

THE LIFE OF MUHAMMAD

A TRANSLATION OF ISHĀQ'S
SĪRAT RASŪL ALLĀH

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY
A. GUILLAUME

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following. It is extracted from what John the Apostle set down for them when he wrote the Gospel for them from the Testament of Jesus Son of Mary: 'He that hateh me hath hated the Lord. And if I had not done in their presence works which none other before me did, they had not had sin: but from now they are puffed up with pride and think that they will overcome me and also the Lord. But the word that is in the law must be fulfilled, "They hated me without a cause" (i.e. without reason). But when the Comforter has come whom God will send to you from the Lord's presence, and the spirit of truth which will have gone forth from the Lord's presence he (shall bear) witness of me and ye also, because ye have been with me from the beginning. I have spoken unto you about this that ye should not be in doubt.'¹

The *Munahhemana* (God bless and preserve him!) in Syriac is Muhammad; in Greek he is the paraclete.

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

¹ The passage quoted is John 15. 23 ff. It is interesting to note that the citation comes from the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary and not from the ordinary Bible of the Syriac-speaking Churches. The text is corrupt in one or two places; e.g. the phrase 'puffed up with pride and think that they will overcome me'. *Beisra* is an obvious corruption of *naḡara*, which agrees with the Syriac and underlying Greek. *Wazanni* seems to be another attempt to make sense of the passage. The next word I am unable to explain. The most interesting word is that rendered 'Comforter' which we find in the Palestinian Lectionary, but all other Syriac versions render 'paraclete', following the Greek. This word was well established in the Hebrew- and Aramaic-speaking world. The *munahhemana* in Syriac means the life-giver and especially one who raises from the dead. Obviously such a meaning is out of place here and what is meant is one who consoles and comforts people for the loss of one dear to them. This is the meaning in the Talmud and Targum. It ought to be pointed out that by the omission of the words 'that is written' before 'in the law' quite another meaning is given to the prophecy. The natural rendering would be 'the word that concerns the Nāmūs must be fulfilled'. To Muslims the Nāmūs was the angel Gabriel. Furthermore, the last words are translated as the ordinary Arab reader would understand *tahannuth*; but in Syriac Arabic it could bear the meaning of the Gospel text 'stumble'. See further my article in *Al-Fundamentals*, xv, fasc. 2 (1950), 289-96.

² Sūra 34. 27.

³ Sūra 3. 75.

they transmitted that obligation to those who believed in them among the two monotheistic religions.

(†). One whom I do not suspect told me from Sa'id b. Abū 'Arba from T. 1142 Qatāda b. Di'āna al-Sadūsī from Abū'l-Jāld: 'The Furgān came down on the 14th night of Ramaḍān. 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-Furgān, the day the two companies met'¹ which was the meeting of the apostle and the polytheists at Badr, and that took place on the morning of Ramaḍān 17th.)

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

'Abdu'l-Malik b. 'Ubaydullah b. Abū Suḡyān b. al-'Alā' b. Jarīya the Thaqafī 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 Hīrā' in the month of Ramaḍān.

Wahb b. Kaisān a client of the family of al-Zubayr told me: I heard 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr say to 'Ubayd b. 'Umayr b. Qatāda 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 Hīrā' every year for a month to practise *tahannuth* as was the custom of Quraysh in heathen days. *Tahannuth* is religious devotion. Abū Ṭālib said:

By Ṭhaur and him who made Ṭhaur firm in its place

And by those going up to ascend Hīrā' and coming down (147).²

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

¹ Sūra 5. 42.

² Ṭhaur and Ṭhaur are mountains near Mecca. The poem is given on p. 173; cf. Yağ. 1. 938.

Ramaḍān 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."

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 Abū'l-Qāsim,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 Abū'l-Qāsim. 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

¹ Sūra 96. 1-5.

² The kunya or 'name of honour' of Muhammad.

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-Uzzā b. Quṣayy, 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 Nāmūs (T. meaning Gabriel) who came to Moses aforetime, and lo, he is the prophet of this people. Bid him be of good heart.' So Khadija returned to the apostle of God and told him what 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 Nāmūs, 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.)

(T. Waraqa's words added to his confidence and lightened his anxiety.) Ismā'il b. Abū Hākim, 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 see 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. Ḥasan this story and he said, 'I heard my mother Fātima, daughter of Ḥusayn, talking about this tradition from Khadija, but as I heard it she made the apostle of God come inside her shift, and thereupon Gabriel departed, and she said to the apostle of God, "Thou verily is an angel and not a satan."'

The apostle began to receive revelations in the month of Ramaḍān. In the words of God, 'The month of Ramaḍān in which the Qurān 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, 'H.M. by the perspicuous book, verily we have sent it down in a blessed night. Verily, we were warning. In it every wise matter is decided as a command from us. Verily we sent it down.'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. Abū Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn told me that the apostle of God met the polytheists in Badr on the morning of Friday, the 17th of Ramaḍān.

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.

KHADĪJA, DAUGHTER OF KHUWAYLID, ACCEPTS ISLAM

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

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

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

¹ Sūra 2. 181.³ Sūra 44. 1-4.² Sūra 97.⁴ Sūra 8. 42.

saken him, and did not hate him. God said, 'By the morning and the night when it is still, thy Lord hath not forsaken nor hated thee,'¹ 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 honour which I have given you in the world. 'And your Lord will give you and will satisfy you,' i.e. of victory in this world and reward in the next. 'Did he not find you an orphan and give you refuge, going astray and guided you, found you poor and made you rich?' God thus told him of how He had begun to honour him in his earthly life, and of His kindness to him as an orphan poor and wandering astray, and of His delivering him from all that by His compassion (149).

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

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

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

THE PRESCRIPTION OF PRAYER

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

158 A learned person told me that when prayer was laid on the apostle Gabriel came to him while he was on the heights of Mecca and dug a hole for him with his heel in the side of the valley from which a fountain gushed forth, and Gabriel performed the ritual ablution as the apostle watched him. This was in order to show him how to purify himself before prayer. Then the apostle performed the ritual ablution as he had seen Gabriel do it. Then Gabriel said a prayer with him while the apostle prayed with 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 Nāfi' b. Jubayr b. Mu'ī'im (who was prolific in relating tradition) from I. 'Abbās 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

¹ Sūra 93.

² Sūra 93.

his shadow equalled his own length. Then he prayed the sunset prayer when the sun set. Then he prayed the last night prayer when the twilight had disappeared. Then he prayed with him the morning prayer when the dawn rose. Then he came to him and prayed the noon prayer on the morrow when his shadow equalled his height. Then he prayed the evening prayer when his shadow equalled the height of both of them. Then he prayed the sunset prayer when the sun set at the time it had the day before. Then he prayed with him the last night prayer when the first third of the night had passed. Then he prayed the dawn prayer when it was clear but the sun was not shining. Then he said, 'O Muhammad, prayer is in what is between your prayer today and your prayer yesterday.'¹ (T. T. 1161 Yūnus b. Bukayr said that Muhammad b. Ishāq told him that Yahyā b. Abū'l-Ash'ath al-Kindī of the people of Kufa said that Ismā'il b. Iyās b. 'Afīf from his father from his grandfather said, 'When I was a merchant I came to al-'Abbās 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 'Abbās, '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 Chosroes and Caesar will be opened to him. The woman is his wife Khadija who believes in him, and this young man is his nephew 'Alī who believes in him.' 'Afīf said, 'Would that I could have believed that day and been a third!''² (T. Ibn Hāmid said that Salama b. al-Faḍl and 'Alī b. Mujaḥid told him. Salama said, Muhammad b. Ishāq told me from Yahyā b. Abū'l-Ash'ath—Tabari said, 'It is in another place in my book from Yahyā b. al-Ash'ath from Ismā'il b. Iyās b. 'Afīf al-Kindī, 'Afīf being the brother of al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī by the same mother and the son of his uncle—from his father, from his grandfather 'Afīf: 'Al-'Abbās b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib was a friend of mine who used to go often to the Yaman to buy aromatics and sell them during the fairs. While I was with him in Minā there came a man in the prime of life and performed the full rites of ablution and then stood up and prayed. Then a woman came out and did her ablutions and stood up and prayed. Then out came a youth just approaching manhood, did his ablutions, then stood up and prayed by his side. When I asked al-'Abbās what was going on, he said that it was his nephew Muhammad b. 'Abdullah b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib who alleges³ that Allah has sent him as an apostle; the other is my brother's son 'Alī b. Abū Tālib who has followed him in his religion; the third is his wife Khadija d.

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

² This may be one of the traditions which I. I. was accused of producing or recording in support of the 'Aḥdīs. It is certainly open to criticism. See Introduction, pp. xxii f.

³ A hit at al-'Abbās.

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

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

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

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

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

340 The apostle stayed in Medina from the month of Rabi'ul-l-awwal to Safar of the following year until his mosque and his quarters were built. This tribe of the Ansār all accepted Islam and every house of the Ansār accepted Islam except Khātima, Wāqif, Wā'il, and Umayya who were the Aus Allah, a clan of Aus who clung to their heathenism.

The first address which the apostle gave according to what I heard on the

authority of Abū Salama b. 'Abdu'l-Rahmān—God save me from attributing to the apostle words which he did not say—was as follows: he praised and glorified God as was His due and then said: O men, send forward (good works) for yourselves. You know, by God, that one of you may be smitten and will leave his flock without a shepherd. Then his Lord will say to him—there will be no interpreter or chamberlain to veil him from Him—Did not My apostle come to you with a message, and did not I give you wealth and show you favour? What have you sent forward for yourself? Then will he look to right and left and see nothing; he will look in front of him and see nothing but hell. He who can shield his face from the fire even with a little piece of date let him do so; and he who cannot find that then with a good word; for the good deed will be rewarded tenfold yea to twice seven hundred fold.¹ Peace be upon you and God's mercy and blessing.

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

THE COVENANT BETWEEN THE MUSLIMS AND THE MEDINANS AND WITH THE JEWS

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

¹ Or, perhaps simply 'seven hundredfold'. Here, as in the rest of the sermon, there is an allusion to the Quran. Cf. 34, 36 where commentators differ as to the exact meaning of *qif*.

followed them and joined them and laboured with them. They are one community (*umma*) to the exclusion of all men. The Quraysh emigrants according to their present custom shall pay the bloodwit within their number and shall redeem their prisoners with the kindness and justice common among believers.

The B. 'Auf according to their present custom shall pay the bloodwit they paid in heathenism; every section shall redeem its prisoners with the kindness and justice common among believers. The B. Sa'ida, the B. 'Hārith, and the B. Jusham, and the B. al-Najjār likewise.¹

The B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, the B. al-Nabīr and the B. al-'Aus likewise.²

Believers shall not leave anyone destitute among them by not paying his redemption money or bloodwit in kindness (283).

A believer shall not take as an ally the freedman of another Muslim against him. The God-fearing believers shall be against the rebellious or him who seeks to spread injustice, or sin or enmity, or corruption between believers; the hand of every man shall be against him even if he be a son of one of them. A believer shall not slay a believer for the sake of an unbeliever, nor shall he aid an unbeliever against a believer. God's protection is one, the least of them may give protection to a stranger on their behalf. Believers are friends one to the other to the exclusion of outsiders. To the Jew who follows us belong help and equality. He shall not be wronged nor shall his enemies be aided. The peace of the believers is indivisible. No separate peace shall be made when believers are fighting in the way of God. Conditions must be fair and equitable to all. In every foray a rider must take another behind him. The believers must avenge the blood of one another shed in the way of God. The God-fearing believers enjoy the best and most upright guidance. No polytheist³ shall take the property or person of Quraysh under his protection nor shall he intervene against a believer. Whosoever is convicted of killing a believer without good reason shall be subject to retaliation unless the next of kin is satisfied (with blood-money), and the believers shall be against him as one man, and they are bound to take action against him.

It shall not be lawful to a believer who holds by what is in this document and believers in God and the last day to help an evil-doer⁴ or to shelter him. The curse of God and His anger on the day of resurrection will be upon him if he does, and neither repentance nor ransom⁵ will be received from him. Whenever you differ about a matter it must be referred to God and to Muhammad.

The Jews shall contribute to the cost of war so long as they are fighting

¹ These all belong to al-Khazraj.

² Presumably the heathen Arabs of Medina are referred to.

³ *Mushrik*. Commentators do not explain this word and it is somewhat obscure. Possibly it means 'adulterer' here, though a wider meaning suits the context better. Cf. W. 690.

⁴ See Lane, 1682a. Originally the phrase referred to the bloodwit. *Sarf* meant compensation and 'adl' the slaying of a man in revenge. Finally it came to mean anything excessive, so that here it would be sufficient to say 'no excuse would be received from him'.

⁵ These all belong to al-'Aus.

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

Loyalty is a protection against treachery: He who acquires aught acquires it for himself. God approves of this document. This deed will not protect⁴ the unjust and the sinner. The man who goes forth to fight and the man who stays at home in the city⁵ is safe unless he has been unjust and sinned. God is the protector of the good and God-fearing man and Muhammad is the apostle of God.

¹ Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, v. Berlin, 1889, p. 70, renders 'Lauterkeit steht vor Trug' and accuses Sprenger and Krehl of inexactness. S. has 'sie müssen loyal und nicht schlecht handeln' where a general truth is in question. Suhayl says the meaning is 'Piety and loyalty stand in the way of treachery' (ii. 17).

² For the meaning of this word cf. 519. 4 where *biḥana* clearly has such a connotation.

³ This is not clear to me.

⁴ For this idiom cf. Sura 6, 24.

⁵ Or 'in Medina'. Whether Medina is meant or not the passage stands self-condemned as a later interpolation because the town is consistently called Yathrib.

BROTHERHOOD BETWEEN EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS

The apostle instituted brotherhood between his fellow emigrants and the helpers, and he said according to what I have heard—and I appeal to God lest I should attribute to him words that he did not say—'Let each of you take a brother in God.' He himself took 'Alī by the hand and said, 'This is my brother.' So God's apostle, the lord of the sent ones and leader of the God-fearing, apostle of the Lord of the worlds, the peerless and unequalled, and 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib became brothers. Ḥanzā, the lion of God and the lion of his apostle and his uncle, became the brother of Zayd b. Ḥāritha the apostle's freedman. To him Ḥanzā gave his last testament on the day of Uhud when battle was imminent in case he should meet his death. Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib—the 'one of the wings' who was to fly in Paradise—and Mu'ādh b. Jabal brother of B. Salama became brothers (285).

The pairs were arranged thus:

Abū Bakr and Kharrāja b. Zubayr brother of B. 'I-Ḥārith b. al-Kharrājī.
'Umar and 'Iṭbān b. Ma'lik brother of B. Sālim . . . b. al-Kharrājī.
Abū 'Ubayda, 'Amir b. 'Abdullah and Sa'd b. Mu'ādh b. al-Nu'mān.
Abdu'l-Rahmān b. Auf and Sa'd b. al-Rabi' brother of B. al-Ḥārith.

Al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām and Salama b. Salama b. Waqsh brother of B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal though others say that he linked up with 'Abdullah b. Mas'ūd the ally of the B. Zuhra.

'Uthmān b. 'Affān and Aus b. Thābit b. al-Mundhir brother of B. al-Najjār. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydullah and Ka'b b. Ma'lik brother of the B. Salama.

Sa'd b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl and Ubayy b. Ka'b brother of the B. al-Najjār.

Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr and Abū Ayyūb Khālīd b. Zayd brother of the B. al-Najjār Abū Ḥudhayfa b. 'Uṭba and 'Abbād b. Bishr b. Waqsh, brother of the B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal.

'Ammār b. Yāsir ally of the B. Makhzūm and Hudhayfa b. al-Yamān brother of B. 'Abdu 'Abs ally of the B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal. (Others say that Thābit b. Qays b. al-Shammās brother of the B. al-Ḥārith b. al-Kharrājī the prophet's orator and 'Ammār b. Yāsir.)

Abū Dharr, Burayr b. Junāda al-Ghifārī and al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, 'he who hastened to his death', brother of B. Sā'ida of al-Kharrājī (286).

Ḥārith b. Abū Balta'a, ally of B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-Uzza and 'Uwaym b. Sā'ida brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf.

Salmān the Persian and Abū'l-Dardā 'Uwaymir b. Tha'laba brother of B. al-Ḥārith (287). Some say 'Uwaymir was the son of 'Amir or of Zayd.

Bilāl freedman of Abū Bakr and the apostle's muezzin and Abū Ruwayha¹

¹ A kunya characteristic of a negro, 'the father of the faint smell'. Cf. H. Lammens, *L'Arabe occidentale avant l'Hégire*, p. 246.

'Abdullah b. 'Abdu'l-Rahmān al-Khath'amī, more precisely one of the Faza'.

These are the men who were named to us as those to whom the apostle made his companions brothers.

When 'Umar compiled the registers in Syria Bilāl had gone there and remained as a combatant. He asked him with whom he wished to be grouped and he said with Abū Ruwayha. 'I will never leave him, for the apostle established brotherhood between us.' So he was linked with him and the register of the Abyssinians was linked with Khath'am because of Bilāl's position with them, and this arrangement continues to this day in Syria.

ABŪ UMĀMA

During the months in which the mosque was being built Abū Umāma As'ād b. Zurāra died; he was seized by diphtheria and a rattling in the throat.

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

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

THE CALL TO PRAYER

When the apostle was firmly settled in Medina and his brethren the emigrants were gathered to him and the affairs of the helpers were arranged Islam became firmly established. Prayer was instituted, the alms tax and fasting were prescribed, legal punishments fixed, the forbidden and the permitted prescribed, and Islam took up its abode with them. It was this 347

clan of the helpers who 'have taken up their abode (in the city of the prophet) and in the faith'.¹ When the apostle first came, the people gathered to him for prayer at the appointed times without being summoned. At first the apostle thought of using a trumpet like that of the Jews who used it to summon to prayer. Afterwards he disliked the idea and ordered a clapper

¹ Sura 59. 9.

My sons, transgress not the proper limits
Transgressing the bounds brings one to a halt.
O my sons, trust not the days.
Beware their treachery and the passage of time.
Know that it consumes all creation,
Both the new and the old.
Live your lives in piety and godliness.
Abandon obscenity and hold fast to what is right.¹

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

He abode among Quraysh some ten years
Hoping for a friend to help him.
He displayed himself to those who came to the fairs
But found none to offer him hospitality.
But when he came to us God displayed his religion
And he became happy and contented in Medina.²
He found friends and ceased to long for home
And was plainly helped by God.³
He told us what Noah said to his people
And what Moses answered when he was called.
None near at hand need he fear
And those afar he recked not of.⁴
We spent on him the best of our possessions,
Sparing not our lives in war at his side.
We know that there is nought beside God
And we know that God is the best guide.
We shall fight any man that fights Him,
Be he our dearest friend.

In every mosque when I pray to Thee
I say Blessed art Thou (O!t have I mentioned Thy name).
I say when I traverse a land I fear

'Mercy! Let not my enemies triumph over me.'
Go where you will death comes in many guises
And you cannot live for ever.

A man does not know how to protect himself
Unless he makes God his protector.

The palm that needs water⁵ cares naught for its owner
If it has moisture, though he be dead (291).

¹ The influence of Syriac as in the words *shammāda* and *tukhīm* is clear, and some of the verses are reminiscent of the Psalms.

² Tiba, 'the Fragrant', is the ancient honorific of Medina. Cf. Hassān's opening line on p. 1022, 'In Tiba are the monuments of his luminous sojourn'.

³ W.'s text 'He was a plain help to us from God' seems inferior to the C. text.

⁴ The verse is just as banal in the original.

⁵ I follow C. in reading *mu'īna* for W.'s *muqīna*, and *tāwīya* for *thāwīya* 'standing'.

(T. 'Alī b. Mujāhid said on the authority of Muhammad b. Ishāq from al-Zuhri and from Muhammad b. Saīh from al-Sha'bi that they both said: The B. Ismā'il dated from the fire of Abraham to the building of the temple when Abraham and Ismā'il built it; then they dated from the building of the temple until they dispersed, and it happened that whenever people left Tihāma they dated from their leaving it, and those who remained in Tihāma of B. Ismā'il used to date from the going out of Sa'd and Nahd and Juhayna of B. Zayd from Tihāma until Ka'b b. Lu'ayy died. Then they dated from the death of Ka'b to the elephant. The dating from the time of the elephant continued until 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb dated from the Hijra which was the year 17 or 18.¹

THE NAMES OF THE JEWISH ADVERSARIES

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

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

From B. al-Nadīr: Huyayy b. Akhtab and his brothers Abū Yāsir and Judayy; Sallām b. Mishkam; Kināna b. al-Rabi' b. Abū'l-Huqayq; Sallām b. Abū'l-Huqayq Abū Rāfi' al-A'war whom the apostle's companions killed in Khaybar; al-Rabi' b. al-Rabi' b. Abū'l-Huqayq; 'Amr b. Jahhāsh; Ka'b b. al-Ashraf who belonged to 'Jay', of the clan of B. Nabhan, his mother being from B. al-Nadīr; al-Hajjāj b. 'Amr, an ally of Ka'b; and Kardam b. Qays, an ally of Ka'b.

From B. Tha'laba b. al-Fitran: 'Abdullah b. Sūriyā the one-eyed who was the most learned man of his time in the Hijaz in Torah studies; Ibn Saūbā, and Mukharyiq their rabbi who became a Muslim.

From B. Qaynuqā': Zayd b. al-Lasit (291); Sa'd b. Hunayf; Maḥmūd b. Sayhān; 'Uzayr b. Abū 'Uzayr; and 'Abdullah b. Sayf (292). Suwayd b. al-Hārith; Rifā'a b. Qays; Fīnḥās; Ashya'; Nu'mān b. Adā; Bahrīy b.

¹ This paragraph is part of a long chapter which T. devotes to the question of chronology in reference to the principal events in the prophet's life. It is put here because the last passage he quotes from I.I. is the poem of Abū Qays mentioning the length of the prophet's sojourn in Mecca after the beginning of his mission; the connexion with chronology is obvious.

'Amr; Sha's b. 'Adiy; Sha's b. Qays; Zayd b. al-Hārith; Nu'mān b. 'Amr; Sukayn b. Abū Sukayn; 'Adiy b. Zayd; Nu'mān b. Abū A'ufā; Abū Anas; Mahmūd b. Dajya; Malik b. Šayf (293). Ka'b b. Rāshid; 'Azar; Rāfi' b. Abū Rāfi'; Khālid; Azār b. Abū Azār (294); Rāfi' b. Hāritha; Rāfi' b. Huraymīla; Rāfi' b. Kharija; Malik b. 'Auf; Rūfā'a b. Zayd b. al-Tābūt; 'Abdullah b. Salām b. al-Hārith; who was their rabbi and most learned man. His name was al-Huṣayn. The apostle named him 'Abdullah when he accepted Islam.

From B. Qurayza: al-Zubayr b. Bāṣ b. Wabb; 'Azzāl b. Shamwil; Ka'b b. Asad responsible on behalf of his tribe for the agreement which was broken in the year of the Parties; Shamwil b. Zayd; Jabal b. 'Amr b. Sukayna; al-Nahhām b. Zayd; Qardam b. Ka'b; Wabb b. Zayd; Nāfi' b. Abū Nāfi'; Abū Nāfi'; 'Adiy b. Zayd; al-Hārith b. 'Auf; Qardam b. Zayd; Usāma b. Ḥabīb; Rāfi' b. Rumayla; Jabal b. Abū Qushayr; Wabb b. Yahdhā.

From B. Zurayq: Labīd b. A'sam who bewitched the apostle of God so that he could not come at his wives.¹

From B. Hāritha: Kināna b. Šūriyā.

B. 'Amr b. 'Auf; Qardam b. 'Amr.

From B. al-Najjār: Sīṣila b. Barhām.

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

'ABDULLAH B. SALĀM ACCEPTS ISLAM

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

¹ In commenting on this Suhayl asserts that the tradition is sound and is accepted by the traditionists. He found in the *Yama'* of Mu'ammār b. Rāshid (a work which I cannot find mentioned by Brockelmann) the statement that the spell lasted for a year. He adds that the Mu'tazila and Modernists rejected the tradition on the ground that prophets could not be bewitched otherwise they would commit sin and that would be contrary to the word of God 'And God will protect thee from men' (Sura 5. 71). He finds the tradition unassailable. It is properly attested and intellectually acceptable. The prophets were not preserved from bodily afflictions in which category sorcery falls.

² It is noteworthy how few Hebrew names are to be found among the Jews of Medina.

the prophet who we have been told will be sent at this very time?" and she accepted my assurance that he was. Straightway I went to the apostle and became a Muslim, and when I returned to my house I ordered my family to do the same.

I concealed the matter from the Jews, and then went to the apostle and said, "The Jews are a nation of liars and I wish you would take me into one of your houses and hide me from them. Then ask them about me so that they may tell you the position I hold among them before they know that I have become a Muslim. For if they know it beforehand they will utter slanderous lies against me." The prophet housed me; the Jews came; and the apostle asked them about my standing among them. They said: "He is our chief, and the son of our chief; our rabbi, and our learned man."

When they said this I emerged and said: "O Jews, fear God and accept what He has sent you. For by God you know that he is the apostle of God. You will find him described in your Torah and even named. I testify that he is the apostle of God, I believe in him, I hold him to be true, and I acknowledge him." They accused me of lying and reviled me. Then I reminded the apostle that I had said that they would do this, for they were a treacherous, lying, and evil people. I publicly proclaimed my conversion and my household and my aunt Khālidā followed suit.¹

THE STORY OF MUKHAYRIQ

He was a learned rabbi owing much property in date palms. He recognized the apostle by his description and his own learning, and he felt a predilection for his religion¹ until on the day of Uhud, which fell on the sabbath, he reminded the Jews that they were bound to help Muhammad. They objected that it was the sabbath. 'May you have no sabbath,'² he answered, and took his weapons and joined the apostle in Uhud. His parting testimony to his people was: 'If I am killed today my property is to go to Muhammad to use as God shows him.' He was killed in the battle that followed. I am told that the apostle used to say 'Mukhayriq is the best of the Jews.' The apostle took over his property and all the alms he distributed in Medina came from it.

THE TESTIMONY OF ŠAFIYA

'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm told me that he was told that Šafiya d. Huyayy b. Akhtab said 'I was the favourite child of my father and my uncle Abū Yāsir. When I was present they took no notice of their other children. When the apostle was staying in Qubā' with the B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, the two went to see him before daybreak and did not return until after nightfall, weary, worn out, drooping and feeble.

¹ Presumably 'Muhammad's religion'; the pronoun is ambiguous.

² Or, perhaps, 'You have no sabbath.'