. 'Amr b. 'Adiy. Total 5.

Of B. Haram b. Ka'b b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama: 'Abdullah b. 'Amr who was a leader and was at Badr and was killed as a martyr at Uhud. Jabir his son. Mu'adh b. 'Amr b. al-Jamuh who was at Badr. Thabit b. al-Jidh'(al-Jidh' being Tha'laba b. Zayd b. al-Harith b. Haram) was at Badr and was killed as a martyr at al- Ta'if. 'Umayr b. al-Harith b. Tha'laba b. al-Harith b. Haram who was at Badr (254). Khadij b. Salama b. Aus b. 'Amrb. al-Furafir an ally from Baiiy: Mu'adh b. Jabal b. 'Amr b. Aus b. 'A'idh b. Ka'b b. 'Amr b. Adi² b. Sa'd b. 'Ali b. Asad. It is said 'Asad b. Sarida b. Tazid b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj, who lived with the B. Salama; he was present at all the battles and died in 'Amwas³ in the year of the Syrian plague during the caliphate of 'Umar. The B. Salama claimed him for the reason that he was

the brother of Sahl b. Muhammad b. Al-Judd b. Qays b. Sakhr b. Khansa' b. Sinan b. 'Ubayd ... b. Salama through his mother (255). Total 7-

Of B. 'Auf b. al-Khazraj then of the B. Salim b. 'Auf b. 'Amr b. 'Auf:

'Ubada b. al-Samit, a leader who was at all the battles ... (256). AL-'Abbas b. 'Ubada b. NadIa ... , one of those who joined the apostle in Mecca, lived there with him, and was called an Ansari Muhajiri. He was killed at Uhud as a martyr. Abu 'Abdu'l-Rahman Yazid b. Tha'laba b. Khazama b. Asram b. 'Amr b. 'Ammara, an ally from the B. Ghusayna of Baiiy. 'Amr b. al-Harith b. Labda b. 'Amr b. Tha'laba. They were the Qawaqil. Total 4.

Of B. Salim b. Ghanm b. 'Auf; known as the B. al-Hubla (257): Rifa'a b. 'Amr b. Zayd b. 'Aimr b. Tha'laba b. Malik b. Salim b. Ghanm known as Abu'l-Walid. Was at Badr (258). 'Uqba b. Wahb b. Kalda b. al-Ja'da b. Hilal b. al-Harith b. 'Amr b. 'Adiy b. Jusham b. 'Auf b. Buhtha b. 'Abdul-lah b. Ghatafan b. Sa'd b. Qays b. 'Aylan, an ally, present at Badr. He had the title Ansari Muhajiri for the reason given above. Total 2.

Of the B. Sa'ida b. Ka'b: Sa'd b. 'Ubada a leader. Al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, a leader, present at Badr and Uhud and killed at Bi'r Ma'una commanding for the apostle. It was said of him 'He hastened to death' (259) Total 2.

The total number of those present at the second 'Aqaba from the Aus and Khazraj was seventy-three men and two women who they allege pledged their obedience also. The apostle used not to strike hands with women; he merely stated the conditions, and if they accepted them he would say, 'Go, I have made a covenant with you.'

(Of these two women) Nusayba was of B. Mazin b. Al-Najjar. She was d. of Ka'b b. 'Amr b. 'Auf b. Mabdhul b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. Mazin, mother of 'Umara. She and her sister went to war with the apostle. Her husband was Zayd b. 'Asim b. Ka'b, and her two sons were Habib and 'Abdullah. Musaylima the liar, the Hanifi chief of the Yamama, got hold of Habib and began to say to him, 'Do you testify that Muhammad is the apostle of God?' And when he said that he did, he went on, 'And do you testify that I am the apostle of God?' he answered, 'I do not hear.' So he began to cut him to pieces member by member until he died. He tried putting the same questions to him again and again, but he could get no different answers. Nusayba went to al- Yamama with the Muslims and took part in the war in person until God slew Musaylima, when she returned having suffered twelve wounds from spear or sword. It was Muhammad b. Yahya b. Habbab who told me this story from 'Abdullah

b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. Abu Sa'sa'a.

The other woman was of B. Salama, Umm Mani', named Asma' d. 'Amr b. 'Adiy b. Nabi b. 'Amr b. Sawad b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama.

THE APOSTLE RECEIVES THE ORDER TO FIGHT

The apostle had not been given permission to fight or allowed to shed blood before the second 'Aqaba. He had simply been ordered to call men to God and to endure insult and forgive the ignorant. The Quraysh had persecuted his followers, seducing some from their religion, and exiling others from their country. They had to choose whether to give up their religion, be maltreated at home, or to flee the country, some to Abyssinia, others to Medina.

When Quraysh became insolent towards God and rejected His gracious purpose, accused His prophet of lying, and ill treated and exiled those who served Him and proclaimed His unity, believed in His prophet, and held fast to His religion, He gave permission to His apostle to fight and to protect himself against those who wronged them and treated them badly.

The first verse which was sent down on this subject from what I have heard from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr and other learned persons was: 'Permission

is given to those who fight because they have been wronged. God is well able to help them,-those who have been driven out of their houses without right only because they said God is our Lord. Had not God used some men to keep back others, cloisters and churches and oratories and mosques wherein the name of God is constantly mentioned would have been destroyed. Assuredly God will help those who help Him. God is Almighty. Those who if we make them strong in the land will establish prayer, pay the poor-tax, enjoin kindness, and forbid iniquity. To God belongs the end of matters.¹ The meaning is: 'I have allowed them to fight only because they have been unjustly treated while their sole offence against men has been that they worship God. When they are in the ascendant they will establish prayer, pay the poor-tax, enjoin kindness, and forbid iniquity, i.e. the prophet and his companions all of them.' Then God sent down to him: 'Fight them so that there be no more seduction,'² i.e. until no believer is seduced from his religion. 'And the religion is God's', i.e. Until God alone is worshipped.

When God had given permission to fight and this clan of the Ansar had pledged their support to him in Islam and to help him and his followers, and the Muslims who had taken refuge with them, the apostle commanded his companions, the emigrants of his people and those Muslims who were with him in Mecca, to emigrate to Medina and to link up with their brethren the Ansar. 'God will make for you brethren and houses in which you may be safe.' So they went out in companies, and the apostle stayed in Mecca waiting for his Lord's permission to leave Mecca and migrate to Medina.

THOSE WHO MIGRATED TO MEDINA

The first of the Quraysh to migrate to Medina from among the apostle's companions was one of B. Makhzum, Abu Salama b. 'Abdu'l-Asad b. Hilal b. 'Abdullah b. 'Umar b. Makhzum whose forename was 'Abdullah. He went to Medina a year before the pledge at al-'Aqaba, having come to the apostle in Mecca from Abyssinia. He migrated because the Quraysh ill-treated him and he had heard that some of the Ansar had accepted Islam.

My father Ishaq b. Yasar on the authority of Salama who had it from his grandmother Umm Salama the prophet's wife told me that she said:

When Abu Salama had decided to set out for Medina he saddled his camel for me and mounted me on it together with my son Salama who was in my arms. Then he set out leading the camel. When the men of B. al-Mughira b. 'Abdullah b. 'Umar b. Makhzum saw him they got up and said: 'So far as you are concerned you can do what you like; but what about your wife? Do you suppose that, we shall let you take her away?' So they snatched the camel's rope from his hand and took me from him. Abu Salama's family, the B. Abdu'l-Asad, were angry at this and said: 'We will not leave our son with her seeing you have tom her from our tribesman.' So they dragged at my little boy Salama between them until they dislocated his arm, and the B. al-Asad took him away, while the B. al-Mughira kept me with them, and my husband Abu Salama went to Medina. Thus I was separated from my husband and my son. I used to go out every morning and sit in the valley weeping continuously until a year or so had passed when one of my cousins of B. al-Mughira passed and saw my plight and took pity on me. He said to his tribesmen, 'Why don't you let this poor woman go? You have separated husband, wife, and child.' So they said to me, 'You can join your husband if you like;' ; and then the B. 'Abdu'l-Asad restored my son to me. So I saddled my camel and took my son and carried him in my arms. Then I set forth making for my husband in Medina. Not a soul was with me. I thought that I could get food from anyone I met on the road until I reached my husband. When I was in Tan'im' I met 'Uthman b. Taiha b. Abu Taiha, brother of B. 'Abdu'l-Dar, who asked me where I was going and if I was all alone. I told him that except for God and my little boy I was

alone. He said that I ought not to be left helpless like that and he took hold of the camel's halter and went along with me. Never have I met an Arab more noble than he. When we halted he would make the camel kneel for me and then withdraw; when we reached a stopping-place he would lead my camel away, unload it, and tie it to a tree. Then he would go from me and lie down under a tree. When evening came he would bring the camel and saddle it, then go behind me and tell me to ride; and when I was firmly established in the saddle he would come and take the halter and lead it until he brought me to a halt. This he did all the way to Medina. When he saw a village of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf in Quba' he said: 'Your husband is in this village (Abu Salama was actually there), so enter it with the blessing of God.' Then he went off on his way back to Mecca.

She used to say, By God, I do not know a family in Islam which suffered what the family of Abu Salama did.² Nor have I ever seen a nobler man than 'Uthman b. Taiha.

The first emigrant to go to Medina after Abu Salama was 'Amir b. Rabi'a, an ally of B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b together with his wife Layla d. of Hathma b. Ghanim b. 'Abdullah b. 'Auf b. 'Ubayd b. 'Uwayj b. 'Adiy b. Ka'b. Then 'Abdullah b. Jahsh b. Ri'ab b. Ya'mar b. Sabira b. Murra b. Kathir b. Ghanm b. Dudan b. Asad b. Khuzayma ally of B. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams along with his family and his brother 'Abd-who was known as Abu Ahmad. Now Abu Ahmad was blind and he used to go all round Mecca from top to bottom without anyone to lead him. He was a poet. He had to wife al-Far'a d. of Abu Sufyan b. Harb; his mother was Umayma d. of 'Abdu'l-Muttalib.

The house of the B. Jahsh was locked up when they left and 'Utba b. Rabi'a and al-'Abbas b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib and Abu Jahl b. Hisham passed by it on their way to the upper part of Mecca. (Today it is the house of Aban b. 'Uthman in Radm.) 'Utba looked at it with its doors blowing to and fro, empty of inhabitants, and sighed heavily and said:

Every house however long its prosperity lasts
Will one day be overtaken by misfortune and trouble (260).

Then 'Utba went on to say, 'The house of the B. Jahsh has become tenantless.' To which Abu Jahl replied, 'Nobody will weep over that (261)'.317

He went on: This is the work of this man's nephew. He has divided our community, disrupted our affairs, and driven a wedge between us. Abu Salama and 'Amir b. Rabi'a and 'Abdullah b. Jahsh and his brother Abu Ahmad b. Jahsh were billeted on Mubashshir b. 'Abdu'l-Mundhir b. Zanbar in Quba' among the B. 'Amr b. 'Auf.

Then the refugees came in companies and the B. Ghanm b. Dudan were Muslims who had gone to Medina as a body with the apostle as emigrants both men and women: 'Abdullah b. Jahsh and his brother Abu Ahmad and 'Ukasha b. Mihsan and Shuja' and 'Uqba, the two sons of Wahb, and Arbad b. Humayyira (262), and Munqidh b. Nubata and Sa'id b. Ruqaysh and Muhriz b. Nadla and Yazid b. Ruqaysh, and Qays b. Jabir and 'Amr b. Milhsan and Malik b. 'Amr and Safwan b. 'Amr and Thaqf b. 'Amr and Rabi'a b. Aktham and al-Zubayr b. 'Abid and Tammam b. 'Ubayda and Sakhbara b. 'Ubayda and Muhammad b. 'Abdullah b. Jahsh.

Their women were Zaynab and Umm Habib daughters of Jahsh, Judhama d. Jandal and Umm Qays d. Milhsan and Umm Habib d. Thumama and Amina d. of Ruqaysh and Sakhbara d. Tamim and Hamna d. Jahsh.

Abu Ahmad, mentioning the migration of the B. Asad b. Khuzayma of his people to God and his apostle and their going in a body when they were called on to emigrate, said:

Had Ahmad's mother 'twixt Safa and Marwa sworn

Her oath would have been true.
 We were the first in Mecca and remained so
 Till the worse became the better part.
 Here Ghanm b. Dudan pitched his tent.
 From it Ghanm has gone and its inhabitants diminish.'
 To God they go in ones and twos,
 Their religion the religion of God and his apostle.

He also said:

When Umm Ahmad saw me setting out
 In the protection of One I secretly fear and reverence,
 She said, 'If you must do this,
 Then take us anywhere but to Yathrib.'
 I said to her, 'Nay, Yathrib today is our goal.
 What the Merciful wills the slave must do.'
 Towards God and His apostle is my face
 And he who sets his face to God today will not be disappointed.
 How many sincere friends have we left behind
 And a woman who would dissuade us with weeping and wailing.
 You may think that hope of vengeance takes us far from home,
 But we think that the hope of good things to come draws us.
 I besought the Bamu Ghanm to avoid bloodshed
 And accept the truth when the way is plain to all.
 Praising God they accepted the call of truth
 And salvation, and went forth as one man.
 We and some of our companions who left the right path
 Who helped others against us with their weapons
 Became two parties: one helped and guided
 To the truth, the other doomed to punishment.
 Unjust they have invented lies.
 Iblis beguiled them from the truth – are disappointed and
 frustrated.
 We turned back to the prophet Muhammad's words.
 'Twas well with us, friends of truth, and we were made happy.
 We are the nearest in kin to them.
 But there's no next-of-kin when friendship is lacking.
 What sister's son after us will trust you?
 What son-in-law after mine can be relied on?
 You will know which of us has found the truth
 The day that separation is made and the state of men is distinct (263).¹

UMAR MIGRATES TO MEDINA. 'AYYASH AND HIS STORY

Then 'Umar b. al-Khattab and 'Ayyash b. Abu Rabi'a al-Makhzumi went to Medina. Nafi', freedman of 'Abdullah b. 'Umar, told me that the latter informed him that his father 'Umar said: 'When we had made up our minds to migrate to Medina 'Ayyash, Hisham b. al-'As b. Wa'il al-Sahmi, and I made an appointment to meet at the thorn-trees of Adat of B. Ghifar² above Sarif³ and we said: "If one of us fails to turn up there in the morning he will have been kept back by force and the other two must go on." 'Ayyash and I duly arrived there, but Hisham was kept back and succumbed to the temptation to apostatize.

'When we reached Medina we stayed with B. 'Amr b. 'Auf in Quba'; and Abu Jahl and al-Harith, sons of Hisham, came to 'Ayyash who was the son of their uncle and their maternal brother, while the apostle was still in Mecca. They told him that his mother had vowed that she would not comb her head or take shelter from the sun until she saw him. He felt sorry for her and I said to him, "This is nothing but an attempt of the people to seduce

you from your religion so beware of them; for by God if lice were causing your mother trouble she would use her comb, and if the heat of Mecca oppressed her she would take shelter from it." But he said, "I will clear my mother from her oath; also I have some money there which I can get." I told him that I was one of the richest of the Quraysh and he could have half my money if he refused to go with the two men. But when I saw that he was determined to go I said, "If you must go, then take this camel of mine. She is well bred and easy to ride. Don't dismount, and if you suspect them of treachery you can escape on her."

The three went off and while they were on their way Abu Jahl said, "Nephew, I find my beast hard to ride. Won't you mount me behind you?" When he agreed he and they made their camels kneel to make the change over, and when they were on the ground they fell on him and bound him securely and brought him to Mecca and induced him to apostatize.'

One of the family of 'Ayyash told me that they brought him in to Mecca bound by day and said, 'O men of Mecca, deal with your fools as we have dealt with this fool of ours.'

To continue Nafi's story of 'Umar's words: 'We were saying God will not receive compensation or ransom or repentance from those who let themselves be made apostates – a people who know God and then return to unbelief because of trial!' And they were saying that of themselves. When the apostle came to Medina God sent down concerning them and what we had said and what they themselves thought: 'Say: O my servants who have acted foolishly against yourselves, despair not of God's mercy, for God forgiveth all sins. He is Forgiving Merciful. Turn to your Lord and submit yourselves to Him before punishment comes to you, then you will not be helped. Follow that excellent course which has been sent down to you from your Lord before punishment comes to you suddenly when you do not perceive it.'¹

I wrote these words with my own hand on a sheet and sent it to Hisham, and he said, 'When it came to me I read it in Dhu Tuwa,² bringing it near and holding it at arms' length and could make nothing of it until I said, "O God, make me understand it!". Then God put it into my heart that it had been sent down concerning us and what we were thinking and what was being said about us. So I returned to my camel and rejoined the apostle who was then in Medina (264).'

THE LODGMENTS OF THE EMIGRANTS IN MEDINA

'Umar accompanied by various members of his family, and his brother Zayd, and 'Amr and 'Abdullah the sons of Suraqa b. al-Mu'tamir, and Khunays b. Hudhafa al-Sahmi (who had married 'Umar's daughter Hafsa whom the apostle married after the death of her husband), and Waqid b. 'Abdullah al- Tamimi an ally of theirs, and Khauli and Malik b. Abu Khauli, two allies (265), and four sons of al-Bukayr, namely Iyas, 'Aqil, 'Amir, and Khalid; and their allies from B. Sa'd b. Layth; when they arrived at Medina stayed with Rifa'a b. 'Abdu'l-Mundhir b. Zanbar among B. 'Amr b. 'Auf in Quba'. 'Ayyash also stayed with him when he came to Medina.

Then came successive waves of emigrants: Taiha b. 'Ubayd Allah b. 'Uthman; Suhayb b. Sinan stayed with Khubayb b. Isaf brother of the B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj, in al-Sunh.¹ Others deny this and say that Taiha stayed with As'ad b. Zurara brother of the B. Al-Najjar (266).

The following stayed with Kulthum b. Hidm brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf in Quba': Hamza b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib; Zayd b. Haritha; Abu Mar-thad Kannaz b. Hisn (267); and his son Marthad of the tribe Ghani, allies of Hamza; Anasa; and Abu Kabsha, freedmen of the apostle. Other reports are that they stayed with Sa'd b. Khaythama; and that Hamza stayed with As'ad b. Zurara.

The following stayed with 'Abdullah b. Salama brother of the Banu 'Ajlan in Quba': 'Ubayda b. al-Harith and his brother al- Tufayl; al-Husayn b. al-Harith; Mistah b. Uthatha b. 'Abbad b. Al-Muttalib; Suwaybit b. Sa'd b. Huraymila brother of B. 'Abdu'l-Dar: Tulayb b. 'Umayr brother of the B. 'Abd b. Qusayy; and Khabbab, freedman of 'Utba b. Ghazwan.

With Sa'd b. al-Rabi' brother of the B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj in the house of the latter stayed 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Auf with some male emigrants.

With Mundhir b. Muhammad b. 'Uqba b. Uhayha b. ah-Julah in al-'Usba the dwelling of the B. Jahjaba, stayed al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwam and Abu Sabra b. Abu Ruhm b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza.

With Sa'd b. Mu'adh b. al-Nu'man brother of the B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhai in their dwelling stayed Mus'ab b. 'Umayr b. Hashim brother of the B. 'Abdu'l-Dar.

With 'Abbad b. Bishr b. Waqsh brother of the B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhai in the latter's dwelling stayed Abu Hudhayfa b. 'Utba b. Rabi'a and his freedman Salim; and 'Utba b. Ghazwan b. Jabir (268).

With Aus b. Thabit b. al-Mundhir, brother of Hassan b. Thabit in the dwelling of B. Al-Najjar stayed 'Uthman b. 'Affan. This was the reason why Hassan was so fond of 'Uthman 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.