

nation was disposed to share their conditions. No member of any other race felt attracted to them. But if one of them were to find ways and means of fleeing from these conditions, he would not (do so or) give them up.⁵³ Therefore, their pedigrees can be trusted not to have been mixed up and corrupted. They have been preserved pure in unbroken lines. This is the case, for instance, with Mudar tribes such as the Quraysh, the Kinānah, the Thaqīf, the Banū Asad, the Hudhayl, and their Khuzā'ah neighbors. They lived a hard life in places where there was no agriculture or animal husbandry. They lived far from the fertile fields of Syria and the 'Irāq, far from the sources of seasonings and grains. How pure have they kept their lineages! These are unmixed in every way, and are known to be unsullied.

Other Arabs lived in the hills and at the sources of fertile pastures and plentiful living. Among these Arabs were the Ḥimyar and the Kaḥlān, such as the Lakhm, the Judhām, the Ghassān, the Ṭayy, the Qudā'ah, and the Iyād. Their lineages were mixed up, and their groups intermingled. It is known that people (genealogists) differ with respect to each one of these families. This came about as the result of intermixture with non-Arabs. They did not pay any attention to preserving the (purity of) lineage of their families and groups. This⁵⁴ was done only by (true) Arabs. 'Umar said: "Study genealogy, and be not like the Nabataeans of the Mesopotamian lowlands. When one of them is asked about his origin, he says: 'From such and such a village.'"⁵⁵ Furthermore, the Arabs of the fertile fields were affected by the general human trend toward competition for the fat soil and the good pastures. This resulted in intermingling and much mixture of lineages. Even at the beginning of Islam, people occasionally referred to themselves by their places of residence. They referred to the Districts of Qinnasrīn, of Damascus, or of the 'Awāšim (the border region of northern

⁵³ But see above, p. 252.
⁵⁴ Cf. Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *ʿIqd*, II, 57; Ibn 'Abd-al-Barr, *al-Intibāh 'alā qabā'il ar-ruḥāh* (Cairo, 1350/1931-32), p. 48.

Syria). This custom was then transferred to Spain. It happened not because the Arabs rejected genealogical considerations, but because they acquired particular places of residence after the conquest. They eventually became known by their places of residence. These became a distinguishing mark, in addition to the pedigree, used by (the Arabs) to identify themselves in the presence of their amirs. Later on, sedentary (Arabs) mixed with Persians and other non-Arabs. Purity of lineage was completely lost, and its fruit, the group feeling, was lost and rejected. The tribes, then, disappeared and were wiped out, and with them, the group feeling was wiped out. But the (earlier situation) remained unchanged among the Bedouins.

God inherits the earth and whomever is upon it.

[10] How lineages become confused.

Handwritten notes in Arabic script, including the word "مختلج" (mixed) and "مختلج" (mixed).

Handwritten notes in Arabic script, including the word "مختلج" (mixed) and "مختلج" (mixed).

5.0
Introductory statement

5. Mon Oct 2 The rise of Islam: religion

- Txt: Lewis, ch. 2
5.1 Extracts on the Prophet
5.2 Tabari on the building of the Ka'ba
5.3 Muhammad and the pagans

This and the next seminar are about the life of the Prophet Muhammad (d. 632). His career fuses religion and politics. My general idea is to cover religion in this seminar, and politics in the next; but it won't work out so neatly. Our concern with religion is not with Islam at large, but simply with aspects of its earliest form that are relevant to our historical concerns—specifically, the sudden appearance of a state which made history in what looks like an unlikely part of the world.

Here again, the textbook gives you a survey, and the rest of the readings are from primary sources.

Reading 5.1: Here you get a chronology and two scriptural passages which are crucial to Muhammad's message. I've also given you a near-contemporary English parallel—or rather, contrast—to think about. What's the same, and what's different, about the rise of monotheism in England and Arabia?

Reading 5.2: This is your friend Tabari again, here with accounts of how Abraham and his son Ishmael built the Ka'ba in Mecca. Abraham is, of course, the patriarch of the Biblical Book of Genesis. Through his elder son Ishmael, he was the ancestor of the Biblical Ishmaelites (by the time we're concerned with, everybody equated them with the Arabs); while through his younger son Isaac he was the ancestor of the Biblical Israelites (and hence of the Jews). The Bible tells us how Ishmael was pushed out into the desert when Isaac was born, but says nothing about any building of the Ka'ba. What you get here is stories which fill out the Koranic passage you met in Reading 5.1. What's the message? In what ways can these accounts be described as mythical?

Reading 5.3: See the note I inserted on the title-page when I used this reading in another course. What are the key themes in these stories? If you were awarding a prize for political correctness, which side would get it?

5.1
Extracts on the Prophet

(1) Outline chronology

I. Mecca

- c. 570 Muhammad is born
- c. 610 Muhammad begins to receive revelations
- 610-22 Muhammad is leader of religious movement in Mecca

II. the Hijra

- 622 Muhammad and his followers move from Mecca to Yathrib/Medina

III. Medina

- 622-32 Muhammad is ruler of Islamic state
- 622-7 consolidation in Medina against Arab and Jewish opposition
- 624-31 expansion into southern Hijaz:
 - battles with Meccans: 624, 625, 627
 - submission of Mecca: 630
 - battle with Hawazin nomads: 630
 - submission of Ta'if: 631
- 628 expansion into northern Hijaz:
 - Khaybar and Fadak
- 630-2 raids towards Byzantine Empire and submission of much of Arabia
- 632 Muhammad dies

(2) Foreign truth versus native identity

A. A contemporary English view of the general problem

[King Ethelbert of Kent in 597 addresses St Augustine, who has been sent by the Pope to convert the pagan English to Christianity:]

"Your words and promises are fair indeed, but they are new and strange to us, and I cannot accept them and abandon the age-old beliefs of the whole English nation."

(Bede, Ecclesiastical History, I, 25)

↑
تفسير

B. The patriarchal fork: the Biblical dilemma

[God addresses Abraham regarding his future son Isaac and his present son Ishmael:]

"Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son indeed; and thou shalt call his name Isaac: and I will establish my covenant with him for an everlasting covenant, and with his seed after him. And as for Ishmael, I have heard thee: Behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly; twelve princes shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation. But my covenant will I establish with Isaac."

(Genesis 17)

C. The patriarchal fork: the Koranic solution

"And We [God] made a covenant with Abraham (Ibrahim) and Ishmael (Isma'il) [saying]: 'Purify My House [the Ka'ba in Mecca] for those that go about it'.... And when Abraham, and Ishmael with him, raised up the foundations of the House [they said]: 'Our Lord, receive this from us... and, our Lord, make us submissive (muslim) to Thee, and of our seed a nation (umma) submissive to Thee... and, our Lord, do Thou send among them a Messenger, one of them, who shall recite to them Thy signs, and teach them the Book and Wisdom, and purify them.'"

(Koran 2:124-9)



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The History of al-Ṭabarī
(Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME II

Prophets and Patriarchs

translated and annotated

by

William M. Brinner

University of California, Berkeley

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Concerning Those Who Said that God Sent the
Sakinah to Him for That

[275]

According to Hannād b. al-Sirri—Abū al-Ahwas—Simāk b. Harb—Khālid b. 'Arārah: A man came to 'Alī b. Abī Talīb and said, "Will you not tell me about the House? Was it the first House to be built on earth?" He replied, "No, but it was the first House built with the blessing of the standing-place of Abraham, and whoever enters it will be safe. If you wish, I will

198. That is, the Ka'bah in Mecca. The roles of Abraham and Ishmael in building the House are central in Islamic belief and are thus placed here, interrupting the narrative of the fulfillment of the messengers' prophecies regarding the birth of Isaac and the destruction of the people of Lot. Kisā'i, 134 deals with this account with great brevity. Tha'labi, *Qisas*, 71-79 on the other hand, devotes much space to the stories of Zamzam and of the Ka'bah. See also the biblical account of Sarah sending Hagar and Ishmael away, Gen 21, and Ginzberg *Legends*, I, 263f.

199. Mentioned in the Qur'an, 2:248. Obviously based on the Hebrew Shek-hinah, "the presence of God" in a spiritual sense. Muslim exegetes give a inn-like description of Sakinah, which is what is meant here; see below. See *Shorter Encyc.*, 489.

تقارن ابراهيم

tell you how it was built". God said to Abraham, 'Build Me a House on earth!' Abraham felt uneasy, so He sent the Sakinah. The Sakinah is a gale-force wind with two heads, and one head followed the other until they reached Mecca and coiled up at the site of the House, the way a snake coils. Abraham was commanded to build where the Sakinah had rested. When Abraham had finished it except for one stone, the boy went away to build something else. But Abraham said, 'No, I still need one more stone, as I will order you.' So the boy went looking for a stone, and when he found one he brought it to Abraham. But he found that Abraham had already set the Black Stone in place. He said, 'O my father, who brought you this stone?' Abraham answered, 'Someone who did not rely on your building brought it to me. It was Gabriel who brought it to me from heaven.' Then the two of them finished it."

According to Ibn Bashshār and Ibn al-Muthannā—Mu'ammal—Sufyān—Abū Ishāq—Harithah b. Mudarrib—'Alī: When Abraham was commanded to build the House, Ishmael and Hagar went forth with him. When he approached Mecca he saw on his head, in the place of the House, the likeness of a muzzle which was the likeness of the head. Then God spoke to him, saying, "O Abraham! Build on My protection and My might, neither add nor subtract." When he had built, he went forth and left Hagar and Ishmael behind. Hagar said, "O Abraham! To whom are you entrusting us?" He replied, "To God." She said, "Then go! He will not lead us astray."

Ishmael became very thirsty. Hagar climbed al-Ṣafā to look (for water) but saw nothing. Then she went to al-Marwah, but the same thing happened. Then she returned to al-Ṣafā and looked around, but could not find Ishmael. After looking seven times²⁰⁰ without success, she said, "O Ishmael! You have died where I cannot see you!" Then she found him, and he was scraping the ground with his foot from thirst. Gabriel called out to her saying, "Who are you?" She answered, "Hagar, mother of the son of Abraham." Gabriel said, "To whom did he entrust you?" She said, "He entrusted us to God." He an-

200. That is, prefiguring the rites of the Muslim pilgrimage.

swered, "He has entrusted you to One who is sufficient." The boy scraped the ground with his finger and the spring of Zamzam welled up. She began to dam up the water, but Gabriel said, "Leave it! It is sweet water."²⁰¹

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Hammād—Asbāt—al-Suddī: God gave Abraham and Ishmael the order, "Cleanse My House for those who walk around it." Abraham set out for Mecca. He and Ishmael took pickaxes, without knowing where the House was. So God sent a wind, the gale-force wind, which had two wings and a head like that of a snake. It swept the area around the Ka'bah clear for them to let them build the foundations of the original House. They followed it with pickaxes, digging until they had placed the foundations. That was when God said, "When We prepared for Abraham the place of the House."²⁰²

According to Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Ishāq—al-Ḥasan b. 'Umārah—Simāk b. Ḥarb—Khālid b. 'Arārah—'Alī b. Abī Tālib: When God commanded Abraham to build the House and to call on humanity to perform the pilgrimage, he left Syria with his son Ishmael and Ishmael's mother Hagar. With him God sent the Sakinah, a wind which had the power of speech. Abraham followed it wherever it led him until it had led him to Mecca. When it came to the place of the House, it spun round and round and said to Abraham, "Build on me! Build on me! Build on me!" Abraham laid the foundations and raised the House, working with Ishmael, until they came to the cornerstone. Abraham said to Ishmael, "O my little son! Find me a stone which I can put here as a sign to the people." He brought a stone, but Abraham did not like it and said, "Look for another one." Ishmael went to look, but when he came back a cornerstone had already been brought and Abraham had put it in place. He asked, "O my father! Who brought you this stone?" Abraham replied, "One who did not entrust me to you, O my son!"

201. In the Jewish aggadic sources Ishmael is saved because of his piety and his father's merits, while Hagar is portrayed as still praying to the idols of her youth. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, I, 264-66.

202. Qur'ān, 22:26.

Others have said that the one who left Syria with Abraham to guide him to the place of the House was Gabriel, and that the reason he took Hagar and Ishmael to Mecca with him was that Sarah was jealous of Hagar's having borne Ishmael by him.²⁷⁸

Concerning Those Who Said That

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Hammād—Asbāt—al-Suddī (with a chain of authorities which we have already mentioned): Sarah said to Abraham, "You may take pleasure in Hagar, for I have permitted it." So he had intercourse with Hagar and she gave birth to Ishmael. Then he had intercourse with Sarah, and she gave birth to Isaac. When Isaac grew up, he and Ishmael fought. Sarah became angry and jealous toward Ishmael's mother and sent her away. Then she called her back and took her in. But later she became angry and sent her away again, and brought her back yet again. She swore to cut something off of her, and said to herself, "I shall cut off her nose, I shall cut off her ear—but no, that would deform her. I will circumcise her instead." So she did that, and Hagar took a piece of cloth to wipe the blood away. For that reason women have been circumcised and have taken pieces of cloth down to today.²⁷⁹

menstruation ?

Abraham stayed in Syria as long as God willed and then asked Sarah's leave to go to Mecca again to visit Ishmael. Once again she permitted him on the condition that he not settle down. Abraham came to Ishmael's door and said to his wife, "Where is your master?" She answered, "He has gone hunting, but he will soon come back, God willing, so stay, and may God be merciful to you!" He asked her, "Do you have any hospitality?" She said, "Yes." He said, "Do you have bread or wheat or barley or dates?" She brought milk and meat, and he prayed for

↑
 he had intercourse with Hagar
 and she gave birth to Ishmael
 then he had intercourse with Sarah
 and she gave birth to Isaac
 when Isaac grew up he and Ishmael fought
 Sarah became angry and jealous toward Ishmael's mother and sent her away
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 and Hagar took a piece of cloth to wipe the blood away
 for that reason women have been circumcised and have taken pieces of cloth down to today

blessing for both of them. Had she brought bread or wheat or dates or barley, Mecca would have been the most plentifully supplied with those things of any place on God's earth. She said, "Stay so that I may wash your head." But he would not stay, so she brought him the standing-place²¹⁰ and put it at his right side. He set his foot on it and the trace of his foot remained on it. Then she washed the right side of his head, then turned the standing-place to his left and washed the left side. He said to her, "When your husband comes, greet him with peace and say to him, 'The threshold of your door has been put in order.'" When Ishmael came he sensed the smell of his father, so he said to his wife, "Did anyone come to you?" She answered, "Yes, an old man, the handsomest and best-smelling in the world. He said to me such-and-such and I answered such-and-such, and I washed his head, and this is the place of his feet on the standing-place." He said, "What did he say to you?" She replied, "He said to me, 'When your husband comes, greet him with peace and say to him: The threshold of your door has been put in order.'" Ishmael said, "That was Abraham."

Abraham stayed as long as God willed, and then God ordered him to build the House. So he and Ishmael built it. And when it was finished they were told, "And proclaim unto mankind the pilgrimage."²¹¹ So Abraham began, whenever he passed people, to say, "O people! A House has been built for you, so go on pilgrimage to it." But everything that heard him—stones, trees, everything—said, "Here I am, my God, here I am."²¹² Between the time when Abraham said, "Our Lord! I have settled some of my posterity in an uncultivable valley near Your Holy House,"²¹³ and the time when he said, "Praise be to God, who has given me Ishmael and Isaac in my old age,"²¹⁴ there passed a number of years which 'Atā' did not memorize.

210. *Maqām*, today usually, means "shrine" or "place of martyrdom." In the precincts of the Ka'bah there is the *maqām* 'ibrāhīm, which is the shrine of Abraham but harks back to the literal sense, as here, of his "standing place."

211. Qur'ān, 22:32.

212. Arabic *Laḥbayka-Allahumma laḥbayka*, the cry of the pilgrims as they perform the rites of the pilgrimage.

213. Qur'ān, 14:37.

214. *Ibid.*, 14:39.

According to Muḥammad b. Sinān—'Ubaydallah b. 'Abd al-Majīd Abū 'Alī al-Ḥanafī —Ibrāhīm b. Nāfi' —Kathīr b. Kathīr—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās: Abraham came and found Ishmael mending his arrows behind Zamzam and said to him, "O Ishmael! Your Lord has ordered me to build Him a House." Ishmael said to him, "Then obey your Lord and do what He ordered you to do." Then Abraham said, "He has commanded that you assist me." Ishmael answered, "Then I will do it." They began together, Abraham doing the building while Ishmael handed him the stones, and both of them saying, "O Lord! Accept this from us. You and You alone are the Hearer, the Knower."²¹⁵

When the building had become tall and old Abraham was too weak to lift the stones that high, Ishmael came upon a stone which was the standing-place of Abraham. He started to hand it over, while both of them were saying, "Accept this from us. You and You alone are the Hearer, the Knower."²¹⁶ When Abraham had finished building the House as God had ordered, God ordered him to proclaim the pilgrimage among mankind, saying to him, "And proclaim unto mankind the pilgrimage. They will come to you on foot and on every lean camel; they will come from every deep ravine."²¹⁷

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr—Qābūs b. Abī Zabyān—his father—Ibn 'Abbās: When Abraham completed the building of the House, he was ordered, "Proclaim to mankind the pilgrimage." He then said, "O Lord! What will my voice reach!"—(that is, Who will listen to me?). God answered, "Proclaim! The reaching is My responsibility." So Abraham proclaimed, "O people! Pilgrimage to the ancient House is prescribed for you." And everything between heaven and earth heard him—do you not see people coming from the ends of the earth, answering the call!

According to al-Ḥasan b. 'Arafah—Muḥammad b. Fudayl b. Ghazwān al-Dabbī—'Atā' b. al-Sā'ib—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās: When Abraham built the House, God inspired him to

215. *Ibid.*, 2:127.

216. *Id.*

217. *Ibid.*, 22:28.

"proclaim the pilgrimage to mankind." Abraham said, "Did not your Lord adopt a House and command you to go on pilgrimage to it?" And everything that heard him—stones, trees, hills, dust, or anything else—answered him with, "Here I am, my God, here I am."

According to Ibn Humayd—Yahyā b. Wāḍih—al-Ḥusayn b. Wāqid—Abū al-Zubayr—Mujāhid—Ibn 'Abbās: God's words are, "So proclaim the pilgrimage to mankind." Abraham, the friend of God, stood up on the stone and proclaimed, "O people! The pilgrimage is prescribed for you!" And his voice reached even those yet unborn in the loins of men and the wombs of women. All who believed among those of past generations in God's knowledge that they would perform the pilgrimage between then and the Day of Resurrection answered Abraham, "Here I am, my God, here I am."

According to Ibn Bashshār—'Abd al-Rahmān—Sufyān—Salamah—Mujāhid: Abraham was told, "Proclaim the pilgrimage to mankind." And he said: "O Lord, how shall I say it?" God replied, "Say, 'Here I am, my God, here I am.'" This was the first *Labbayka*.

According to Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Ishāq—'Umar b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Urwah: 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr asked 'Ubayd b. 'Umayr al-Laythī, "Have you heard how it was that Abraham called mankind to the pilgrimage?" And 'Ubayd b. 'Umayr al-Laythī gave the following account:

When Abraham and Ishmael had raised the foundations of the House and had finished the work God wanted them to do on it, and the pilgrimage was at hand, Abraham faced to the south and called (mankind) to God and to pilgrimage to His House. And he was answered with "Here I am, my God, here I am." Then he faced to the east and called (mankind) to God and to pilgrimage to His House, and he was answered with "Here I am, my God, here I am." Then he faced to the west he called (mankind) to God and to pilgrimage to His House, and he was answered with "Here I am, my God, here I am." Then to the north he called (mankind) to God and to pilgrimage to His House and was answered with "Here I am, my God, here I am." Then he took Ishmael out and went with him on the day of

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Tarwiyah²¹⁸ and stayed at Minā' with him and with the Muslims who were with him, and he prayed with them the prayers of midday, afternoon, sunset, and late evening. Then he spent the night with them until they arose, and he prayed the dawn prayer with them. In the morning he went out with them to 'Arafah, and he spoke to them there until sunset drew near. Then he joined the two prayers, midday and afternoon, and then he went and stood with them at the thorn-bush which is the standing-place of 'Arafah, where the prayer-leader stood teaching him and demonstrating to him. When the sun had set, he urged on the prayer-leader and those who were with him until they came to al-Muzdalifah. There he joined the two prayers of sunset and late evening. Then he spent the night with him and those with him until, when the dawn broke, he prayed the morning prayer with them. Then he stood with them at Quzah of al-Muzdalifah. This is the standing-place where the prayer-leader stands. When day came, he demonstrated and explained to them what to do, including the throwing of the great stone. He showed them the sacrifice-ground of Minā', then performed the sacrifice and shaved his head. From Minā' he went into the crowd to show them how to perform the march around the Ka'bah. Then he took them back to Minā' to show them how to throw the stones, until he had compelled the pilgrimage and proclaimed it to mankind.²¹⁹

According to Abū Ja'far—the Messenger of God and some of his companions: Gabriel was the one who showed Abraham the ritual acts when he made the pilgrimage.

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THE LIFE OF MUHAMMAD

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in
A TRANSLATION OF ISHAQ'S
SIRAT RASUL ALLAH

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

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Introductory note

These extracts are taken from a life of the Prophet Muhammad composed around the middle of the eighth century by Ibn Ishaq (d. 150/767). They relate to the period when Muhammad (here "the apostle") had begun preaching his message, but was still living in the pagan town of Mecca, which he left for Yathrib/Medina in 622. A characteristic feature of the text is the number of names it mentions; you can pass over most of them fairly lightly. But note that al-Lat, al-'Uzza, and Manat are three pagan goddesses, known to the pre-Islamic Arabs as "God's daughters". Incidentally, extract (4), the one in which they are mentioned, is an account of the notorious "Satanic verses" incident.

When I give a death-date in the form "150/767", go to the second element (here "767"), since it gives you the date in the Christian era. The first element (here "150") is the date in the Muslim era; I include it because I feel insecure without it.

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(1)

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

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

important passage

WHAT 'UTBA SAID ABOUT THE PROPHET

(2)

Yazid b. Ziyād from Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazī told me that he was told that 'Utba b. Rabi'a, who was a chief, said one day while he was sitting in the Quraysh assembly and the apostle was sitting in the mosque by himself, 'Why should I not go to Muhammad and make some proposals to him which if he accepts in part, we will give him whatever he wants, and he will leave us in peace?' This happened when Hamza had accepted Islam and they saw that the prophet's followers were increasing and multiplying. They thought it was a good idea, and 'Utba went and sat by the prophet and said, 'O my nephew, you are one of us as you know, of the noblest of the tribe and hold a worthy position in ancestry. You have come to your people with an important matter, dividing their community thereby and ridiculing their customs, and you have insulted their gods and their religion, and declared that their forefathers were unbelievers, so listen to me and I will make some suggestions, and perhaps you will be able to accept one of them.' The apostle agreed, and he went on, 'If what you want is money, we will gather for you of our property so that you may be the richest of us; if you want honour, we will make you our chief so that no one can decide anything apart from you; if you want sovereignty, we will make you king, and if this ghost which comes to you, which you see, is such that you cannot get rid of him, we will find a physician for you, and exhaust our means in getting you cured, for often a familiar spirit gets possession of a man until he can be cured of it,' or words to that effect. The apostle listened patiently, and then said: 'Now listen to me, "In the name of God, the compassionate and merciful, H.M., a revelation from the compassionate, the merciful, a book whose verses are expounded as an Arabic Quran for a people who understand, as an announcement and warning, though most of them turn aside not listening and say, 'Our hearts are veiled from that to which you invite us.'"; Then the apostle continued to recite it to him. When 'Utba heard it from him, he listened attentively, putting his hands behind his back and leaning on them as he listened. Then the prophet ended at the prostration² and prostrated himself, and said, 'You have heard what you have heard, Abū l-Walid; the rest remains with you.' When 'Utba returned to his companions they noticed that his expression had completely altered, and they asked him what had happened. He said that he had heard words such as he had never heard before, which were neither poetry, spells, nor witchcraft. 'Take my advice and do as I do, leave this man entirely alone for, by God, the words which I have heard will be blazed abroad. If (other) Arabs kill him, others will have rid you of him; if he gets the better of the Arabs, his sovereignty will be your sovereignty, his power your power, and you will be prosperous through him.' They said, 'He has bewitched you with his tongue.' To which he answered, 'You have my opinion, you must do what you think fit.'

(3)

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

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

(T. Now the apostle was anxious for the welfare of his people, wishing to attract them as far as he could. It has been mentioned that he longed for a way to attract them, and the method he adopted is what Ibn Hamid told me that Salama said M. b. Ishāq told him from Yazid b. Ziyād of Medina from M. b. Ka'b al-Quraẓi: When the apostle saw that his people turned their backs on him and he was pained by their estrangement from what he brought them from God he longed that there should come to him from

Handwritten note:
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God a message that would reconcile his people to him. Because of his love for his people and his anxiety over them it would delight him if the obstacle that made his task so difficult could be removed; so that he meditated on the project and longed for it and it was dear to him. Then God sent down 'By the star when it sets your comrade errs not and is not deceived, he speaks not from his own desire,' and when he reached His words 'Have you thought of al-Lāt and al-'Uzza and Manāt the third, the other's Satan, when he was meditating upon it, and desiring to bring it (sc. reconciliation) to his people, put upon his tongue 'these are the exalted Ghārāniq whose intercession is approved.' When Quraysh heard that, they were delighted and greatly pleased at the way in which he spoke of their gods and they listened to him; while the believers were holding that what their prophet brought them from their Lord was true, not suspecting a mistake or a vain desire or a slip, and when he reached the prostration and the end of the Sūra in which he prostrated himself the Muslims prostrated themselves when their prophet prostrated confirming what he brought and obeying his command, and the polytheists of Quraysh and others who were in the mosque prostrated when they heard the mention of their gods, so that everyone in the mosque believer and unbeliever prostrated, except al-Walid b. al-Mughira who was an old man who could not do so, so he took a handful of dirt from the valley and bent over it. Then the people dispersed and Quraysh went out, delighted at what had been said about their gods, saying, 'Muhammad has spoken of our gods in splendid fashion. He alleged in what he read that they are the exalted Ghārāniq whose intercession is approved.'

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

When the annulment of what Satan had put upon the prophet's tongue

|||

came from God, Quraysh said: 'Muhammad has repented of what he said about the position of your gods with Allah, altered it and brought something else.' Now those two words which Satan had put upon the apostle's tongue were in the mouth of every polytheist and they became more violently hostile to the Muslims and the apostle's followers.

(5)

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

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

we were

Qiss: ① ^{Utba} s. Rabi'a

② proscription in the Q.

→ why are Hamza & Umar so important?

③ what is Sufyan?

Sūras. Source.

6.0
Introductory statement

6. Wed Oct 4 The rise of Islam: politics

- 6.1 Further extracts on the Prophet
- 6.2 The Constitution of Medina
- 6.3 The raid on the Banu 'l-Mustaliq
- 6.4 Ibn Khaldun on the Arabs again

Last time we met some of the ideas that inspired the Prophet's career. Here the focus is on how they related to the political realities of Arab society.

Some of the texts you need to look at most carefully are in Readings 6.1 and 6.2. The extracts in Reading 6.1 are fairly easy going, but Reading 6.2 contains a difficult text. If you understand everything in it, you are way ahead of the professional scholars who have studied it. Read it for what you can get out of it; in particular, ask yourself what elements of the traditional tribal order appear in it, what elements of the new religion appear, and how they relate to each other.

Reading 6.3 is a typical account of a typical Muslim raid on a pagan Arab tribe. The date of the event is late 627 or early 628. If you behave yourselves, we can spend a few minutes in class on the story of Juwayriya, the beautiful daughter of the tribal chief who is mentioned at the end of the extract.

What does it all mean—other than at a theological level (and this isn't a theology course)? Reading 6.4 continues what Ibn Khaldun says about the Arabs, and in particular about the role of religion in state-formation among them. Does this help you to understand what was going on, or do you think it would have been more helpful if I had given you something to read by a modern professor?

6.1
Further extracts on the Prophet

(1) The protection problem

A. The clan structure of Meccan society in operation

"Then Quraysh incited one another against the followers of the Prophet in each clan who had become Muslims. So each clan attacked those of its members who were Muslims, tormenting them and seducing them from their religion. God protected the Prophet from them through the agency of his uncle Abu Talib."

(Ibn Ishaq, Sira, trans. 120)

B. Seeking protection: a benevolent foreign ruler

"When the Prophet saw how his followers were suffering, while he himself was quite safe thanks to the support of God and his uncle Abu Talib, and that he could do nothing to protect them from the trials they were exposed to, he said to them: 'I suggest you go off to Abyssinia. There's a king there under whose rule no one is wronged'.... This was the first hijra that took place in Islam."

(ibid., 146)

C. Seeking protection: appealing to the tribes

"The Prophet used to present himself to the Arab tribes at fairs, as the opportunity arose, calling them to God and telling them that he was a Prophet with a mission, and asking them to believe in him and protect him until such time as God should make his mission plain."

(ibid., 194)

D. Some Khazrajis from Yathrib are interested

"When the Prophet spoke to these men, and called them to God, they said to one another:

"'You hear that? He's got to be the prophet the Jews have been threatening us with. Don't let them get to him first!'

"So they accepted his message, believing in him and in Islam as he had presented it to them. They told him:

"'When we set out [from Yathrib], our people were more riven by internecine feuds than any other. Maybe God will unite them through you. We'll go to them and call them to your cause.... If God unites them in it, there will be no man more powerful than you!'"

(ibid., 198)

Medina

(2) The beginnings of the Islamic state

For the Constitution of Medina, a key document here, see Reading 6.2.

E. Making war

1. "The Prophet had as yet received no permission to engage in warfare or to shed blood. He had simply been ordered to call men to God, and patiently to endure affliction.... But when Quraysh waxed insufferable against God... God gave His Prophet permission to fight... [saying]: 'Permission is granted to those who fight because they have been wronged; God is well able to come to their aid—those who have been driven from their land unjustly.'" }

(Ibn Ishaq, Sira, trans. 212; Koran 22:39)

a kind of
defensive
Jihad.

2. "Ibn Ishaq said: Muhammad Abu Ja'far ibn 'Ali ibn al-Husayn related to me that the Prophet said: "'...Booty has been made lawful for me, though it was not made lawful to any prophet who came before me."

(Ibn Ishaq, Sira, 326)

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MUHAMMAD AT MEDINA

BY

W. MONTGOMERY WATT

OXFORD
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1956

I. THE CONSTITUTION OF MEDINA

IBN ISHĀQ has preserved an ancient document commonly known as the 'Constitution of Medina'. Apart from the introductory words, however, he tells us nothing about it, neither how he came by it nor when and how it was brought into force. On the latter points he must be presumed ignorant; its place near the beginning of his account of the Medinan period is simply that called for by logic.

The text of the document¹

Ibn Ishāq said: The Messenger of God (God bless and preserve him) wrote a writing (*kitāb*) between the Emigrants and the Anṣār, in which he made a treaty and covenant with the Jews, confirmed them in their religion and possessions, and gave them certain duties and rights:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!

This is a writing of Muḥammad the prophet between the believers and Muslims of Quraysh and Yathrib and those who follow them and are attached to them and who crusade (*jāhadū*) along with them.

1. They are a single community (*ummah*) distinct from (other) people.²

2. The Emigrants of Quraysh, according to their former condition,³ pay jointly the blood-money between them, and they (as a group) ransom their captive(s), (doing so) with uprightness and justice between the believers.

¹ IH, 341-4. The numbering of the paragraphs follows Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden*, 74-81, except that the closing sentence of § 19 has been moved there from the beginning of § 20. Cf. also Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iv. 65-83, and Caetani, i. 391-408.

² The literal translation of the last phrase is 'from the people', which might refer to the Jews; but on the whole this is unlikely.

³ Lane, s.v., makes it clear that the phrase '*alā rib' ai-him*' means 'according to their former or good condition'. There is no reason to suppose any reference to 'quarter'. The interpretation is either that each group remains distinct or that it follows its previous practice. The last clause prescribes a fair apportionment between the various groups within the clan.

Handwritten note: *Summi gra...* with arrows pointing to the text above.

3. Banū 'Awf, according to their former condition, pay jointly the previous blood-wits, and each sub-clan (*al-ʿiʿfah*) ransoms its captive(s), (doing so) with uprightness and justice between the believers.¹

4. Banū 'l-Hārith, according to their former condition, pay jointly ... (as 3).

5. Banū Sā'idah ... (as 3).

6. Banū Jusham ... (as 3).

7. Banū 'n-Najjār ... (as 3).

8. Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf ... (as 3).

9. Banū 'n-Nabīt ... (as 3).

10. Banū 'l-Aws ... (as 3).

11. The believers do not forsake a debtor among them, but give him (help), according to what is fair, for ransom or blood-wit.

12. A believer does not take as confederate (*ḥalīf*) the client (*maʿzūlā*) of a believer without his (the latter's) consent.

13. The God-fearing believers are against whoever of them acts wrongfully or seeks (? plans) an act that is unjust or treacherous or hostile or corrupt among the believers; their hands are all against him, even if he is the son of one of them.

14. A believer does not kill a believer because of an unbeliever, and does not help an unbeliever against a believer.

15. The security (*dhimmah*) of God is one; the granting of 'neighbourly protection' (*yujīr*) by the least of them (the believers) is binding on them; the believers are patrons (or clients—*maʿzūlā*) of one another to the exclusion of (other) people.

16. Whoever of the Jews follows us has the (same) help and support (*naṣr*, *iswāh*) (as the believers), so long as they are not wronged (by him) and he does not help (others) against them.

17. The peace (*silm*) of the believers is one; no believer makes peace apart from another believer, where there is fighting in the way of God, except in so far as equality and justice between them (is maintained).

18. In every expedition made with us the parties take turns with one another.²

19. The believers exact vengeance for one another where a man

¹ The previous blood-wits' (*al-ma'āqil al-ūlā*) are those according to the principles previously in force. The words 'between the believers' may be intended to exclude unbelievers belonging to B. 'Awf.

² This may apply to taking turns at riding a camel (Wellhausen; cf. IH, 435, &c.), or to all military duties (Caetani).

gives his blood in the way of God. The God-fearing believers are under the best and most correct guidance.

20. No idolater (*muṣhrīk*) gives 'neighbourly protection' (*yujīr*) for goods or person to Quraysh, nor intervenes in his (a Qurashi's) favour against a believer.¹

21. When anyone wrongfully kills a believer, the evidence being clear, then he is liable to be killed in retaliation for him, unless the representative of the murdered man is satisfied (with a payment). The believers are against him (the murderer) entirely; nothing is permissible to them except to oppose him.

22. It is not permissible for a believer who has agreed to what is in this document (*ṣahīfah*) and believed in God and the last day to help a wrong-doer² or give him lodging. If anyone helps him or gives him lodging, then upon this man is the curse of God and His wrath on the day of resurrection, and from him nothing will be accepted to make up for it or take its place.

23. Wherever there is anything about which you differ, it is to be referred to God and to Muhammad (peace be upon him).

24. The Jews bear expenses along with the believers so long as they continue at war.

25. The Jews of Banū 'Awf are a community (*ummat*) along with the believers. To the Jews their religion (*dīn*) and to the Muslims their religion. (This applies) both to their clients and to themselves, with the exception of anyone who has done wrong or acted treacherously; he brings evil only on himself and on his household.

26. For the Jews of Banū 'n-Najjār the like of what is for the Jews of Banū 'Awf.

27. For the Jews of Banū 'l-Hārith the like ...

28. For the Jews of Banū Sā'idah the like ...

29. For the Jews of Banū Jusham the like ...

30. For the Jews of Banū 'l-Aws the like ...

31. For the Jews of Banū Tha'labah the like of what is for the Jews of Banū 'Awf, with the exception of anyone who has done wrong or acted treacherously; he brings evil only on himself and his household.

32. Jafnah, a subdivision (*batn*) of Tha'labah, are like them.

¹ *Muḥāḍith*, literally 'innovator', means one who disturbs the existing state of affairs in any way.

33. For Banū 'sh-Shuṭaybah' the like of what is for the Jews of Banū 'Awf; honourable dealing (comes) before treachery.²

34. The clients of Tha'labah are like them.

35. The *biṭānah*³ of (particular) Jews are as themselves.

36. No one of them (? those belonging to the *ummah*) may go out (to war) without the permission of Muḥammad (peace be upon him), but he is not restrained from taking vengeance for wounds. Whoever acts rashly (*fataka*), it (involves) only himself and his household, except where a man has been wronged. God is the truest (fulfiller) of this (document).⁴

37. It is for the Jews to bear their expenses and for the Muslims to bear their expenses. Between them (that is, to one another) there is help (*naṣr*) against whoever wars against the people of this document. Between them is sincere friendship (*naṣr ḥi wa-naṣr ḥah*), and honourable dealing, not treachery. A man is not guilty of treachery through (the act of) his confederate. There is help for (or, help is to be given to) the person wronged.

38. The Jews bear expenses along with the believers so long as they continue at war.

39. The valley of Yathrib is sacred for the people of this document.

40. The 'protected neighbour' (*jār*) is as the man himself so long as he does no harm and does not act treacherously.

41. No woman is given 'neighbourly protection' (*tujār*) without the consent of her people.

42. Whenever among the people of this document there occurs any incident (disturbance) or quarrel from which disaster for it (the people) is to be feared, it is to be referred to God and to Muḥammad, the Messenger of God (God bless and preserve him). God is the most scrupulous and truest (fulfiller) of what is in this document.

43. No 'neighbourly protection' is given (*lā tujār*) to Quraysh and those who help them.

¹ Wensinck, *Jodern*, 79, corrects to Banū 'sh-Shuṭbah; cf. as-Sambhādī, 151.

² Or 'honourable dealing without treachery (is demanded)'. ✓

³ The meaning of *biṭānah* is obscure. It probably means those who were closely connected with some Medinan Jews by ties of friendship, not of blood; cf. Q. 3. 118/114; IH, 519. 4; *Aghānī*, xvii. 56. 22. Wensinck, 78, with some likelihood thinks they may be those Arabs who had been associated with the Jews before the coming of the Aws and the Khazraj.

⁴ The second half of this article, and especially the last sentence are uncertain in meaning. The last sentence might mean 'God is very far from this.' ?

44. Between them (? the people of this document) is help against whoever suddenly attacks Yathrib.

45. Whenever they are summoned to conclude and accept a treaty, they conclude and accept it; when they in turn summon to the like of that, it is for them upon the believers,¹ except whoever wars about religion; for (? = incumbent on) each man is his share from their side which is towards them.

46. The Jews of al-Aws, both their clients and themselves, are in the same position as belongs to the people of this document while they are thoroughly honourable in their dealings with the people of this document. Honourable dealing (comes) before treachery.

47. A person acquiring (? guilt)² acquires it only against himself. God is the most upright and truest (fulfiller) of what is in this document. This writing does not intervene to protect a wrong-doer or traitor. He who goes out is safe, and he who sits still is safe in Medina, except whoever does wrong and acts treacherously. God is 'protecting neighbour' (*jār*) of him who acts honourably and fears God, and Muḥammad is the Messenger of God (God bless and preserve him).

explaining lines of division of unity

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THE LIFE OF MUHAMMAD

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TRANSLATION
OF I^{bn} ISHAQ'S
SIRAT RASUL ALLAH

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

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al-Khazraj, thrust one another away from the water and fell to fighting. The Juhani called out 'Men of al-Ansār!' and Jahjah called out 'Men of the Muhājirūn!'. 'Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salūl was enraged. With him was a number of his people including Zayd b. Arqam, a young boy. He said, 'Have they actually done this? They dispute our priority, they outnumber us in our own country, and nothing so fits us and the vagabonds of Quraysh as the ancient saying "Feed a dog and it will devour you".' By Allah when we return to Medina the stronger will drive out the weaker.' Then he went to his people who were there and said: 'This is what you have done to yourselves. You have let them occupy your country, and you have divided your property among them. Had you but kept your property from them they would have gone elsewhere.' Zayd b. Arqam heard this and went and told the apostle when he had disposed of his enemies. 'Umar, who was with him, said, 'Tell 'Abbād b. Bishr to go and kill him.' The apostle answered, 'But what if men should say Muhammad kills his own companions? No, but give orders to set off.' Now this was at a time when the apostle was not accustomed to travel. The men duly moved off.

When Abdullah b. Ubayy heard that Zayd had told the apostle what he had said he went to him and swore that he had not said what he did say. He was a great man among his own people and the Ansār who were present with the apostle said: 'It may well be that the boy was mistaken in what he said, and did not remember the man's words,' sympathizing with Ibn Ubayy and protecting him.

When the apostle had begun his journey Usayd b. Hudayr met him and saluted him as a prophet, saying, 'You are travelling at a disagreeable time, a thing you have never done before.' The apostle said: 'Have you not heard of what your friend said? He asserted that if he returns to Medina the stronger will drive out the weaker.' He answered: 'But you will drive him out if you want to; he is the weak and you are the strong.' He added: 'Treat him kindly, for Allah brought you to us when his people were stringing beads to make him a crown, and he thinks that you have deprived him of a kingdom.'

Then the apostle walked with the men all that day till nightfall, and through the night until morning and during the following day until the sun distressed them. Then he halted them, and as soon as they touched the ground they fell asleep. He did this to distract their minds from what 'Abdullah b. Ubayy had said the day before. He continued his journey through the Hijaz as far as water a little above al-Naqī' called Baqā'. As he travelled at night a violent wind distressed the men and they dreaded it. He told them not to be afraid because the wind announced the death of one of the greatest of the unbelievers, and when they got to Medina they found that Rifā'a b. Zayd b. al-Tābūt of B. Qaynuqā', one of the most important Jews and a secret shelterer of the disaffected, had died that day. The sīra came down in which God mentioned the disaffected with Ibn Ubayy and those like-minded with him. When it came down the apostle

THE RAID ON B. AL-MUṢṬALIQ

The apostle stayed in Medina during the latter part of Jumādā'l-Ākhira and Rajab; then he attacked B. al-Muṣṭaliq of Khuzā'a in Sha'bān A.H. 6 (737).

'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda and 'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr and Muhammad b. Yahyā b. Ḥabbān each told me a part of the following story: The apostle received news that B. al-Muṣṭaliq were gathering together against him, their leader being al-Ḥārith b. Abū Dirār, the father of Juwayriyya d. al-Ḥārith (afterwards) wife of the apostle. When the apostle heard about them he went out and met them at a watering-place of theirs called al-Muraysi in the direction of Qudayd towards the shore. There was a fight and God put the B. al-Muṣṭaliq to flight and killed some of them and gave the apostle their wives, children, and property as booty. A Muslim of B. Kalib b. 'Auf b. 'Amir b. Layth b. Bakr called Hishām b. Ṣubāba was killed by a man of the Ansār of the family of 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit who thought he was an enemy and killed him in error.

While the apostle was by this water a party came down to it. 'Umar had a hired servant from B. Ghifār called Jahjah b. Mas'ūd who was leading his horse. This Jahjah and Sinān b. Wābar al-Juhani, an ally of B. 'Auf b.

¹ Reading *asaduqā* with C. against W.'s *fakūmū*. ² A place near Mecca.

(628)

took hold of Zayd b. Arqam's ear, saying, "This is he who devoted his ear to Allah." 'Abdullah, 'Abdullah b. Ubayy's son, heard about his father's affair.

'Āsim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda told me that 'Abdullah came to the apostle, saying, 'I have heard that you want to kill 'Abdullah b. Ubayy for what you have heard about him. If you must do it, then order me to do it and I will bring you his head, for al-Khazraj know that they have no man more dutiful to his father than I, and I am afraid that if you order someone else to kill him my soul will not permit me to see his slayer walking among men and I shall kill him, thus killing a believer for an unbeliever, and so I should go to hell.' The apostle said: 'Nay, but let us deal kindly with him and make much of his companionship while he is with us.' After that it happened that if any misfortune befell it was his own people who reproached and upbraided him roughly. The apostle said to 'Umar when he heard of this state of things: 'Now what do you think, 'Umar? Had I killed him on the day you wanted me to kill him the leading men would have trembled with rage. If I ordered them to kill him today they would kill him.' 'Umar replied, 'I know that the apostle's order is more blessed than mine.'

Miqyas b. Subāba came from Mecca as a Muslim, so he professed, saying, 'I come to you as a Muslim seeking the bloodwit for my brother who was killed in error.' The apostle ordered that he should have the bloodwit for his brother Hishām and he stopped a short while with the apostle. Then he attacked his brother's slayer and killed him and went off to Mecca an apostate. He spoke the following lines:

It eased my soul that he died in the lowland,
The blood of his neck veins dyeing his garments.
Before I killed him I was beset by cares
Which prevented me from seeking my couch.
I gave free vent to my vengeance
And was the first to return to the idols.
I avenged Fihron him and laid his bloodwit
On the chiefs of B. al-Najjār, the lords of Fāri.²

He also said:

I fetched him a stroke in vengeance
Which drew blood that ebbed and flowed.
I said as the wrinkles of death covered him
'You can't be safe from B. Bakr when they are wronged' (738).

729 Of B. Muṣṭaliq who were slain that day 'Ali killed two—Mālik and his son. 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. 'Auf killed one of their horsemen called Ahmar

¹ This anecdote is related by Zayd in the first person in *Wāsiḍi* (B.M. MS. 1617. 95a). It is a good example of the way in which early traditions preserved the general sense and were comparatively indifferent to the form of words. ² One of their castles.

or Uḥaymir. The apostle took many captives and they were distributed among the Muslims. One of those taken was Juwayriya d. al-Hārith b. Abū Dirār, the apostle's wife.

Muhammad b. Ja far b. al-Zubayr from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from 'A'isha said: When the apostle distributed the captives of B. al-Muṣṭaliq, Juwayriya fell to the lot of Thābit b. Qays b. al-Shammās, or to a cousin of his, and she gave him a deed for her redemption. She was a most beautiful woman. She captivated every man who saw her. She came to the apostle to ask his help in the matter. As soon as I saw her at the door of my room I took a dislike to her, for I knew that he would see her as I saw her. She went in and told him who she was—d. of al-Hārith b. Abū Dirār, the chief of his people. 'You can see the state to which I have been brought. I have fallen to the lot of Thābit or his cousin and have given him a deed for my ransom and have come to ask your help in the matter. He said, 'Would you like something better than that? I will discharge your debt and marry you,' and she accepted him.

The news that the apostle had married Juwayriya was blazed abroad and now that B. Muṣṭaliq were the prophet's relations by marriage the men released those they held. When he married her a hundred families were released. I do not know a woman who was a greater blessing to her people than she (739).



IBN KHALDŪN

THE MUḠADDIMAH

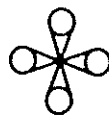
An Introduction to History

TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC BY

FRANZ ROSENTHAL

IN THREE VOLUMES

I



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[26] *Arabs can obtain royal authority only by making use of some religious coloring, such as prophecy, or sainthood, or some great religious event in general.*

The ¹⁴⁴ reason for this is that because of their savagery, the Arabs are the least willing of nations to subordinate themselves to each other, as they are rude, proud, ambitious, and eager to be the leader. Their individual aspirations rarely coincide. But when there is religion (among them) through prophecy or sainthood, then they have some restraining influence in themselves. The qualities of laughtiness and jealousy leave them. It is, then, easy for them to subordinate themselves and to unite (as a social organization). This is achieved by the common religion they now have. It causes rudeness and pride to disappear and exercises a restraining influence on their mutual envy and jealousy. When there is a prophet or saint among them, who calls upon them to fulfill the commands of God and rids them of blameworthy qualities and causes them to adopt praiseworthy ones, and who has them concentrate all their strength

¹⁴³ Cf. Qur'an 21:89 (89).

¹⁴⁴ Cf. R. A. Nicholson, *Translations of Eastern Poetry and Prose*, pp. 182 f. Cf. Issawi, p. 58.

in order to make the truth prevail, they become fully united (as a social organization) and obtain superiority and royal authority. Besides, no people are as quick (as the Arabs) to accept (religious) truth and right guidance, because their natures have been preserved free from distorted habits and uncontaminated by base character qualities. The only (difficulty) lies in the quality of savagery, which, however, is easily taken care of and which is ready to admit good (qualities), as it has remained in its first natural state and remote from the ugly customs and bad habits that leave their impress upon the soul. "Every infant is born in the natural state," as is stated in the tradition that was quoted above.¹⁴⁵

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[27] *The Arabs are of all nations the one most remote from royal leadership*

The ¹⁴⁶ reason for this is that the Arabs are more rooted in desert life and penetrate deeper into the desert than any other nation. They have less need of the products and grain of the hills, because they are used to a tough and hard life. Therefore, they can dispense with other people. It is difficult for them to subordinate themselves to each other, because they are used to (no control) and because they are in a state of savagery. Their leader needs them mostly for the group spirit that is necessary for purposes of defense. He is, therefore, forced to rule them kindly and to avoid antagonizing them. Otherwise, he would have trouble with the group spirit, and (such trouble) would be his undoing and theirs. Royal leadership and government, on the other hand, require the leader to exercise a restraining influence by force. If not, his leadership would not last.

Furthermore, as we have stated before,¹⁴⁷ it is the nature of (the Arabs) not only to appropriate the possessions of other people but, beyond that, to refrain from exercising any (power of) arbitration among them and to fail to keep them

¹⁴⁵ Cf. p. 254, above.¹⁴⁶ Cf. Issawi, pp. 59 f., and J. Sauvaget, pp. 145 f.¹⁴⁷ For this paragraph, cf. pp. 303 f., above.

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from (fighting) each other. When they have taken possession of a nation, they make it the goal of their rule to profit (from their position) by taking away the property of the members of that nation. Beyond that, they do not care to exercise any (power of) arbitration among them. They often punish crimes by fines on property, in their desire to increase the tax revenues and to obtain some (pecuniary) advantage. That is no deterrent (to crime). (Rather,) it is often an incentive (to crime), in view of the fact that incentives to commit misdeeds (may be very strong) and that, in the opinion of (the criminal), payment of a fine is insignificant, weighed against getting what he wants. Thus, misdeeds increase, and civilization is ruined. A nation dominated by the Arabs is in a state no different from anarchy, where everybody is set against the others. Such a civilization cannot last and goes quickly to ruins, as would be the case in a state of anarchy, as we have mentioned before.

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For all these (reasons), the Arabs are by nature remote from royal leadership. They attain it (only) once their nature has undergone a complete transformation under the influence of some religious coloring that wipes out all such (qualities) and causes the Arabs to have a restraining influence on themselves and to keep people apart from each other, as we have mentioned.¹⁴⁸

This is illustrated by the Arab dynasty in Islam. Religion cemented their leadership with the religious law and its ordinances, which, explicitly and implicitly, are concerned with what is good for civilization. The caliphs followed one after another. As a result, the royal authority and government of the Arabs became great and strong. When Rustum saw the Muslims assemble for prayer, he said: "Umar eats my liver. He teaches the dogs how to behave."¹⁴⁹

Later on, the Arabs were cut off from the dynasty for generations. They neglected the religion. Thus, they forgot political leadership and returned to their desert. They were

¹⁴⁸ Cf. pp. 303 f., above.¹⁴⁹ Cf. al-Tabari, *Annals*, I, 2291.

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ignorant of the connection of their group feeling with the people of the ruling dynasty, because subservience and lawful (government) had (now) become strange to them. They became once again as savage as they had been before. The epithet "royal" was no longer applicable to them, except in so far as it (continued to) apply to the caliphs who were (Arabs) by race. When the caliphate disappeared and was wiped out, governmental power passed altogether out of their hands. Non-Arabs took over the power in their stead. They remained as Bedouins in the desert, ignorant of royal authority and political leadership. Most Arabs do not even know that they possessed royal authority in the past, or that no nation had ever exercised such (sweeping) royal authority as had their race. The dynasties of 'Ād and Thāmūd, the Amalekites, the Hīmyar, and the Tubba's testify to that statement, and then, there was the Muḍar dynasty in Islam, the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids. But when the Arabs forgot the religion, they no longer had any connection with political leadership, and they returned to their desert origins. At times, they achieve superiority over weak dynasties, as is the case in the contemporary Maghrib. But their domination leads only to the ruin of the civilization they conquer, as we have stated before.

God is the best heir.¹⁵⁰

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[4] Dynasties of wide power and large royal authority have their origin in religion based either on prophecy or on truthful propaganda.

This ¹⁴ is because royal authority results from superiority. Superiority results from group feeling. Only by God's help in establishing His religion do individual desires come together in agreement to press their claims, and hearts become united. God said: "If you had expended all the treasures on earth, you would have achieved no unity among them." ¹⁵ The secret of (this) is that when the hearts succumb to false desires and are inclined toward the world, mutual jealousy and widespread differences arise. (But) when they are turned toward the truth and reject the world and whatever is false,

¹⁵ Cf. p. 45, above, and p. 331, below. ¹⁶ Qur'ān 15:41 (41).

¹⁴ Cf. Issawi, p. 131. ¹⁶ Qur'ān 8:68 (64).

and advance toward God, they become one in their outlook. Jealousy disappears. There are few differences. Mutual cooperation and support flourish. As a result, the extent of the state widens, and the dynasty grows, as we shall explain now.

[5] *Religious propaganda gives a dynasty at its beginning another power in addition to that of the group feeling it possessed as the result of the number of its (supporters).*

As¹⁶ we have mentioned before, the reason for this is that religious coloring does away with mutual jealousy and envy among people who share in a group feeling, and causes concentration upon the truth. When people (who have a religious coloring) come to have the (right) insight into their affairs, nothing can withstand them, because their outlook is one and their object one of common accord. They are willing to die for (their objectives). (On the other hand,) the members of the dynasty they attack may be many times as numerous as they. But their purposes differ, in as much as they are false¹⁷ purposes, and (the people of the worldly dynasty) come to abandon each other, since they are afraid of death. Therefore, they do not offer resistance to (the people with a religious coloring), even if they themselves are more numerous. They are overpowered by them and quickly wiped out, as a result of the luxury and humbleness existing among them, as we have mentioned before.¹⁸

This happened to the Arabs at the beginning of Islam during the Muslim conquests. The armies of the Muslims

¹⁶ Cf. Issawi, pp. 151-55, and above, pp. 305 f.

¹⁷ Whereas the truth is only one, and means unity of purpose. Cf., for instance, the saying attributed to Plato in al-Mubashshir b. Fâtik, *Mukhtâr al-hikam*, No. 227 (= ed. Madrid, 1958, p. 158): cf. H. Knust, *Mittelalterliche aus dem Eskurial*, p. 220: "Justice in something is one form, whereas injustice is many forms. Therefore it is easy to commit an injustice, and difficult to pursue justice. Justice and injustice are like hitting and missing (the target) in shooting. Hitting (it) requires practice and experience, while it does not require anything of the sort to miss."

¹⁸ Cf., for instance, pp. 296 ff., above.

at al-Qâdisiyah and at the Yarmûk numbered some 30,000 in each case, while the Persian troops at al-Qâdisiyah numbered 120,000,¹⁹ and the troops of Heraclius, according to al-Wâqidî, 400,000.²⁰ Neither of the two parties was able to withstand the Arabs. (The Arabs) routed them and seized what they possessed.

Another illustration is the Lamtûnah (Almoravid) and Almohad dynasties. In the Maghrib, there existed many tribes equaling or surpassing them in numbers and group feeling. However, their religious organization doubled the strength of their group feeling through (their) feeling of having (the right religious) insight²¹ and (their) willingness to die, as we have stated, and nothing could withstand them.

This can also be illustrated (by the situation existing at the time) when the religious coloring changes and is destroyed. The power (of the ruling dynasty) is then wiped out. Superiority exists then merely in proportion to (the existing) group feeling, without the additional (power of) religion. As a result, the dynasty is overpowered by those groups (up to this time) under its control, that are equal or superior to it in strength. It had formerly overpowered the groups that had a stronger group feeling and were more deeply rooted in desert life, with the help of the additional power that religion had given it.

¹⁹ Cf., p. 17, above.

²⁰ The very high figures given here and in some of the historical examples mentioned on the following pages, are not usually found in the old sources, such as al-Tabari, al-Mas'ûdi, etc. This might have warned Ibn Khaldûn against using them — had it been as easy for him to check the sources as it is for us.

The *Futûh ash-Shâm*, a novelistic elaboration of the conquest of Syria ascribed to al-Wâqidî, speaks of four armies, the first three of which consisted of 100,000 knights each. This may have given rise to the figure of 400,000 mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn. However, Pseudo-Wâqidî also mentions 600,000 and 700,000 as the number of Heraclius' troops. Cf. *Futûh ash-Shâm* (Cairo, 1954/1955), I, 102 f.

²¹ *Istihâr*, as p. 320, above, and 2:134, below. The term, based on Qur'ân 29:98 (97), is quite frequently used in religious literature. In this passage one might be tempted to read *bi-l-istihâr* "through their willingness to win and die." However, in A, C, and D, where the word is provided with diacritical dots, it is *istihâr*.

An illustration of this is the relationship of the Almohads with the Zanātah. The Zanātah were deeply rooted in the desert and more savage than the Maṣmūdah, but the Maṣmūdah had the religious call to follow the Mahdī. They took on (his religious) coloring. As a result, the strength of their group feeling increased many times over. Therefore, they were at first able to overpower the Zanātah and to make them their followers, even though (the Zanātah) were more strongly rooted in the desert and had a stronger group feeling than they. But (later on) when the Maṣmūdah lost their religious coloring, the Zanātah rose up against them from every side and took their power away from them. "God has the power to execute His commands."²²

7.0
Introductory statement

7. Mon Oct 9 The conquests

Txt: Lewis, ch. 3
7.1 Extracts on the conquests
7.2 The end of the Sasanian Empire
7.3 'Umar sets up the pay system

This and the next seminar are concerned with the period from the death of the Prophet in 632 to the assassination of the Caliph 'Ali in 661. This seminar is concerned mainly with the expansion of the Islamic state through conquest, the next with its internal order—and disorder. The chapter from the textbook assigned for this seminar covers both themes.

Reading 7.1 gives you a chronology of the conquests. The extracts that follow should set you thinking about the fact that conquests, though commonplace in human history, can be of very different kinds, and can have very different outcomes.

Reading 7.2 is Tabari's account of the last stages of the conquest of the Sasanian Empire. Yazdajird was king from 632 to 651; the narrative begins at the point at which he has lost Iraq and retreats to the Iranian plateau. Does it give you any indication why Persian resistance to the Arabs was so ineffective? And while you're at it, consider the question how reliable Tabari's account of these events is likely to be.

Reading 7.3 is about how the central government of the Islamic state handled the resources made available to the Arabs through the conquests. In principle you might imagine the spoils being divided among the conquering Arabs in a free-for-all over which the state exercised no control, and from which it drew no benefit. Or you might imagine the state asserting total central control over all resources. But what would you say is actually happening according to Tabari's account, and why? Also, is there anything about what Tabari tells us that looks like the retrojection of the concerns of a later period?