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WHAT WAS SAID TO AMINA WHEN SHE HAD CONCEIVED 10:i

THE APOSTLE

It is alleged in popular stories (and only God knows the truth) that Amina

d. Wahb, the mother of God's apostle, used to say when she was pregnant with God's apostle that a voice said to her, 'You are pregnant with the lord of this people and when he is born say, "I put him in the care of the One from the evil of every envier; then call him Muhammad."'· *As* she was pregnant with him she saw a light come forth from her by which she could see the castles of Bu ra in Syria. Shortly afterwards 'Abdullah the apostle's father died while his mother was still pregnant.

THE BIRTH OF THE APOSTLE AND HlS SUCKLING

The apostle was born on Monday, 12th Rabi'u'l-awwal, in.the year of the elephant. Al-Muttalib b. 'Abdullah who had it from his grandfather Qays

b. Makhrar a said, 'I and the apostle were born at the same time in the year

of the elephant.' (T. It is said that he was born in the house known as T. 998

I. Yiisuf's; and it is said that the apostle gave it to 'AqH b. Abii. Talib who kept it until he died. His son sold it to Muhammad b. Yusuf, the brother

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of al-l:Jajjaj, and he incorporated it in the house he built. Later Khayzuran separated it therefrom and made it into a mosque.)1

$alil:i b. Ibrahim b. 'Abdu'l-Ral:iman b. 'Auf b. Yal:iya b. 'Abdullah b. 'Abdu'l-Ral:iman b. Sa'd b. Zurara al-An ari said that his tribesmen said that I:Iassan b. Thabit said: 'I was a well-grown boy of seven or eight understanding all that I heard, when I heard a Jew calling out at the top of his voice from the top of a fort in Yathrib "O company of Jews" until they all came together and called out "Confound you, what is the matter?" He answered: "Tonight has risen a star under which A]:imad is to be born."'

I asked Sa'id b. 'Abdu'l-Ral\_iman b. I:Iassan b. Thabit how old I:Iassan was when the apostle came to Medina and he said he was 6o when the apostle came, he being 53. So l:Iassan heard this when he was seven years old.

After his birth his mother sent to tell his grandfather 'Abdu'l-Muttalib that she had given birth to a boy and asked him to come and look at him. When he came she told 1).im what she had seen when she conceived him and what was said to her and what she was ordered to call him. It is alleged that 'Abdu'l-Mutialib took him (T. before Hubal) in the (T. middle of the) Ka'ba, where he stood and prayed to Allah thanking him for this gift. Then he brought him out and delivered him to his mother, and he tried to find foster-mothers for him **(u5).**

l:Ialima d. Abu Dhu'ayb of B. Sa'd b. Bakr was asked to suckle him. Abu Dhu'ayb was 'Abdullah b. al-l:Iarith b. Shijna b. Jabir b. Rizam b. N ira b. Qu ayya b. Nllljr b. Sa'd b. Bakr b. Hawazin b. Mansur

b. 'Ikrima b. Khllljafa b. Qays b. 'Aylan. . The prophet's foster-father was al-l:Iarith b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza b. Rifa'a b.

Malian b. N ira b. Qu ayya b. Nllljr b. Sa'd b. Bakr b. Hawazin (n6).

His foster-brother was 'Abdullah b. al-I:Iarith; Unaysa and HudhafaZ were his foster-sisters. The latter was called al-Shayma', her people not using l1er proper name. These were the children of I:Ialima d. 'Abdullah

b. al-I:Iarith. !t is reported that al-Shayma' used to carry him in her arms to help her mother.

 Jahm b. Abu )ahm the client of al-l:Iarith b. Hatib al-Jumalu on the authority of 'Abdullah b. Ja'far b. Abii Talib or from one who told him it as from him, informed me that Halima the a stle's foster-mother used to say that she went forth from her count with her bus an an

"!'. om she was nursing, among the women of her tribe, in search of other babies to nurse. TJ\_iis was a yearoffamine whenlhey were destitute.'"'Slie was ndmg a dusky she-donkey of hers with an old she-camel which did

y1el a rop o . ey cou not sleep the who e night because of ·

gry child. She had no milk to give him, nor co

1 Khayzurin was the wife of the caliph al-Mahdi (158-69), and as he did not give her her ) freedom until after his accession and I.I. died a few years before in the reign of **Manflir,** ii *:i* would seem unlikely that I.I.should have recorded this tradition. •

*"!'·*

* In Judhama. I have followed C. which has the authority of I. **l;Iajar.** The **naJDC**• \

unccrtam.

s2:e-cain !\_rrnvidc a morning <lra t, but WC were hoping for rain an<l relief 'I ro<lc upon my donkey which had kept back the other riders through its weakness and emaciation so that it was a nuisance to them. WJ1 reached Mecca, we looked out for foster children, and the apostle of God was offered to ever one of us, and each woman rcfusea him when she was told he was an\_ an, ecause we oped to get payment from the c father. We said, "An orphan! and what will his motlier andg and­ father do?", and so we spurned him because of that. Ev ry woman who Cft-IDC with me got a suckling except lfil, a!!d when we decided to depart I said to m)'\_ 11sband: *"BJ* Go\_d.\_l o not like the idea of returning with m wends without a suckling; I will go l!Jld take t . er eplied,

«Do as you please; perhaps God will bless us on his account." So I went

ok him for the sole reason that I could not find anyone el him back to m ha a e, and as soon as I ut him in m bosom, m frreas"ts

ove owed with milk which he drank until he was satisfied, as a so did his foster-brother.. Then both of them slept, whereas before this we could not sleep with him. My husband got up and went to the old she-camel and Jo nerudaei:-s-were iuTf;he ilked it and he and I drank of her milk until w were completely satisfied, and we passed a happy night. In the morni g my husband said: "Do you know, I:Ialima, you have taken a blessed crea­ ture?" I said, "By God, I hope so." Then we set out and I was riding my she-ass and carrying him with me, and she went at such a pace that the other donkeys could not keep up so that my companions said to me, "Con­ found you! stop and wait for us. Isn't this the donkey on which you started?'\_' "Certainly it is," I said. They replied, "By God, something extraordinary has happened." Then we came to our dwellings in the Banu Sa'd country and I do not know a country more barren than that.

When we had him with us my flock used to yield milk in abundance. We

milked the\_m d dr k ':hile ?ther people had not a dr?p, nor could they fin anythmg m their animals udders, so that our people were saying to their shepherds, "Woe to you! send your flock to graze where the daughter of A u J?huayb's shepherd goes." Even so, their flocks came back hungry not y1eldmg a drop of milk, while mine had milk in abundance. We ceased not to recognize this bounty as coming from God for a period of two years, when I weaned him. He was growing up as none of the other children g ew and\_ by the time he was two he was a well-made child. We brought him to his mother, though we were most anxious to keep him with us because of the blessing which he brought us. I said to her:1 "I should like you \_to leave my little boy with me until he becomes a big boy, for I am **a raid** on his account of the pest in Mecca." We persisted until she sent

**him** back with us.

**be**8?me months after our return he and his brother were with our lambs hmd the tents when his brother came running and said to us, "Two *men*

1

T here insert *y* - *z·•* 'O I' · I · **T** · •

**eading.** 5 *a* I *ru* nurse. imp ymg that t\mma was not his mother. A strange

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clothed in white have seized that Qurayshi brother of mine and thrown him down.and opened up his belly, and are stirring it up." We ran towards him and found him standing up with a livid face. We took hold of him and asked him what was the matter. He said, "Two men in white raiment came and threw me down and opened up my belly and searched therein for I know not what."1 So we took him back to our tent.

His father said to me, "I am afraid that this child has had a stroke, so take him back to his family before the result appears." So we picked him up and took him to his mother who asked why we had brought him when I had been anxious for his welfare and desirous of keeping him with me. I said to her,"God has let myson live so far and I have done my duty. I am afraid that ill will befall him, so I have brought him back to you as you wished." She asked me what happened and gave me no peace until I told her. When she asked if I feared a demon possessed him, I replied that I

1o6 did. She answered that no demon had any power over her son who had a great future before him, and then she told how when she was pregnant with him a light went out from her which illumined the castles of Bu!ira in Syria, and that she had borne him with the least difficulty imaginable. When she bore him he put his hands on the ground lifting his head towards the heavens. "Leave him then and go in peace," she said.'

Thaur b. Yazid from a learned person who I think was Khalid b. Ma'dan al Kala'i told me that some of the apostle's companions asked him to tell them about himself. He said: 'I am what Abraham my father prayed for and the good news of (T. my brother) Jesus. When my mother was carrying me she saw a light proceeding from her which showed her the castles of Syria. I was suckled among the B. Sa'd b. Bakr, and while I was with a brother of mine behind our tents shepherding the lambs, two men in white raiment came to me with a gold basin full of snow. Then they seized me and opened up my belly, extracted my heart and split it; then they extracted a black drop from it and threw it **away;** then they washed my heart and my belly with that snow until they had thoroughly cleaned them. Then one said to the other, weigh him against ten of his people; they did so and I outweighed them. Then they weighed me against a hundred and then a thousand, and I outweighed them. He said, "Leave him alone, for by God, if you weighed him against all his people he would outweigh them."'

The apostle of God used to say, There is no prophet but has shepherded

**a** flock. When they said, 'You, too, apostle of **God?',** he said 'Yes.'

The apostle of God used to say to his companions, 'I am the most Arab of you all. I am of Quraysh, and I was suckled among the B. Sa'd b. Bakr. It is alleged by some, but God knows the truth, that when his foster-mother brought him to Mecca he escaped her among the crowd while she was taking him to his people. She sought him and could not find him, so she went to 'Abdu'l-Munalib and said: 'I brought Muhammad tonight and

1 Cf. Sura 94. 1.

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when I was in the upper part of Mecca he escaped me and I don't know where he is.' So 'Abdu'l-Muttalib went to the Ka'ba praying to God to restore him. They assert that Waraqa b. Naufal b. Asad and another man 107

of Quraysh found him and brought him to 'Abdu'I-Mugalib saying, 'We have found this son of yours in the upper part of Mecca.' 'Abdu'I-Munalib t ok him and put him on his shoulder as he went round the Ka'ba confiding him to God's protection and praying for him; then he sent him to his mother Amina.

A learned person told me that what urged his foster-mother to return

him to his mother, apart from what she told his mother, was that a number of Abyssinian Christians saw him with her when she brought him back after he had been weaned. They looked at him, asked questions about him, and studied him carefully, then they said to her, 'Let us take this boy, and bring him to our king and our country; for he will have a great future. We know all about him.' The person who told me this alleged that she could hardly get him away from them.

AMINA DIES AND THE APOSTLE LIVES WITH HIS GRANDFATHER

The apostle lived with his mother Amina d. Wahb and his grandfather 'Abdu'l-Muttalib in God's care and keeping like a fine plant, God wishing to honour him. When he was six years old his mother Amina died.

'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. }Jazm told me that the apostle's mother died in Abwa' between Mecca and Medina on her return from a visit with him to his maternal uncles of B. 'Adiy b. al-Najjar when he was six years old {u7). Thus the apostle was left to his grandfather for whom they made a bed in the shade of the Ka'ba. His sons used to sit round the bed until he came out to it, but none of them sat upon it out of

respect for him. The apostle, still a little boy, used to come and sit on it 108

and his uncles would drive him away. When 'Abd4'l-Munalib saw this he said: 'Let my son alone, for by Allah he has a great future.' Then he would make him sit beside him on his bed and would stroke his back with his hand. It used to please him to see what he did.

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ABU TALIB BECOMES GUARDIAN OF THE APOSTLE

After the death of 'Abdu'l-Munalib the apostle lived with his uncle Abu Talib, for (so they allege) the former had confided him to his care because he and 'Abdullah, the apostle's father, were brothers by the same mother, Fatima d. 'Amr b. 'A'idh b. 'Abd b. 'lmran b. Makhzum (121). It was Abii Talib who used to look after the apostle after the death of his grand­ father and he became one of his family.

Yal;iya b. 'Abbad b. 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr told me that his father told him that there was a man of Lihb (122) who was a seer. Whenever he came to Mecca the Quraysh used to bring their boys to him so that he could look

at them and tell their fortunes. So Abu Talib brought him along with the 115 others while he was still a boy. The seer looked at him and then something claimed his attention. That disposed of he cried, 'Bring me that boy.' When Abu Talib saw his eagerness he hid him and the seer began to say, 'Woe to you, bring me that boy I saw just now, for by Allah he has a great future.' But Abii Talib went **away.**

THE STORY OF BAl;IIRA

Abii Talib had planned to go in a merchant caravan to Syria, and when all preparations had been made for the journey, the apostle of God, so they allege, attached himself closely to him so that he took pity on him and said that he would take him with him, and that the two of them should never part; or words to that effect. When the caravan reached Bu!}ra in Syria, there was a monk there in his cell by the name of Bal;iira, who was well versed in the knowledge of Christians. A monk had always occupied that cell. There he gained his knowledge from a book that was in the cell, so they allege, handed on from generation to generation. They had often

1 i.e. 'never has your equal been born'. The figure is that of **a** woman nursing a baby while her necklace falls over the child **at** her breast. The correct reading would seem to be *'iqd* not *'oqd; dho.t ni/o./* means 'possessor of pendant earrings', i.e. **a** woman. Dr. Arafat suggests that *'oqd* 'girdle' should be read and the line would then run: 'Never has the knot of **a** woman's girdle run over your like'. The general sense would be the same, but the particular reference would be to **a** pregnant woman.

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passed by him in the past and he never spoke to them or took any notice of them until this year, and when they stopped near his cell he made a great feast for them. It is alleged that that was because of something he saw while in his cell. They allege that while he was in his cell he saw the apostle of God in the caravan when they approached, with a clo d.over­ shadowing him among the people. Then they came and stopped m the shadow of a tree near the monk. He looked at the cloud when it over­ shadowed the tree, and its branches were bending and drooping over the apostle of God until he was in the shadow beneath it. When Ba!)ira saw that, he came out of his cell and sent word to them,• 'I have prepared food for you, 0 men of Quraysh, and I should like you all to come both great and small, bond and free.' One of them said to him, 'By God, Bal\_iira! something extraordinary has happened today, you used not to treat us so, and we have often passed by you. What has befallen you today ?1 He answered, 'You are right in what you say, but you are guests and I wish to

u6 honour you and give you food so that you may eat.' So they gathered together with him, leaving the apostle of God behind with the baggage under the tree, on account of his extreme youth. When Bal\_iira looked at the people he did not see the mark which he knew and found in his books,1 so he said, 'Do not let one of you remain behind and not come to my feast.' They told him that no one who ought to come had remained behind except a boy who was the youngest of them an had stayed with their baggage. Thereupon he told them to invite him to come to the meal with them. One of the men of Quraysh said, 'By al-Lat and al-'Uzza, we are to blame for leaving behind the son of 'Abdullah b. 'Abdu'l-Mugalib.' Then he got up and embraced him and made him sit with the people.• When Bal\_iira saw him he stared at him closely, looking at his body and finding traces of his description (in the Christian books). When the people had finished eating and gone away,t Bal\_iirli got up and said to him, 'Boy, I ask you by al-Lat and al-'Uzzli to answer my question.' Now Bal\_iira said this only because he had heard his people swearing by these gods. They allege that the apostle of God said to him, 'Do not ask me by al-Lat and al-'Uzza, for by Allah nothing is more hateful to me than these two.' Bal\_iira answered, 'Then by Allah, tell me what I ask'; he replied, 'Ask me what you like'; s?t

he. began to ask him ·about what happened in his (T. waking and in his)

sleep, and his habits,2 and his affairs generally, and what the apostle of God told him coincided with what Bal\_iira knew of his description. Then he looked at his back and saw the seal of prophethood between his shoulders tin the very place described in his book (123).t When he had finished he went to his uncle Abu Talib and asked him what relation this boy was to him and when he told him he was his son, he said that he was not, for it couid not be that the father of this boy was alive. 'He is my nephew,' he

1 Lit. 'with him'. 1 *hay'a,* perhaps 'his body'.

* T- 'sent word to invite them all' and omits passage ending 'people'.•

t ... "t T- om.

said, and when he asked what had become of his father he told him that he had died before the child was born. 'You have told the truth,' said Bal\_iira. 'Take your nephew back to his country and guard him carefully against the Jews, for by Allah! if they sec him and know about him·what I know, they will do him evil; a great future lies before this nephew of yours, so take him 117 home quickly.'

So his uncle took him off quickly and brought him back to Mecca when he had finished his trading in Syria. People allege that Zurayr and Tam­ mam and Daris, who were people of the scriptures, had noticed in the apostle of God what Bal\_iira had seen during that journey which he took with his **uncle,** and they tried to get at him, but Bal\_iira kept them away and reminded them of God and the mention of the description of him which they would find in the sacred books, and that if they tried to get at him they would not succeed. He gave them no peace until they recognized the truth of **what** he said and left him and went away. The apostle of God grew up, **God protecting** him and keeping him from the vileness of heathenism because he wished to honour him with apostleship, until he grew up to be the finest **of *bis*** people in manliness, the best in character, most noble in lineage, **the best** neighbour, the most kind, truthful, reliable, the furthest removed from filthiness and corrupt morals, through loftiness and nobility, so that **he was** known among his people as 'The trustworthy' because of the good **qualities** which God had implanted in him. The apostle, so I was told, used to tell how God protected him in his childhood during the period of heathenism, saying, 'I found myself among the boys of Quraysh carrying stones such as boys piay with; we had all uncovered ourselves, each **taking his** shirt1 and putting it round his neck as he carried the stones. I was going to and fro in the same way, when an unseen figure slapped me most painfully saying, "Put your shirt on"; so I took it and fastened it on me and then began to carry the stones upon rriy neck wearing my shirt alone among my fellows.'2

1 Properly **a** wrapper which covered the lower part of the body.

* Suhayli, 120, after pointing out that a somewhat similar story is told of the prophet's modesty and its preservation by supernatural means, at the time that the rebuilding of the Ka'ba was undertaken when Muhammad was a grown man, says significantly that if the account here is correct divine intervention must have occurred twice. It may well be that he was led to make this comment by the fact that T- omits the story altogether and in its place (T. 1126. 10) writes: 'I. .l;lamid said that Salama told him that I.I. related from Muhammad b. 'Abdullah b. Qays b. Makhrama from al-1:lasan b. Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Abu Talib from his father Muhammad b. 'Ali from his grandfather 'Ali b. Abu Tiilib: I heard the **apostle** say, "I never gave a thought to what the people of the pagan era used to do but twice, because God came between me and my desires. Afterwards I never thought of evil when God honoured me with apostleship. Once I said to a young Qura)'shi who was shepherding with me on the high ground of Mecca, 'I should like you to look after my beasts for me while I go and spend the night in Mecca as young men do.' He agreed and I went off with that intent, and when I came to the first house in Mecca I heard the sound of tambourines and flutes and was told that • marriage had just taken place, I sat down to look at them when God smote my ear and I fell asleep until I was woken by the sun. I came to my friend and in reply to his questions told him what had happened. Exactly the same thing occurred on another occasion. Afterwards I never thought of evil until God honoured me with his apostleship."'

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**119** THE SACRILEGIOUS WAR (124)

This war broke out when the apostle was twenty years of age. It was so called because these two tribes, Kinana and Qays 'Aylan, fought in the sacred month. The chief of Quraysh and Kinana was J:Iarb b. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams. At the beginning of the day Qays got the upper hand but by midday victory went to Kinana (125).

THE APOSTLE OF GOD MARRIES KHADIJA (126)

Khadija was a merchant woman of dignity and wealth. She used to hire men to carry merchandise outside the country on a profit-sharing basis, for Quraysh were a people given to commerce. Now when she heard about the prophet's truthfulness, trustworthiness, and honourable character, she sent for him and proposed that he should take her goods to Syria and trade with them, while she would pay him more than she paid others. He was to take a lad of hers called Maysara. The apostle of God accepted the propo­ sal, and the two set forth until they came to Syria.

The apostle stopped in the shade of a tree near a monk's cell, when the monk came up to Maysara and asked who the man was who was resting

120 beneath the tree. He told him that he was of Quraysh, the people who held the sanctuary; and the monk exclaimed: 'None but a prophet ever sat beneath this tree.'

Then the prophet sold the goods he had brought and bought what he wanted to buy and began the return journey to Mecca. The story goes that at the height of noon when the heat was intense as he rode his beast Maysara saw two angels shading the apostle from the sun's rays. When he brought Khadija her property she sold it and it amounted to double or thereabouts. Maysara for his part told her about the two angels who shaded him and of the monk's words. Now Khadija was a determined, noble, and intelligent woman possessing the properties with which God

* willed to honour her. So when Maysara told her these things she sent to the apostle of God and-so the story goes-said: 'O son of my uncle I like you because of our relationship and your high reputation among your people, your trustworthiness and good character and truthfulness.' Then
* she proposed marriage. Now Khadija at that time was the best born woman in Quraysh, of the greatest dignity and, too, the richest. All her people were eager to get possession of her wealth if it were possible.

Khadija was the daughter of Khuwaylid b. Asad b. ',l\bdu'l-'Uzza b. Qu!}ayy b. Kilab h. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr. Her mother. was Fatima d. Za'ida b. al-A!}amm b. Rawal\_i.a b. J:Iajar b. 'Abd b. Ma'i!! b. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy b.. Ghalib b. Fihr. Her mother was Ha.la d. 'Abdu Manaf b. al-J:larith b. 'Amr b. Munqidh b. 'Amr b. **Ma'i!!** b. 'Amir

b. Lu'ayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr. Hala's mother was Qilaba d. Su'ayd b. Sa'd b. Sahm b. 'Amr b. Hu!}ay!} b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghalib b. Fihr.

The apostle of God told his uncles of Khadi a's proposal, and his uncle

}Jamza b. 'Abdu'l7Munalib went with him t<J Khuwaylid b. Asad and asked for her hand and he married her (127).

She was the mother of all the apostle's children except Ibrahim, namely al-Qasim (whereby he was known as Abu'l-Qasim); al-Tahir, al-Tayyib, 1 Zaynab, Ruqayya, Umm Kulthiim, and Fatima (128).

AI-Qasim, al-Tayyib, and al-Tahir died in paganism. All his daughters lived into Islam, embraced it, and migrated with him to Medina (129).

Khadija had told Waraqa b. Naufal b. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza, who was her cousin and a Christian who had studied the scriptures and was a scholar, what her slave Maysara had told her that the monk had said and how he had seen the two angels shading him. He said, 'If this is true, Khadija, verily Muhammad is the prophet of this people. I knew that a prophet of this people was to be expected. His time has come,' or words to that effect. Waraqa was finding the time of waiting wearisome and used to say 'How long?' Some lines of his on the theme are:

I persevered and was persistent in remembering An anxiety which often evoked tears. And Confirmatory evidence kept coming from Khadija. Long have I had to wait, 0 Khadija,

In the vale of Mecca in spite of my hope That I might see the outcome of thy words. I could not bear that the words of the monk You told me of should prove false:

That Muhammad should rule over us Overcoming those who would oppose him.

And that a glorious light should appear in the land To preserve men from disorders.

**His enemies shall meet disaster**

And his friends shall be victorious. Would that I might be ther then to sec,

For I should be the first of his supporters, Joining in that which Quraysh hate

However loud they shout in that Mecca of theirs.

I hope to ascend through him whom they all dislike

To the Lord of the Throne though they are cast down. Is it folly not to disbelieve in Him

Who chose him Who raised the starry heights ?

If they and I live, things will be done

Which will throw the unbelievers into confusion. And if I die, 'tis but the fate of mortals

To suffer death and dissolution.

1 Commcr,tators poi?t out that these are not names but epithets (The Pure, The Good) applied to the one son Abdullah.

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**122**

**T-** 1135

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# The Life of Muhammad

THE REBUILDING OF THE KA'BA WHEN THE APOSTLE ACTED AS UMPIRE

Quraysh decided to rebuild the Ka'ba when the apostle was thirty-five years of age (T- fifteen years after the sacrilegious war). They were plan­ ning to roof it and feared to demolish it, for it was made of loose stones above a man's height, and they wanted to raise it and roof it because men had stolen part of the treasure of the Ka'ba which used to be in **a** well in

the middle of it. The treasure was found with Duwayk a freedman of

B. Mulayl\_i b. 'Amr of Khuza'a (130). Quraysh cut his hand off; they say that the people who stole the treasure deposited it with Duwayk.

(T. Among those suspected were al-ljarith b. 'Amir b. Naufal, and Abu

Ihab b. 'Aziz b. Qays b. Suwayd al-Tamimi who shared the same mother, and Abii Lahab b. 'Abdu'l-Munalib. Quraysh alleged that it was they who took the Ka'ba's treasure and deposited it with Duwayk, a freedman of B. Mulayl\_i, and when Quraysh suspected them they informed against Duwayk and so his hand was cut off. It was said that they had left it with him, and people say that when Quraysh felt certain that the treasure had been with al-1:larith they took him to an Arab sorceress and in her rhymed utterances she decreed that he should not enter Mecca for ten years **be­** cause he had profaned the sanctity of the Ka'ba. They allege that he was driven out and lived in the surrounding country for ten years.)

Now a ship belonging to a Greek merchant had been cast ashore at Judda and became a total wreck. They took its timbers and got them ready to roof the Ka'ba. It happened that in Mecca there was a Copt who **was a** carpenter, so everything they needed was ready to hand. Now **a snake** used to come out of the well in which the sacred offerings were thrown and sun itself every day on the wall of the Ka'ba. It was an object of te or because whenever anyone came near it it raised its head and made a rustling noise and opened its mouth, so that they were terrified of it. While it was thus sunning itself one day, God sent a bird which seized it and flew off with it. Thereupon Quraysh said, 'Now we may hope that God is pleased with what we propose to do. We have a friendly craftsman, we have got the wood and God has rid us of the snake.' When they had decided to pull it down and rebuild it Abii Wahb b. 'Amr h. 'A';dh ti. 'Abd b. 'Imran b. Makhziim (131) got up and took a stone from the Ka'La and it l apt out of his hand so that it returned to its place. He said, 'O Qur:aysh, do not bring into this building ill-gotten gains, the hire of a harlot, nor money taken in usury, nor anything resulting from wrong and violence.' People ascribe this saying to al-Walid b. al-Mughira b. 'Abdullah b. 'Umar b. Makhziim.

'Abdullah b. Abii Naji}:!. al-Makki told me that he was told on the authority of'Abdullah b. afwan b. Umayya b. Khalafb. Wahb b. ljudhafa

b. Juma}:i b. 'Amr b. Hul}ay!/ b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy that he saw a son of Ja'da

b. Hubayra b. Abii Wahb b. 'Amr circumambulating the temple, and **when**

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he inquired about him he was told who he was. 'Abdullah b. Safwan said, 'It was the grandfather of this man (meaning Abu Wahh), who took the stone from the Ka'ba when Quraysh decided to demolish it and it sprang from his hand and returned to its place, and it was he who said the words which have just been quoted.'

Abii Wahb was the maternal uncle of the apostle's father. He was a noble of whom an Arab poet said:

If I made my camel kneel at Abu Wahb's door,

It would start the morrow's journey with well filled saddle-bags; He was the noblest of the two branches of Lu'ayy b. Ghalib, When noble lineage is reckoned.

Refusing to accept injustice, delighting in giving, His ancestors were of the noblest stock.

A great pile of ashes lie beneath his cooking-pot,

He fills his dishes with bread topped by luscious meat.t

Then Quraysh divided the work among them; the section near the door was assigned to B. 'Abdu Manaf and Zuhra. The space between the black stone and the southern corner, to B. Makhzum and the Quraysbite tribes which were attached to them. The back of the Ka'ba to B. Juma and Sahm, the two sons of 'Amr b. Hul}ayl} b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy. The side of the *J.,ijr* to B. 'Abdu'I-Dar b. Qu!/llyy and to B. Asad b. al-'Uzza b. Qul)ayy, and to B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy which is the Batim.

The people were afraid to demolish the temple, and withdrew in awe from it. Al-Walid b. al-Mughira said, 'I will begin the demolition.' So he took **a** pick-axe, went up to it saying the while, 'O God, do not be afraidi (132), O God, we intend only what is best.' Then he demolished the part at the two corners.3 That night the people watched, saying, 'We will look out; if he is smitten we won't destroy any more of it and will restore it as it was; but if nothing happens to him then God i$ pleased with what we are doing and we will demolish it.' In themoming al-Walid returned to the work of demolition and the people worked with him, until they got down to the foundation •of Abraham.• They came on green stones like camel's humps joined one to another.

A certain traditionist told me that a man of Quraysh inserted a crowbar between two stones in order to get one of them out, and when he moved the stone the whole of Mecca shuddered so they left the foundation alone.

(T- so they had reached the foundation.)

I was told that Quraysh found in the corner a writing in Syriac. They could not understand it until a Jew read it for them. It was as follows: 'I am Allah the Lord of Bakka, I created it on the day that I created heaven

1 Professor Affifi reminds me that the second half of this verse is reminiscent of Imru'u'l- Qflys (1. 12) where the fine fat flesh of the camel is compared with white silk finely woven.

2 The feminine fonn indicates that the K.a'ba itself is addressed.

3 Or ctwo sacred stones'.

* ... • Not in 'f.

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and earth and formed the sun and moon, and I surrounded it with seven pious angels. It will stand while its two mountains stand, a blessing to its people with milk and water,' and I was told that they found in the *maqiim* a writing, 'Mecca is God's holy house, its sustenance comes to it from three directions; let its people not be the first to profane it.'

Layth b. Abu Sulaym alleged that they found a stone in the Ka'ba forty years before the prophet's mission, if what they say is true, containing the

125 inscription 'He that soweth good shall reap joy; he that soweth evil shall reap sorrow; can you do evil and be rewarded with good? Nay, as grapes cannot be gathered from thorns.''

The tribes of Quraysh gathered stones for the building, each tribe collecting them and building by itself until the building was finished up to the black stone, where controversy arose, each tribe wanting to lift it to its place, until they went their several ways, formed alliances, and got ready for battle. The B. 'Abdu'l-Dar brought a bowl full of blood; then they and the B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy pledged themselves unto death and thrust their hands into the blood. For this reason they were called the blood-lickers. Such was the state of affairs for four or five nights, and then Quraysh gathered in the mosque and took counsel and were equally

\_divided on the question.

A traditionist alleged that Abu Umayya b. al-Mughira b. 'Abdullah b. 'Umar b. Makhzum who was at that time the oldest man of Quraysh, urged them to make the first man to enter the gate of the mosque umpire in the matter in dispute. They did so and the first to come in was the apostle of God. When they saw him they said, 'This is the trustworthy one. We are satisfied. This is Muhammad.' When he came to them and they informed him of the matter he said, 'Give me a cloak,' and when it was brought to him he took the black stone and put it inside it and said that each tribe should take hold of an end of the cloak and they should lift it together. They did this so that when they got it into position he placed it with his own hand, and then building went on above it.

Quraysh used to call the apostle of God before revelation came to him, 'the trustworthy one' ; and when they had finished the building, according to their desire, al-Zubayr the son of 'Abdu'l-Muttalib said about the snake which made the Quraysh dread rebuilding the Ka'ba:

I was amazed that the eagle went straight To the snake when it was excited.

It used to rustle ominously

And sometimes it would dart forth. When we planned to r build the Ka'ba It terrified us for it was fearsome.

When we feared its attack, down came the eagle, Deadly straight in its swoop,

1 A strange place in which to find a quotation from the Gospel; cf. Mt. 7. 16.

*I /I(' Li.fl' U/ JI/ IIIIW/11//lltl*

It bore it away, thus leaving us free To work without further hindrance. We attacked the building together,

We had its foundations' and the earth. On the morrow we raised the foundation, None of our workers wore clothes.

Through it did God honour the sons of Lu'ayy, Its foundation was ever associated with them, Banu 'Adiy and Murra had gathered there, Kilab having preceded them.

For this the King settled us there in power, For reward is to be sought from God (133).

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

(T- One whom I do not suspect told me from Sa'id b. Abii 'Aruba from T. 1142

Qatada b. Di'ama al-Sadiisi from Abii'l-Jald: 'The Furqan came down on the 14th night of Rama9an. Others say, No, but on the 17th; and in sup- port 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 Rarna9an 17th.)

Al-Zuhri related from 'Urwa b. Zubayr that '.A'isha told him that when 151 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'I-Malik b. 'Ubaydullah b. Abu Sufyan b. al-'Ala' b. Jariya the

THE PROPHET'S MISSION

e? Muha d theapos e o! God reached the age of !arty God sent him m compassi >n 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 s\_hould believe in m, testify to his truth and help him against his adversaries, and he required of them that they should transmit that to everyone who believ d 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, aft rw3:1"ds \_an apostle w1 I c?me confirming what you know that you may believe 1 him and help him. He said, 'Do you accept this and take up my bur en :' 1.c. the bu d n 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 ia John 15. 23 ff. It is interesting to note t t the citation comes rom the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary and not from the ordinary Bible of the Syriac-apcak­ m Church . The text is ':°rrupt in one or two places; e.g. the phrase 'puffed up with pn?e and that they\_ will overcome.me'\_. *Ba#rii* is an obvious corruption of *na:,arii,* which agrees with the Synac and undcrlymg Greek. *Wa,1annu* seems to be another attempt to m e eeosc of the passage. The ne:,:t word I am unable to explain. The most interesting wor 1s tha! rendered ''?<>mforte • which '!"e find in the Palestinian Lcctionary, but all other Synac ven1ons render paraclete , following the Greek. This word was well established in t e Hebrew- and Aramaic-speaking w\_orld. The *mena a* inSyriac means the life­ giver and espcdally one who raises from the dead. Obviously such **a** meaning is out of place here and h t ismeant o?e who consoles and comforts people for the loss of one dear to them. *: '* as them ineT lmu and.T rgum. It ouii:ht to be pointed out that by the orrusa1on of the words that 1S wntten before m the law' quite another meaning is given to the prophecy. The natural rendering would be 'the word that concerns the Nimua must be fulfilled'. To Muslims the Nimiis was the angel Gabriel. Furthermore, the last words re translated as the or?in•ry Arab reader would understand *tashukkv;* but in Syrian Arabic 1t could bear the meanmg of the Gospel text 'stumble'. Sec further my article in *Al-Anda-*

*/us,* :,:v, fuc. 2 (1950), 289-96. 2 Sura 34. 27. > Sura 3.75.

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, 0 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 l:lira' in the month of Rama<;lan.

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 152

in seclusion on l:lira' every year for a month to practise *ta annuth* as was the custom of Quraysh in heathen days. *T annuth* is religious devotion. Abu Talib said:

By Thaur and him who made Thabir firm in its place

And by those going up to ascend l:lira' and coming dowri (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 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 Sura *5.* 42.

2 Thaur and Thabir **are** mountains **near Mecca.** The poem is given on p. 173; cf. Yiiq.

i. 938.

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Rama an in which God willed concerning him what He willed of His grace, the apostle set forth to lira' 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, Whp taught by the pen,

Taught that which they knew not unto men."1

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 rai d 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 Kh:idija sent her messengers in search of me a.n<l 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, "0 Abu'l-Qasim, 2 where hast thou been? By God, I sent my messen­ gers 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 Abii'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

1 Sura 96. 1-5. 2 The *kamya* or 'name of honour' of Muhammad.

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you did sec something." "Yes, I did," I said.) Then I told her of what I had seen; anJ she said, "Rejoice, 0 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. Qu ayy, 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, 0 Khadija, there hath come unto him the greatest Namus (T- 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 despitefullyand cast thee out and fight against thee. Verily, if I live tosee that day, I will help God insuch 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 J:Iakim, 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, 0 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 tum 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 dis­ closed 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. I:Iasan this story and he said, 'I heard my mother Fatima, daughter of I:Iusayn, 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, "This verily is an angel and not **a** satan."'

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