

# O GOD, TIGHTEN THY GRIP ON MUḌAR...

*Some socio-economic and religious aspects  
of an early ḥadīth\**

BY

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*To Professor S. D. Goitein  
a humble tribute.*

The widely current utterances attributed to the Prophet concerning his eponymous ancestor Muḍar and his progeny are usually couched in very favourable terms. Tradition stresses that the angel Jibrīl himself told the Prophet of his descendance from Muḍar<sup>1</sup>); the Prophet, recording his pedigree, thus stated explicitly that he was of Muḍar<sup>2</sup>). Muḍar is obviously counted in Muslim tradition among the highly praised ancestors of the Prophet, chosen by God from amongst the whole of mankind and singled out by Him from among the Arabs<sup>3</sup>). The very early traditions emphasized that Quraysh preserved and kept the monotheistic tradition of Ismā'īl and Ibrāhīm and that the guardians and champions of this belief were the eponymous ancestors of the Prophet; widely current is the utterance attributed to the Prophet according to which Muḍar was a Muslim and it is not lawful to curse him<sup>4</sup>). The ancestors of the Prophet are said to have stuck to their

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1) Al-Muttaqī l-Hindī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, Hyderabad 1385/1965, XIII, 51, no. 297; cf. Muḥammad Anwar al-Kashmīrī al-Dīwabandī *Fayḍ al-bārī 'alā ṣaḥīḥi l-bukhārī*, Cairo 1357/1938, IV, 121 inf.:...*innamā kāna banū tamīmīn min qaumi l-nabiyyi li-anna l-nabiyya kāna min muḍara wa-hā'ulā'i ayḍan muḍariyyūn*...

2) Al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, ed. M. Jones, London 1966, p. 1011; al-Shāfi'ī, *al-Umm*, Cairo (Būlāq) 1321 (reprint), VI, 215.

3) See e.g. al-Muttaqī l-Hindī, *op. cit.*, XIII, 36-38, nos. 225, 233-234.

4) Al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-asbrāf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamidullah, Cairo 1959, I, 31; al-Muttaqī l-Hindī, *op. cit.*, XIII, 51, no. 294; and see *ib.* the version that both Rabī'a and Muḍar embraced Islām; and see this version: al-Shiblī, *Maḥāsīn al-wasā'il fī*

Arab faith, without converting to Judaism, Zoroastrianism or Christianity<sup>5</sup>). In line with this notion the Prophet is said to have enjoined to follow (the descendants of—K) Muḍar whenever there was a dissension among the believers, as Muḍar would always be on the right path and act justly<sup>6</sup>). Muḍar were indeed granted prophethood and caliphate, Islam gained power and strength through Muḍar and great conquests were made after Muḍar embraced Islam, says Ibn Saʿīd in his *Nashwat al-ṭarab*<sup>7</sup>). The favourable traditions about Muḍar are confronted by a few unpropitious utterances also attributed to the Prophet; these unfavourable sayings refer, however, either to the coarse Bedouin traits of character of Muḍar or are cast in the form of prophecies concerning the wicked role of Muḍar as an oppressive element in the government of the Muslim Empire which persecutes and harms the believers<sup>8</sup>).

Of some importance seems to be a peculiar tradition according to which the Prophet invoked God asking Him to afflict Muḍar with years of drought like those at the time of Joseph. “O God, tighten Thy grip on Muḍar”, the Prophet invoked, “Turn barren years upon

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*maʿrifati l-awāʿil*, Ms.Br.Mus., Or. 1530, fol. 54a; and see another version of this tradition: al-Naysābūrī, *Gharāʾib al-qurʿān wa-raghbāʾib al-furqān*, ed. Ibrāhīm ʿAṭwa ʿIwaḍ, Cairo 1386/1967, XVIII, 31; and see I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, ed. S. M. Stern, London 1967, I, 83-84, note 5.

5) Cf. al-Jāhīz, *Thalāth rasāʾil (al-radd ʿalā l-naṣārā)*, ed. J. Finkel, Cairo 1344, p. 15: ... *wa-ukhrā wa-biya anna l-ʿaraba kānat al-naṣrāniyyatu fihā fāshiyatan wa-ʿalayhā ghālibatan, illā muḍara, fa-lam taghlīb ʿalayhā yahūdīyyatun wa-lā mājūsīyyatun, wa-lam tafshu fihā l-naṣrāniyyatu... wa-lam taʿrif muḍaru illā dīna l-ʿarabi, thumma l-islāma.*

6) Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *al-Isbrāf fī manāẓil al-asbrāf*, Ms. Chester Beatty 4427, fol. 69b; al-Muttaqī l-Hindī, *op. cit.*, XIII, 51, no. 295-296; Goldziher, *op. cit.*, I, 84, note 5.

7) Ms. Tübingen 1, fol. 94: ... *ilayhā* (i.e. *al-muḍariyya—K*) *ntabā l-sharafu wa-l-ʿiddatu awwalan wa-ākhiran wa-khaṣṣahā llāhu bi-l-nubuwwati wa-l-khilāfati wa-bihā ʿaẓza l-islāmu wa-ʿaẓumat futūhubu lammā dakhlat fihī afwājan...*

8) See al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, Hyderabad 1342, IV, 470; Baḥshal, *Taʾrīkh Wāsiṭ*, ed. Gurguis ʿAwwad, Baghdād 1386/1967, p. 262; al-Ṭahāwī, *Mushkil al-āthār*, Hyderabad 1333, I, 435-436; Yūsuf b. Mūsā al-Ḥanafī, *al-Muʿtaṣar min al-mukhtaṣar min mushkil al-āthār*, Hyderabad 1362, II, 385; al-Muttaqī l-Hindī, *op. cit.*, XIII, 51, no. 298; and see *ib.*, p. 42, no. 259: *wa-muḍaru ʿinda uṣūli adhnābi l-ibīli ḥaythu yaṭlaʿu qarnu l-shayṭān...*; and see *ib.*, no. 263: ... *wa-l-jafāʾu fī ḥādhayni l-ḥayyayni rabīʿata wa-muḍara...*; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*, ed. al-Ṭanāhī, Cairo s.v. m d r: ... *wa-dbakara khurūja ʿāʾishata fa-qāla: tuqātīlu maʿahā muḍaru, maḍḍarabā llāhu fī l-nāri.*

them like the famine years of Joseph”<sup>9)</sup>. There are divergent and even contradictory opinions of *ḥadīth* scholars, Qur’ān commentators and biographers of the Prophet about the circumstances in which the Prophet uttered this invocation. The period during which the Prophet pronounced the invocation is disputed and so are also the prayers in the course of which the invocation was performed, the curses and blessings linked with the invocation, whether the invocation was continuous, whether it was abrogated and consequently whether it is, or is not permissible to use invocations during prayers.

A closer examination of these diverse traditions about the Muḍar invocation and a scrutiny of some traditions referring to other events of that period may grant us a clue for a better understanding of the Prophet’s attitude towards the different tribal groups and towards the various factions in Mecca, to elucidate some of the economic and political decisions which he took during his struggle with the hostile tribal divisions and during negotiations with his enemies. The analysis of these traditions may help us to get a more adequate assessment of the changes which took place in the perception of invocations and supplications during the prayers and to form a better evaluation of the political situation in Mecca and Medina in the decisive period preceding the conquest of Mecca.

9) Ibn Sa‘īd, *op.cit.*, fol. 94r., inf.; cf. Ibn Fūrak, *Mushkil al-ḥadīth*, Hyderabad 1362, p. 97; al-Marzūqī, *al-Aẓmina wa-l-amkīna*, Hyderabad 1332, II, 33; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo; Ibn Sa‘īd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, Beirut 1376/1957, II, 53; al-Dāraqutnī, *Ṣunan*, ed. ‘Abdallāh Hāshim Yamānī, al-Madīna al-munawwara, 1386/1966, II, 38, no. 7; Maḥmūd Muḥammad Khattāb, *al-Manḥal al-‘adhb al-maurūd sharḥ ṣunan al-imāmi abī dāwūd*, Cairo 1394, VIII, 80; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī, *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn*, Cairo 1347, p. 197 inf.; Ibn Mājah, *Ṣunan al-muṣṭafā*, Cairo 1349, I, 375; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Ṣunan al-kubrā*, Hyderabad 1346, II, 197-198, 200, 210; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib al-abī ṭālib*, Najaf 1376/1956, I, 72 (the Prophet invoked against Muḍar according to the request of Khabbāb b. al-Aratt), 189; Shahrīdār b. Shīrawayh al-Daylamī, *Musnad al-firdaus*, Ms. Chester Beatty 4139, fol. 136b; al-Tha‘ālībī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1384/1956, p. 49, no. 57. Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Arba‘una l-mutabāyinatu l-asānīdi wa-l-mutūn*, Ms. Hebrew Univ. Yahuda Ar. 20, I, fol. 17a-b (the persons against whom the Prophet invoked were: Abū Jahl, ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a, Shayba b. Rabī‘a, al-Walīd b. ‘Utba, ‘Uqba b. abī Mu‘ayt, Umayya b. Khalaf and a man whose name is not disclosed).

## I

According to a tradition recorded by ‘Abd al-Razzāq on the authority of his teacher Ma‘mar b. Rāshid (d. 150 H), the Prophet responded to a request by a man of Muḍar to pray for them for rain, after the man had described to the Prophet the grave situation of his tribe as a result of a drought; after the prayer of the Prophet a great deal of rain poured down<sup>10</sup>). Two other traditions indicate that the drought had been caused by a previous invocation of the Prophet<sup>11</sup>). The reason for the Prophet’s invocation against Muḍar was, according to a tradition, their stubborn refusal to embrace Islam, their disobedience, arrogance and unbelief<sup>12</sup>). Some Muslim scholars explained that the Prophet’s invocation was merely addressed against the evil-doers of Muḍar, not against the whole of this tribal confederation<sup>13</sup>), others however pointed out that the curse afflicted not only the evil-doers of Muḍar, since the Prophet and his Companions were also hit by the famine<sup>14</sup>). Al-Hākim records<sup>15</sup>) the name of the man of Muḍar who asked the Prophet to pray for rain: Ka‘b b. Murra al-Bahzī (scil. from the Muḍarī tribe of Sulaym—K)<sup>16</sup>).

The extent of the drought by which the Muḍar tribes were affected

10) ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥabību l-Raḥmān al-A‘ẓamī, Beirut 1390/1971, III, 90, no. 4908.

11) ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *op. cit.*, III, nos. 4907, 4909.

12) See e.g. Ibn Sa‘īd, *op. cit.*, fol. 94 r., inf.: ...*wa-qad kāna rasūlu llāhi (ṣ) yashkū ilā rabbihī min ‘isyanihim wa-‘uluwwihim ḥattā qāla llāhumma shdud...*

13) See e.g. Yūsuf b. Mūsā al-Ḥanafī, *op. cit.*, II, 320: ...*wa-shdud waʿataka ‘alā muḍara*, ay: ‘*alā man lam yuʿmin minhum...*; *ib.*, p. 385: ... *wa-minhu qauluhu ṣallā llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallam fī qunūtibī: wa-shdud... wa-buwa wa-kaṭhīrun min al-ṣaḥāba min muḍara*, *wa-l-murādu: man kāna minhum ‘alā kbilāfi l-ṭarīqati l-mustaqīma...*; and see al-Ṭahāwī, *Mushkil al-āthār*, I, 436.

14) Ibn Qutayba, *Taʿwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1326, p. 318: ... *wa-qad daʿā rasūlu llāhi (ṣ) ‘alā muḍara*, *fa-qāla: llāhumma shdud waʿataka ‘alā muḍara... fa-nāla dhālika l-jadbu rasūla llāhi wa-aṣḥābahu wa-bi-duʿāʾihī ‘aḡībū ḥattā shadda l-muslimūna ‘alā buṭūnihim al-ḥijārata min al-jūʿi.*

15) Al-Hākim *op. cit.*, I, 328.

16) See on him Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, Cairo 1392/1972, V, 612, no. 1439 (Ka‘b b. Murra merely saw the man who asked the Prophet to invoke for rain).

can be gauged from a report recorded by al-Jāhiz<sup>17)</sup> and quoted by al-Bayhaqī<sup>18)</sup>; as a result of the curse rain stopped, trees died, flocks and cattle perished, pastures diminished and people were compelled to eat *'ilbiḡ*, a mixture of blood and hair and hides.

Then Ḥājib b. Zurāra<sup>19)</sup> set out to Kisrā, complaining of the hardship and asking the king to grant his tribe permission to graze their flocks in the region of Sawād al-ʿIrāq; he left his bow as a pledge that his people would not harass the subjects of the Persian ruler. When the suffering of Muḍar reached its point of culmination, and divine proof reached its predestined conclusion (*balaghat al-ḥujja mablaghabā*) the Prophet made a new invocation interceding for them and rain poured down. The reason for the Prophet's invocation against Muḍar, as given in this report, was the allegation raised by Quraysh and the Arab tribes that the Prophet was a liar, causing him harm and the fact that they decided to expend their wealth in order to fight him<sup>20)</sup>. The two Muḍar tribes mentioned in this report are Quraysh and Tamīm<sup>21)</sup>. It is evident from the reports that when the Prophet cursed Muḍar he cursed the Muḍar tribes; when he prayed for rain he asked for rain and fertility for these Muḍar tribes (Tamīm and Sulaym) on which their flocks were dependent and on which the supply of their vital needs of grain depended. It is obvious that the supply of grain and meat by the allied tribes for the Meccan Qurashites was vital for the very existence of Mecca. The link between the curse of the Prophet and Quraysh is apparent in the comment by al-Baṭalyūsī<sup>22)</sup> on the nickname *sakhīna*

17) Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 3138 (*Mukhtārāt fuṣūl al-Jāhiz*) fol. 112b.

18) Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaqī, *al-Maḥāsīn wa-l-masāwī*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1380/1961, I, 24-25; and see ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Tatḥbīt dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUthmān, Beirut 1386/1966, I, 80 inf.-81 sup.

19) See on him: EI<sup>2</sup> s.v. Ḥādḡib b. Zurāra.

20) Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaqī, *op. cit.*, I, 24: ... *thumma duʿāʾuhu l-musta-jābu lladhī lā taʿkbīra fīhi, wa-dhālika anna l-nabiyya (s) lammā laqiya min qurayshin wa-l-ʿarabi min shiddati adhbāhum labu wa-takdhībīhim iyyāhu wa-stiʿānatihim ʿalayhi bi-l-amwālī daʿā an tajdība bilādūhum*...

21) See a slightly different version: Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, ed. Aḥmad Amin, Aḥmad al-Zayn, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, Cairo 1375/1956, II, 20-21.

22) Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyūsī, *al-Iqtidāb fī sharḥ adab al-kuttāb*, Beirut 1973 (re-

applied to Quraysh: when Quraysh refused to embrace Islam, though summoned by the Prophet, the Prophet invoked God against them: *allāhumma šbdud waʿataka wa-jʿalbā ʿalayhim sinīna ka-sinī yūsufa*. They suffered from drought for seven years during which time they nourished on *ʿilhiḡ* and on a thin gruel of coarse flour called *sakhīna*<sup>23</sup>). In some cases, indeed, only Quraysh (or the people of Mecca) are mentioned<sup>24</sup>). The course of events connected with the Prophet's curse is the usual one: Quraysh refused to embrace Islam; the Prophet invoked God against them and they were afflicted by hardship and famine; they repented and were relieved, but lapsed into unbelief and were punished on the Day of Badr. This sequence of events is indicated in the verse: ... "upon the day when We shall assault most mightily, then we shall take Our vengeance"<sup>25</sup>). Another version seems to point to the direct and indirect objects of the curse: the curse was directed against Quraysh, but the invocation of the Prophet to lift the curse and his prayer for rain were performed on the request of men from Muḍar and for the benefit of their tribes<sup>26</sup>). Numerous traditions indicate clearly that the stubborn refusal of Quraysh to follow the Prophet, the curse of the Prophet, the drought and hunger, the Prophet's prayer for them, God's help and the reversion of Quraysh to unbelief—all these happened before the *hijra*; Quraysh were punished by God and they suffered defeat on the Day of Badr (AH 2).

Some versions of this tradition state that it was Abū Sufyān who

print), p. 46; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1397/1977, VI, 527-528 (from *al-Iqtidāb*).

23) Cf. *L ʿA*, s.v. s kh n.

24) Cf. Ibn Nāqiyā *al-Jumʿan fī tashbībāt al-qurʿān*, ed. Ahmad al-Maṭlūb, Khadīja al-Ḥadīthī, Baghdād 1387/1968, p. 347; and see al-Naysābūrī, *op. cit.*, XXX, 188.

25) Cf. Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, Ms. Ahmet III, no. 74/2, fol. 84b-85a; al-Bayhaqī, *Dalʿil al-nubuwwa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Rahmān Muḥammad ʿUthmān, Cairo 1389/1969, II, 87 inf.—88 sup.; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad Khalil Harrās, Cairo 1386/1967, I, 369 inf.—370 sup.; al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr* (= *al-Jāmiʿ li-ahkām al-qurʿān*) Cairo 1387/1967, XII, 135, XVI, 131; al-Khāzin, *Tafsīr* (= *Lubāb al-taʾwīl*), Cairo 1381/repr.) V, 33; al-Baghawī, *Tafsīr* (= *Maʿālim al-tanzīl*, on margin of al-Khāzin's *Tafsīr*), V, 33; Abū Ḥayyān, *Tafsīru l-baḥri l-muḥīṭ*, Cairo 1328. VIII. 34.

26) See e.g. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, Cairo 1314, VI, 28; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, Beirut 1385/1966, VI, 246.

came to the Prophet and recounted the plight of Quraysh (scil. asking him to pray for them—K)<sup>27)</sup>. In some versions of this tradition it is mentioned that certain Qurashites joined Abū Sufyān when he was on his way to the Prophet. Muqātil records the names of the members of the Qurashite delegation to the Prophet led by Abū Sufyān: ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a, al-‘Āṣ b. Wā’il, Muṭ‘im b. ‘Adī, Suhayl b. ‘Amr and Shayba b. Rabī‘a<sup>28)</sup>. The members of the delegation were indeed the leaders of the Meccan opposition against the Prophet; they were captured or killed in the battle of Badr. Some traditions explicitly say that the delegation headed by Abū Sufyān came to the Prophet when he was still in Mecca, before he left on his *hijra* to Medina<sup>29)</sup>. These traditions, possessing as they do fine narrative structure, belong to the type of miracle-traditions which encompasses a well-known cycle of edifying stories: the Prophet calls to a group of people to embrace the true religion, his call is harshly rejected, God punished them in answer to the Prophet’s request, then the Prophet’s invocation rescues the unbelievers who, after a short period of repentance, soon revert to unbelief and are severely punished. But though they are vague and imprecise, these traditions seem to contain some historical details which may be elucidated from other versions of this event.

It is the Muslim scholars themselves, aware of the incongruity of these traditions, who transmitted diverse reports about the circumstances of the curse of Muḍar, some of them more tallying with the historical events and more reliable.

27) Al-Hākīm, *al-Mustadrak*, II, 394; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Khaṣā’iṣ al-kubrā*, I, 370; idem, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, VI, 28; al-Khāzin, *op.cit.*, V, 34; al-Baghawī, *op.cit.*, V, 34; al-Bayhaqī *Dalā’il al-nubuwwa*, II, 89, 90 inf.; Abū Nu‘aym al-Iṣfahānī, *Dalā’il al-nubuwwa*, Hyderabad 1369/1950, pp. 382-383; al-‘Aynī, *‘Umdat al-qārī*, Cairo 1348, VII, 27-28, 45-46; and see Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, V, 31 inf.—32 sup.; Ibn Junghul, *Ta’rīkh*, Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 5912, I, fol. 192b; al-Naysābūrī, *op. cit.*, XXV, 66.

28) Muqātil, *op. cit.*, Ms. 74/II, fol. 146a-b.

29) Al-‘Aynī, *op. cit.*, VII, 28, 1.9: ... *wa-dalla hādihā ‘alā anna l-qiṣṣata kānat qabla l-hijrati* ...; al-Jamal, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya*, Cairo n.d., IV, 103, 1.2 (and see *ib.*, p. 102) and see the comments of al-‘Aynī, *op. cit.*, VII, 45: ... *wa-kāna majī’uhu qabla l-hijrati* ... *wa-lam yunqal anna abā sufyanā qadima l-madīnata qabla badrin* (commenting on the interpretation that *al-baṭsha l-kubrā* refers to the Muslim victory at Badr).

## II

Al-Bayhaqī refers to a tradition according to which Abū Sufyān came to the Prophet in Medina asking him to pray for the Qurashites afflicted by famine as a result of the Prophet's curse and remarks with some reservation that he came to him twice: once when the Prophet stayed in Mecca and the other time in Medina<sup>30</sup>). Al-Jamal, commenting on the interpretations of al-Jalālayn on Sūra XXIII, states that this verse and the two following ones were revealed to the Prophet in Medina and that Quraysh were afflicted by the Prophet's curse when he emigrated to Medina; hence Abū Sufyān came to the Prophet to Medina. Al-Jamal records a version of the talk of Abū Sufyān with the Prophet as reported by al-Bayḍāwī: Abū Sufyān reproaches the Prophet by reminding him of his claim to have been sent as a mercy for the people of the world, while he has killed the fathers (scil. from among Quraysh—K) by the sword and the children by famine<sup>31</sup>). The tradition affirms the assumption of al-Jamal and indicates clearly that Abū Sufyān set out to Medina to intercede on behalf of his people after a military encounter between the forces of the Prophet and those of Quraysh brought about the defeat of the Qurashites and caused a number of them to be killed; at the same time children in Mecca were dying of hunger caused by some actions of the Prophet which are however not specified in the tradition.

The clash between the forces of the Prophet and those of Mecca, the results of the military and economic actions of the Prophet against Mecca and her tribal allies are fairly reflected in a commentary of Sūra XVI, 112: Ibn 'Abbās, Mujāhid and Qatāda are quoted as stating that the verse refers to the seven years of famine to which the Meccans were exposed; they also were in fear of the Prophet and his Companions who were attacking their caravans; these events took place when the Prophet uttered his invocation: "O God, tighten Thy grip on Mu-

30) Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, II, 91, 11. 1-2.

31) Al-Jamal, *op. cit.*, III, 198 inf.—199.

ḍar...’’<sup>32</sup>), More detailed and concrete is the version recorded by al-Tha‘labī in his *Tafsīr*: the Qurashites suffered hunger for seven years and the Arab tribes cut off their food-supplies according to the order of the Prophet (... *ibtalāhā bi-l-jū‘i sab‘a sinīna wa-qata‘a l-‘arabu ‘anhumu l-mīrata bi-amri l-nabiyyi*). The Meccan delegation, including Abū Sufyān, described the sufferings of the people and the unjustified pain of the children; they asked the Prophet to invoke God for them, which the Prophet indeed did. Then the Prophet permitted to carry food to them (i.e. to Mecca), while they (i.e. the people of Mecca—K) were still unbelievers (... *fa-da‘ā labum rasūlu llāhi wa-adhina li-l-nāsi bi-ḥamli l-ṭa‘āmi ilayhim wa-hum ba‘du mushrikūn*)<sup>33</sup>). This report is quite explicit about the situation in Mecca: a tribal group obedient to the Prophet cut off the food supply of Mecca on the order of the Prophet and the population of Mecca were afflicted by hunger. The Prophet’s permission to resume food supplies to Mecca for the unbelievers of Quraysh is forcefully formulated in this account. Similar reports are recorded in the commentaries of al-Rāzī<sup>34</sup>), al-Baghawī<sup>35</sup>) and al-Jāwī<sup>36</sup>). Ṭabarī records in his commentary (Sūra XVI, 113-115) a slightly divergent tradition referring to the story of the curse and the hunger; he records however an additional comment on the phrase: ... *fa-kulū mim mā razaqakumu llāhu*..., according to which the phrase refers to the provisions which the Prophet sent, out of mercy, for the unbelievers of Mecca when they were afflicted by drought and hunger<sup>37</sup>). The detail about the dispatching of food to Mecca by the Prophet out of mercy is indicated in the report recorded in the *Tafsīr* of al-Jiyānī: the Prophet sent to them alms for the poor and goods (... *fa-ba‘atha ilayhim bi-sadaqatin wa-mālin*)<sup>38</sup>). The very early commentary of al-Farrā’ (d. 207 AH) describes the hunger suffered by

32) Al-Ṭabarsī, *Majma‘ al-bayān*, Beirut 1380/1961, XIV, 132.

33) Al-Tha‘labī, Ms. Vatican, Ar. 1394, fol. 8a.

34) Al-Rāzī, *Mafāṭih al-ghayb*, Cairo 1357/1938, XX, 128-130.

35) Al-Baghawī, *op. cit.*, IV, 98-99; al-Khāzin, *op. cit.*, IV, 98-99.

36) Al-Jāwī, *Marāḥ labīd*, Cairo n.d., I, 467.

37) Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* (Bulāq) XIV, 125-126.

38) Abū Ḥayyān, *op. cit.*, VIII, 34.

Quraysh, their fear of the raids of the Prophet's troops and states that the Prophet sent to them food out of mercy, while they remained unbelievers<sup>39</sup>). Another account mentions the messenger who carried the Prophet's gifts to Mecca; it was 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī<sup>40</sup>), a well-known Companion of the Prophet, whom the Prophet happened to entrust with some special missions<sup>41</sup>). Al-Qurṭubī records explicitly the invocation against Muḍar and quotes fragments of the different versions mentioning the plight of Quraysh, their fear as a result of the raids of the forces of the Prophet, the talk of the Meccan delegation with the Prophet, Abū Sufyān's pledge and the order of the Prophet to carry food to Mecca in order to divide it among them<sup>42</sup>).

The date of the boycott against Mecca is indicated in the commentaries of the Qur'ān, Sūra XXIII, 76: "We already seized them with the chastisement...": the boycott of food supplies was carried out by Thumāma b. Uthāl<sup>43</sup>) who stopped it after some time by an order of the Prophet<sup>44</sup>).

Ibn Kathīr gives a very concise summary of the relations between the Prophet and Quraysh: when they refused to convert to Islam and

39) *Ma'ānī l-qur'ān*, ed. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Najjār, Cairo 1972, II, 114: ... *thumma inna l-nabiyya (s) raqqa labum fa-ḥamala ilayhim al-ṭa'āma wa-hum mushrikūna*.

40) Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, Ms. fol. 896a: ... *wa-ba'atha rasūlu llāhi 'amran ilā mushrikī qurayshin bi-ṣīlatin wa-qad aqḥaṭū wa-jabadū ḥattā akalū l-rimmata wa-l-'ilḥiḡa*.

41) See e.g. Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, IV, 602-603, no. 5769; al-Dhahabī, *Ṣiyar a'lam al-nubalā'*, ed. As'ad Ṭalas, Cairo 1962, III, 40, 1.12; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, Cairo 1280, IV, 86.

42) Al-Qurṭubī, *op. cit.*, X, 194-195.

43) Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* (Būlāq) XVIII, 34-35; al-Qurṭubī, *op. cit.*, XII, 143; cf. al-Wāḥidī, *Asbāb al-nuṣūl*, Cairo 1388/1968, p. 211; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, V, 13; and see Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, V, 550: ... *fa-ḡayyaqa 'alā qurayshin fa-lam yada' ḥabbatan ta'tihim mina l-yamāmati*; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, I, 411: ... *wa-man'uhū 'an qurayshin al-mīrata* ...; and see *ib.*, on the Yamāma: ... *wa-kānat rīfa ahli makkata*, and see F. McGraw Donner, Mecca's Food Supplies and Muḥammad's Boycott, *JESHO*, XX, 249-266.

44) Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb fī ma'rīfati l-aṣḥāb*, ed. 'Alī al-Bijāwī, Cairo 1380/1960, I, 215: ... *wa-kānat mīratu qurayshin wa-manāfi'uhum min al-yamāmati, thumma kharaja fa-ḡabasa 'anhum mā kāna ya'tihim min mīratihim wa-manāfi'ihim* ...; according to this narrative the Qurashites sent a letter to the Prophet asking him to order Thumāma to lift the boycott; the Prophet responded to their request; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, I, 247.

recognize the mission of the Prophet they were afflicted by drought and hunger, according to the Prophet's curse; after the *hijra* they suffered from the attacks of the Muslim troops; after their conversion to Islam the situation changed: they became leaders and rulers of the people<sup>45</sup>).

### III

The Prophet's invocation against Muḍar is in some traditions linked with the *qunūt*-invocation during the prayer. The one uttered by the Prophet is said to have contained either blessings (scil. for the oppressed believers—K) or curses (against the unbelieving enemies of the Prophet—K) or blessings and curses coming both together<sup>46</sup>). These *qunūt*-invocations which refer to some historical events may be useful for establishing the date when boycott was imposed and of the time when it was lifted, following the appeasement.

ʿAbd al-Razzāq records three names of the persecuted believers in Mecca: ʿAyyāsh b. Abī Rabīʿa<sup>47</sup>), Salama b. Hishām<sup>48</sup>), and al-Wālīd b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra<sup>49</sup>), quoting the formula of the Prophet's

45) Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, IV, 230-231.

46) Al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ al-qadīr, sharḥ al-jāmiʿ al-ṣagħīr*, Cairo, 1391/1972, V, 96, no. 6554. (On the efficacy of such an invocation see ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *op. cit.*, II, 446, no. 4030: A dog passed a group of people praying behind the Prophet; one of the people made an invocation against the dog and it immediately fell dead on the ground. The Prophet remarked that had this person made an invocation against a whole people, God would have responded to his invocation (and the people would have perished—K).

47) See on him: Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, IV, 750, no. 6127; al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ ʿalā l-mawāhib al-laduniyya*, Cairo 1328, VII, 344.

48) See on him Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, IV, 130-131; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 643, no. 1032; al-Zurqānī, *op. cit.*, VII, 344; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, III, 155-156, no. 3405; *al-ʿIqd ad-thamīn fī akhbār al-balad al-amīn*, ed. Fuʾād Sayyid, Cairo 1384/1965, IV, 599-600, no. 1325; al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, Cairo 1367, I, 379.

49) See on him: Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, VI, 619, no. 9157; al-Zurqānī, *op. cit.*, VII, 344; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, p. 46 records another account: the Prophet made an invocation on behalf of Salama b. Hishām, ʿAyyāsh b. Rabīʿa and other unprotected and oppressed (literally: "weak") believers (scil. in Mecca—K); this happened when the Prophet was on his way to Badr. Al-Wāqidī stresses that another invocation, namely for al-Walīd b. al-Walīd was uttered by the Prophet later, as al-Walīd b. al-Walīd was

invocation for them, which is linked with the invocation against Muḍar <sup>50</sup>). The date of the escape of these three believers from Mecca and their arrival in Medina is given either "after Uḥud" <sup>51</sup>) or after the Battle of the Ditch <sup>52</sup>). Accordingly the date of the Prophet's invocation may be established either after the year 3H (Uḥud) or after the year five (the Battle of the Ditch).

Some traditions link the story of the Prophet's invocation with the revelation of Sūra III, 128:..."no part of the matter is thine, whether He turns towards them again or chastises them, for they are evildoers". As the Prophet made an invocation for the believers and uttered a curse against Muḍar, God revealed the verse mentioned above:..."no part of the matter is thine..." <sup>53</sup>). Other traditions comment on the verse differently: the Prophet used to curse certain persons of the *munāfiqūn* during the morning prayer; then the verse mentioned above was revealed and the Prophet was implicitly bidden to cease to curse these persons <sup>54</sup>). One of the traditions mentions that four persons, whose names are not specified, were cursed by the Prophet <sup>55</sup>). A tradition traced to Ibn 'Umar gives a list of the three unbelievers against whom the Prophet invoked: Abū Sufyān, al-Ḥārith b. Hishām and Ṣafwān b. Umayya; the verse..."no part of the matter is thine"...

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captured by the forces of the Prophet at Badr; he was released, embraced Islam and returned to Mecca. There he was put in shackles and imprisoned; cf. al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lam*, I, 228, no. 10.

50) 'Abd al-Razzāq, *op. cit.*, II, 446-447, nos. 4028, 4031-4032; Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id wa-manba' al-fawā'id*, Beirut 1967 (reprint), II, 137 inf.—138.; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, II, 71; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaḥ*, ed. 'Abd al-Khāliq Afghānī, Hyderabad 1387/1967, II, 316-317; al-Nahḥās, *al-Nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh*, Cairo 1357/1938, p. 91; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tabdhīb ta'rīkh dīmasḥq*, Damascus 1349, VI, 234-235.

51) See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 208 penult.

52) See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 208, 11. 4-5; and cf., *ib.*, pp. 209-211; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lam*, I, 228, no. 10.

53) Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Shākir, VII, 201, no. 7820 (and see *ib.*, the references of the Editors).

54) Al-Nahḥās, *op. cit.*, p. 91 sup.; al-Wāhidī, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81; 'Abdallah b. al-Mubārak, *Kit. al-jihād*, ed. Nazīh Ḥammād, Beirut 1391/1971, p. 58, no. 58; Ibn 'Asākir, *op. cit.*, VI, 429.

55) Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Shākir, VII, 199, no. 7818.

was revealed in connection with this invocation (and the Prophet ceased to curse them—K)<sup>56</sup>). In the list given by ‘Abdallah b. al-Mubārak the names of the three persons are different: Ṣafwān b. Umayya, Suhayl b. ‘Amr and al-Ḥārith b. Hishām; the name of Abū Sufyān is missing<sup>57</sup>). Al-Suyūṭī mentions Ṣafwān b. Umayya, al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, Abū Sufyān and the fourth man against whom the Prophet invoked (at the Day of Uḥud) Suhayl b. ‘Amr<sup>58</sup>). Noteworthy is the additional phrase in al-Suyūṭī’s tradition: God accepted their repentance (*fa-tība ‘alayhim kullihim*), and, as one may deduce, He forgave them their sins<sup>59</sup>). These persons were indeed the leaders of Quraysh; they remained among the leading personalities of the community after they had embraced Islam and they participated in some of the decisive events in Islam. The utterance of the Prophet about their repentance being accepted made their conversion easier and enabled them to keep their high positions in society, their former enmity to the Prophet being forgotten.

The traditions in which the curse of Muḍar is linked to the Battle of Uḥud are contradicted by a report according to which the Prophet wounded in the battle and stained with blood made an invocation only against those who attacked and wounded him. God, however, did not respond to his invocation and forbade to curse the wicked people<sup>60</sup>). Peculiar is a tradition which states that the Prophet intended to curse the people who fled from the battle-field at Uḥud. He was prevented from doing it by the revelation of the verse: . . . “no part of the matter is thine”<sup>61</sup>). The tendency of this tradition is evident

56) Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Shākir, VII, no. 7819 (and see the references given by the Editors); Ibn ‘Asākir, *op. cit.*, VI, 429; cf. Shahrīdār al-Daylamī, *op. cit.*, Ms Chester Beatty 4139, fol. 136b, 11 1-2.

57) ‘Abdallah b. al-Mubārak, *op. cit.*, p. 58, no. 57; al-Fāsi, *al-‘Iqd al-thamīn*, IV, 35-36; Ibn ‘Asākir, *op. cit.*, VI, 429.

58) See on him Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, III, 213 sup., no. 3575.

59) Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, II, 71.

60) See e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Shākir, VII, 194-199, nos. 7805-7817; al-Zurqānī, *op. cit.*, VII, 343 ult.—344, 11. 1-3; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, Cairo 1301 (reprint) VII, 281.

61) Al-‘Aynī, *op. cit.*, XVII, 155, 1. 14.

from the phrase which it contains, according to which one of the people who forsook the Prophet in this battle was ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān. The majority of scholars are said to have been of the opinion that the verse “no part of the matter is thine” was revealed after the battle of Uḥud<sup>62</sup>).

## IV

The invocation against Muḍar can hardly be related either to the Meccan period, or to the battle of Uḥud. In the Meccan period the Prophet and his Companions suffered from the persecutions of the Qurashites and only in some rare cases were the Qurashites compelled to act in agreement with their tribal allies<sup>63</sup>); in the battle of Uḥud the Qurashites were those who fought the Muslim forces and wounded the Prophet, while the Muḍar alliance is not mentioned as an active factor in the preparations for that battle. The invocation of the Prophet could only be uttered in the period when the tribes of the Muḍar federation, the allies of Mecca, acted in cooperation with Quraysh against the Muslim community harassing, attacking, damaging and killing. Such was the case with the expedition of Bi’r Ma‘ūna. In some traditions the curse of Muḍar is actually reported to have taken place after the massacre of the Companions by the tribal groups of Sulaym and ‘Āmir b. Ṣaṣa‘a which were allied with Mecca and acted in close cooperation with the Qurashite enemies of the Prophet. According to these traditions the curse was linked with the invocation for the three Companions oppressed in Mecca by the unbelievers<sup>64</sup>). In some of

62) Al-Zurqānī, *op. cit.*, VII, 344, 11. 9-10: ... *wa-l-ṣawāb annahā naḡalat bi-sababi qīṣṣati uḥud ... wa-qāla ṣāhibu “l-lubābi”*; *ttafaqa aktḥaru l-‘ulamā’i ‘alā nuḡūlihā fī qīṣṣati uḥud*.

63) See e.g. Ibn Ḥazm, *Hajjat al-wadā‘*, ed. Maḥmūd Ḥaqqī, Beirut 1966, p. 148; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *al-Qirā li-qāṣidi ummi l-qurā*, ed. Muṣṭafā l-Saqā, Cairo 1390/1970, p. 547; ‘Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn, *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, Cairo 1382/1962, III, 198, 1. 3 from bottom; and see JESHO, 1972, p. 64, note 3.

64) See e.g. al-Ṭahāwī, *Sharḥ ma‘ānī l-āthār*, ed. Muḥammad Zuhri l-Najjār, Cairo 1388/1966, I, 241-244; al-Zurqānī, *op. cit.*, VII, 344-345; al-Wāḥidī, *op. cit.*, p. 81; Ibn Abī Shayba, *op. cit.*, II, 316 inf.—317 sup.; al-Dāraquṭnī, *Sunan*, II, 38, no. 7; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, VII, 202, no. 7821 (and see the references of the Editors); cf. Ibn Sa‘d, *op. cit.*, II, 53; cf. al-Shāfi‘ī, *Musnad*, Ārah 1306/1889, p. 108.

the Prophet's invocations the curse is directed against the wicked tribal groups without any mention of Muḍar at all<sup>65</sup>). The account of Muqātil links the verse Sūra III, 128: . . . "no part of the matter is thine" . . . with Sūra XCIV (*a-lam nashrah*). According to this comment both the passages refer to the massacre of Bi'r Ma'ūna. The story recorded by Muqātil differs in many details from the current reports: there were four hundred Companions known as *abl al-ṣuffa* who lived on the alms given to them; they gave the surplus of these alms to other poor persons. They had no relatives in Medina. They went out as a military force (*mujayyashīn*) and fought the Banū Sulaym (who were unbelievers—K). Seventy warriors of this group (i.e. the *abl al-ṣuffa*) were killed. The Prophet made an invocation against the evildoers (scil. of Sulaym) praying to God to punish them. But God revealed to him the verse: . . . "no part of the matter is thine" and, since it was obviously predestined that they would embrace Islam, the text of Sūra XCIV, 1 seq. was revealed<sup>66</sup>). In some cases the invocation against the wicked tribal groups goes together with a blessing bestowed on Ghifār and Aslam<sup>67</sup>), the two tribal groups which supported the Prophet at a

65) See e.g. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *op. cit.*, II, 446, no 4029; al-Zurqānī, *op. cit.*, II, 78; Ibn Hajar, *Fath al-bārī*, VII, 282 sup.; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan*, II, 199, 206; 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, III, 196-197; Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *op. cit.*, VI, 125; al-Shaukānī, *Nayl al-aufār*, Cairo 1372/1953, II, 390, no. 8; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, II, 71; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *Uyūn al-athar*, Cairo 1356, II, 47, 1. 24; Ibn Abī Shayba, *op. cit.*, II, 310; Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, Cairo 1387/1967, III, 113 inf.; (and see the peculiar invocation against 'Uṣayya: . . . *sami'tu rasūla llāhi yaqūlu fī qunūṭihī: yā umma mildam 'alayki bi-banī 'uṣayyata, fa-innahum 'aṣau llāha wa-rasūlahu*, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Mūdiḥ aubām al-jam' wa-l-tafrīq*, Hyderabad 1379/1960, II, 2); cf. al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, Tehran 1386, LX, 232 (the curse here is uttered inter alia against Ri'l, Dhakwān, 'Aḍl, Liḥyān, those from among Asad and Ghatafān inflicted by elephantiasis, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, Suhayl ["the man with the teeth"]; in the text "Shahbal" instead of "Suhayl"], the two sons of Mulayka b. Jizyam, Marwān [evidently: b. al-Ḥakam,—K], Haudha and Hauna. The tradition is quoted from *al-Kāfī*).

66) Muqātil, *op. cit.*, 74/II, fol. 243a-b; and see al-'Aynī, *op. cit.*, XVII, 155, 1. 15; . *wa-qāla inna aṣḥāba l-ṣuffati kbarajū ilā qabīlatayni min banī sulaymin 'uṣayyata wa-dhakwāna fa-qutīlū fa-da'a 'alayhim arba'ina ṣabāḥan . . .*

67) Al-Ṭahawī, *Sharḥ ma'ānī l-āthār*, I, 243 sup., 267 sup; Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *op. cit.*, II, 138; al-Daylamī, *Firdaus*, Ms. Chester Beatty 3037, fol. 108a; Ibn Abī Shayba, *op. cit.*, II, 317 inf.; al-Wāqidi, *op. cit.*, pp. 349 inf.—350.

very early period<sup>68</sup>). Al-Ṭaḥāwī analyses the divergent traditions, emphasizes the contradictory interpretations concerning the period in which the Prophet's utterance was given and surveys its circumstances, but does not reach a decisive conclusion<sup>69</sup>). The statement that the invocation against the evildoers who had committed the massacre at Bi'r Ma'ūna was the first time that the Prophet uttered a *qumūt*-invocation during prayer<sup>70</sup>) is of some importance for establishing the circumstances of this invocation and its date.

It is in character with the custom of *ḥadīth* scholars that they tried to bridge between the various versions of the tradition about the curse of Muḍar. Some of them were of the opinion that the period of drought and hunger did not last seven years, but only a year or even less. Thus, for instance, the formula: ... *ij'albā 'alayhim sinīna ka-sinī yūsufa* was interpreted as referring either to the harshness of the chastisement or to the period of drought: days, weeks, months or years<sup>71</sup>).

The most reliable report about the Prophet's curse of Muḍar appears to be the one stating that the Prophet uttered it after the massacre of Bi'r Ma'ūna. The close relations between Quraysh and their Muḍar allies can be gauged from a significant passage of the report about this expedition: when the Muslim warrior 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī was captured by 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl, the man who planned and carried out the massacre of Bi'r Ma'ūna, he was asked about his pedigree. When he stated that he was from Muḍar, 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl freed him and let him go, saying that he would not like to harm a man from Muḍar<sup>72</sup>). 'Āmir's decision was, of course, in line with the ideas

68) Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. C. Torrey, Leiden—New Haven, 1920-22, p. 303 sup.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, II, 410, II. 16-23.

69) Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Mushkil al-āthār*, I, 236-238.

70) Al-Zurqānī, *op. cit.*, II, 78, I. 17; al-Ḥakīm, *op. cit.*, I, 226 sup.

71) Al-Zurqānī, *op. cit.*, VII, 344, II. 21-22: *waṭ'ataka... 'alā [kuffār qurayshin, aulādi] muḍara... allāhumma j'albā ay al-waṭ'ata au al-sinīna au al-ayyām...; Ibn Ḥajar, Fath al-bārī*, II, 410, II. 12-14: ... *wa-ablu l-mashriqi yauma'idhin min muḍara mukhālifūna labu...*

72) See e.g. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat al-nasab*, Ms. Br. Mus., Add. 23297, fol. 46a, I.1: ... *fa-lam yuflit aḥadun ghayruhu kballā sabīlabu 'āmiru bnu l-ṭufayli hīna qāla labu*

of tribal loyalty according to which he was expected to refrain from killing a member of the Muḍar federation even though the latter might participate in an expedition of a hostile troop. On the other hand, the individuals and groups who joined the Muslim community cut their bonds with their tribes, keeping their loyalty and solidarity exclusively for their religious leaders and the community of the faithful.

## V

Abū Sufyān was one of the prominent leaders of Quraysh, a stubborn opponent of the Prophet during his stay at Mecca and the head of the active struggle against him after he moved to Medina. Abū Sufyān played a considerable role in three decisive encounters between Quraysh and the Muslim forces: in the Battle of Badr (anno 2 H), in the Battle of Uḥud (anno 3H) and in the Battle of the Ditch (anno 5H). Tradition does not mention any meeting during the Prophet's Medinan period between the Prophet and Abū Sufyān for negotiations except the latter's visit to the Prophet as a single delegate of Quraysh a short time before the Prophet set out on his expedition to conquer Mecca (anno 8H). There are, however, a few reports which indicate contacts between the Prophet and Abū Sufyān during a relatively long period before the conquest of Mecca by the Prophet.

According to a tradition recorded by Muqātil, the leading hypocrites of Medina, 'Abdallah b. Ubayy <sup>73</sup>), 'Abdallah b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ <sup>74</sup>) and Ṭu'ma b. Ubayriq <sup>75</sup>) cunningly arranged a meeting between the Prophet and the leaders of the unbelievers of Mecca: Abū Sufyān, 'Ikrima b. Abī Jahl and Abū l-A'war al-Sulamī <sup>76</sup>). The Prophet refused

*innī min muḍar*; about the position of the chiefs of the Muḍarī tribes see Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, V, 488: ... *fa-dakhala 'uyaynatu bnu ḥişnin al-faḏāriyyu 'alā l-nabiyyi (s) wa-'indahu 'ā'ishatu fa-dakhala bi-ghayri idhnin, fa-qāla labu rasūlu llāhi: fa-ayna l-isti'dhān? fa-qāla: yā rasūla llāhi mā sta'dhantu 'alā rajulin min muḍara mundhu adraktu...*

73) See on him EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl (W. Montgomery Watt).

74) See on him EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd (C. H. Becker).

75) See on him Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, III, 518, no. 4249; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, III, 52-53.

76) See on him Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, IV, 641, no. 5855 ('Amr b. Sufyān); Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 1600, no. 2849; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Akram

to accept the requests of the mixed Hypocrite-Qurashī delegation that he should acknowledge the power of the idols to grant intercession (*shafā'a*, scil. with God for the unbelievers—K). He pacified the enraged 'Umar who was about to kill the members of the arrogant delegation and granted them a letter of safe-conduct, enabling them to return safely to their homes<sup>77</sup>). This event is said to have been hinted at in Sūra XXXIII, 1-3: "O Prophet, fear God and obey not the unbelievers and the hypocrites. God is All-knowing, All-wise. And follow what is revealed to thee from thy Lord" . . . (Translation of A. J. Arberry).

Diyā' al-Dīn, Baghdād 1387/1967, p. 51; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Minqarī, *Waq'at Siffīn*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1382/1962, index (Sufyān b. 'Amr al-Sulamī). Abū l-A'war was a *ḥalīf* of Abū Sufyān. Abū l-A'war's grandmother was Arwā bint Umayya b. 'Abdshams. And see on him EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Abū l-A'war (H. Lammens).

77) Muqātil, *op. cit.*, Ahmet III, 74/II, fols. 85b-86a; and see a shorter version: al-Wāḥidī, *op. cit.*, p. 236 with an explicit statement that the event took place after the battle of Uḥud; and see al-Baghawī, *op. cit.*, V, 189; al-Khāzin, *op. cit.*, V, 189-190; al-Nasafī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo n.d., III, 292. The earliest version recorded by al-Farrā', Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān II, 334 states that the Prophet forbade to kill the Meccan members of the delegation, as there was a peace-treaty (*muwāda'a*) between them. Al-Samarqandī gives the report of Muqātil, but also records the account of Ibn al-Kalbī, according to which the Meccan delegates alighted in the courts of 'Abdallah b. Ubayy, Mu'attib b. Qushayr (see on him Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, VI, 175, no. 8125) and Jadd b. Qays (see on him Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, I, 468, no. 1112). According to this version it was the Prophet himself who intended to (order to—K) kill the arrogant Meccan delegates; but God forbade him to violate the pact (. . . *wa-'aradū 'alayhi ashyā'a fa-karibahā minhum, fa-hamma bibim rasūlu llāhi (s) an yaqtulūhum (!) fa-naẓala: yā ayyuhā l-nabiyyu ttaqi llāha wa-lā tanquḍi l-'ahda lladhī baynaka wa-baynabum ilā l-muddati wa-lā tuṭi' al-kāfirīna min ahli makkata*). Another account says that the Muslims intended to kill the Meccan delegates, but the verses of Sūra XXXIII, revealed at that time, prevented them from carrying out of their plan (al-Samarqandī, *Tafsīr*, Ms. Chester Beatty 3668, vol. II, 129a). There is a curious tradition recorded by al-Suyūṭī, *Lubāb al-nuqūl fī asbābi l-nuḥūl*, Cairo 1374/1954, p. 174: it makes no mention of the delegation, but speaks of the stipulations made by the Prophet's enemies (also mentioned in other sources—K): the Jews and the Hypocrites in Medina threaten to kill the Prophet if he does not abandon his ideas, while the Meccans promise to grant the Prophet half of their property if he retracts. The tradition, traced back to al-Ḍaḥḥāk, mentions among the persons who summoned the Prophet to relinquish his call al-Walid b. al-Mughīra and Shayba b. Rabī'a. The latter was killed in the battle of Badr; consequently the event has to go back, according to this tradition, to the period of the first two years after the *hijra*. And see this tradition: al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, V, 180, II. 25-27.

The reports do not specify the date of the arrival of the Meccan delegation in Medina; the only indication as to its time is the remark that it took place after Uḥud. The style of the narrative and the circumstances of the visit, viz. the stratagem by which the Medinan hypocrites got the Prophet's consent to meet the delegation, the demand of the delegation and 'Umar's sharp reaction, all this seems to indicate that the delegation came to Medina after the Battle of the Ditch. The battle itself was a defeat for the Qurashites and some of them probably realized that the Meccans would not be able to destroy the Muslim community in Medina and that they should set up a relationship with Medina based on the new balance of power. Some of the Qurashite leaders perceived that they were unable to resume their commercial activities without securing their trade routes from the attacks of the Muslim forces, and that it was necessary to gain a recognition by the Prophet of the pagan deities of the Ka'ba in order to preserve the authority of Quraysh as keepers of the House and to secure an uninterrupted flow of pagan pilgrims to Mecca. The Qurashites were exhausted by the heavy war-expenditures and weakened by the lack of loyalty of some allied tribal groups who joined Muḥammad. The boycott of Thumāma b. Uthāl, who at the Prophet's order cut off food-supplies from the Yamāma was causing the population of Mecca serious hardship <sup>78</sup>). The situation was aggravated by a severe drought in the same year, anno 6H <sup>79</sup>). It is precisely the drought often mentioned in the sources. Lack of economic stability seems to have prevailed until anno 8H, when people complained of high prices (of food—K) and asked the Prophet to fix the prices and control them, a request which the Prophet refused <sup>80</sup>). In this situation the Qurashites were compelled

78) See e.g. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 367; al-Zurqānī, *op. cit.*, II, 144-146; al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rikh al-khamīs*, Cairo 1283, II, 2-3; 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, III, 197-199.

79) 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, *Ta'rikh*, Ms. Bodley, Marsh 288, p. 88: ... *wa-fī ḥādhibi l-sanati* (i.e. anno 6th H.) *ajdaba l-nāsu jadban shadīdan fa-stasqā lahum rasūlu llāhi (s) fī ramaḍāna*...; al-'Aynī, *op. cit.*, VII, 34, 1.11: ... *wa-dhakara bnu ḥibbāna: kāna kburūjubu (s) ilā l-muṣallā li-l-istisqā' fī shabri ramaḍāna sanata sittin min al-hijrati*.

80) 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, *op. cit.*, p. 90: ... *wa-fī ḥādhibi l-sanati* (i.e. anno 8th—

to come to the Prophet and ask for some recognition of the idols, their aim being to try and save their position and authority among the tribes. The Prophet could not accept their request. His call to his Companions was to believe in the one God and any concession made to Quraysh would mean that he was willing to associate idols with the one God. His decision was intransigent, given out of a position of strength; he refused to discuss the requests of the delegation. He could wisely foresee that a moderate and more flexible faction would arise in Mecca, which might strive for a peace with the Muslim community in Medina and its leader, the Prophet. As a result, Mecca might be torn by discussion and the position of Quraysh would be weakened. It is clear that the Prophet tried to win over the leaders of this moderate group in order to assert his influence in Mecca and prepare for the conquest of the town.

The tradition about the exchange of gifts between the Prophet and Abū Sufyān is recorded by Abū ‘Ubayd on the authority of ‘Ikrima: The Prophet sent to Abū Sufyān in Mecca ‘*ajwa*-dates and asked him to send in return as gift hides. Abū Sufyān carried out the request. Abū ‘Ubayd analyses the tradition concluding that the exchange of gifts happened at the time of the armistice between the Prophet and the people of Mecca, before Mecca was conquered by the Prophet<sup>81</sup>). A precise date is attached to the event recorded by Abū ‘Ubayd: after the pact of al-Ḥudaybiyya. The Meccans were at that period unbelievers, but this did not prevent the Prophet from exchanging gifts with his former enemy, Abū Sufyān. Abū ‘Ubayd is right in deducing from this incident the general law that the Prophet accepted gifts from unbelievers when they were not in war with the Muslims.

Another version of this story, also traced back to ‘Ikrima, gives a slightly different construction to the events, records some additional

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K) *ghalā l-si‘ru jiddan*. Cf. al-‘Aynī, *op. cit.*, VII, 36, 1. 10 from bottom: *wa-qāla l-wāqidi: wa-lammā qadima wafdu salāmāna sanata ‘ashrin fa-shakau ilayhi l-jadba fa-qāla rasūlu llāhi (s) bi-yadayhi*. . .

81) Abū ‘Ubayd, *al-Amwāl*, ed. Muḥammad Hāmid al-Fiqī, Cairo 1353, pp. 257-258, no. 631; Ibn Zanjawayh, *al-Amwāl*, Ms. Burdur 183, fol. 96a; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isāba*, III, 413, no. 4050 (the messenger was ‘Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī); on ‘*ajwa*-dates see G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897 (reprint), p. 229.

details and sheds some light on the split within Quraysh as a result of the policy of the Prophet. The Prophet, says the tradition, sent some goods (*ba'atha bi-shay'in*) to Abū Sufyān, and to some of the Qurashī unbelievers in Mecca. Some of them accepted, some of them returned (the things sent by the Prophet—K). Abū Sufyān said: "I shall accept it and shall not send it back". Then he sent to the Prophet weapons and other things which the Prophet accepted. Then the Prophet sent him 'ajwa-dates and Abū Sufyān sent him in return hides<sup>82</sup>).

It is evident that this tradition about the exchange of goods between the Prophet and Abū Sufyān is quite different from that of Abū 'Ubayd: it was not dates which were sent in exchange for hides for private usage; the weapons sent to the Prophet were obviously intended for the use of the Muslim forces and Medinan dates were quite as obviously sent for the unbelieving Qurashites. This conspicuous exchange of weapons for food could only have happened when Abū Sufyān had lost his hope of Mecca's victory over the Medinan community and it was most probably preceded by negotiations between the Prophet and Abū Sufyān. A report related on the authority of Abū Hurayra adds more details about the first steps of the appeasement and how the relations between the Prophet and Abū Sufyān were resumed. The Prophet sent to Quraysh a man with money to be distributed among them; they were at that time unbelievers, adds the report. Abū Sufyān, with a group of Quraysh, asked the messenger to hand them over the money which Quraysh refused to accept. The messenger returned to the Prophet asking for instructions. The Prophet's reply was clear: "Why didn't you hand over (the money—K) to those of them who agreed to accept it"<sup>83</sup>? Another tradition, this one too recorded by al-Fākihī, mentions the name of the messenger who carried the money: 'Amr b. al-Faghwā' al-Khuzā'i. The Prophet warned the messenger of 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī who tried, as foretold by the Prophet, to attack 'Amr b. al-Faghwā' and rob him of the money. The messenger escaped and

82) Ibn 'Asākir, *Tabdhīb Ta'rīkh*, VI, 395.

83) Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fol. 397a.

succeeded to reach Mecca and to hand over the money to Abū Sufyān<sup>84</sup>).

A tradition traced back to ‘Abdallah, the son of ‘Alqama b. al-Faghwā’ (the brother of ‘Amr b. al-Faghwā’) states that it was his father (not his uncle—K) who was dispatched by the Prophet with money to be distributed to the poor among the unbelievers of Quraysh in order to gain their sympathy (scil. for the Prophet and Islam, *yata’allafubum*—K). As in the former tradition, ‘Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī joins the messenger and tries to rob him of his money, but ‘Alqama succeeds in escaping. Abū Sufyān remarks (scil. after receiving of the money—K): “I have not seen anyone more pious (*abarr*) and more generous towards the kindred (*auṣal*) than this man (i.e. the Prophet). We fight him and try to shed his blood, while he beneficently sends us gifts”<sup>85</sup>).

Abū Sufyān’s remark about the Prophet reflects in a true manner the attitude of the unbelievers towards the generosity displayed by the Prophet with regard to his opponents. Some utterances of the non-believer Qurashites, expressing admiration for the clemency of the Prophet and his generosity are recorded in the reports about the conquest of Mecca; they are indeed similar to the utterance of Abū Sufyān mentioned above. The report names the social group which refused to accept the money sent by the Prophet and thus objected to collaboration, or even contact, with him: they were the *ashrāf*, the notables, whose attitude of deep devotion to the ancestral rites, and their firm adherence to the accepted mould of relations between tribes, based as it was on the loyalty and allegiance to the Ka‘ba and its pagan rites, are reflected in their staunch opposition to any peaceful contact

84) Al-Fākihī. *op. cit.*, fol. 397a (reported on the authority of the son of the messenger, ‘Abdallah b. ‘Amr b. al-Faghwā); but see the version saying that the Prophet sent the gifts after the conquest of Mecca: Ibn Sa‘d, *op. cit.*, IV, 296; Ibn al-Athīr, *Jāmi‘ al-uṣūl*, ed. Muḥammad Hāmid al-Fiḳī, Cairo 1374/1955, XII, 361, no. 9435; al-Kharqūshī, *Sharaf al-muṣṭafā*, Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 3014, fol. 72a.

85) See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isāba*, IV, 559, no. 5680; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a‘lām*, III, 120; al-Muttaḳī l-Hindī, *op. cit.*, IX, 104, no. 943; and cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabdhīb al-tabdhīb*, V, 340, no. 580.

with the Muslim body politic headed by the Prophet. They were confronted by a group of Quraysh under the leadership of Abū Sufyān who made a shrewd assessment of the situation of Quraysh after the defeat of the Battle of the Ditch and the extermination of the Banū Qurayẓa. As already pointed out above, he knew that establishing relations and creating economic contacts with Muḥammad and his community was unavoidable. He believed that Mecca could no more face the Prophet in war and therefore did not hesitate to send weapons to the Prophet. As a result, there is a dramatic change in the attitude of the Prophet towards Abū Sufyān, and it is admirably reflected in the narrative reviewed above: after the bloody events of al-Rajī' and Bī'r Ma'ūna the Prophet sent 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī ordering him to kill Abū Sufyān<sup>86</sup>) in retaliation for Abū Sufyān's attempt to kill the Prophet by an assassin. Now, after the Battle of the Ditch, the Prophet strived to gain the co-operation of the leader of Quraysh, Abū Sufyān. The man who accompanied the Prophet's messenger to Abū Sufyān was the very man whom the Prophet had sent two years before to kill him: 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī.

Other reports about the actions of Abū Sufyān seem to confirm the reports about the contacts between the Prophet and Abū Sufyān during that period. The Prophet married Umm Ḥabība (Ramla), the daughter of Abū Sufyān anno 6H, the year of the peace of Ḥudaybiyya; Abū Sufyān is said, according to some reports, to have given his approval. Other accounts say that the permission to marry her was granted the Prophet by Khālīd b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ or by 'Uthmān b. 'Affān<sup>87</sup>). A tradition recorded by Muslim states that Abū Sufyān put

86) See e.g. al-Diyārbakrī, *op. cit.*, I, 459; al-Zurqānī, *op. cit.*, II, 177-179; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1969, II, 542-545.

87) See e.g. the various reports about the marriage: al-Ḥākīm, *op. cit.*, IV, 20-23; Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, ed. Levi-Provençal, Cairo 1953, p. 122; al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-asmā'*, ed. Maḥmūd Maḥammad Shākir, Cairo 1941, I, 325, 358 inf.—359 sup.; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 653-654, III, 165; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 438-439; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wāḥid, Cairo 1385/1966, IV, 273, 275 ult.-276; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *'Uyūn al-athar*, II, 306-307; Yāsīn b. Khayrallah, *Mubadhdhab al-rauda al-fayḥa' fī tawārīkh al-nisā'*, ed. Rajā' Maḥmūd al-Sāmarrā'ī, Baghdād 1386/1966, pp. 117-120.

forth three requests in his talk with the Prophet: to let him marry his daughter, Umm Ḥabība bint Abī Sufyān, to appoint his son Mu‘āwiya as a scribe of the Prophet, and that the Prophet should appoint him to fight the unbelievers with the same zeal as he had when fighting the Muslims<sup>88</sup>). Orthodox scholars discussed at length the tradition according to which it was Abū Sufyān who gave his daughter in marriage to the Prophet. It is evident that they found it hard to accept the tradition as sound, although it was recorded by Muslim, since according to Muslim law an unbeliever has no authority over the legal acts of any of his family who has converted to Islam. Consequently the unbeliever Abū Sufyān could not either permit or prohibit the marriage of his believing daughter. The scholars had therefore recourse to harmonizing interpretations, attaching to the marriage request a quite different meaning: Abū Sufyān’s intention was not to grant permission to the Prophet’s marriage with his daughter, but rather, as the setting of the tradition was placed at the conquest of Mecca, when Abū Sufyān had converted to Islam, the tradition was interpreted as meaning that Abū Sufyān gave confirmation and legitimacy to the marriage<sup>89</sup>). One is inclined to assume that during the negotiations between the Prophet and Abū Sufyān, which preceded the exchange of goods between them, some decisions about the position of Abū Sufyān and of his family had been reached, including an agreement concerning the Prophet’s marriage with Umm Ḥabība. The Prophet indeed appointed Mu‘āwiya as his scribe and Abū Sufyān, formerly the violent opponent of Islam, was entrusted with responsible tasks, and put in charge of the collection of taxes in certain districts<sup>90</sup>). The co-operation between the Prophet and Abū Sufyān in the period of the Ḥudaybiyya agreement can be gauged from some traditions saying that Mu‘āwiya went out from Mecca in the company of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr and other

88) Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *op. cit.*, II, 307.; cf. Ibn ‘Asākir, *op. cit.*, VI, 399, 404 inf.

89) See e.g. Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya, *Jalā’u l-afḥām fī l-ṣalāti wa-l-salām ‘alā khayri l-anām* ed. Tāhā Yūsuf Yāsīn, Kuwayt-Beirut 1977, pp. 128-135.

90) See e.g. al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-asḥrāf*, ed. M. Schloessinger, IVA, p. 6 (and see the references supplied by the Editor); Ibn ‘Asākir, *op. cit.*, VI, 404 inf.—405 sup.

Qurashī youths before the conquest of Mecca in order to meet the Prophet and convert to Islam<sup>91</sup>). There is no mention of Abū Sufyān's activity during the negotiations over the pact of al-Ḥudaybiyya, nor after the pact was signed. The change in his attitude towards the Prophet was, however, fully reflected in his censure of the aggressive action of some Qurashī leaders against Khuzā'a, the allies of the Prophet<sup>92</sup>). It is plausible that no else than Abū Sufyān was the person sent to the Prophet in Medina in order to prevent the Prophet's expedition against Mecca and to reaffirm the pact of al-Ḥudaybiyya in spite of the violation of one of its paragraphs through the attack against Khuzā'a. Abū Sufyān could not prevent the expedition against Mecca and its conquest by the Muslims, but he contributed much to the peaceful surrender of the city. He was in reward given a great privilege by the Prophet: to anyone being in his court when the Muslim troops occupy Mecca was to be granted safety. The feelings of anger and contempt at his role in the Muslim conquest of Mecca were clearly expressed by his wife Hind bint 'Utba: "Kill this fat greasy bladder of lard!"—she cried when Abū Sufyān announced on behalf of the Prophet safety for those who would enter his court. "What a rotten protector of the people"<sup>93</sup>)! The kindness of the Prophet towards Abū Sufyān, the favours granted him, the appointment of Mu'āwiya as secretary of the Prophet, and the appointment of Yazīd as tax collector<sup>94</sup>) were important factors in creating a favourable Muslim attitude towards Abū Sufyān and his family. The caliphs who succeeded the Prophet continued to employ members of Abū Sufyān's family in high posts.

To this crucial period in the relations between Abū Sufyān and the Prophet seems to refer the utterance attributed to the Prophet: "The faith (scil. Islam—K) has been continually aided by Abū Sufyān

91) Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab quraysh*, Ms. Bodley Marsh. 384, fol. 111a, penult.; al-Fāsī, *al-Iqd al-thamīn*, V, 371; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, IV, 326, 11. 1-4.

92) See e.g. al-Wāqidi, *op. cit.*, pp. 785-788.

93) A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, Oxford 1955 (reprint), p. 548; al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-gharām*, Cairo 1956, II, 216.

94) See e.g. Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, VI, 658 inf., no. 9271.

both before and after his conversion to Islam”<sup>95</sup>). The affection and sympathy of the Prophet is exposed in a prediction attributed to the Prophet about the events of the Day of Judgment: Abū Sufyān will expect the Prophet when he will return from the Presence of Allah and serve him with a drink from a glass of red sapphire saying: Drink, my friend<sup>96</sup>).

## VI

The *qunūt*-invocation during prayer was the subject of heated discussions among the orthodox scholars. Some of them considered the *qunūt*-invocation abrogated by the verse of Sūra III, 128: ... “no part of the matter is thine”...; the Prophet used to curse some persons during the morning prayer and this practice is said to have been abrogated by this verse. Other scholars argued that the verse did not abrogate the *qunūt*-invocation; it merely stressed God’s exclusive authority to decree on the fate of man<sup>97</sup>). A divergent tradition says that the Prophet merely intended to curse some wicked persons from among the unbelievers; after the revelation of the verse; ... “no part...” the Prophet invoked God in the style of (the invocations of) one of the prophets (i.e. Jesus—K): “God, forgive my people, because they do not know” (what they do—K)<sup>98</sup>). Some scholars tried to detach invocation from prayer by arguing that anything not grounded in the Qur’ān cannot be considered as part of the prayer<sup>99</sup>); it is not surprising to find some scholars who used to read certain chapters of the Qur’ān coupling the reading with supplications (...*kāna yaqnutu bi-arba’i āyātin*... or: *kāna yaqnutu bi-hātayni l-sūratayni*...) <sup>100</sup>).

The transition from the *qunūt* as practised by the Prophet after the massacre of the Muslim troop at Bi’r Ma’ūna to one which was supplicatory in its form and content is vividly depicted in a tradition

95) Ibn ‘Asākir, *op. cit.*, VI, 405 ult.

96) Ibn ‘Asākir, *op. cit.*, VI, 406 sup.

97) Al-Naḥḥās, *op. cit.*, p. 91 sup.; al-Qurṭubī, *op. cit.*, IV, 200.

98) Al-Qurṭubī, *op. cit.*, IV, 199-200.

99) Al-Naḥḥās, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

100) See e.g. ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *op. cit.*, III, 114, no. 4978 and 116, no. 4983.

traced back to Khālid b. abī 'Imrān <sup>101</sup>). While the Prophet was making an invocation against Muḍar, the angel Jibril descended, bidding him be silent, ordered him to cease to curse Muḍar. The angel then taught him another *qunūt*, which contains elements of prayer, praise of God, supplication and expressions of submission to God <sup>102</sup>). It is in connection with this change in the meaning of *qunūt* that al-Suyūṭī found himself unable to answer the question whether the Prophet's invocation against some people during thirty days followed or preceded the (new—K) *qunūt* formula: *allāhumma hdinā*...<sup>103</sup>). Al-Ṭaḥāwī draws a clear line between *du'ā* and *qunūt*, commenting on the report that Abū Hurayra used to practise *qunūt* during the morning prayer. He argues that this account indicates that Abū Hurayra considered as abrogated the invocation (*du'ā*) against persons whom the Prophet cursed (*innamā kāna huwa l-du'ā'a 'alā man da'ā 'alayhi rasūlu llāhi ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam*), but considered as valid and obliging the *qunūt* linked with it <sup>104</sup>); *qunūt* is thus conceived here as supplication and this supplication, indeed, remained valid.

Some scholars stated by analogy with the *qunūt* that the invocation for a sneezing person during prayer is permissible; the blessing of a sneezer belongs to the type of blessing or curse practised by the Prophet during prayer and is therefore permissible <sup>105</sup>).

Certain reports seem to consider *qunūt* as an invocation against enemies, which the Prophet practised only for a number of days <sup>106</sup>), for

101) See on him Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, III, 110, no. 205.

102) Al-Qurṭubī, *op. cit.*, IV, 201; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan*, II, 210 inf.; ... *baynā rasūlu llāhi (s) yad'u 'alā muḍara idh jā'abu jibrīlu fa-auma'a ilayhi an uskut fa-sakata, fa-qāla yā muḥammadu inna llāha lam yab'athka sabbāban wa-lā la'ānan wa-innamā ba'athaka raḥmatan wa-lam yab'athka 'adhāban, laysa laka min al-amri shay'un* ... *thumma 'allamahu ḥādihā l-qunūta: allāhumma innā nasta'inuka wa-nastaghfiruka wa-nu'minu bika wa-nakhdā'u laka wa-nakhlā'u wa-natruku man yakfuruka, allāhumma iyyāka na'budu wa-laka nusallī*...

103) Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥawī li-l-fatāwī*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyi l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1959, I, 532 sup.

104) Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharh ma'ānī l-āthār*, I, 248.

105) Abū 'Āṣim al-'Abbādī. *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā' al-shāfi'iyya*, ed. G. Vitestam, Leiden 1964, p. 43.

106) 'Abd al-Razzāq, *op. cit.*, III, 105, no. 4945.

twenty days<sup>107</sup>), directed against the rebelling tribes and which he later ceased to practise.<sup>108</sup>) Consequently traditions of this kind emphasize that the Caliphs who succeeded the Prophet did not utter the *qunūt* in their prayers<sup>109</sup>). But certain traditions in conflict with the former ones said that the Prophet continued to practise *qunūt* until he died<sup>110</sup>); these accounts should be interpreted as using *qunūt* in the sense of supplications, and not as invocations directed against specific people or as blessings addressed to specific individuals. A peculiar reason for the prohibition of *qunūt* as practised by the Prophet in the first period, when it was used to curse or bless individuals or groups is indicated in certain reports: it was considered odious to specify persons or groups in *qunūt* as done initially by the Prophet<sup>111</sup>). Another reason mentioned why the invocation in favour of the oppressed believers was discontinued was the fact that the oppressed believers manage to escape and reach Medina. During fifteen days (i.e. from the 15th of Ramaḍān until the Yaum al-Fiṭr) the Prophet made invocations for them<sup>112</sup>); after their arrival in Medina there was no more reason to do this<sup>113</sup>). Another interpretation says that the *qunūt*-invocation which

107) Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ maʿānī*, I, 244, 1.18, 247, 1.3 from bottom.

108) Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ maʿānī*, I, 244-245, 248; and see al-Dhahabī, *Miṣṣan al-ʿitidāl*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, Cairo 1382/1963, II, 653, no. 5196 (the tradition *innamā qanata rasūlu llahī (s) thalāthina laylatan yadʿū ʿalā l-nāsi sammābūm* is marked as a *manākīr* tradition).

109) See e.g. ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *op. cit.*, III, 105-106, nos. 4946-4952; al-Ṭaḥāwī *Sharḥ maʿānī*, I, 246.

110) See e.g. al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ maʿānī*, I, 243, 11. 15-17; al-Qurṭubī, *op. cit.*, IV, 201, 11. 14-15.

111) See e.g. ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *op. cit.*, II, 447 no. 4032, 454, no. 4058; al-Shaukānī, *Nayl* II, 389, 1.9; Maḥmūd Muḥammad Khaṭṭāb, *op. cit.*, VIII, 82, 11. 20-22; Ibn Abī Shayba, *op. cit.*, II, 317, 1.7; and see *ib.*, 441-442: *fī tasmiyati l-rajuli fī l-duʿā* (Abū l-Dardāʾ performed invocations for seventy of his brethren while prostrating in prayer; ʿAlī used to name the persons for whom he invoked after the prayer; al-Shaʿbī and al-Ḥasan were of the opinion that the invocation is left to the discretion of the believer in his prayer).

112) See Ibn Abī Shayba, *op. cit.*, II, 305-306; al-Ṭurṭūshī, *al-Ḥawādith wa-l-bidaʿ*, ed. M. Talbī, Tunis 1959, p. 56, 11. 4-6.

113) See al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ al-maʿānī*, I, 242, 1.3; Maḥmūd Muḥammad Khaṭṭāb *op. cit.*, VIII, 82, 11. 14-15; cf. ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *op. cit.*, III, 121, no. 4996; and see

contained both curses and blessings became redundant when the oppressed believers managed to come to Medina while the unbelievers repented and embraced Islam<sup>114</sup>). The opinion that *qunūt* was abrogated in all the prayers of the day though retained in the morning prayer led to an unrestrained attack on al-Shāfi'ī, who championed it<sup>115</sup>). Some scholars considered *qunūt* in the morning prayer a *bid'ā*<sup>116</sup>) and we have lively discussions of the problem whether *qunūt* was to be practised after performing the prescribed *rak'as* or before<sup>117</sup>), and whether the invocation was practised before and after the *rak'as*<sup>118</sup>). According to some traditions the believers used to practise *qunūt* during the night-prayer of the 15th of Ramaḍān<sup>119</sup>). Some scholars recommend the *qunūt* during the whole year<sup>120</sup>).

Orthodox scholars tried to bridge between the two conflicting sets of traditions, the one reporting that the Prophet was followed by the Guided Caliphs, who used to practise *qunūt* until the day of their death, and the other, denying this practise to both the Prophet and the Guided Caliphs. The harmonizing interpretation said that the Prophet and the Guided Caliphs continued to practise the kind of *qunūt* which was a personal prayer in which they asked God for guidance and grace<sup>121</sup>). Several invocations traced back to the Prophet, Ubayy b. Ka'b, 'Umar and al-Ḥasan are moulded in this style<sup>122</sup>).

The early formulae of *qunūt* were revived again during the bloody

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al-Ṭurṭūshī, *op. cit.*, p. 56, II. 7-10 and p. 57, II. 8-15 (about the *qunūt* in the second half of Ramaḍān).

114) See e.g. al-Zurqānī, *op. cit.*, VII, 345, II. g -20; al-Shaukānī, *Nayl*, II, 387: ... *thumma tarakabu lammā qadima man da'ā labum wa-khaluṣū min al-asri wa-aslama man da'ā 'alayhim wa-jā'ū tā'ibīna*...

115) Al-'Aynī, *op. cit.*, VII, 22; cf. al-Ṭurṭūshī, *op. cit.*, p. 57, II. 2-3; and see al-Shāfi'ī, *op. cit.*, VII, 235, 285.

116) Al-'Aynī, *op. cit.*, VII, 22, 1.3. from bottom, 23 ult.; cf. Abū Yūsuf, *Ikhtilāf Abī Ḥanīfa wa-Bnī Abī Laylā*, ed. Abū l-Wafā' l-Afghānī, Cairo 1357, p. 111 ult.

117) Al-Ṭahāwī, *Sharḥ ma'ānī*, I, 248; Abū Nu'aym, *op. cit.*, IX, 19, 21.

118) See e.g. Abū Nu'aym, *op. cit.*, IX, 33.

119) See al-Ṭurṭūshī, *op. cit.*, p. 56 ult.

120) See 'Abd al-Razzāq, *op. cit.*, III, 121, II. 2-3; al-Ṭurṭūshī, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

II. 1-2.

121) See e.g. al-Shaukānī, *op. cit.*, II, 387, II. 15-20.

struggle between ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiya. The two early scholars, ‘Alqama and al-Aswad<sup>123</sup>) stated that the Prophet used to practise *qunūt* only when he fought, and then he did so in all his prayers; Abū Bakr, ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān did not practise *qunūt* until their death; ‘Alī started to practise invocation only when he fought Mu‘āwiya and then he did so in all the prayers. The same thing was done by Mu‘āwiya and they cursed each other (scil. in every prayer—K)<sup>124</sup>). ‘Alī’s adherents probably disapproved of his invocation against Mu‘āwiya, considering it perhaps as *bid‘a*; ‘Alī, trying to justify it, explains his *qunūt* as being merely an invocation for God’s help against the enemy<sup>125</sup>). ‘Alī, says a report, did not practise *qunūt* as long as he stayed in the Arab peninsula; he started to practise it when he moved to ‘Irāq<sup>126</sup>). ‘Alī is said to have invoked against Mu‘āwiya cursing him for forty days; he did it in imitation of the *qunūt* of the Prophet<sup>127</sup>). Another account, recorded on the authority of Abū Mikhnaḥ, specifies the names of the persons against whom ‘Alī invoked: Mu‘āwiya, ‘Amr (b. al-‘Āṣ), Abū l-A‘war al-Sulamī, Ḥabīb b. Maslama, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālīd (b. al-Walīd) and al-Walīd b. ‘Uqba; Mu‘āwiya retaliated cursing in his *qunūt* ‘Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, Ibn ‘Abbās and al-Ashtar<sup>128</sup>). The question whether it is permissible to curse the

122) See e.g. ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *op. cit.*, III, 108, no. 4957, 110, no. 4968-4969, 114, no. 4978, 116, nos. 4982-4983.

123) See on them Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabdhīb al-tabdhīb*, VII, 276, no. 484, I, 342, no. 6251.

124) ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *op. cit.*, III, 107, n. 4953; Muḥmūd Muḥammad Khattāb, *op. cit.*, VIII, 85, 11. 4-8; Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-āthār*, ed. Abū l-Wafā, Cairo 1355, p. 71, no. 352; idem, *Iktilāf*, pp. 111 inf—112, 11.

125) Ibn Abī Shayba, *op. cit.*, II, 310, 11, 6-8.

126) Al-Shaukānī, *op. cit.*, II, 385; Ibn Abī Shayba, *op. cit.*, II, 311.

127) Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rīkh*, Ms. Zāhiriyya, IX, fol. 128a (for the invocation during forty days cf. Abū Yūsuf, *Iktilāf*, p. 112, note 1, 1.7).

128) Ibn Junghul, *op. cit.*, II, fol. 185b: ... *wa-dhakara abū mikhnaḥin anna ‘aliyyan lammā balaghahu mā fa‘ala ‘amrun kāna yal‘anu fī qunūtibi mu‘āwiyata wa-‘amran wa-abā a‘wara l-sulamīyya wa-ḥabībna bna maslamata wa-‘abda l-raḥmānī bna khālīdīn wa-l-walīdīn bna ‘uqbata, fa-lammā balagha dhālika mu‘āwiyata kāna ayḍan yal‘anu fī qunūtibi ‘aliyyan wa-ḥusaynan wa-bna ‘abbāsīn wa-l-ashtara*; and see another Shī‘ī *qunūt*: al-Majlisī, *op. cit.*, XXII, 128, no. 101; and see e.g. the formula of Mu‘āwiya’s invocation against ‘Alī: Muḥammad b. ‘Aqīl al-‘Alawī l-Ḥusaynī, *al-Naṣā’ih al-kāfiya li-man yatawallā mu‘āwīya*, Najaf 1386/1966, pp. 86 inf.—87, 95-97.

Companions of the Prophet became subject of extensive discussions in Shī'ī compilations <sup>129</sup>).

In the second half of the second century there were still heated discussions as to whether the *qunūt*-invocation is permitted during prayer, in which part of the prayer it may be uttered and during which of the prayers the invocation may be performed <sup>130</sup>). In some circles the *qunūt* was even considered as a kind of a voluntary private invocation and a scholar could remark that he disliked *qunūt* as an established formula of invocation <sup>131</sup>). The legitimacy of the *qunūt* as a private invocation during the formal prayer is seen in a tradition reported on the authority of 'Ā'isha. The Prophet, making an invocation in the morning prayer before performing of the *rak'ā*, said: "I merely invoke in front of you in order that you invoke (your) God and ask Him to grant you your needs" <sup>132</sup>). The *qunūt* in fact changed during the following centuries to become a supplication during calamities and disasters and a private invocation of the believer in which he implored God to fulfil his wishes and to give success to himself and his kindred.

The scrutiny of the traditions about the invocation against Muḍar has helped us to lineate the changes which the perception of this invocation underwent in the Muslim community against the background of the Prophet's struggle with the unbelievers of Quraysh and of the later discussions between the factions of the nascent Muslim Empire at the time of 'Alī and Mu'āwiya. In later centuries it turned into a private supplication for guidance and success.

The scrutiny of this material gives us a clue for a better assessment

129) Cf. e.g. Ṣadr al-Dīn 'Alī Khān -al-Shīrāzī, *al-Darajāt al-rafi'a fī ṭabaqāt al-shī'a*, Najaf 1381/1962, pp. 11-20.

130) See e.g. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *op. cit.*, II, 448-449, nos. 4033-4035, 4039-4041

131) Abū Yūsuf, *al-Āthār*, p. 70, no. 348: *akrabu an aj'ala fī l-qunūti du'a'an ma'lūman*.

132) Hishām b. 'Urwa, *Juz' fībi min 'awālī ḥadīthi hishāmi bni 'urwata*, Ms. Zāhiriyya, majmū'a 61, fol. 188a: ... *innamā aqnutu bikum li-tad'u rabbakum wa-tas'alūhu ḥa-wā'ijakum*.

of the economic pressure carried out on the Prophet's order against the unbelievers of Mecca by cutting off their food supplies from the Yāmama and by the raids on the Muḍar tribal groups allied with Mecca. Under this pressure Abū Sufyān, convinced that Mecca could not stand against the growing forces of the Prophet, decided to enter into peaceful co-operation with the Prophet and to initiate a commercial exchange of goods. Abū Sufyān's change of attitude towards the Prophet explains why he accepted the money sent by the Prophet, why he refrained from aiding the Qurashī attack against Khuzā'a (the allies of the Prophet), why he consented to the marriage of his daughter to the Prophet and why he went out to Medina to intercede with the Prophet on behalf of Quraysh. Only in the light of these events does one get an insight into the privileges and concessions granted him and his family by the Prophet: safety for all who entered his court on the day of the conquest of Mecca, the missions and offices with which he was entrusted by the Prophet and the appointment of Mu'āwiya as the secretary of the Prophet. It is significant that the Muslim community accepted the decisions of the Prophet without reservation and Abū Sufyān regained his leading position in the Muslim society. His sons were appointed by Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān and hold high positions in the Muslim state. Mu'āwiya, the son of the leader of the Muḍar alliance, became the founder of the Umayyad dynasty which held sway over the Muslim Empire for a very long time.