

*ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES*

*FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS*

*PHILOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE
ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS OF ŠAYḤ BADR
AL-DĪN OF QEBENA*



Advisor: Prof. Orin Gensler

Name: Nejat Abdu

February 2013

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BY
NEJAT ABDU MEHAMMED



Signature of the Board of Examiners for Approval

Approved by

ORIN GENSLER

Advisor

Orin D. Gensler

Signature

Endris Mohammed

Examiner

Endris

Signature

Ahmed Hussein

Examiner

Ahmed Hussein

Signature

ABSTRACT

Over the course of the long history of Islam in Ethiopia many Ethiopian Muslim scholars wrote the biography (*Sīrah*) of the Prophet Muḥammad. Among these is Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn of Qabena (1923 —1989). Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn, using many books as references, wrote six Arabic works on different topics, mostly theological. This thesis catalogues these works, and gives a close analysis of his *Sīrah* manuscript. One major concern of this analysis is to find out the trustworthiness of Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn's biographical account according to early and modern *Sīrah* works.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH THE MOST GRACIOUS THE MOST MERCIFUL

First and foremost I am thankful to my God The omnipotent Allah for His bounty upon me that He made me "Muslimah", for the wisdom and perseverance that He has bestowed upon me during this study, and indeed throughout my life.

This long-awaited thesis of mine has sometimes been tiring but always interesting to me. And it introduced and kept me in touch with many people, without whose continuous and all-round support the thesis would have remained a dream.

I begin by offering my sincerest gratitude to my advisor Professor Orin Gensler for his contemplative and solid advice, corrections and evaluations plus his continuous support. I attribute the level of my Masters degree to his encouragement and effort and without him this thesis, too, would not have been completed. My thanks also to the late Professor Hussein Ahmed, who was my original supervisor but died too soon to help with the thesis itself.

It is my pleasure to take this opportunity to express, if only in words, my profound thanks to my beloved family for their unconditional support. Especially my parents: Abiy wa-Ummiy, for enlightening me and for living together all my life in LOVE.

I am indebted to many of my colleagues especially Edris Mekonnen who has worked with me from the conception to the realization of this thesis; Mustafa Hamid who helped me in providing relevant materials, advice and moral support. My thanks also goes to Hassen Kawo for his invaluable guidance, moral support and cooperation. I am also exceedingly grateful to Amira, Abdulaziz, Rabi, Seadi and all my friends for their assistance and sisterly and brotherly encouragement.

I cannot conclude without sending my last but not least acknowledgements to all of my informants especially Šayḥ Muḥammadamin and all those who were there to help me in walking together throughout the long journey of my thesis.



Transcription of Arabic Sounds

Arabic consonant sounds	Transcription	Arabic vowel sounds	Transcription
ء	,	أ	ā (Long vowel)
ب	b	ي	ī (Long vowel)
ت	t	و	ū (Long vowel)
ث	t̤	ا	a (short vowel)
ج	j	إ	i (Short vowel)
ح	ħ	أ	u (Short vowel)
خ	ħ		
د	d		
ذ	d̤		
ر	r		
ز	z		
س	s		
ش	ʃ		
ص	s̤		
ض	ḍ		
ط	ṭ		
ظ	ẓ		
ع	ʿ		
غ	g̤		
ف	f		
ق	q		
ك	k		
ل	l		
م	m		
ن	n		
و	w		
هـ	h		
ي	y		

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. Background of the Study

The spread of Islam throughout the corners of the globe played a highly significant role in the advancement of the Arabic language.

Islam and Arabic arrived at an early time in Ethiopia and spread swiftly. This is because those who were in close contact with native speakers of Arabic learnt it quickly. Islam in Ethiopia became popular mostly by virtue of its own citizens without significant support of foreigners especially Arabs. The Arabic language finally became as useful as their native language for the domestic clerics to convey the basic teachings of the religion. Muslim clerics especially in the rural parts of the country were highly talented and professional in their use of the language.

Ethiopian Muslim clerics took advantage of their fluency in Arabic and produced numbers of Arabic writings about Islam, some of very high quality. Most of these Arabic writings still remain unexplored because of their inaccessibility deep in the countryside. It is notable that none of the writers attended any modern theological colleges or schools.

Nowadays endeavors are being made, some with university support and some independent, to bring these manuscripts into the public eye, including the biographies of the contributors. The countryside of Ethiopia, especially, is believed to be rich in such materials. Efforts in researching these manuscripts and making them known to scholarship should continually be endorsed and supported. We need to know much more about these sources of medieval and modern religion and social history, especially regarding the lives of Muslim saints, their works and the religious life of the communities in which they lived.

This thesis will focus on the contribution of Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn of Qebena to the religious and literary development of indigenous Islam in Ethiopia.

2. Review of Related Literature

While there are only a few written sources on Qebena as such, there are some works dealing with languages related to Qebena. Among these the most important are the following:

- Crass, Joachim (2005). *Das K'abeena*.
- Hudson, Grover (1976). *Highland East Cushitic*
- Alemayehu Reta (1988). *Qebena Verb Morphology: Some Inflections and Derivations*.
- Shimelis Sahile (1988). *The Phonology of Qebena*.
- Braukämper, Ulrich (1977) *Islamic principalities in Southeast Ethiopia between the 13th and 16th centuries*.
- Trimingham, J.S. (1966). *Islam in Ethiopia*.
- Lowe and Brydone (1974). *The central Ethiopians–Amhara, Tigrigna and Related Languages*.
- Shack, William (1966). *The Gurage: A people of the Ensete culture*.
- Lapiso G. Dälebo (1982). *Yä Ityōpya rājəm yä həzbənnā yä mǎngəst tarik*.
- (1983). *Yä Ityōpya yägäbar sər'atənnā gəbər kapitalizm*.
- Aläqa Taye (1958). *Yä Ityōpya həzb tarik*.
- Wärqū Nəda (1983). *Jäbdu – yä Gurage bahələnnā tarik*.

Recently the life and works of some Ethiopian Muslim scholars have begun to be studied here at the Department of Linguistics and Philology in Addis Ababa University. Nesreddin Mohammed Zein has recently completed his MA thesis on an 'Ajami manẓūma of Šayḥ Sayyid

Muḥammad Ḥāwī of Qebena. But there has been no scientific presentation of the biography and literary works of Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn of Qebena. There are two traditional books which briefly discuss the biography and miracles of Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn of Qebena. These are:

- Al-Hājj Muḥammad Tāj Al-Dīn Aḥmad (unpublished book). *'i'lām al-'aḡbiyā' bi-ḥayāt 'uḡamā' 'ityūbyā min al-'ulamā' wa-l-'awliyā' wa-aṣ-ṣāliḥīn al-'islām wa-l-'aṣfiyā'*.
- Muḥammad Wale Aḥmad (2006). *Kitāb at-ṭirāz al-manqūš fī manāqibat 'awliyā' al-ḥubūš*.

3. Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are:

- Introducing the manuscripts of Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn, including philological discussion of his literary oeuvre.
- Giving the text, translation, and some annotations of portions of his manuscript *Nūr al-'Aynayn fī Sīrat Sayyid al-Kawnayn* (biography of the Prophet).
- Presenting the biography of Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn.

4. Methodology of the Study

The research is based on three sources: primary oral sources, primary written sources (the manuscripts themselves), and secondary sources, though the manuscripts are the main sources. To collect primary oral data, the family, students and followers of Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn were interviewed in Walqite and Addis Ababa. A few secondary sources were used. These include articles, books and M.A. theses.

5. Significance of the Study

This study is, together with Nesredin Mohammed Zein's MA thesis, the first scholarly introduction to Muslim literature from Qebena. It is also the first scholarly introduction to Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn and his manuscripts. The main part of this work is on Sīrah (Biography of the Prophet); in this connection it is also (to my knowledge) the first work to present a full Sīrah manuscript from southern Ethiopia. I compare Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn's version of Sīrah with standard published versions and I note differences where they appear. The comparison shows that that this is a brief and simple Sīrah, which plausibly was created as a teaching tool for student so that they understand the essentials easily.

6. Limitation of the Study

I am not studying the entire tradition of Sīrah literature in Ethiopia, but only one specific manuscript, that is, Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn's Sīrah manuscript. And I am only presenting excerpts from this manuscript.

CHAPTER TWO

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF QEBENA AND THE BIOGRAPHY OF ŠAYḤ BADR AL-DĪN

1. *Geographical Location of Qebena*

According to its speakers the name Qebena is derived from a word which means “settlers” of *Qolla* (lowland). The term *Wonbaa* is used by the native speakers of Qebena to refer to both the community and their language.

Qebena is spoken in the Southern Peoples Regional State in Chäbenna Gurage province specifically in place district of Goro and Ežana Walane especially in place which are known as Zenabener Qebena Hadiya. The language belongs to the Highland East Cushitic language family.

Qebena is entirely surrounded by Gurage languages especially Eža, Muher, Chaha, Silṭi and Soddo. As a Cushitic language, however, it is not closely related to any of these Ethio-Semitic languages.

The habitat of this speech community is bounded by the Rebu River in the north, which sets it off from Oromo speakers; by the Chakka Demekash River in the east, which separates it from Soddo speakers; and by the River Gibe in the southwest, which separates it from Janjaro (Yem) speakers.

The majority of speakers of Qebena live in Chäbenna Gurage province, particularly in the town of Walqite and in Goro district. A few of them live in Ežana Walane district (only in the place known as Zenabener

Qebenana Hadiyya). A few are also found in Haykochina Butajira province in Alaba district.

In addition to Qebena, the great majority of the community speaks one or more other languages as such as Chaha, Eža, Silṭi, Hadiyya, Kambata and Alaba. Hence, the Qebena people form a multi-lingual community.

The exact number of people is not known. In Goro there are eighty peasant associations, all speaking Qebena. In Ežana Walane, there are three peasant associations, who speak Qebena. It is estimated that there are about 400 people in each peasant association, so the size of Qebena speech community would be about 32,000.¹

The economic structure of the people consists of mixed farming, that is farming and cattle raising. Their staple food is enset. The majority of the people are Muslim.²

According to Trimingham in the 19th century Qebena was one subgroup of the Hadiyya, which was a Sidama state in Southern Ethiopia. However, Bräukamper did not agree with Trimingham, he said that Hadiya was a kingdom in Southern Ethiopia and Sidama is one of its states.³ Before the Oromo expansion the people called Sidamas inhabited almost the whole of Southern part of Ethiopia. The chief of Hadiya accepted Islam in the fifteenth century, but after a short period of time some groups of Hadiya converted to Christianity at the time of the christian conquests, followed by paganism when the Oromo conquered the region. During the

¹ Summary and Statistical Report of the Population and Census carried out by the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Population Census Commission, December 2008. P. 198.

² Ato Kedir Hussein, agricultural expert in Silṭe zone of Southern Regional States.

³ Braukämper 1977: 66.

nineteenth century Islam once again made progress amongst the eastern tribes of Hadiya

“...The Hadiya was divided into two principalities. The Northern, called Qabena (Hadiya Wambē by the Galla), was an autonomous state under ‘Umar Baksa, an adventure from Chaha who had made himself chief with the title of Īmām”. By creating good relationship with leaders and governors of Jimma and Limmu he made Hadiya into an important commercial center.⁴

“...‘Umar Baksa made his subjects send their sons at age of six or seven to schools in these mosques, where under the direction various masters, amongst whom was an ‘Afar, they learnt to write and recite the whole Qur‘ān by heart. It is as the result of this policy that Hadiya become more or less Islamized. He was succeeded in 1878 by Ḥasan njamo, son of one of ‘Umar Baksa’s companion, who, allying himself with other Muslim chiefs in the south...”⁵

2. The Biography of Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn

2.1 His Childhood and Family Background

Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn was born in 1916 (1335 A.H.) to his father Šayḥ Surur Šayḥ Hassen and his mother Waizero ‘Ā’isha Šayḥ Hassen Zābimola in the town of Wallqite which is located about 150 km southwest of Addis Ababa. He was born in the village of Zābimola which was established by his father Šayḥ Surur Šayḥ Hassen as a mosque and Islamic teaching center in 1911 (1330 A.H.). Zābimola was the place where Šayḥ Badr al-

⁴ Trimingham 1952: 182.

⁵ Trimingham 1952: 183.

Dīn lived and worked for most of his life. Today it is a place of pilgrimage, and continues to be an Islamic learning and teaching center.⁶

Ethnically the Šayḥ belonged to Qebena. According to a note written by the Šayḥ, he traces his genealogy back to the Prophet Muḥammad. Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn had seven wives, whom he married at different times (no more than three at the same time), and 21 children. Most of his children are alive and among these children Šayḥ Muḥammad al-Amīn is the present successor of his father. Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn's wives and children are namely:

1. Hajya Nuriyah Awel (Harudā): she was from Qebena and she was his first wife. Her children were Maymunā, Ṭubanā and 'Amat al-Ḥayy.
2. Waizero Warknaš (Harfirā): her children were Šayḥ Faṭḥ al-Dīn (his father's successor); Aḥmad Makiyy; Šayḥ Muḥammed al-Amīn; Zinat and Sa'id 'Abdalla.
3. Waizero Haramahaba: she gave birth to a daughter, 'Alfiyya.
4. Waizero Bəzunāsh Shafi (Harākanzu): her children were Muḥammed Kanzu, Muḥammed Ḥayyatu and 'Aliya.
5. Waizero Zulfa: her children are 'Abdulḥayy, Zubayda and 'Abdurrahmān.
6. Waizero Zaytuna: her children were Šayḥ 'Abdulkarim, 'Amat al-Raḥīm, Lazīza and 'Abdulwahāb.
7. Waizero Sitina Sa'id: her daughters were Ḥabība and Sa'ada.⁷

⁶ Informants: Haji Muḥammad al-'Amin (his present successor as leader of the Zābimola mosque), Haji AḥmadNur Muḥammad, Muslim scholar from Qebena living in Addis Ababa (Shaykh Badr Al-Dīn's student).

⁷ Informants: Haji Muḥammad al-'Amin, Haji Hayatu and Haji 'Abdulwehab (his sons).

2.2 His Education

The early education of Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn was far different in many aspects from that of his father Šayḥ Surūr, his teachers and his predecessors. Although Wallo was considered as the main Islamic center at the time, he did not go there for Islamic studies like most of his peers. As a lucky child, when the young Badr al-Dīn started learning, southwestern Ethiopia had become one of the important Islamic teaching centers of the country, where local and neighboring Muslims gathered to get advanced knowledge. Several leading scholars like Šayḥ Abdallah (Dange Šayḥ), Šayḥ Muḥammad (Sa'de Šayḥ), Šayḥ Keremu (Qebena Šayḥ), Šayḥ Hawi (Welene Šayḥ), Šayḥ Ali (Alaba Šayḥ), and others all had their own teaching centers. At that time, no one had to travel to the north to learn basic Islamic education like their predecessors.⁸

On completing his basic study of the Holy Qur'an at the age of seven under his Qur'an teacher Šayḥ Muḥammad (who was one of his father's students and known as the Danshe Šayḥ), he continued to study *Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) of the Šāfi'iyyah school under his tutor Šayḥ Muḥammad and traveled to various regions in southern and central Ethiopia for further Islamic education. First he traveled to the Silte area, where he stayed for three years and studied with Šayḥ Sharaf al-Dīn (known as Kutiyo Šayḥ) *Fiqh*, *Tawḥīd* (Islamic monotheism) and *Naḥw* (Arabic grammar and syntax). After returning home for a period of time, he traveled to Jimma and studied *Manṭiq* (rhetoric and logic) and *Naḥw* under his teacher Šayḥ Muḥammad (Diggo Šayḥ). He studied *Tafsīr* (commentary of the Holy Qur'an) under Šayḥ Abdallah (Dange Šayḥ). Later, in order to get certification (*ijāza*) to teach Hadīth (prophetic

⁸ Haji Muḥammad al-'Amin

tradition), he came to Addis Ababa to study with Šayḥ Muḥammad Sirāj (known by the name Mufti Rayya). To acquire his extensive knowledge he studied away from his home for 15 years.⁹

2.3 Influences upon the Young Badr al-Dīn

Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn's parents and their companions greatly influenced young Badr al-Dīn in becoming religiously conscious and a judicious leader. His parents played a major role in developing his personality. They had Islamic knowledge, sincerity, piety, commitment and a realistic Islamic way of life. His father, Šayḥ Surur, established Zābimola as an Islamic teaching center and had many students who became after him teachers of the region. His mother, Waizero 'Aysha, was a woman Muslim cleric who had more time for her son than his father, Šayḥ Surur; unfortunately he died when his son was only five years old.¹⁰

His father's companions' role was strong and ever-present. They were eager to see the young Badr al-Dīn become the successor leader, in order to express their respect and love for his father, their teacher. Additionally, the environment was conducive to comprehensive Islamic learning. There were many learning centers in Walqite with leading Muslim clerics who had studied at well-known Islamic centers, including Šayḥ Surur's own center.¹¹

Above all Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn's own extensive reading played a large part in his becoming one of the leading Islamic scholars of the region. He was

⁹ Informants: Shaykh Šālīḥ Ḥabīb, Haji Muḥammad al-'Amin, Haji Jilalu Dino, Imam of the great mosque in Silte zone.

¹⁰ Haji Muḥammad al-'Amin

¹¹ Haji Muḥammad al-'Amin

devoted to reading and searching for new knowledge. His literary works testify to his extensive reading and his versatile personality.¹²

2.4 His Journeys to Hajj

He made the Hajj pilgrimage seven times at different periods of his life. He made his first Hajj by ship via Djibouti in 1946 (1366 A.H.) at the age of thirty-one; his last pilgrimage was in 1975 (1395 A.H.). These many Hajj pilgrimages were a sign of his strong adherence to the Islamic way of life.¹³

2.5 His Social Roles

He taught a large number of prominent 'ulamā' who today are Imams at different mosques and are influential in the religious development of Muslims. He taught as many as 400 students at a time who gathered together from different regions of Ethiopia like Qebena, Jimma, Alaba, Gurage, Hadiya, Addis Ababa, and others. Not only could he attract a large number of students but also his teaching style made his students very influential in their community. We can mention as his most prominent students: Šayḥ Aḥmad-Nur Muḥammad, Imam of the 'Aliyy Ibn 'Abi Ṭālib mosque in Addis Ababa; Šayḥ Abdulhadi Ahmed, a preacher, religious leader and judge in the supreme Sharia court in Southern Peoples Nations and Nationalities State; Šayḥ Seid Ahmed, Deputy Imam of Nur mosque in Addis Ababa; Šayḥ Sultan Juhar al-Dīn; Haji Taju Warābu; Haji 'Abdulbari (the 3rd Dange Šayḥ). These are only some of the important students of Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn.¹⁴

¹² Haji Muḥammad al-'Amin

¹³ Shaykh Šālīḥ Ḥabīb, Haji Muḥammad al-'Amin, Haji Jilalu Dino

¹⁴ Sshaykh Ahmednur, Shaykh Šālīḥ Ḥabīb, Haji Muḥammad al-'Amin, Haji Jilalu Dino

In 1987 he built a school with four classrooms, which taught both Islamic theology and modern education at the same time. However, this school did not exist long due to the government educational policy which forbade the combination of theology and modern education in formal educational centers or schools. To memorialize this school, his sons recently constructed two new schools: one of them, built around Walqite bus station, bears the Šayḥ's name; the other school, consisting of six classrooms, was built by his son Haji Muḥammad al-'Amin in front of Zābimola mosque.¹⁵

Other 'ulamā', aware of his ability in Arabic and his deep knowledge of Islam, sent their manuscripts to him to be corrected. He edited many Islamic books; according to his son Haji Muḥammad al-'Amin, there were some books which came to Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn for editing but which he (Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn) could not complete due to his final illness. Among his colleagues and collaborators, Haji Muḥammad Thāni Ḥabīb is worth singling out.¹⁶

Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn served as an arbitrator in both family and non-family matters like marriage, inheritance, divorce, custody, leadership, religious and social disputes. From 1970 to 1972 there was racial and other fighting between the Qebena and Gurage peoples. At this time he was a member of 'Yeqcha shengo', which is a council of arbitrators in Gurageland, and he negotiated between the two sides, stopping bloodshed and creating peace between the Muhur (Gurage) and Aklil (Qebena) clans. Also in 1973 Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn put an end to instability

¹⁵ Shaykh Šālīḥ Ḥabīb and Haji Muḥammad al-'Amin,

¹⁶ Informants: Haji Jilalu Dino, Haji Muḥammad al-'Amin, Haji AḥmadNur Muḥammad and Haji 'Uthmān Digaga.

and robbery in Zenabener (Seba) wereda by informing Emperor Haile Selassie about this unsafe situation; in response the government established a police station in Zenabener. For his many contributions the government awarded his family a commendation in 2009. Besides this, he was a religious leader and representative of the Qebena Muslim community and gave *fatāwa* (religious legal opinions) on various issues.¹⁷

Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn was a farmer and merchant in addition to teaching Islamic theology. Looking at his schedule of work, we see that he divided the year into four parts: the seasons of harvesting, worship, trade and study. This way of life is the same for most Muslim scholars of Ethiopia like Jema Negus of Wallo, Šayḥ Ali Gondar, Šayḥ ‘Isā of Abret etc.¹⁸

2.6 His Literary Contribution

He wrote five well-known manuscripts on different topics, mostly theological: *Tawḥīd* (monotheism), *Sīrah* (biography of the Prophet Muḥammad), *Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), hagiography and social subjects. He used many books as references and this makes his manuscripts unique compared to works written by other Muslim scholars in his region (Qebena). Besides he wrote a personal journal covering different issues such as history, social issues, his and his contemporaries' journeys, *Fatwā* (religious legal opinion) and other short notes. The content of these manuscripts will be discussed in chapter three.

¹⁷ Informants: Haji AḥmadNur Muḥammad, Haji Jilalu Dino, Haji Muḥammad al-’Amin and Haji ‘Uthmān Digaga.

¹⁸ Haji Muḥammad Wale Aḥmad (2006). *Kitāb al-ṭirāz al-manqūš fī manāqibat ‘awliyā’ al-ḥubūš*.

2.7 His Death

Shykh Badr al-Dīn passed away due to hypertension. He died in Zewditu Memorial Hospital in Addis Ababa at the age of sixty-six in 1980 (1401 A.H.).

After performing the funeral prayer over the body led by Haji Muḥammad Sānī Habib at Anwar mosque, many people (about 10,000), his students, his family and ‘ulamā including Šayḥ Muḥammad Rāfi accompanied his body from Addis Ababa all the way to Zābimola in which his body rests.¹⁹

¹⁹ Informants: Waizaro Bəzunesh Haji Muḥammad al-'Amin, Haji Jilalu Dino.

CHAPTER THREE

PHILOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE FIVE MANUSCRIPTS OF ŠAYḤ BADR AL-DĪN

Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn produced six Arabic works which contributed to the expansion of Islam in Qebena and more generally in Southern Ethiopia Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State. All six are in the possession of his son, Haji Muḥammad al-'Amin, and a few copies are in the possession of other individuals. I had the chance to make digital photos of three of the manuscripts, and photocopies of all of them.

Cataloging many of the Christian manuscripts of Ethiopia philologically has already been done by Getachew Haile as a master model. Other catalogs have been done by MA students at Addis Ababa University; for example, Hailemariam Mamo and Mustafa Hamid did their master's theses on cataloging different Christian and Islamic manuscripts respectively for the Department of Linguistics and Philology here at Addis Ababa University.¹ The researcher have followed their methods as a model in philologically describing Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn's manuscripts.

The six Arabic works (5 manuscripts and a book) produced by Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn are:

1. *Ḥulāṣat muḥtaṣar taḥrīr al-'uṣūl wa-al-'awrād fī dīkr tarājimi 'ašyāḥinā wa-'ašyāḥ nāḥiyatinā wa-al-'asyād* (Brief summary account of the foundations and times (?), mentioning the biographies of our sheikhs, sheikhs of our region and leaders): brief biographies of Ethiopian Šayḥs.

2. *Nūr al-'aynayn fī sīrat sayyid al-kawnayn* (The light of the two eyes in the biography of the master of the two universes): life of the Prophet.
3. *Iršād al-'Iḥwān fīmā yata'allahu bi-hilāl ramadān min al-'aḥādīṭ al-nabawiyyah wa-kalām al-ṣaḥābah wa-sā'ir al-'ulamā' al-'a'yān* (Guidance for the brothers concerning the new moon of Ramaḍan from the Prophetic tradition, statements of the Companions and the rest of the eminent scholars): the starting date and significance of Ramaḍan.
4. *Al-tajrīd li-naf'i al-murīd* (Exposition for the benefit of students): Sufi biographies.
5. *Taḍkirat al-'atqiyā' wa-al-'aṣfiyā' wa-hadāyat al-'aghiyā' wa-al-'aḡbiyā'* (Reminder to the pious and the friends, and guidance for the wealthy and the ignorant): about *ĉat*.
6. *'Īdāḥ al-ma'āni min 'Ifādat al-'Iḥwān* (Explanation of terms from the book *'Ifādat al-'Iḥwān*): commentary on his father's book *'Ifādat al-'Iḥwān*. This work (*'Īdāḥ*) is a printed book.

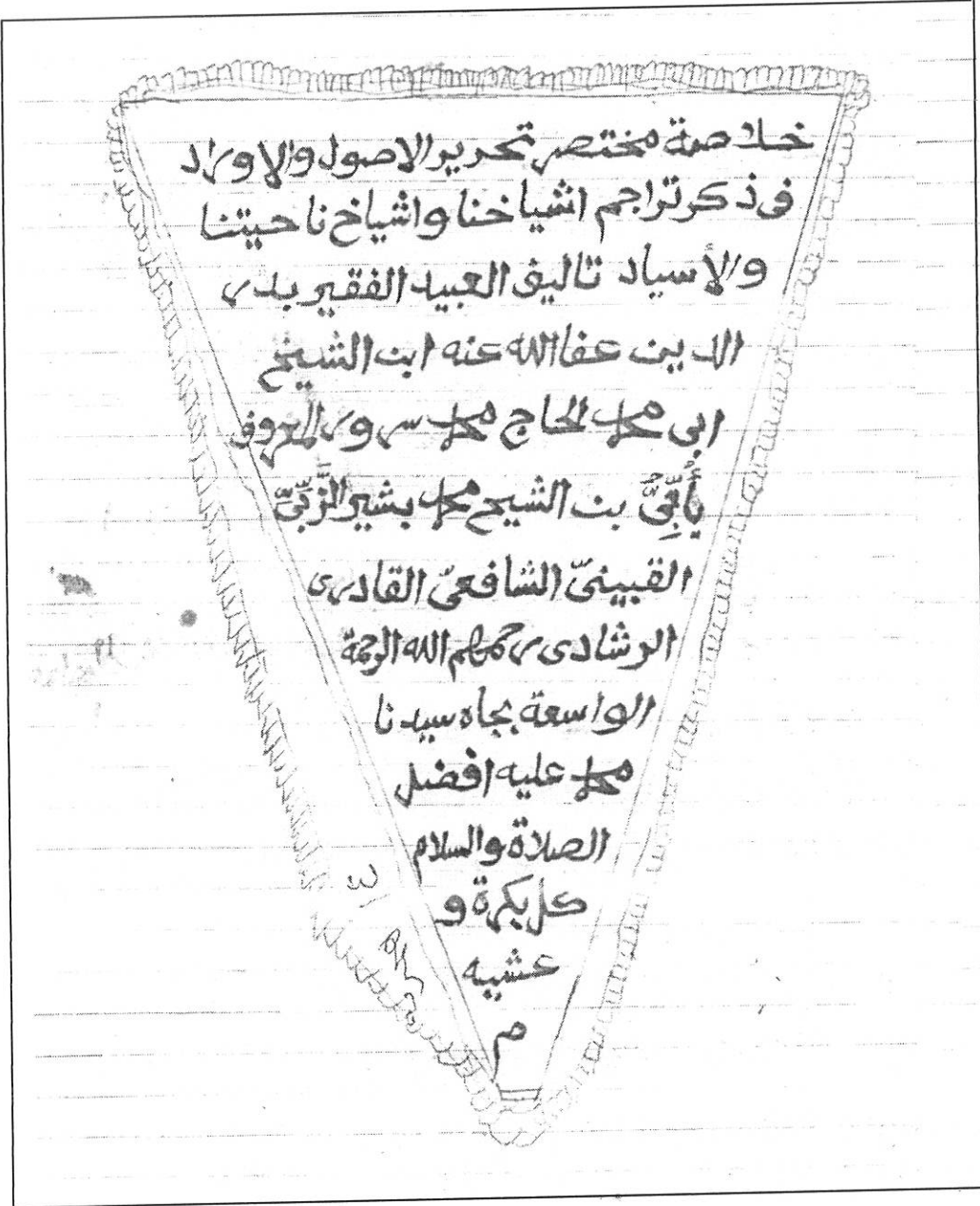
Before I start to give a detailed philological description of each individual manuscript I would like to present the common philological features of all the manuscripts. This is in order to minimize the length of the description and also to make my thesis clearer and more easily understandable. The common philological features of the manuscripts (excluding the printed book *'Īdāḥ al-ma'āni*) are:

- When I found them, all the manuscripts were bound as books (6 separate books). The binding was made of cardboard and both the front and the back covers were present. (Since the time of my field work, the cardboard covers have been removed and replaced by transparent plastic covers.)

- ▶ The binding is in good condition.
- ▶ The paper is in good condition and fairly clean.
- ▶ The size of the letters is medium, which makes the manuscript easy to read. The handwriting is clear and readable.
- ▶ All the manuscripts are in good classical Arabic.
- ▶ The writer used black traditional ink for writing and red traditional ink for selected words.
- ▶ All the manuscripts have notes in the margin of the pages, written with a modern ballpoint pen.
- ▶ There is no written date for any of the manuscripts. The printed book was published by Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi wa-Awlāduhu, Cairo, in 1956.
- ▶ The first page of the manuscript is decorated in triangular form except for manuscript number 3, *'Iršād al-'Iḥwān*.
- ▶ All the manuscripts except *'Iršād al-'Iḥwān* (which has no page numbering) have page numbers at the bottom of the page. *Nūr al-'aynayn* has page numbers at both bottom and top.
- ▶ All the manuscripts are written on ruled paper.
- ▶ All the manuscripts and also the book are written in two columns.
- ▶ The color of the paper for all manuscripts is faded brown.
- ▶ The cover pages and some inside pages of the manuscripts are faded and partially torn, but this did not create any difficulty in reading and handling them.
- ▶ The texts are all unvoweled.
- ▶ In addition to the original manuscripts, I also found computer typescripts of manuscripts number 1-5 (all except the printed book *'Īdāḥ al-ma'āni*). These typescripts, unlike the original manuscripts, do have some vowelings, which was often helpful to me. See discussion of manuscript number 2 (*Nūr al-'aynayn*) below, and also chapter 4.

Here is a description of the 6 manuscripts:

1. **Ḥulāṣat muḥtaṣar taḥrīr al-'uṣūl wa-al-'awrād fī dīkr tarājimi 'ašyāḥinā wa-'ašyāḥ nāḥiyatinā wa-al-'asyād** (Brief summary account of the foundations and times (?), mentioning the biographies of our sheikhs, sheikhs of our region and leaders)



☆ Scanned copy of the front page of the manuscript

i. Content description of the manuscript:

- The manuscript deals with brief biographies and miracles of different Muslim scholars, Sufi leaders, and well-known Muslim governors of Ethiopia in the past, in addition to discussion of some great Muslim scholars of the Arab world like Ṭabarī.
- The manuscript also includes different 'Aḍkār (plural of *ḍikr*: Sufi ritual consisting of the repetition of words in praise of God) by various Sufi leaders.

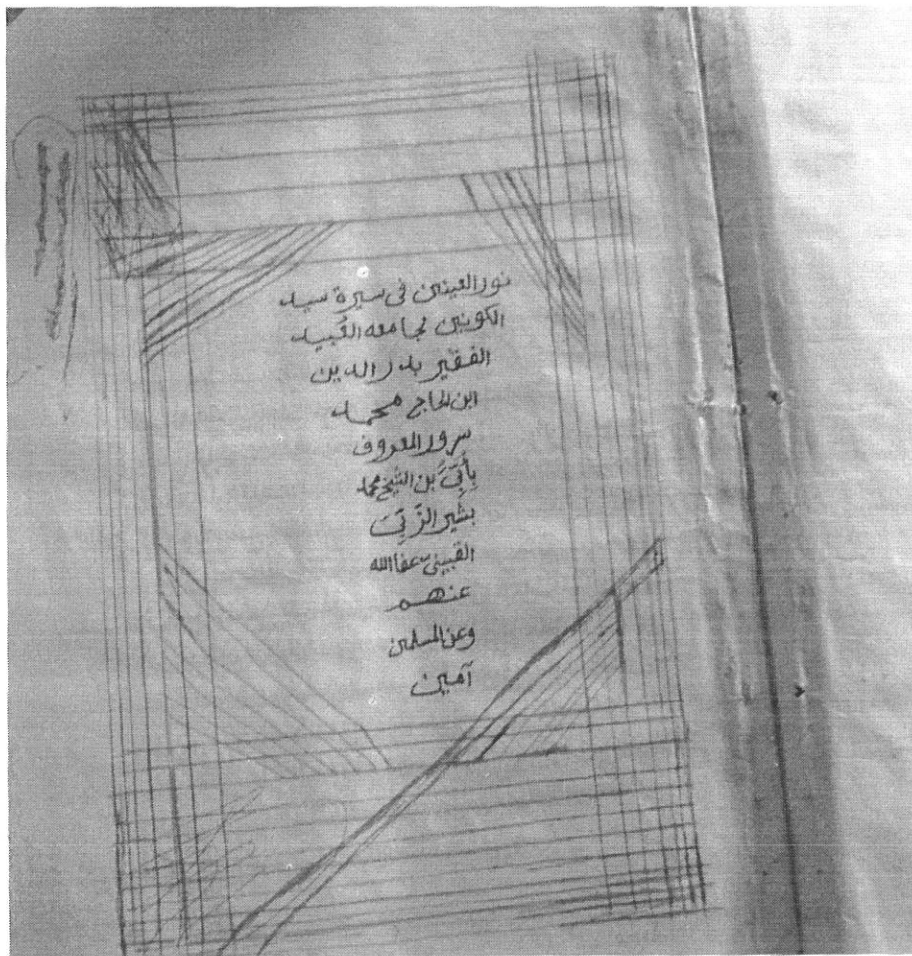
ii. Physical material:

- The manuscript has 181 pages; the size of the pages is 17x24 cm and the size of the binding is 20x24 cm.

iii. Page layout of the manuscript:

- The width of the written surface on the page is 15 cm. The first page has eighteen lines; all other pages have twenty lines. The manuscript has 35 ruled lines per page, on which all the text is written (see scanned copy).

2. Nūr al-‘Aynayn fī Sīrat sayyid al-kawnayn (The light of the two eyes in the biography of the master of the two universes).



☆ Digital photo of the front page of manuscript Nūr al-‘Aynayn fī Sīrat sayyid al-kawnayn

i. Content description of the manuscript:

► A brief biography of the Prophet Muḥammad. What makes this manuscript unique is its sources: the Šayḥ used ancient texts that are rarely used in modern books about the Prophet's biography, for example Sīrat Ibn Iṣḥāq (d. 151 A.H.) and Sīrat Ibn Ḥiṣām (d. 213 A.H.). Based on these sources, the Šayḥ wrote a short biography of 'Abdallah Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet's father, and 'Amīna bint Wahb, the Prophet's mother. The manuscript also gives a short

history of the caliphs who succeeded the Prophet after his death. The researcher will briefly discuss and analyze this manuscript in chapter four.

ii. Physical material:

- The size of the pages is 17x28.5 cm and the size of the binding is 19x28.5 cm.

iii. Page layout of the manuscript:

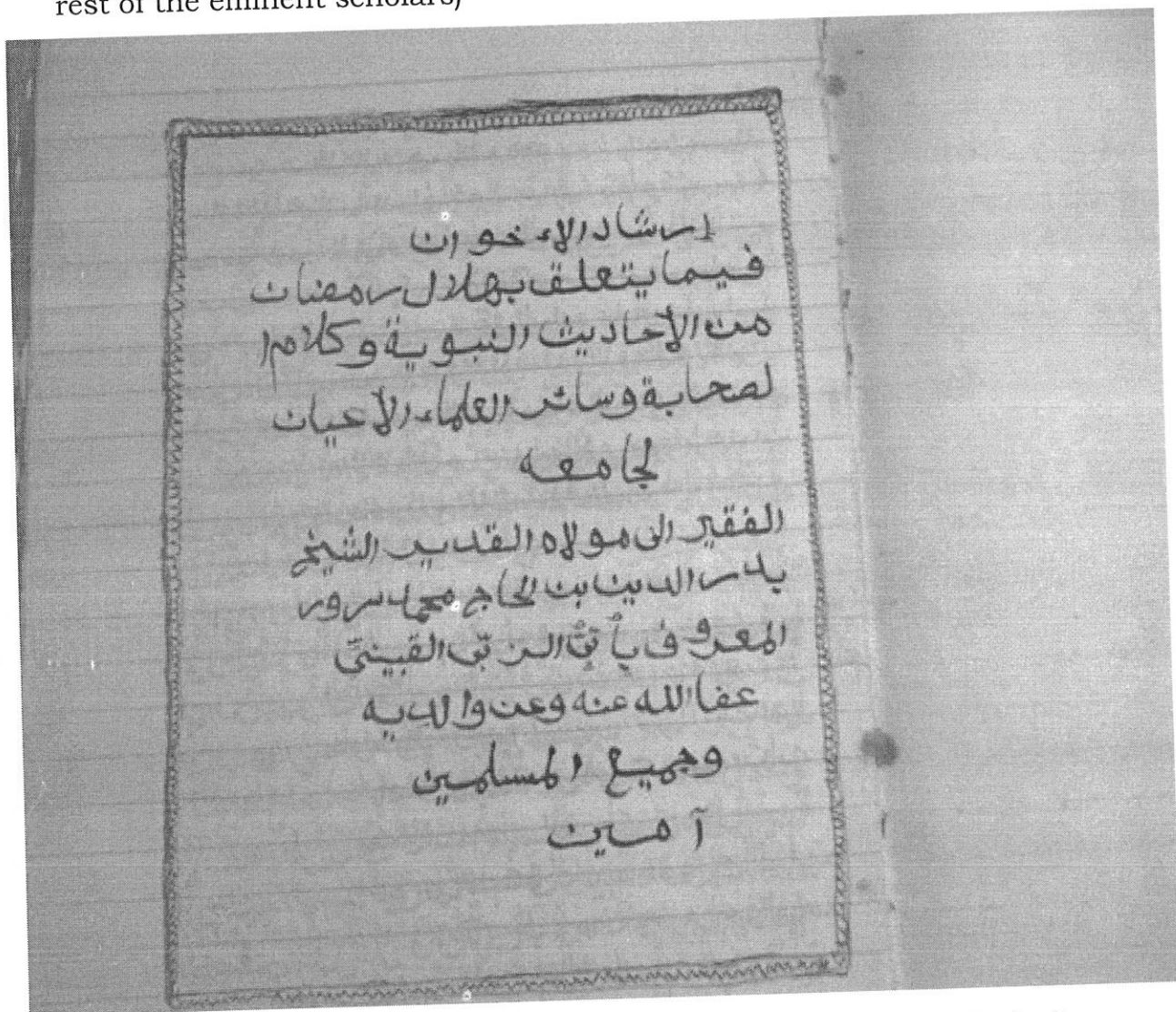
- The width of the written surface on the page is 14.5 cm.
- The manuscript pages have twenty-seven ruled lines but not all of them are used. The text on the first page is written on nineteen lines, and on all other pages the text is written on twenty-two lines.
- The manuscript has 51 pages.
- The manuscript has two series of page numbers, which differ slightly. The first series, found at the bottom of the page, starts with the preface of the manuscript. The other one starts just after the preface at the beginning of the main text; it is found at the top of the page (see the digital photo of the manuscript below).
- As noted, there is also a partly voweled computer typescript of this manuscript. I compared the original manuscript and the typescript, and with very few exceptions the typescript is an excellent copy. In studying this text, I used both the original and the typescript; see chapter 4.

عقبة بن أبي وقاص فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم كيف بفلان قوم يشجوا وجه نبيهم
وهو يدعوهم إلى دينهم ومثلت هذبة بشهداء المسلمين وقتل عليه الصلاة والسلام الشقي
الآخرين أبعث بن خلف حين أقبل لقتله صلى الله عليه وسلم ولم يقتل الرسول غيره ولا في هذه
الغزوة ولا غيرها وقتل مصعب بن عمير رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ودفع عنه حتى
قتل وقد دفع عنه في ذلك الموقف الصعب أيضا أمة عمارة الانصارية وابو دجانة وعلى
بن أبي طالب وسعد بن أبي وقاص وما علم المسلمون بأن رسول الله عليه الصلاة والسلام
حي فالتوا وأعلنوا الهجوم على الكفار بعد أن قتلوا من المسلمين سبعين شهيدا منهم
الحماة الكبار عظم النبي محمد بن عبد المطلب وقد حزن النبي لفقدهم حزنا عظيما وأما
عدد قتل الكفار فكان اثنين وعشرين رجلا وسبب هذه الهزيمة اشتغال المسلمين عن
الربيع فجمع التناغم ومخالفة الرواية لأوامر النبي عليه الصلاة والسلام وفيها في السنة الثالثة
غزوة حراء الأسد وهو موضع بين مكة والمدينة على ثلاثة أميال من المدينة وذلك عند رامن
رجوع المشركين إلى المدينة فخرج صلى الله عليه وسلم خلفهم فلما وصل حراء الأسد علم أن الأعداء
رجعوا إلى مكة ولم يكن في الجميع حرب إلا في أحد وفي هذه السنة رجع الرسول عليه الصلاة
والسلام بنته أم كلثوم لعثمان بن عفان بعد أن ماتت رقية عنده رضي الله عنها
وفيها تزوج عليه الصلاة والسلام حفصة بنت عمر بن الخطاب وزينب بنت خزيمة الهلالية
الهلالية من بني هلال بن عامر كانت ثدي في بني هلبة أم المساكين لرأفتها واحسانها
رضي الله عنها وفيها ولد الحسن بن علي رضي الله عنها وفي السنة الرابعة حدثت غزوة
بني النضير قبيلة من اليهود حاصروا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في بئير الأول ونزل تحريم الخمر تحريما قاطعا
وهو حاصروا وكان تحريمها بالثلاثة ونزلوا بعد ستة أيام عن أن لهم ما حلت الأبل
والإبل في رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ففسخ على المهاجرين دون الانصار الأسهل ابن خنيفة
وأبا دجانة فانها شكا فقرا وغزوة ذات الرقاع في بئير الخمر أو في جادته الأولى
هذا ما أجمع عليه أهل السيرة وقيل البخاري إلى أن هذه الغزوة كانت في السابعة

في نها الأربعاء رابع
الذين يريدون أن
خلوها علينا قاتلت
فقال رجال
يقنوا بنا أنا قد جئنا
لله صلى الله عليه وسلم
فقالوا له أكرهنا
وهو لم يمانع
لأنه ثم خرج
هم في الطريق
بني ولم يزل
على شمال المدينة
بن من الرواة
ليل وقال لهم
د الكفار ثلاثة
فقالوا له
أمر الآن للمسلمين
لم المسلمون
المسلمين
إعداد الهجوم
في مكانه
صلى الله عليه وسلم

عقبة

3. 'Iršād al-'Iḥwān fīmā yata'allaqu bi-hilāl ramaḍān min 'aḥādīṭ al-nabawiyyah wa-kalām al-ṣaḥābah wa-sā'ir al-'ulamā' al-'a'yān
(Guidance for the brothers concerning the new moon of Ramaḍān from the Prophetic tradition, statements of the Companions and the rest of the eminent scholars)



☆ Digital photo of the front page for manuscript 'Iršād al-'Iḥwān fīmā yata'allaqu bi-hilāl ramaḍān min 'aḥādīṭ al-nabawiyyah wa-kalām al-ṣaḥābah wa-sā'ir al-'ulamā' al-'a'yān

i. Content description of the manuscript:

- The manuscript deals with determining the new moon of the month of *Ramaḍān* and the principles for acceptable fasting in Islam. According to *fiqh* the appearance of the new moon must be confirmed by the council of 'ulamā' or by two witnesses. In my experience, this is indeed done by Ethiopian Muslims living in the countryside. Traditionally, however, Ethiopian Muslims living in cities have determined the new moon by relying on information from Saudi Arabia. This is especially important with regard to *Ramaḍān*: exactly when does the fast begin? On this point, as the manuscript tells us, there have been ideological differences among past and recent 'ulamā' (Muslim scholars in Ethiopia). The manuscript briefly discusses and analyzes these ideological differences and gave its final verdict based on the methodology of Islamic jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-Fiqh*): direct observation of the new moon should be carried out in Ethiopia itself.

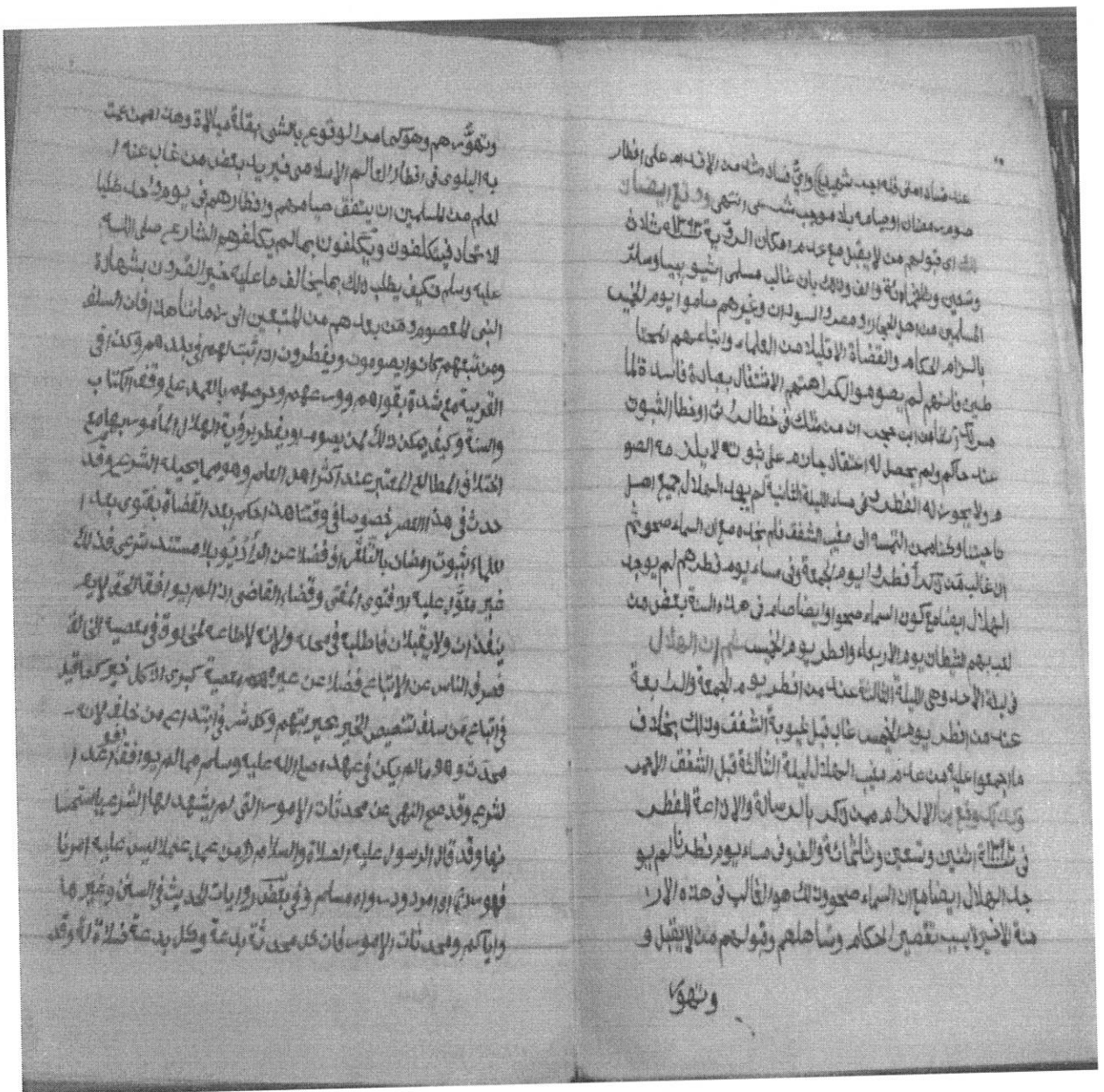
ii. Physical material:

- The size of the pages is 15x24 cm and the size of the binding is 20x24 cm.

iii. Page layout of the manuscript:

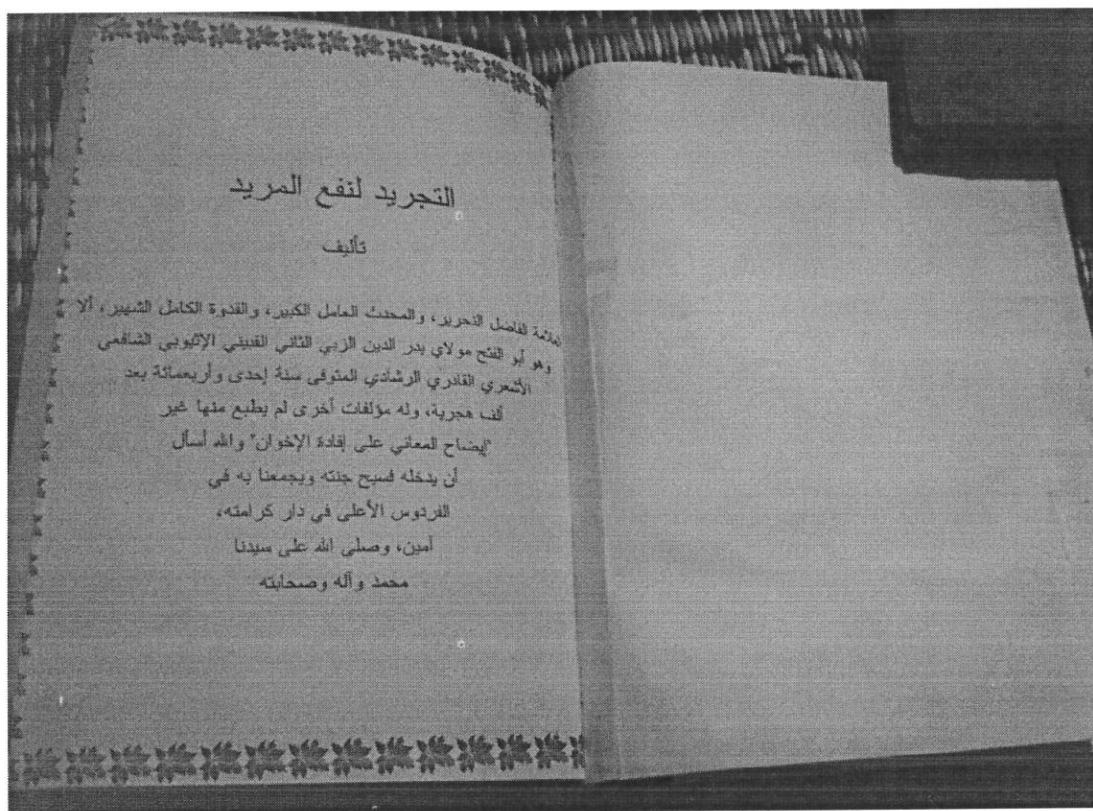
- The width of the written surface on the page is 13 cm.
- The manuscript pages have twenty-two ruled lines but the text on the first page is written on eighteen lines, and on all other pages the text is written on twenty-one lines.
- The manuscript has thirty-nine pages but the pages are not numbered.





☆ Digital photo of an inside page of the manuscript *Iršād al-Ṭhwān fīmā yataʿallaqu bi-hilāl ramadān min ʾaḥādīṭ al-nabawīyyah wa-kalām al-ṣaḥābah wa-sāʾir al-ʿulamāʾ al-ʿaʿyān*.

4. *Al-tajrīd li-naf'i al-murīd* (Exposition for the benefit of students)



☆ Digital photo of the front page for manuscript *Al-tajrīd li-naf'i al-murīd*

i. Content description of the manuscript

- It is a brief biography of prominent Sufi scholars of Ethiopia with a description of their different Sufi orders (*ṭuruq*). In fact, some of these scholars followed more than one Sufi order at the same time. A very clear example of this statement is on the internal cover page of Ṣayḥ Badr al-Dīn's book *'Idāḥ al-ma'āni min 'Ifādat al-'Iḥwān* (manuscript number 3), where it states explicitly that the Ṣayḥ belonged to two Sufi orders:

الشَّيْخُ بَدْرُ الدِّينِ بْنِ أَبِي الْحَاجِّ سُرُورِ الشَّافِعِيِّ الْأَشْعَرِيِّ الرَّشَادِيِّ الْقَادِرِيِّ

Transliteration

Al-ṣayḥ Badr al-Dīn bin 'Ubbiyyu al-ḥājj Surūr al-Šāfi'iyy al-'Aš'ariyy al-Rašādiyy al-Qādiriyy.

Translation

Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn, the son of 'Ubbiyyu al-ḥajj *Surūr*, the follower of the Shāfi'iyy school [of fiqh], Ash'ariyy [theology], and Rashādiyy and Qādiriyy [two Sufi orders].

ii. Physical material

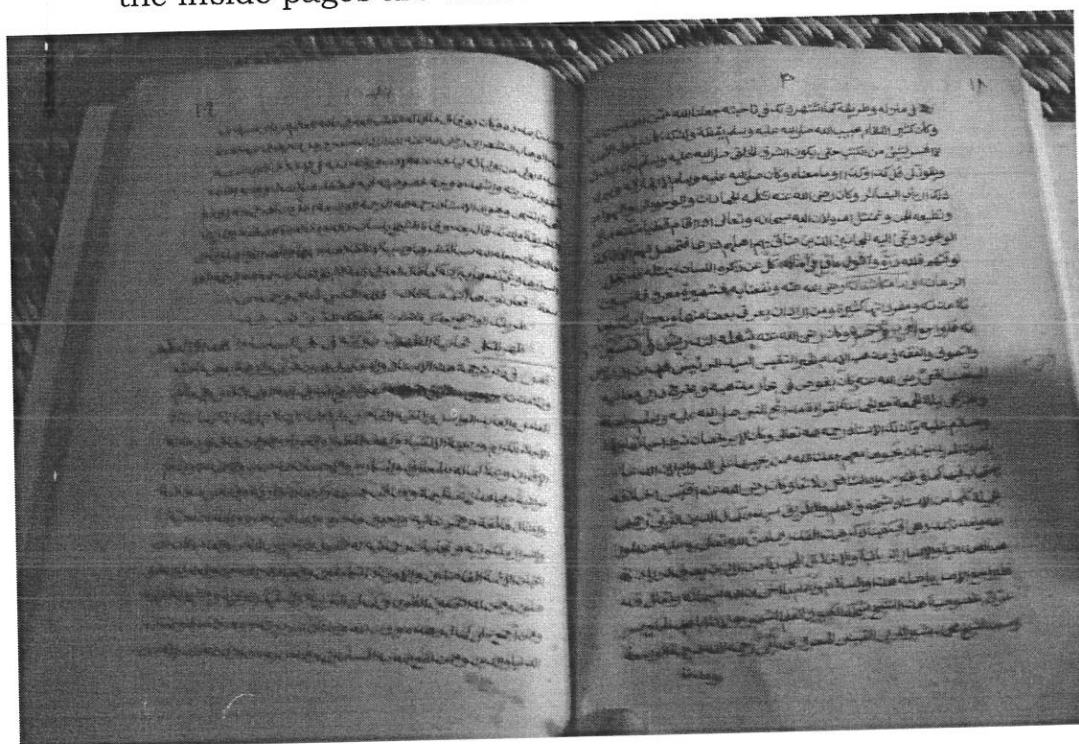
- The size of the pages is 18x22 cm and the size of the binding is 20x25 cm.

iii. Page layout of the manuscript

- The width of the written surface on the page is 15 cm.
- The pages of the manuscript have twenty-seven ruled lines; the text on the first page is written on twenty-six lines and all the other pages are written on twenty-three lines.

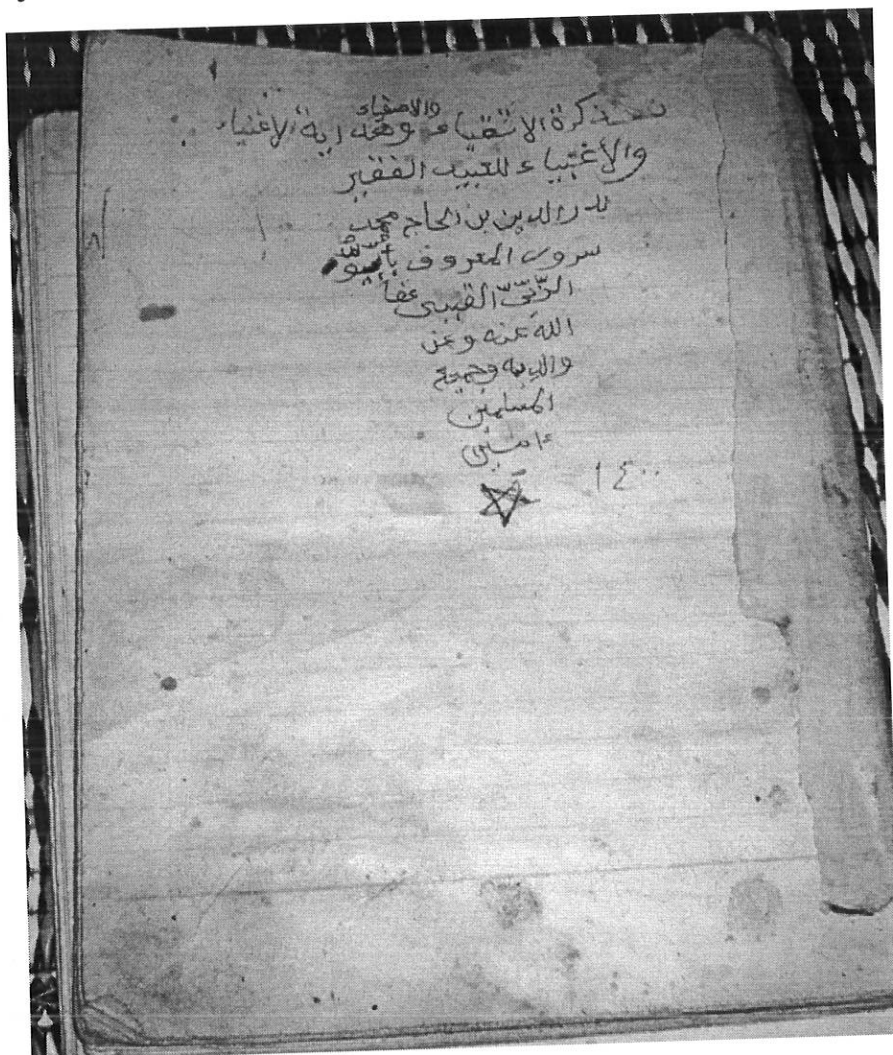
iv. Overall format

- The title page of the manuscript was printed by a computer but the inside pages are written with traditional writing materials.



☆ Digital photo of an inside page of manuscript *Al-tajrīd li-naḥfi al-murīd*

5. *Taḍkirat al-'atqiyā' wa-al-'aṣfiyā' wa-hadāyat al-'aḡniyā' wa-al-'aḡbiyā'*. (Reminder to the pious and the friends, and guidance for the wealthy and the ignorant): about ċāt.



☆ Digital photo of the front page for manuscript *Taḍkirat al-'atqiyā'*

i. **Content description of the manuscript**

- The manuscript deals with Ċāt (Cafta, Khat, Kat, or its species name *Catha edulis*). The Šayḥ quotes different opinions about Ċāt (both positive and negative) by many Muslim scholars of classical times like Aḥmad Ibn Ḥajar Al-Hathamiyy, Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm

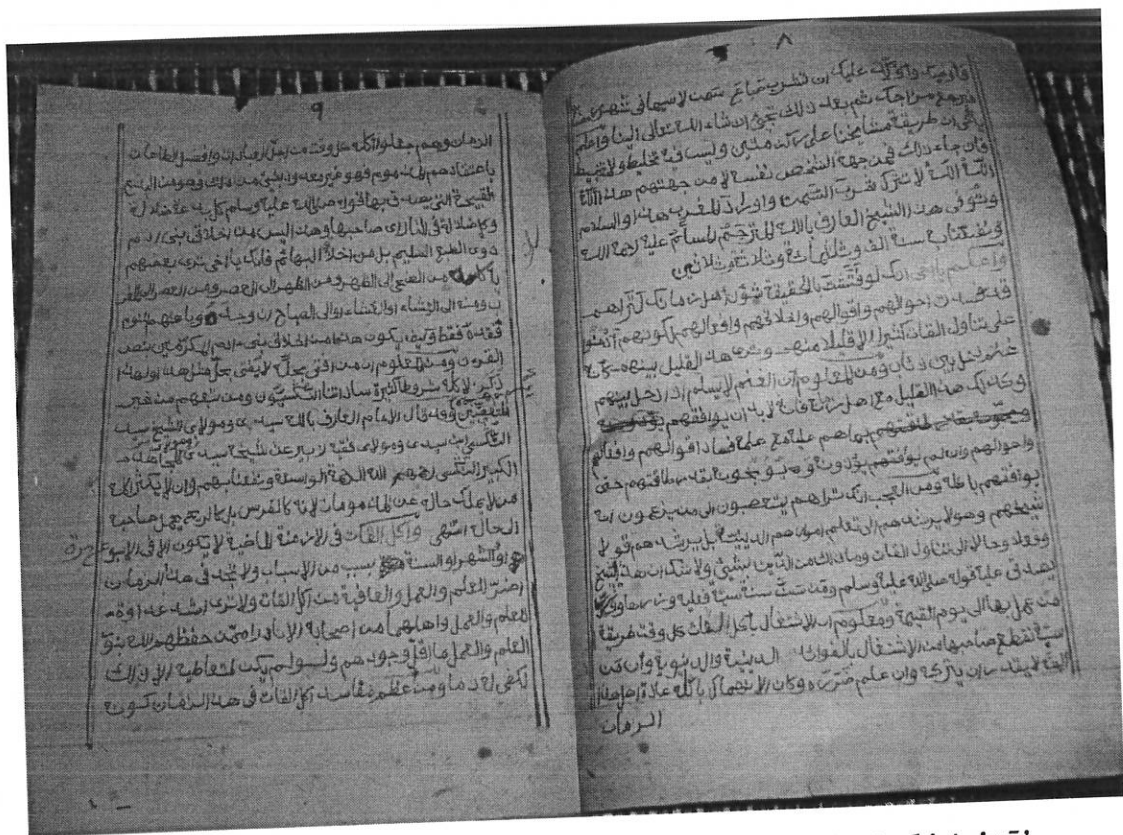
etc., and drawing upon these scholars, he makes an intensive study of the positive and negative effect of consuming Čāt. According to informants and the Šayḥ's son, both the Šayḥ's teachers and the Šayḥ's father used Čāt, but the Šayḥ himself strongly opposed this. In his other manuscripts, the Šayḥ is writing on traditional topics; but in this manuscript he is dealing in an original way with a new and contemporary issue which was relevant to the society he lived in.

ii. Physical material:

- The size of the pages is 15x24 cm and the size of the binding is 20x24 cm.

iii. Page layout of the manuscript:

- The width of the written surface on the page is 13 cm.
- The manuscript pages have twenty-two ruled lines but the text is written on twenty lines.
- The manuscript has thirty-three pages. The pages are numbered at the top and have catchwords on the verso pages (see digital photo).
- The title page of the manuscript is written with modern pen but the inside pages are written with traditional writing materials.



☆ Digital photo of an inside page of manuscript *Tagkirat al-atqiyā'*

6. *'Idāh al-ma'āni min 'Ifādat al-'Iḥwān* (Explanation of terms from the book *'Ifādat al-'Iḥwān*)



☆ Digital photo of the cover page for manuscript *'Idāh al-ma'āni min 'Ifādat al-'Iḥwān*

i. Content description of the manuscript:

- The manuscript is a commentary on the book *'Ifādat al-'Iḥwān fīmā mafrūḍ 'alā al-'Insān* which was written by Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn's father, Šayḥ Obiyyu Mohammed al-hājj Surūr. It deals with the basic beliefs of Muslim theology (*tawḥīd*) beginning from knowing and believing in Allah, angels, holy books, messengers etc.
- There is no information about exactly when the original book (*'Ifādat al-'Iḥwān fīmā mafrūḍ 'alā al-'Insān*) was written.

ii. Physical material:

- This text is a printed book.
- The first few lines of the page (1, 2, or 3 lines) give the main text; the commentary follows on the rest of the page, below a horizontal line.

CHAPTER FOUR

PHILOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE ARABIC MANUSCRIPT OF ŠAYḤ BADR AL-DĪN CALLED NŪR AL- ‘AYNAYN FĪ SĪRAT SAYYID AL-KAWNAYN

1. Sources and Background

Scholars of *Ḥadīth* (prophet's traditions) and writers of the biography of Muḥammad have explored his life from every angle and aspect. Every event, every incident of his life has been described and narrated, but no biographer has claimed to have done it full justice. Among those Ethiopian Muslim scholars who wrote about the biography of Prophet we find Šayḥ Badr Al-Dīn.

In the main there are three sources of information on the life and activities of the Prophet Muḥammad. These are the Qur'ān, the *Ḥadīth* and the early accounts called *Sīrah* (*maḡāzi*) literature. The information provided in the Qur'ān is scattered and usually not very explicit. The *Ḥadīth* compilations and *Sīrah* (*maḡāzi*) literature are much fuller and are very similar in respect of the materials they contain. Basically they both are collections of "reports". Hence some scholars are inclined to classify the two into a single category of "reports" or "traditions". There are, however, two important distinctions between the two. The *Ḥadīth* collections are arranged either according to doctrinal, juridical and legal topics or according to the original transmitters of the reports.²⁰ The *Sīrah* compilations, on the other hand, are arranged more or less

²⁰ Faruq Hamada (1410 A.H.): *Maṣādir Al-Sīra Al-Nabawīyyah wa-Taqwīmuḥā*. 2nd edition. Morocco: Dar Al-Bayda'. p. 55.

chronologically and in accordance with the sequential events of the Prophet's life. Secondly, in the *Ḥadīth* compilations great attention is paid to the chains of narrators of each report (*'isnād*) and to other questions and rules bearing on the authenticity and trustworthiness of the reports.²¹ In the *Sīrah* literature, on the other hand, the rules regarding *'isnād* have not always been observed, though often the same scholars worked in both genres. The *Sīrah* literature alone provides the chronological framework of the Prophet's life-story and it contains information on some aspects of the Prophet's life that are not available in the *Ḥadīth* literature proper. The three sources are supplementary and complementary to one another and all of them have to be taken into account in order to have a proper view of the life and activities of the Prophet Muḥammad.

A. The Holy Qur'ān

According to Muslim tradition, the Qur'ān was revealed to the Prophet in short and long passages over a period of twenty-three years by the angel Jibril. As it was revealed the Prophet committed each passage to memory, hurriedly repeating the words as the angel uttered them.²² He was divinely told not to do so and was assured that Allah would enable him to retain in his memory whatever was revealed to him.²³ Many of his companions also memorized the sacred texts. They had an immediate need to do so because they had to recite the passages in the prayers which were made incumbent on them from the very beginning of Islam. In the course of time the Prophet as well as many of his followers had the entire Qur'ān committed to memory. In Arabia in those days, as also in

²¹ Ibid: pp. 57-59, 'Abd Al-Razzāq Hirmās (2007): *Maṣādir Al-Sīra Al-Nabawīyyah Bayna Al-Muḥaddithīn wa-l-Mu'arrikhīn*. 1st edition. Faculty of Arts, University of Ibn Zuhr, Agadir, Morocco. pp. 75-78.

²² Mana' Al-Qattān (undated): *Mabāḥith fī 'Ulūm Al-Qur'ān*. Cairo: Maktabah Wuhbah; pp. 95-98.

²³ Al-Zafzāf, Mohammed (1979): *Al-Ta'rīf bi-l-Qur'ān wa-l-Ḥadīth*. 3rd edition. Kuwait: Maktabah Al-Falah. pp. 82-87.

many places in the world, it was the common practice to memorize whole texts and literary works, genealogies and traditions, and to transmit them orally to subsequent generations; and the Arabs were especially gifted with the skill of memorization. At intervals, particularly in the month of Ramaḍān, the Prophet recited the whole of the Qur'ān, as far as it had been revealed so far, to the angel Jibril; the tradition says that during the last Ramaḍān of his life he arranged the passages of the Qur'ān into Sūras and sections in their present form, according to divine guidance received through Jibril.²⁴

Not that the Qur'ān was committed only to memory. The Prophet took care early on to have the passages of the Qur'ān written down on suitable available materials like leaves, bark, hides, bones, stones and other objects. Indeed, the impetus to have the texts written down was given in Sūrat al-'Alaq (Sūra 96), the first Sūra to be revealed: *bi-smi rabbika.... allaḏī 'allama bi-l-qalami* {{in the name of your Lord... who teaches by the pen}}. Thus the Qur'ān was preserved in writing as well as in memory.²⁵

The process of writing down texts started quite early, almost simultaneously with the beginning of the revelation. The Prophet employed a number of his followers as copyists of the Qur'ānic texts.²⁶ Written copies of the orally revealed texts were kept with the Prophet as also with many of his followers. After the Prophet's migration to Medina (the Hijra), four of the 'anṣār (the people who supported the Prophet in

²⁴ Al-Zafzāf, Mohammed (1979): *Al-Ta'rīf bi-l-Qur'ān wa-l-Ḥadīth*. 3rd edition. Kuwait: Maktabah Al-Falah. pp. 82-87.

²⁵ Ibid: Mana' Al-Qattān: 114-118, Al-Zafzāf: 95-108.

²⁶ Qur'ān 5:6

Medina) were particularly engaged in compiling the Qur'ānic texts and keeping them with them.²⁷

Almost immediately after the Prophet's death a number of Arab tribes made an attempt to renounce Islam and to secede from the authority of Medina. In the wars that followed the *Riddah* (apostasy) war many of those Muslims who had memorized the entire Qur'ān died. At 'Umar ibn Ḥaṭṭāb's suggestion the first caliph Abubakar took steps to have the written records of the Qur'ānic texts arranged in order of Sūras (chapters) and sections as taught by the Prophet and learned by the memorizers. During the reign of the caliph 'Uthmān a tendency towards variant readings of the Qur'ān was observed in the far-flung provinces. Hence he took steps to make copies of the Qur'ān from the master-copy and sent them to the various provinces, withdrawing and suppressing most variation in the readings found to exist anywhere. His role was thus that of the publisher of the master-copy of the Qur'ān. Since then the Qur'ān has been in circulation in writing as well as being preserved and transmitted from generation to generation through memorization of the entire text.²⁸

The Qur'ān is the most authentic and the only absolutely contemporary record relating to the Prophet, and is essential to anyone desiring to understand his biography. It must not be supposed, however, that is a book of history, far less autobiography. The Qur'ān is the best reflex of his role as Prophet and messenger of Allah. The Qur'ān, however, does not elaborate any event, nor does it give the details of the Prophet's life

²⁷ Al-Qattān: 114-118, Al-Zafzāf: 95-108.

²⁸ M.M. 'Azami (undated). *Studies in Hadith: Methodology and Literature*. College of Education, University of Riyadh; pp. 1-8.

and activities. For these as also for the chronology we have to turn to *Ḥadīth*, also termed *Sunnah*.²⁹

B. Ḥadīth

The term *Ḥadīth* is applied to the reports of the Prophet's sayings and doings, his practices and his explicit or implicit approval of the words or deeds of others. It applies also to reports of the statements and acts of his companions and their immediate successors. As such these reports are of prime historical importance, being the statements and accounts of eyewitnesses and participants in the events. Often these reports are highly vivid and detailed, thus tending to support their authenticity.³⁰

After the Prophet's death his companions and followers become all the more careful to remember and act upon his statements and directives, and many kept written notes of such statements and utterances. Since the middle of the first century Hijra we have specific references to the systematic collection and writing down of *Ḥadīth*.³¹ Augmenting such collections with further investigation and painstaking search, scholars of subsequent generations compiled a huge corpus of *Ḥadīth*. Of such collections the most important are the following:

1. The *Muwatta'* of Mālik ibn 'Anas (93-179 A.H.)
2. The *Musnad* of Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd al-Jarud al-Ṭayālisiyy (133-204 A.H.)
3. The *Musnad* of 'Abū 'Abdallāh 'Ahmad ibn Muḥammed ibn Ḥanbal (164-241 A.H.)

²⁹ M.M. 'Azami: 25-31, Al-Zafzāf: 211-224, 'Abd Al-Razzāq Hirmās: 67-89; Faruq Hamada: 55-63.

³⁰ 'Abd Al-Razzāq: 128-177; Faruq Hamada: 78-89.

³¹ M. Muṣṭafā al-'Azāmi (1394 A.H.). *Kuttāb al-Nabīyy ṣalla llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam*. Beirut: Dār Al-Kutub Al-'Islāmiyyah.

4. The *Sunan* of 'Abu 'Abdallah ibn 'Abdurrahmān al-Dārimiyy (181-255 A.H.)
5. The *Ṣaḥīḥ* of 'Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn 'Ismā'īl al-Buḥārīyy (194-256 A.H.)
6. The *Sunan* of 'Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn 'aṣ'ath al-'Azdi al-Sājistāni (202-275 A.H.)
7. The *Ṣaḥīḥ* of 'Abū al-Ḥusayn Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Quṣayri al-Niṣābūriyy (206-261 A.H.)
8. The *Sunan* of 'Abu 'Abdurrahmān 'Ahmad ibn Šu'ayb ibn 'Ali ibn Baḥr al-Nasā'iyy (214-303 A.H.)
9. The *Ṣaḥīḥ* of 'Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥuzaymah al-Sulamiyy al-Niṣābūriyy (223-311 A.H.)
10. The *Sunan* of 'Abū al-Ḥassan 'Ali ibn 'Umar ibn 'Aḥmad al-Dāraquṭniyy (321-385 A.H.)

As the work of collection and compilation of *Ḥadīth* continued over the centuries, quite a number of fabricated and forged reports and modified versions of original reports came into being, due mainly to the desire to further personal, party, group and sectarian interests. Many forged reports also got into circulation due to subversive motives on the part of heterodox Muslims. In response to this an independent academic discipline, the principles or science of *Ḥadīth*, came into existence.

Broadly, the process of scrutiny and investigation took two distinct lines:

1. A thorough investigation into the character, personality, capacity and background of every transmitter of a particular report.
2. Textual criticism with special reference to internal evidence, compatibility or incompatibility with the Qur'ān and well-established facts and in general with rules of rational criticism.

As thus scrutinized and sifted, the main collections of *Ḥadīth* are generally considered trustworthy and authentic.³²

C. The Early *Sīrah* and *Maḡāzi* literature

The third source of information on the life and activities of the Prophet is the work of some early chroniclers. As indicated earlier these also consist of reports or traditions, but are arranged more or less in chronological order. There were two types of such chronicles: those focusing on *sīrah* (biography) and those focusing specifically on the *Maḡāzi*, that is, the Prophet's military campaigns. As with the *Ḥadīth*, the earliest such chronicles may be traced to the middle of the first century Hijra, when the learned elites of Medina turned their attention not only to the task of collecting and preserving *Ḥadīth* but also to compiling the *Maḡāzi* literature. It may be noted here that at the early stages the term *Maḡāzi* was used rather loosely to denote both *sīrah* proper as well as the campaigns. The distinction between the two terms came to be made at a subsequent stage. The first scholar who is known to have concerned himself with *Maḡāzi* in its wider sense was 'Abān ibn 'Uthmān (b. 15-20 A.H.).³³

2. *Philological and Content Analysis of Nūr al-'Aynayn*

Šayḥ Badr Al-Dīn's main goal in writing his manuscript on the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad is to present the biography clearly and briefly.

"أَحَبُّتُ أَنْ أَخْتَصِرَ مِنْ كُتُبِ الْأَحَادِيثِ وَالسِّيَرِ شَيْئًا يَسِيرًا مِنْ ذَلِكَ تَبَرُّكًا وَتَيْمُنًا بِذَلِكَ وَلِيَقْرَبَ لِلرَّاعِبِينَ الطَّالِبِينَ دَرَسَ سِيرَتِهِ الْعَزِيزَةِ الْمُسْنِيَةِ الشَّرِيفَةِ وَالْعَطْرَةِ الشَّدِيدَةِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ كُلُّ بَكْرَةٍ وَعَشِيَّةٍ"

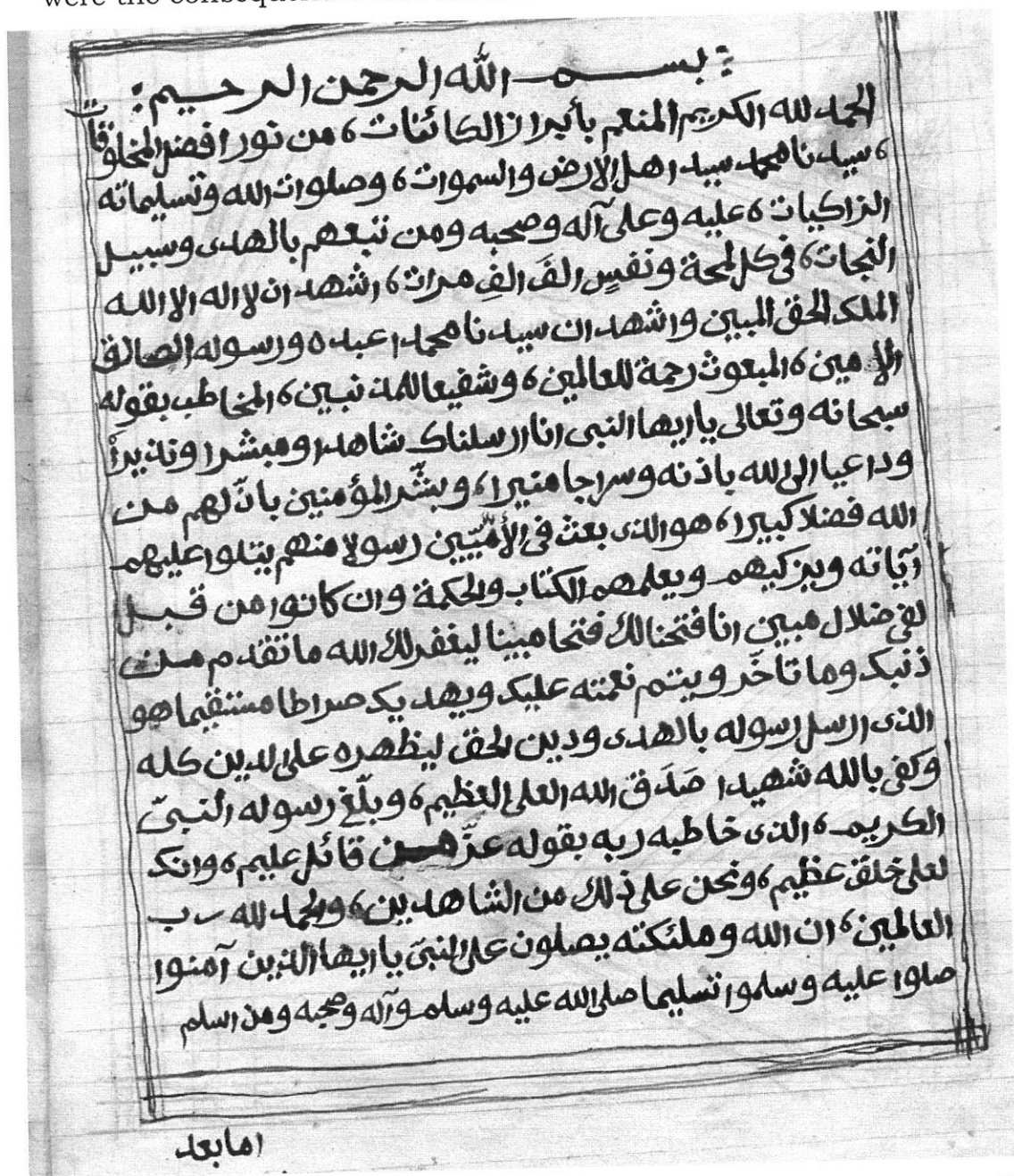
³² M. Muṣṭafā al-'Azāmi (1978). *Studies in Early Ḥadīth Literature*. Indianapolis.

³³ Ibn Hišām, 'Abu Muḥammad 'Abd al-Malik (1955). *Al-Sīra al-Nabawiyyah*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā and others. 2nd edition. Cairo: al-Falah Foundation. Vol. 1 pp.1-2.

"I have chosen to briefly excerpt simple and easy parts from the *Ḥadīth* and *Sīrah* books to get blessing and good omens in order to present for those who seek and desire to learn his powerful, sublime, honored, fragrant, exceptional biography, peace be upon him all the day and night." His style of writing the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad is not only his alone but was also the style of other Ethiopian Muslim scholars who were concerned with writing his biography (*Sīrah*) and battles (*mağāzi*). In the course of preparing this thesis, I carefully read a number of Amharic *Sīrah* books prepared and translated by Ethiopian Muslim scholars. The most important for my thesis is the book that was prepared by the most eminent Ethiopian Muslim scholar and spiritual leader, Ḥaji Muḥammad Thāni Ḥabīb (died 1988). In 1978 Ḥaji Muḥammad wrote this book in Amharic under the title *'əsləmənna 'ənnayä talaqu Nəbəy yä Muhämmäd tarik* (Islam and the biography of the great Prophet Muḥammad), in which he presents the basic concepts of Islam and the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad.

Through deep reading of the manuscript and comparing other works of *Sīrah*, I recognize that Šayḥ Badr Al-Dīn and other Ethiopian Muslim scholars followed the same methodology in writing a brief biography of the Prophet. Though it is difficult to mention any single model biography book for them, they got, directly or indirectly, their Islamic knowledge from the same area i.e. Wallo. The close relation between Šayḥ Badr Al-Dīn and Ḥaji Muḥammad Thāni Ḥabīb may have led them to do similar work. The main reason to say this: the methodology that both of them used is almost the same; the selections from standard *Sīrah*, which is what makes their biography brief, are similar; also both of them add the biography of the first four caliphs at the end of the book. Actually their

intention in writing these biographies was to make them an educational tool for their students. Besides, Šayḥ Badr Al-Dīn prepared his manuscripts based only on what the different versions of the *Sīrah* and *Hadith* report on any given event; he did not pay much attention to what were the consequences and the lessons we can learn from that event.



☆ Digital photo of preface page of the manuscript *Nūr al-'Aynayn fī Sirat Sayyid al-Kawnayn*

In this thesis I have chosen to select, focus and give analysis only to the major historical events and battles of the Prophet Muḥammad, both for their inherent interest and to avoid making the thesis overlong.

I will present and analyze 15 excerpts from the text. Each excerpt will be presented in 3 parts: Arabic text, English translation, and my analysis. I tried to select portions of the text which give particularly important historical events and/or which give details not found in other *sīrah* works which I consulted.

The format of the Arabic text (below) follows the computer typescript as regards paragraphing, vowelizing and page numbers. The page number (of the typescript) is given in [square brackets] in both the Arabic and the English translation. There are also section numbers given in (round parentheses); these are found in both the original manuscript and the typescript. In the rare cases where the typescript and the manuscript disagree, I have given only the original text as found in the manuscript.

Arabic text of the manuscript Part One

[3 cont.] (1) ذكر النسب الطاهر نسب سيدنا الرسول من جهة أبيه وأمه.

واعلم أن نسب سيدنا الرسول الأعظم محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم ، وعلى آله وصحبه ومن أسلم أشرف الأنساب في مكة المكرمة وقبيلته أشرف القبائل وفخذه أشرف الأفخاذ فهو أبو القاسم محمد ابن عبد الله بن شيبه الحمد الملقب بعبد المطلب بن هاشم بن عبد مناف بن قصي بن حكيم الملقب بكلاب بن مرة بن كعب بن لؤي بن غالب بن فهر وهو قريش في قول الأكثرين ، ابن مالك بن النضر بن كنانة بن خزيمة بن مدركة بن إلياس بن مضر بن نزار بن معد بن عدنان . هذا هو النسب المتفق عليه وعلى صحته عند أهل السير والنسابين وما بين عدنان وإسماعيل قد اختلف فيه اختلافا كثيرا ، ولهذا قال ابن عباس رضي الله عنهما : بين عدنان وإسماعيل ثلاثون أبا لا يعرفون .

وقد اتفق النسابون والمؤرخون المحققون أن عدنان يتصل نسبه الشريف اتصالا وثيقا بلا مرية ولا خلاف بسيدنا إسماعيل الذبيح بن سيدنا إبراهيم فهو صلى الله عليه وسلم عربي قرشي عدناني إسماعيلي .

وقد ذكر اهل التواريخ اتصال هذا النسب بسيدنا هود على ما قيل ثم بسيدنا نوح ثم بسيدنا إدريس واسمه أخنوخ وهو ابن سيدنا شيث بن سيدنا [4] آدم ابي البشر صلوات الله وسلامه على نبينا وعليهم وعلى جميع النبيين والمرسلين .

وقال صلى الله عليه وسلم وآله وصحبه ومن اسلم : ان الله اصطفى كنانة من ولد إسماعيل واصطفى قريشا من كنانة واصطفى من قريش بني هاشم واصطفاني من بني هاشم فأنا خيار من خيار ، رواه مسلم ، وهذا هو النسب الطاهر من جهة أبيه .

وأما نسبه الطاهر من جهة أمه فهو محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم ابن أمنة الزهرية بنت وهب بن عبد المناف بن زهرة بن كلاب وهو الجد الخامس له صلى الله عليه وسلم وبه يجتمع نسب أبيه ونسب أمه ، وأمها أي أم أمنة برّة بنت عبد العزى بن عثمان بن عبد الدار بن قصي .

وأما نسبه صلى الله عليه وسلم من جهة أم أبيه فهو محمد بن عبد الله بن فاطمة بنت عمرو المخزومية من بني مخزوم ابن كلاب بن مرة من قريش ، هذا والسلام.

Translation of the text Part One

[3 cont.] (1) *His pure lineage, lineage of our master the Prophet, on his father's and his mother's side*

Know that the lineage of our master, the great Prophet Muḥammad, peace be upon him, his family, companions and all who accepted Islam, is the noblest lineage in Mecca, and his tribe is the noblest tribe and his clan is the noblest clan. He is the father of Qāsim, Muḥammad, the son of 'Abdallah the son of Šayba al-Ḥamd who was nicknamed 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the son of Hāšim the son of 'Abd Manāf the son of Quṣayy the son of Ḥakīm who was nicknamed Kilāb, the son of Murrah the son of Ka'b the son of Lu'ayy the son of Ġālib the son of Fahr, who according to the majority of sources was a Qurayši, the son of Mālīk the son of an-Naḍir the son of Kinānah the son of Ḥuzaymah the son of Mudrikah the son of 'Ilyās the son of Muḍar the son of Nazār the son of Ma'd the son of 'Adnān. This much is the agreed and authenticated lineage of the

Prophet according to (all) the biographers and genealogists. But as for the lineage between 'Adnān and 'Ismā'il there has been much disagreement. In this regard Ibn 'Abbas said there are thirty unknown fathers between 'Adnān and 'Ismā'il.

Trustworthy genealogists and historians agree on the view that 'Adnān's lineage unquestionably and indisputably had a secure link to 'Ismā'il, the son of our master 'Ibrāhīm. He (the Prophet) is Arabian, Qurayši, 'Adnānian and 'Ismā'ilian.

Historians connect this lineage to our master Hud, then to our master Noah, then to our master 'Idrīs whose name is Henoch, the son [actually descendant] of our master Seth the son of our master [4] Adam the father of mankind. May the blessings and peace of Allah be upon our Prophet and upon them and upon all the prophets and messengers. And the Prophet said ((Allah chose Kinānah among the sons of 'Ismā'il and chose Qurayš among (the sons of) Kinānah and chose the sons of Hāšim among (the sons of) Qurayš, and he chose me among the sons of Hāšim and I am the best of the best)) as narrated (in the Hadith) by Muslim. And this is his pure lineage on his father's side.

His pure lineage on his mother's side: he is Muḥammad peace be upon him, the son of 'Āminah the Zahriyya, the daughter of Wahb the son of 'Abd Manāf the son of Zuhrah the son of Kilāb and he is his fifth grandfather (his ancestor going back 5 generations); and the lineage of his father 'Abdallah and his mother 'Āminah meet here. And her mother, i.e. 'Āmina's mother, is Barrah the daughter of 'Abd al-'Uzzā son of 'Uthmān the son of 'Abd ad-Dār the son of Quṣayy. His lineage on his

father's mother's side is: Muḥammad the son of 'Abdallah the son of Fāṭimah the daughter of 'Amr al-Maḥzūmiyyah of the Banī Maḥzūm, the son of Kilāb the son of Murrah of Qurayš.

Analysis Number One

With respect to the lineage of the Prophet Muḥammad it is useful to distinguish three stages. The first and most recent stage, which is authenticated by (all) biographers and genealogists, traces Muḥammad's genealogy back to 'Adnān. The second stage, which is subject to controversy and doubt, traces his lineage back from 'Adnān to 'Ibrāhīm (Abraham). The third stage, with some parts definitely incorrect, traces his lineage from 'Ibrāhīm (Abraham) back to Adam. This is according to many authorities (see below). Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn's manuscript mentions the doubtfulness of the second stage but not of the third. In more detail (and as presented by leading scholars):

The first stage is as given in the manuscript (above).³⁴ Second stage: 'Adnān ibn Add ibn Humaysi ibn Salaman ibn Aws ibn Buz ibn Qamwal ibn 'Ubay ibn 'Awwām ibn Našid ibn Haza ibn Bilād ibn Yadlaf ibn Tabiḥ ibn Jahim ibn Nahiš ibn Mākhi ibn 'Ā'id ibn 'Abqār ibn 'Ubayd ibn Ad-Da'a ibn Hamdan ibn Sanbir ibn Yathrib ibn Yahzin ibn Yalhan ibn 'Arwa'i ibn 'Ā'id ibn Dašan ibn 'Aysar ibn 'Ayham ibn Afnād ibn Muksar ibn Naḥiṭ ibn Zariḥ ibn Sami ibn Mazzi ibn 'Awda' ibn Aram ibn Qaydar ibn 'Ismā'il ibn 'Ibrāhīm (Abraham).³⁵

³⁴ Al-Mansūr Fūri, Muḥammad Sulaymān Salmān (1930). *Raḥmatun li-l-'Ālamīn*. Translated by. Dr. Samir 'Abdulhamid. Riyadh: Dar-al-Salam. Pp. 33-34.

³⁵ Ibn Hišām (1:2-4), al-Mansūr Fūri (2:18). (Placeholder1)

Third stage: Abraham ibn Tarih (Azar) [Hebrew: Terah] ibn Nahur ibn Saru' ibn Ra'u ibn Šalikh ibn Arfakhšad ibn Sam ibn Nūh ibn Lamik ibn Mutawašlak ibn Akhnukh [who was said to be the Prophet 'Idrīs (Enoch)] ibn Yarid ibn Mahla'il ibn Qaynan ibn Anuša ibn Sīt (Seth) ibn Adam.³⁶

The disagreements among genealogists only have to do with his father's father's line and his mother's father's line. Concerning the genealogy of his father's mother and his mother's mother there is no doubt or argument among historians, biographers and genealogists. However, Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn gives extra detail about his mother's mother's genealogy.

My discussion above draws upon the following historians, biographers and genealogists:

- Al-Mansūr Fūri, Muḥammad Sulaymān Salmān (1930). *Raḥmatun li-l-Ālamīn*. Translated by. Dr. Samīr 'Abdulḥamīd. Riyadh: Dar-al-Salam. Pp. 33-34.
- Ibn Hišām, 'Abu Muḥammad 'Abd al-Malik (1955). *Al-Sīra al-Nabawiyyah*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā and others. 2nd edition. Cairo: al-Falah Foundation. pp. 7-9.
- Mubārakafuri, Šafi-ur-Raḥmān (1996). *Al-Raḥīq Al-Maḥtūm*. Riyadh: Dar al-Salam. Pp. 50-55.
- 'Ibn Kathīr, 'Ismā'il Al-Dimašqiy (1932). *Al-Bidāyah wa-l-Nihāyah*. Cairo: Al-Sa'ādah Publishers. Vol. 4, pp. 22-29.
- Khayradīn Al-Zarkaliy (1954). *Al-'A'lām*. Cairo: al-Sa'ādah Publishers. Pp. 19-20.

³⁶ Ibn Hišām (1:154-155).

- Al-Tamimiy, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Al-Wahab (1956). *Muḥtaṣar sīrat Al-Rasūl*. Cairo: Al-Muḥammadiyah Publication. P. 37.

Arabic text of the manuscript Part Two

[4 cont.] (2) ذكر بروزه إلى هذا العالم من ولادته إلى وفاته بالاختصار .

ولما أراد الله سبحانه وتعالى خروج الناس من الظلمات إلى النور وأن يمتثلوا أوامره ويجتنبوا نواهيه أبرز من النسب الطاهر هذا النبي الكريم والرسول العظيم وخير هادٍ إلى الصراط المستقيم في مكة المكرمة ذات الفخر الفخيم ونشأ فيها بخير نشأة وبُعث فيها بالبشارة والندارة على رأس أربعين سنة من مولده صلى الله عليه وسلم وآله وصحبه ومن أسلم، وفي البخاري: أنزلت النبوة وهو ابن أربعين سنة، إنتهى . وأنزل عليه القرآن الكريم الذي أنزله الله من اللوح المحفوظ لفظاً ومعنى على سيدنا جبريل ثم إلى بيت العزة في سماء الدنيا في ليلة القدر من رمضان ، ومعنى إنزاله أنه أنزله على الملائكة الكرام الذين في بيت العزة ثم كتبته الملائكة ثم من بيت العزة شيئاً فشيئاً بلسان جبريل بعشرين سنة أو ثلاث [5] وعشرين سنة إليه صلى الله عليه وسلم وآله وصحبه ومن أسلم ، ثم منه إلى الصحابة لفظاً ثم كُتب فنُبئ صلى الله عليه وسلم بقوله سبحانه وتعالى (اقرأ باسم ربك الذي خلق خلق الإنسان من علق اقرأ وربك الأكرم الذي علم بالقلم علم الإنسان ما لم يعلم) وأرسل بعد نحو ثلاث سنين أو بعد أربعين يوماً بقوله عز وجل (يا أيها المدثر فم فأنذر وربك فكبر وثيابك فطهر والرجز فاهجر ولا تمنن تستكثر ولربك فاصبر) ثم أقام بمكة ثلاث عشرة سنة بعد النبوة يدعو قومه إلى الله تعالى فمنهم من آمن ومنهم من كفر ثم هاجر إلى المدينة المنورة وبعد إقامته بها عشر سنوات توفّي فيها ضحوة يوم الإثنين ودفن فيها ليلة الأربعاء وله من العمر ثلاث وستون سنة منها أربعون قبل النبوة وثلاث وعشرون بالنبوة والرسالة وذلك بعد أن غزا سبعا وعشرين غزوة أو تسعا وعشرين غزوة وبعث سبعا وأربعين أو نحو سبعين سرية صلى الله عليه وسلم وآله وصحبه ومن أسلم .

وقد ظهر لي بعد أن أجمع شيئاً من تفاصيل سيرته من مبتدأ أمره إلى منتهاه عليه الصلاة والسلام وآله وصحبه ما دامت الأيام ، فأقول مفتتحاً بزواج عبد الله لآمنة بنت الكرام .

(3) وقد كان عبد الله أحب الأبناء لدى والده عبد المطلب ، فلما بلغ عمره عشرين سنة أو ثمانين سنة سنة خرج به أبوه عبد المطلب إلى وهب بن عبد مناف وهو سيد بني زهرة نسبا وشرفا فخطب منه بنته آمنة لابنه عبد الله وهي يومئذ أفضل نساء قريش نسبا وموضعا فزوجه وهب إياها، ولما تزوجها عبد الله دخل بها في ليلة

في شعب بني هاشم فحملت به صلى الله عليه وسلم ليلة دخوله بها وكان ذلك في ليلة الجمعة الأولى من رجب وكانت أمه تُحدث عن حملها وتقول لم أر لحملها ثقلا ولا ألماً ، وهتف بها هاتف حين حملت به فقال لها لقد حملت بسيد هذه الأمة فإذا وضعته فقولني أعينه بالواحد، من شر كل حاسد، ثم سميه محمداً وتقول أيضا حين [6] حملت به كأنه خرج مني نور أضاءت به قصور بصرى بأرض الشام ، وفي رواية قالت رأيت في منامي أنه خرج مني نور

أضاءت به الدنيا ثم تُوفِّي عبد الله والد النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وهي حامل به وقد مضى على حملها شهران وكان بالمدينة المنورة وكان ذهب لتجارة الى الشام فأدركته المنية بلمدينه وهو راجع عند أخوال والده عبد المطلب من بني عدي بن النجار وقيل خرج إليها ليمتار تمرا منها ولزيارة أخواله أى أخوال أبيه عبد المطلب فتوفي بها ودفن في دار النابغة وهو رجل من بني النجار وخلف عبد الله خمسة أجمال وجارية حبشية هي أم أيمن حاضنة الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم وإسمها بركة.

Translation of the text Part Two

[4 cont] (2) His emergence into this world and his biography in brief from birth to death

When Allah wanted to bring mankind out of the darkness into the light and that they should follow his commands and keep away from his prohibitions, he brought forth from a pure lineage this noble prophet, great messenger, and the best guide to the straight path, in Mecca the noble, the glorious, the magnificent. There he grew up with a good upbringing, and in the fortieth year after his birth he was sent a message of glad tidings and admonition (from Allah), peace be upon him, his family, companions and all who converted to Islam. In Bukhari it is said that the Prophecy was given to him when he was forty years old. On the Night of Power in Ramadān the holy Qur'ān was revealed to him which Allah had sent down from the Protected Tablet in word and meaning upon our master Jibrīl and then to Bayt Al-'Izzah in the earthly heaven. And the meaning of its "revelation" is that (Allah) revealed it to the noble angels who are in Bayt Al-'Izzah, then the angels wrote it down, then from Bayt Al-'Izzah it was gradually (revealed) to him through the tongue of Jibril over twenty [5] or twenty-three years. From him it was handed down orally to the Companions and then written down. And the Prophet was told by the Glorified and Exalted (Allah) saying: {{Read! In the name of your Lord who has created; He created man from a clot. Read! And your Lord is the Most Generous, who has taught with the pen. He has

taught man that which he knew not.}} (Qur'ān 96:1-5). And about three years or forty days later the word of the Almighty was sent to him: {{O you (Muḥammad) enveloped in your cloak! Arise and warn! And magnify your Lord (Allah)! And purify your garments! And keep away from abomination! And give not a thing in order to have more. And be patient for the sake of your Lord!}} (Qur'ān 74:1-7). After his call to Prophecy he lived in Mecca for thirteen years, calling his people to Allah the Exalted. Among them there were some who believed and some who denied. Then he migrated to Medina. After living there for ten years he passed away in the early morning of Monday and was buried on Wednesday night at the age of sixty-three years, of which forty were before his call to Prophecy and twenty-three after it. This was after he had fought twenty-seven or twenty-nine battles and sent out forty-seven or about seventy raiding parties, peace be upon him, his family, companions and on all who converted to Islam.

Then, I thought to compile some of the details of his biography from the beginning to the end, peace be upon him, his family, companions and on all who converted to Islam forever. And I begin with the marriage of (his father) 'Abdallah to 'Āminah, the daughter of the most noble parents.

(3) 'Abdallah was the most beloved son of his father 'Abd Al-Muṭṭalib. When he ['Abdallah] reached the age of twenty or eighteen years his father 'Abd Al-Muṭṭalib took him to Wahb ibn 'Abd Manāf who was the foremost of the Banī Zuhrah in lineage and honor. And he asked for his [Wahb's] daughter 'Āminah as wife for his son 'Abdallah. She was, at that time, the most favored of the women of Qurayš in lineage and position. And Wahb gave her to him in marriage. When they were

married he went in to her on that night in Ši'b Banī Hāšim, and she became pregnant with him [Muḥammad] on that night. And that was on the first Friday night of Rajab. Concerning her pregnancy his mother said that "I did not feel heaviness or pain while pregnant with him". And a voice spoke to her when she was pregnant saying "O! You are pregnant with the master of this nation and when you give birth to him say: I protect him by the only one [Allah] from the malice of every envier, and then name him Muḥammad." And she also said "When [6] I was pregnant with him, it is as if there was a light that issued forth from me with which the palaces of Baṣra in Šām [i.e. in the North] were lit up. In another tradition she said: "I saw in my sleep a light that issued forth from me with which the world was lit up". Then 'Abdallah the Prophet's father died when she was two months pregnant with him, and this was in Medina. And he had gone to Šām for trade, and death overtook him in Medina when he returned with the uncles of his father 'Abd Al-Muṭṭalib of the Banī 'Adiy ibn An-Najār. It is said that he went there to stock up on dates and to visit his uncles, that is, the uncles of his father 'Abd Al-Muṭṭalib. And he died there and was buried in the house of An-Nābigah who was a man of the Banī An-Najār. 'Abdallah left behind five camels and an Abyssinian maid-servant named Baraka who was (also called) 'Ummu 'Ayman, the Prophet's nursemaid.

Analysis Number Two

There is no any argument concerning 'Abdallah's and 'Āminah's marriage but there is a dispute among historians and biographers on 'Abdallah's

age when he married: some said that 'Abdallah was eighteen years old at the time of his marriage, while others said he was twenty.³⁷

With one small exception, all historians and biographers agree that when 'Abdallah died he left five camels, a small number of goats, and a maid-servant called 'Ummu 'Ayman who would later serve as the Prophet's nursemaid.³⁸ The single exception is Ibn 'Ishāq, who does not mention any goats.³⁹ Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn follows Ibn 'Ishāq.

Arabic text of the manuscript Part Three

[6 cont.] (4) ذكر ولادته ورضاعته:

وَوُلِدَ الرَّسُولُ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ سَاجِدًا عَلَى الْأَرْضِ رَافِعًا سَبَابَتَهُ إِلَى السَّمَاءِ مَسْرُورًا مَكْحُولًا نَظِيفًا طَيِّبًا لَيْسَ بِهِ دَمٌ وَلَا قَدْرٌ مَقْطُوعٌ السُّرَّةُ مَخْتُونًا عَلَى إِخْتِلَافٍ فِيهِ ، فِي مَكَّةَ الْمَكْرَمَةِ فَجَرِ يَوْمَ الْاِثْنَيْنِ أَوْ قُبَيْلِهِ لِعَشْرِينَ مِنْ إِبْرِيلِ الْمَوَافِقِ الثَّانِي عَشَرَ مِنْ رَبِيعِ الْأَوَّلِ أَوْ سَابِعِهِ عَلَى مَا اسْتَظْهَرَهُ بَعْضُهُمْ كَسَيِّدِي عَبْدِ الْعَزِيزِ الدَّبَّاحِ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى أَوْ ثَامَنِهِ وَالْأَوَّلِ أَشْهُرَ ذَلِكَ عَامِ الْفِيلِ قَبْلَ مَجِيئِهِ أَوْ بَعْدَهُ بِخَمْسِينَ يَوْمًا أَوْ بَسْطَةِ أَشْهُرٍ وَالشَّمْسُ فِي بَرَجِ الْحَمَلِ وَالْقَمَرُ بِبَرَجِ الْأُسْدِ سَنَةِ 570 مِنْ مِيلَادِ سَيِّدِنَا عِيسَى صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى نَبِيِّنَا وَعَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ.

وهذا الفيل هو الذي جاء به من اليمن أبرهة الحبشي لهدم الكعبة فأهلكه الله مع جيشه قبل دخول مكة بوادي محسر مكان بين منى ومزدلفة وكان أول من ملك اليمن من الحبشة قبل الإسلام أَرْيَاطُ ثم بعده أبرهة الأشرم صاحب الفيل وبعده يكسوم ابن أبرهة ثم بعده مسروق بن أبرهة وهو آخر الأربعة وكان مُلْكُ الحبشة باليمن فيما بين أن دخلها أَرْيَاطُ [أَرْيَاطُ] إلى أن قَتَلَتِ الْفَرَسُ مَسْرُوقَ بن أبرهة وأخرجت الحبشة اثنتين وسبعين سنة [7] توارث ذلك منهم أربعة وهم المذكورون هكذا في تاريخ ابن يَزَنَ وتاريخ ابن كثير.

Translation of the text Part Three

1) His birth and infancy

The Prophet, peace be upon him, was born prostrating himself on the earth, raising his forefinger to heaven, delighted, black-eyed, clean and

³⁷ Ibn Hišām (1:158).

³⁸ Muḥammad ibn 'Ishāq ibn Yasār Al-Maṭlabiyy Al-Madaniyy (d. 151 A.H.). *Al-Sīra Al-Nabawiyyah*. Edited by Ahmed Farid Al-Muzaydiyy. 1st edition. Beirut: Dar Al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah. (2004). Vol. I, pp. 96-97.

³⁹ Ibn Hišām (1:158), Muḥammad ibn Sa'd ibn Māni' (d. 230 A.H.) *Al-Ṭabaqa Al-Kubrā*. Beirut: Dar al-'Ilmiyyah: (undated), Vol. I, p. 100.

good, with no blood or dirt on him, with the umbilical cord cut, and (already) circumcised, although there is disagreement about (all) this. He was born in Mecca at dawn on Monday, on or shortly before April 20 which is equivalent to the 12th day of Rabi' Al-'Awwal, or the 7th as is argued by some scholars like 'Abd Al-'Aziz Al-Dabbāg, or on the 8th day; but the first (of these dates) is the best known. And that year was called the Year of the Elephant, (named after the event) which took place fifty days or six months before or after his coming (his birth), with the sun in the sign of the Ram, and the moon in the sign of the Lion, in the year 570 after the birth of 'Isā (Jesus). And this elephant was brought from Yemen by Abraha the Habasha for the purpose of the destruction of the Ka'ba but he was destroyed with his troops by Allah before he entered Mecca, in the place called Wādi Maḥṣar between Minā and Muzdalifah. The first Habasha who governed Yemen before Islam was Aryat, then after him Abraha Ašram the owner of the elephant, and after him his sons Yaksum ibn Abraha and then Masrūq ibn Abraha, who was the last of the four. The Habasha rule in Yemen, from the entry of Aryat until the Persians killed Masrūq ibn Abraha and expelled the Habasha, lasted for seventy-two years [7] of hereditary rule of (these) four. And they are mentioned in this way in the history of Ibn Yazin and Ibn Kathir.

Analysis Number Three

No one is sure of the exact date of the Prophet's birth. The sources generally agree in saying that the Prophet was born in Rabi' al-'Awwal, on a Monday in the Year of the Elephant. It is an established fact that the Prophet's migration to Medina took place in 622 A.D. when he was in the 53rd year of his life. Calculating backward from this year and assuming that 53 lunar years equal 51 solar years, his birth would fall in 571 A.D. There is a difference of opinion, however, about his exact

birthday in Rabi' al-'Awwal. Ibn 'Ishāq puts it on the 12th; Ibn Sa'd, on the authority of Al-Wāqidi, states it to be the 10th; while Mas'ūdi puts it on the 8th.⁴⁰ Further calculations have been made on the basis of this period between the 8th and 12th of Rabi' al-'Awwal and the fact of Monday being the day on which the Prophet was born. According to meticulous astronomical calculations carried out by Maḥmūd Paša Al-Falaki of Egypt, the only Monday between 8 and 12 Rabi' al-'Awwal in 571 A.D. fell on the 9th. Accepting this calculation a number of scholars state that the Prophet was born on Monday, 9 Rabi' al-'Awwal, corresponding to 20 April 571 A.D. There are others, however, who instead assume that 53 lunar years would equal 52 solar years and accordingly place his birth-date in March/ April 570 A.D.⁴¹ But the former view appears to be more widely accepted.

Arabic text of the manuscript Part Four

[7 cont.] وكانت قابلته الشفاء أم عبد الرحمن بن عوف مع أم أيمن بركة الحبشية التي ورثها من أبيه عبد الله وكانت سيدة من سيدات المسلمين رضي الله عنها رب العالمين ، وفي ليلة ولادته صلى الله عليه وسلم وآله وصحبه ومن أسلم إنشق إيوان كسرى ملك الفرس وتساقطت منه أربع عشرة شرافة وخدمت نارهم التي كانوا يعبدونها ولم تخمد قبل ذلك بألف عام وغازت بحيرة ساوة وقطعت دجلة وانتشرت في بلادها وفاض وادي سماوة ورُميت الشياطين بالشهب وكانت قبل ذلك تطير في الهواء فتدنو من السماء وتسترق السمع فحُجبت عن السماء من ليلة ولادته إلى الآن ، الحمد لله الملك الديان ، شديد السلطان .

وارضعته صلى الله عليه وسلم وآله وصحبه ومن أسلم نحو ثمان من النساء منها أمه آمنة فارضعته سبعت أيام ثم ثويبة الأسلمية جارية عمه أبي لهب التي أعتقها حين بشرته بولادته المباركة مع ولدها مسروح ، وأرضعت أيضا بلبن مسروح حمزة وأبا سلمة بن عبد الأسد وهي رضي الله عنها أول من أرضعته صلى الله عليه وسلم .

⁴⁰ Maḥmūd Pasha Al-Falaki (1986). *Natā'ij al-Afḥām fi Taqwīm al-'A'rāb Qabla al-'Islām*. Beirut: Dār al-Baṣā'ir al-Islamiyyah. Pp. 32-35.

⁴¹ Abū Al-Ḥassan Al-Nadawiy (1979). *Muḥammad Rasūl Allah*. Beirut: Dar Li-l-Malayīn. p. 91.

وفي الفتوحات المكية أول لبن نزل جوفه صلى الله عليه وسلم لبن ثوبية الأسلمية ، إنتهى . ثم خولة بنت المنذر ثم حاضنته بقية أهل بيته أم أيمن ثم حليلة بنت أبي ذؤيب من بني سعد فاخذته ومضت به إلى ديار بني سعد ووجدت من الخير والبركة ما هو من معجزاته صلى الله عليه وسلم فأقام عندها عامين ثم رجعت به بعد ذلك إلى مكة المكرمة مع زوجها حارث المشهور بأبي كبشة وقالت حليلة لآمنة : إنا نخشى عليه مرض مكة أفلا نرجع به إلى بلادنا ؟ فلم تزل تراخعها في ذلك حتى ردتته معهم علنا ، فعادت به إلى ديارها ديار بني سعد

وبعد مُضي أشهر من عودته إلى حليلة حصلت له [8] حادثة شق صدره الشريف صلى الله عليه وسلم وذلك بيد جبريل ومعه بعض الملائكة فآلقوه على ظهره وشقوا بطنه وأخرجوا قلبه فشقوه وأخذوا منه علقة وألقوها وقال جبريل هذا حظ الشيطان منك مما كان يرجوه في إضلالك ثم غسلوا القلب بماء زمزم وملئوه حكمة وإيمانا ثم لأمو البطن فالتأم فكأنه لم يكن به شق ثم أقاموه وكان يُرى أثر الشق خطا مستطيلا من صدره إلى نهاية بطنه .

وروى حديث الشق الإمام البخاري والإمام مسلم في صحيحيهما ، وقد تكرر حادثة شق صدره الشريف كما ذكره بعض أهل العلم أربع مرات : الأولى هذه وهي متفق عليها ، والثانية حينما بلغ عمره عشر سنين ، والثالثة عند ابتداء البعثة ، والرابعة عند الإسراء .

Translation of the text Part Four

[7 cont.] His midwife was the healer (?) 'Umm 'Abd Ar-Rahmān ibn 'Awf along with 'Ummu 'Ayman Barakah the Habasha whom he inherited from his father 'Abdallah, and she (may Allah, lord of the universe, be pleased with her) was one of the Muslim ladies. On the night of his birth (peace be upon him, his family, companions and all who converted to Islam) the hall of the Persian king Chosroes was split open, its fourteen balconies collapsed, and the fire went out which they worshiped and which had not gone out for a thousand years before that. And Lake Sawah became decreased, and the Tigris (River) was cut [and overflowed] and spread out over the country, and the valley of Samāwa flooded. And the devils were shot down by meteors, whereas before that they used to fly in the air and approach heaven to eavesdrop; but from the night of his birth until today, heaven has been concealed to them. Praise to God, the King and Judge, the mighty ruler.

About eight women suckled him, among them his mother 'Āmina who suckled him for seven days. Then there was Thuwaybah al-'Aslamiyyah, the maidservant of his uncle 'Abu Lahab, who manumitted her together with her son Masrūḥ when she brought him the good news about his (the Prophet's) blessed birth. She also suckled Masrūḥ Ḥamzah and 'Abu Salmah ibn 'Abd Al-'Asad. And she was the first one who suckled him.

According to Futūḥāt Al-Makiyyah the first milk which entered the Prophet's stomach was Thuwaybah al-'Aslamiyyah's milk. Then there was Ḥawlah bint Al-Munḍir, and then the other (women) of his household nursed him, 'Ummu 'Ayman and then Ḥalīma bint Abu Du'ayb of the Bani Sa'd. She took him to the village of the Bani Sa'd where she found good things and blessings, which is among his miracles. He stayed with her for two years. Then after that, she brought him to Mecca together with her husband Ḥārith who was known as 'Abu Kabšah. And Ḥalīma said to 'Āmina: We are worried about him because of the disease(s) of Mecca. Shouldn't we bring him back to our village? And she continued to repeat this to her until she ['Āmina] sent him back openly with them. And she [Ḥalīma] brought him back to her village, the village of the Bani Sa'd.

A few months after he was returned to Ḥalīma, an event happened to him: [8] the ripping open of his noble breast by the Angel Jibrīl and some other angels with him. And they threw him down on his back, and they ripped open his stomach and took out his heart, and split it open and extracted from it a blood-clot and threw it away. And Jibrīl said: "This was the part of Satan in you, with which he hoped to mislead you." Then they washed the heart with water of Zamzam, and they filled it with



wisdom and faith. And they mended his stomach and it was mended, as if there had never been a rip in it. Then they raised him up, and the mark of the incision was visible as a long line from his breast to the bottom of his stomach.

The story of the rip is transmitted by Buḥārī and Muslim in their Ṣaḥīḥ (Authenticated Hadith). And the story of the rip in his noble breast is told repeatedly; it is mentioned four times by various scholars [i.e. in four versions]. The first is the above (account), which is the generally agreed-upon version. The second is (that it happened) when he was ten years old. The third is (that it happened) at the beginning of his Mission. The fourth is (that it happened) at the time of his night journey (from Jerusalem to heaven).

Analysis Number Four

It was the custom of the noble families of Mecca at that time to entrust their new-born babies to the care of suitable nurses for suckling and bringing them up. For a few days after his birth he was suckled by Thuwaybah, a maidservant of his uncle Abu Lahab. It is reported that Abu Lahab was so happy at the birth of a son of his deceased brother 'Abdallah that he freed Thuwaybah. She had also suckled Ḥamzah, and another of the Prophet's uncles who was almost his same age. After some days, however, the Prophet was made over to the care of Ḥalimah bint Abu Du'ayb of Banu Sa'd, of the Ḥawāzin branch of Quraysh. The Ḥawāzin lived in the open and healthy desert area of Ḥudaybiyyah and were noted for the purity of their Arab culture and the high standard of their language. Ḥalimah's husband was Al-Ḥārith ibn 'Abd Al-'Uzzah ibn Rifā'ah (also known as Abu Kabshah). The couple themselves had a son named Abdallah and two daughters named 'Unaysah and Ḥudāfah. The

latter, more commonly known as Šaymā', took care of the boy Muḥammad along with her mother.⁴²

Muḥammad remained in Ḥalimah's care and nursing for two years. During this period she used to bring the child every six months to visit his mother and to reassure her as to the child's growth and well-being. At the end of the first two years Ḥalimah brought the child to his mother with the intention of finally making him over to her. But his mother, in view of the satisfactory growth and health of the child, asked Ḥalimah to keep him with her for a further period. Ḥalimah was only too glad to receive him back for she had developed a strong motherly affection and fondness for the uncommonly healthy, handsome and sweet-mannered boy. Thus he remained with his foster parents for another two years or so.

Toward the end of this second term of his stay with his foster parents there occurred a miraculous incident to him. It is known as *Šaqq aṣ-Šadr* (the opening of the chest). The reports differ in matters of detail, e.g. in respect of date and place of the occurrence. But the event is mentioned in the authenticated source of Ḥadīth as narrated by Muslim, Nasa'iy and Daramiy.⁴³

[About 1½ pages are omitted, including his first journey to Syria]

⁴² Maḥmūd Pasha p. 39

⁴³ 'Abū al-Ḥusayn, Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Quṣayri al-Niṣābūriyy (206-261 A.H.). *The Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim*. Edited by Muḥammad 'Abd Al-Bāqī, Istanbul (undated), ḥadīth No. 261. Nasa', 'Abu 'Abd Al-Raḥmān Aḥmad ibn Su'ayb ibn 'Alī (215-303 A.H.). *Kitāb Sunan Al-Kubrā*. Edited by Muḥammad Ḥabīb Allāh, Bombay (1985), ḥadīth No. 448, 452. Daramiy, 'Abdallāh ibn 'Abd Al-Raḥmān Al-Samarqandiy (181-255 A.H.), edited by Fawaz Aḥmad Zamrali. Beirut: Dār Al-Mu'ārif (1987), p. 8.

Arabic text of the manuscript Part Five

[9 cont.] (7) ذكر حضوره حرب الفجار وسفره الثاني إلى الشام

وقد حضر رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم مع عمومته حرب الفجار وعمره أربع عشرة سنة وقيل عشرون ، سميت حرب الفجار لما انتهك فيها من حرمة [10] الحرم وانتصرت قريش آخرًا وكان صلى الله عليه وسلم يشب وهو أحسن الناس خلقًا وخلقًا وأعظمهم مروءة وصدقًا وعفافًا وأمانة حتى سموه بالأمين. ولما بلغ صلى الله عليه وسلم وآله وصحبه ومن أسلم خمسا وعشرين سنة وعرفت منه ذلك الأوصاف الجميلة خديجة بنت [بنت] خويلد بن أسد ابن عبد العزى بن قصي سألته صلى الله عليه وسلم أن يسافر إلى الشام بمالها للتجارة لها مع غلامها ميسرة وكانت ذات شرف ومال تستأجر الرجال في مالها وقد اختارته لهذا العمل وقالت له صلى الله عليه وسلم أنا أعطيك ضيعف ما أعطي رجلا من قومك فأجابها رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فلما وصل إلى الشام ومعه ميسرة باعا وابتاعا ثم رجعا إلى مكة بربح عظيم وكان ميسرة يرى ملكين يظلان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ويقيان حرّ الشمس وأخبر ميسرة سيده خديجة بما رأى من إضلال الملكين له وبما سمع من قول نسطور الراهب لميسرة : من هذا الرجل الذي يجلس تحت هذه الشجرة ؟ فقال له ميسرة إنه رجل من قريش فقال الراهب : إنه ما نزل تحت هذه الشجرة قط إلا نبيٌّ ورسول ، يعني في ذاك الوقت.

Translation of the text Part Five

[9 cont.] (7) His Participation in the Sacrilegious War (ḥarb al-fujjār)

and his second journey to Syria

Allah's messenger, peace be upon him, took part together with his uncles in the Sacrilegious War when he was fourteen years old, or some say twenty. It was so called because in it inviolable prohibitions [regarding warfare] were violated.^{FTN} [10] The Qurayš were victorious at the end of the war. He was (by then) a young man, the best of people in form and character, and the most manly and truthful and virtuous and trustworthy, so that he was called Al-'Amīn (the Trustworthy). When he was twenty-five years old and Khadijah, the daughter of Khuwaylid son of 'Asad son of 'Abd al-'Uzzā son of Quṣay, learned of those fine qualities of his, she asked him travel to Syria with her money to trade for her, along with her servant Maysarah. And she was a noble and rich woman, who would hire men with her money, and she selected him for this task. And she said to him "I will pay you double what I would give to other

men of your clan". And he accepted her offer. When he got to Syria with Maysarah the two of them sold and bought and they returned to Mecca with huge profit. [During the return trip] Maysarah saw two angels shading the Prophet and protecting him from the heat of the sun. And Maysarah told his mistress Khadījah about what he had seen, how the two angels had given him [the Prophet] shade; and also about what Nestor the monk had said to him: "Who is this man who is sitting under that tree?" And Maysarah told him that it was a man of Qurayš. And the monk said to him "No one can sit under this tree except a prophet or messenger", i.e. at that time.

Analysis Number Five

The Fujjār began when the Prophet was fourteen or twenty years of age [traditions differ]. There were in fact a series of some four consecutive wars, extending over a period of not less than five years. These were called Fujjār or Sacrilegious Wars because they were fought during the sacred month of Dū Al-Qā'idah, at a place between Ṭā'if and Nakhla. They were also related in large measure to tribal ego and false sense of honor in protecting and supporting a member or ally of a tribe, be he in the right or wrong. At the pilgrimage site and fair of 'Ukāz not only traders and merchants thronged from all parts of the peninsula with their merchandise and wares, but also poets, musicians, dancers and other entertainers came to exhibit and make money out of their respective skills. One of the main cultural features of the fair was a sort of national competition among the poets of various tribes who recited their respective compositions, each seeking to establish his own as well as his tribe's prestige and superiority over the others. Naturally, tribal spirit and excitement ran high on such occasions and these often led to quarrels, conflicts and bloodshed.

The first Fujjār war was occasioned by the boasting at the 'Ukāz fair of a person of one tribe who claimed himself to be the most respected individual among all the Arabs and, being challenged in that claim by an equally headstrong person of another tribe, struck the latter with his sword. The second and the third wars broke out, respectively, over the insulting of a woman of one tribe by a man of another tribe and over the question of settling a debt owed by a person of one tribe to a person of another tribe. The fourth and last war broke out over a more serious affair. Nu'mān ibn Muḍir, the king of Ḥira, wanted to send his trade caravan to the 'Ukāz fair and looked for a suitable guarantor for that purpose. Bar'aḍ ibn Qays of the Banu Kinānah of Mecca and 'Urwah ibn 'Utbah of the Banu Hawāzin of Ṭā'if contested for getting this assignment, which doubtless would involve a commission for the guarantor. Nu'mān ultimately selected 'Urwah as the guarantor. Stung at this discomfiture Bar'aḍ waylaid 'Urwah and killed him.⁴⁴ In the fighting that consequently broke out over this affair the Qurayš and Kinanah tribes were ranged along with their allies against the Hawazin and Qays tribes and their allies. The war continued for four years, with long intermissions, the fighting taking place mainly at the time of the fair, and the victory alternating between the contending sides.

The fujjār wars are narrated by Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Hišām, and his contemporary Al-Wāqidi.⁴⁵ Al-Wāqidi's version of this incident appears to be a combination of Ibn Ishāq's and Ibn Hišām's versions. Thus, following Ibn Ishāq, Al-Wāqidi states that the Prophet was twenty years old at the

⁴⁴ Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb Al-Baḡdādī (d. 859 A.D.), *Kitāb Al-Munammīq fī 'Akhbār Qurayš*. Edited by Khurshid Aḥmad Faruq; Beirut: 'Alam Al-Kutub (1985), pp. 160-185; Ibn Hišām (1:184-185).

⁴⁵ Ibn Hišām (1:186).

time and then, like Ibn Hišām, quotes the Prophet saying: "I was present at it (i.e. the Fujjār War) with my uncles and shot arrows in it. I wish I had not done so".⁴⁶

After his first journey to Syria [omitted in these excerpts], it is on record that the Prophet made a second journey to Syria when about twenty-five years of age as the leader of Khadījah's trade caravan to that land. Historians have been careful to note this event in some detail because it proved to be a turning point in his life. The very fact of this commercial assignment to him presupposes that he had by then accumulated some experience in such transactions; for wise and well experienced as Khadījah was in matters of trade and commerce, she would not have entrusted her capital and caravan to a young man, however honest and just, if she had not been convinced of his abilities and suitability in this respect. Nonetheless it is certain that whatever trading activities he might have been engaged in Mecca, and despite his earlier trip to Syria, he had not previously led any other trade caravan to a foreign land. If he had done so, this fact would surely have been referred to by the chroniclers and transmitters of Hadith, at least in connection with this trading mission on behalf of Khadījah.⁴⁷

Khadījah, at the time 40 years old, was the daughter of Khuwaylid ibn 'Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzah ibn Quṣay ibn Kilāb ibn Murrah. Her ancestry thus converged with that of the Prophet in Quṣay. As stated by Ibn 'Ishāq and repeated by Šayḥ Badr Al-Dīn, Khadījah, hearing of the character and capability of Muḥammad, contacted him through his uncle 'Abū Tālib and requested him to lead her trade caravan to Syria, offering him

⁴⁶ Ibn Sa'd (1:128).

⁴⁷ Ibn Hišām (1:188).

double the remuneration she used to pay others.⁴⁸ Muḥammad, in consultation with his uncle 'Abū Ṭālib, accepted this offer and led her caravan to Syria, accompanied as assistant by Maysarah, a servant of Khadījah. It is stated that Maysarah himself saw two angels (or according to another version two clouds) shading Muḥammad from the sun in the course of his return journey. The authenticity of these reports is of course debatable. Be that as it may, the trading expedition proved to be remarkably successful. Muḥammad not only sold Khadījah's wares at considerable profit but also purchased with the proceeds goods that, on his return to Mecca, fetched her almost double in profit.

The contact thus established between Muḥammad and Khadījah led to their marriage. She employed her trusted companion and friend Nafisah to sound out Muḥammad on the subject of marriage. Nafisah returned to Khadījah with all satisfaction and communicated to her the successful result of her mission.⁴⁹ At the time of their marriage Khadījah was forty years old, considerably older than Muḥammad, who was only twenty-five.⁵⁰

[About 2½ pages are omitted]

Arabic text of the manuscript Part Six

[12 cont.] (11) ذكر تعبد به حراء قبل النبوة وذكر بدء الوحي ورسالته

ثم إنه صلى الله عليه وسلم كان يتعبد بغار حراء جبل على طريق مكة وذلك قبل النبوة على دين إبراهيم عليهما الصلاة والسلام الليالي ذوات العدد فتارة عشرًا وتارة أكثر ويأخذ لذلك زاده وكانت السيدة خديجة تزوده فعند [13] تمام لأربعين وهي سن الكمال أنزل الله عليه كتابه المبين بواسطة جبريل الأمين ، كما عرفت بما مرّ لك بالتبيين ، وهو يتعبد في غار حراء وبعثه هاديا وبشيرا ونذيرا ورحمة للعالمين ، صلى الله عليه وسلم وآله وصحبه ومن اسلم

⁴⁸ Ibn Sa'd (1:131).

⁴⁹ Ibid. 1:131.

⁵⁰ Ibn Hišām (1:235), Sayyid Quṭb (1962): *Fī Ṣilāl Al-Qur'ān*. Beirut: Dār 'Ihyā' Al-Turāth. Vol. 29, p. 166.

واعلم أن أنواع الوحي كثيرة : منها أن يأتيه صلى الله عليه وسلم الوحي مثل صلصلة الجرس أي صوت وقوع الحديد بعضه على بعض ثم أطلق على كل صوت له طنين فيفصم عنه وقد وَعَى عن المَلَك ما قال ، ومنها أن يأتيه صلى الله عليه وسلم الوحي فيتمثل له الملك جبرائيلُ رجلاً قَبِيحاً عنه ما يقول ، ومنها تكليم الله للنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من غير حجاب ولا واسطة كما وقع ليلة الإسراء في فرض الصلاة وهذا لم يقع لأحد سوى نبيِّنا صلى الله عليه وسلم ، ومنها تكليم الله للنبي بلا واسطة من وراء الحجاب كما وقع لموسى عليه السلام.

Translation of the text Part Six

[12 cont.] His worship in the Cave of Ḥirā' before Prophethood

He then worshipped in the cave of Ḥirā', a mountain on the road to Mecca; and this event took place before his prophethood, according to the religion of Abraham, peace be upon them both. (He would spend) several nights (there in the cave), sometimes ten and sometimes more. He used to take with him provisions which were supplied by the lady Khadijah. When [13] he reached the age of forty, which is the age of maturity, Allah revealed to him the clear Book via the faithful (angel) Jibrīl, as you know from what has already been explained to you. And it was when he worshipped in the cave of Ḥirā' that He [Allah] appointed him as a guide and a messenger and a warner and as mercy for all mankind.

Know that there are many types of revelations. One is that the revelation would come to him like the ringing of a bell, that is, the sound of the falling of iron, one upon the other [the falling of the iron clapper on the iron bell], and this applies (also) to any ringing sound; it would abate⁵¹ from him, and he would (fully) understand what the angel said. One is that the revelation would come to him when the angel Jibrā'il appeared to him in the form of a human being, and he would (fully) understand what

⁵¹ Literally 'to crack'; idiomatically 'to abate (fever, rain)' (Hava 1970:565). This is unclear, but it seems to refer to the abating of the sound of the bell.

the angel said. One is that Allah would speak to the Prophet without any screen and without any intermediary, as happened in the Night Journey (to the seven heavens) when the obligatory prayers (were commanded). And one is that Allah would speak to the Prophet without any intermediary but from behind a screen, as was the case with Moses, peace be upon him.

Analysis Number Six

When the Prophet Muḥammad peace be upon him was nearly forty, he was wont to pass long hours in retirement and meditation. He used to provide himself with barley porridge and water and then head for the hills and ravines in the neighborhood of Mecca. One of these in particular was his favorite resort — the cave of Ḥirā', in the mountain Al-Nūr. It was only two miles from Mecca, a small cave only a few yards long and wide. He would go there and invite wayfarers to share with him his modest provision.⁵²

This meditative temperament helped to widen the mental gap between him and his contemporaries. He used to devote most of his time, and Ramaḍān in particular, to worship and meditation on the universe around him. His heart was troubled by the moral evils and idolatry that were rampant among his people; but he was as yet helpless to do anything about it because no definite course had been given to him to follow.

Privacy and detachment from the impurities of life were two indispensable prerequisites for the Prophet's soul to come into close communion with the unseen power that lies behind the universe. This rich period of privacy, which lasted for three years, ushered in a new era

⁵² Sayyid Quṭb (29:166-167).

of indissoluble contact with the power. It was a preliminary stage to the period of grave responsibilities that he was to shoulder very soon.⁵³

According to Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah, the revelation came to the Prophet in several stages:

First: The period of true vision. It was the starting point of the revelation.

Second: What the angel invisibly cast in the Prophet's mind and heart.

Third: The angel would visit the messenger of Allah in the form of a human being and would speak to him directly. This would enable him to fully understand what the angel said.

Fourth: What Allah Himself revealed to him in heaven, i.e. when he ascended to heaven and received Allah's behest of Ṣalāt (prayer).

Fifth: The Prophet saw the angel in his actual form.

Sixth: The angel came to him like the ringing of a bell.

Seventh: Allah's words came to his messenger at first hand without the mediation of an angel. It was a privilege granted to Moses peace be upon him.⁵⁴

Four of these stages are mentioned by Ṣayḥ Badr Al-Dīn, though presented in a different order: 6,3,4,7.

[About 1½ pages are omitted]

The Arabic text of the manuscript Part Seven

[14 cont.] (13) ذكر دعوته إلى الإسلام سرّاً ثم جهراً

ثم إنه صلى الله عليه وسلم كان في ثلاث سنوات بعد النبوة يدعو قومه سرّاً حتى نزل عليه قوله سبحانه وتعالى في سورة الحجر: (فاصْدَعْ بِمَا تُؤْمَرُ [15] وَأَعْرِضْ عَنِ الْمُشْرِكِينَ) فجهر بالدعوة إلى دين الله مُمْتَثِلاً أمر ربه وجمع قومه عشيرته وأنذرهم عذاب يوم عظيم لما نزل قوله سبحانه وتعالى (وَأَنْذِرْ عَشِيرَتَكَ الْأَقْرَبِينَ) فتكلم القوم كلاماً لئينا إلا عمه أبا لهب فردّ عليه ردّاً قبيحاً ثم تعصبت قريش وساروا إلى عمه أبي طالب مراراً ليمنع الرسول عن عيب آلهم وسبها فلما أبى الإمتناع أخذوا يؤذونه ويستنهضون به وكان صلى الله عليه وسلم يقابلهم بالحلم والصبر

⁵³ Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah, Ṣams al-Dīn 'Abū 'Abdallah ibn Muḥammad ibn Abi Bakr al-Dimaṣṣiqiy (691-751 A.H.), *Zād Al-Mi'ād Fī Hadyi Ḥayr Al-'Ibād*. Beirut: Dār Al-Mu'arif (1979). Vol. 1, p. 18.

⁵⁴ Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Al-Wahhāb: *Mukhtaṣar Sīrat Al-Rasūl*: p. 88.

والعفو، وأشدّهم إيذاءً له هم أبو جهل وأبو لهب وعُقبَةُ بن مُعَيْطُ والوليد بن المغيرة ، وقد انتقم الله من جميع المستهزئين بعد الهجرة ، فلما رأت قريش عِزَّةَ الرسول أهملوا إيذاؤه وأخذوا إيذاء الصحابة وتعذيبهم بالحبس والضرب والجوع والعطش وممن عُدَّبَ في الله بلال بن رباح وعَمَّارُ بن ياسر وأخوه وأبوه وأمه وخبَّابُ بن الأُرث.

Translation of the text Part Seven

[14 cont.] (13) His secret and public preaching

Then for three years after the call to Prophethood, the Prophet would preach to his people in secret, until Allah revealed to him this verse from Sūra al-Hijr: "So proclaim openly what you are commanded, [15] and turn away from the idolators" (15:94). Then he began preaching in public, calling to the religion of Allah in obedience to his Lord's command. And he gathered his people and his family and warned them of the punishment of a Terrible Day, with Allah's revelation of the verse: "And warn your close kindred" (26:214). And the people answered compliantly except for his uncle Abu Lahab, who answered him insolently. Then Qurayš gathered together and went to his uncle Abu Ṭālib several times so that he would forbid the Prophet from dishonoring their gods and insulting them. And when he [Abu Ṭālib] refused to forbid him, they began to hurt him [the Prophet] and revile him. And the Prophet would answer them with mildness and patience and forgiveness. And those who hurt him the most were Abu Jahl and Abu Lahab and 'Uqbah bin Mu'ayṭ and Al-Walīd bin Muḡīrah. And Allah took vengeance on all the revilers after the Hijra. When Qurayš saw the power of the Prophet, they stopped hurting him and began hurting the companions, punishing them with imprisonment and beating and hunger and thirst. And those who were punished (in this way) for the sake of Allah included Bilāl bin Rabāḥ and 'Ammār bin Yāsir and his brother and father and mother, and Ḥabbāb bin Al-'Arth.

Analysis Number Seven

Mecca was the center of pre-Islamic Arabia, and house of Allah Al-Ka'bah. The guardianship of the idols that received veneration on the part of all the Arabs lay in the hands of the Meccans, who had a vested interest in preserving this situation, and especially the dominant Meccan tribe Qurayš. To call for reform in such a place and under such conditions was difficult and dangerous. This is why Muḥammad's call to Islam originally assumed a clandestine form, so that the Meccans should not be enraged by the new religion.⁵⁵

In the beginning the Meccan leaders did not care much about Muḥammad and took little heed of his teachings. At first, they thought that he was merely a religious philosopher like 'Umayyah ibn Abī As-Salt, Quṣṣ ibn Sa'adiyah and others who used to discuss god and religion among the Arabs. But this attitude of indifference changed into real apprehension as soon as Muḥammad began preaching in public, when the following verse was revealed: "So proclaim openly what you are commanded, and turn away from the idolators" (15:94). Muḥammad's words were a thunderbolt that turned the time-honored ideological life of Mecca upside down. The Qurayš could ill afford to hear someone attacking their polytheistic way of life, and viewed the new religion as establishing a dangerous authority over themselves and over their wealth.

After deliberating, they hit upon the only target available, i.e. to contact the Prophet's uncle, Abū Ṭālib, and request him to intervene and advise

⁵⁵ Ibn Hišām (1:265).

his nephew to stop his activities. In doing so they touched the most sensitive nerve in Arabian life, viz. family and ancestral pride.⁵⁶

Arabic text of the manuscript Part Eight

[15 cont.] (14) ذكر الهجرة الأولى إلى الحبشة

ثم في السنة الخامسة من البعثة هاجر المسلمون إلى الحبشة لما اشتد أذى المشركين على كل من أسلم بأمر من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ، وهذه الهجرة أول هجرة للمسلمين ورجعوا بعد ثلاثة أشهر بسبب ألم الغربة وقلة عددهم ، وقال بعضهم : وفي شهر شوال سنة خمس من الهجرة قدم [16] نفر من مهاجري الحبشة إلى مكة لأنه بلغهم أن كفار قريش أسلموا وسبب هذا الخبر أن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قرأ بمحضر من قريش سورة والنجم من أولها إلى آخرها وسجد في آخرها فلما سجد سجد معه المشركون ، والصحيح في سبب سجودهم أنهم توهموا أنه ذكر آلهتهم بخير حين سمعوا ذكر اللات والعزى ومناة الثالثة الأخرى ، وقيل أن الشيطان ألقى في أسماعهم في خلال القراءة بعد قوله (أَفَرَأَيْتُمُ اللَّاتَ وَالْعُزَّى وَمَنَاةَ الثَّالِثَةَ الْأُخْرَى) "تلك الغرائق العلا وأن شفاعتهن لثُرَجَى" وذلك ليفتنهم الشيطان ولم يسمعها أحد من المسلمين ، وقيل أن بعض الكفار هم الذين نطقوا بذكر تلك الكلمات في خلال قراءة النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فإنهم كانوا يكثررون اللغظ والصياح عند قراءة النبي خوفا من إصغاء الناس إلى القراءة وذلك بإغراء من الشيطان ، وهذه الكلمات أعني " تلك الغرائق " أثبتتها بعضهم ونفاها آخرون وقالوا إنها كذب لا أصل لها وطعنوا في الأحاديث النبوية فيها ذكر ذلك وقالوا سبب سجودهم إنما هو توهمهم مدح آلهتهم فقط .

وعدة أصحابها عشرة رجال وخمس نسوة وكان فيهم عثمان بن عفان وزوجته رُقَيَّة بنت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ومعها أم أيمن مولاة الرسول هاجرت معها لتخدمها ، وفيهم أيضا وزبير ابن العوام وعبد الرحمن بن عوف ومُصْعَب بن عمير وعامر بن ربيعة وعثمان بن مظعون وأبو سلمة وزوجته أم سلمة .

Translation of the text Part Eight

[15 cont.] (14) The First Migration to Habasha

In the fifth year of the Prophethood the Muslims migrated to Habasha by the Prophet's order, when their persecution by the (Meccan) idolators increased. This was the first migration (Hijra) for the Muslims and after three months they returned due to homesickness and the smallness of their numbers. Some narrate [a different version]: in the month of Šawwāl in the fifth year after the Hijra [of Muḥammad], a party [16] of

⁵⁶ [Abu Al-Fidā' 'Ismā'il] Ibn Kathīr. *Tafsīr Al-Qur'ān Al-'Aẓīm*. Cairo: Maktabat Dār Al-Turāth. Vol. VI, p. 304.

the emigrants to Habasha came back to Mecca because they heard that the Qurayš infidels had converted to Islam. And the reason for this was that the Prophet, in the presence of Qurayš, recited Sūra al-Najm ("The Star"; sūra 53) from the beginning to the end; and at the end he prostrated himself, and when he prostrated, the idolaters prostrated with him too. And the true reason for their prostrating is that they thought that he [the Prophet] was mentioning their gods with approval when they heard the words "Al-Lāt and Al-'Uzzā and Manāt, the third, the other" (Qur'an 53: 19-20). And some (commentators) say that during his recitation, after he said "Have you then considered Al-Lāt and Al-'Uzzā and Manāt, the third, the other?", Satan put into their ears (the words) "These are the lofty cranes, and their intercession is to be desired". Satan did that in order to tempt them; but not a single Muslim heeded this. But some [others] say that it was certain of the infidels that uttered these words during the Prophet's recitation, making a lot of noise and shouting during the Prophet's recitation, for fear that the people would pay attention to the recitation. And this was at the instigation of Satan. And these words, I mean "These are the (lofty) cranes...", some (of the commentators) accept them; but others deny them, saying "This is a lie and has no foundation". And they reject (the idea) that this is mentioned in the Traditions of the Prophet, saying that the only reason for their [Qurayš's] prostration was that they thought their gods were being praised.

And their number (of the emigrants) was [only] ten men and five women. Among them were 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān and his wife Ruqayyah, the daughter of the Prophet; with her was 'Umm 'Ayman, the Prophet's freedwoman, who had emigrated with her to serve her. Among them were also Zubair ibn Al-'Awwām, 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf, Muṣ'ab ibn

‘Umayr, ‘Āmir ibn Rabī‘ah, ‘Uthmān ibn Maz‘ūn, Abū Salamah and his wife Umm Salamah.

Analysis Number Eight

Why Habasha?

The choice of Habasha was no doubt suggested by the prevailing international situation, particularly the relationship between the Byzantine and Persian Empires. These two powerful northern neighbors of Arabia were at that time involved in a prolonged conflict. In 602 A.D., some seven years before the Prophet’s call, the Byzantine throne was usurped by Phocas, whose cruelty and ruthlessness soon alienated all sections of the population from him. Taking advantage of this situation the Persian Emperor Chosroes Parwez declared war against the Byzantines and after inflicting a series of defeats upon their forces, advanced into Syria. In 614 Parwez occupied Jerusalem. The Meccan unbelievers, who sympathized with Persia against the Byzantine Christians, were elated at this success of Parwez. They started taunting the Muslims, saying that the devotees of gods of good and evil had defeated the Christian forces; similarly the devotees of Al-Lāt and Al-‘Uzzā and Manāt would overcome the Muslims. In this context came the relation of the initial passage of Sūra Al-Rūm (sūra 30).⁵⁷ The passage graphically portrays the situation, both between the Byzantines and Persians and between the believers and unbelievers at Mecca. It also predicts that within less than ten years the Byzantines would turn the tables upon the Persians, and simultaneously the Muslims too would achieve victory by Allah’s grace. The prediction came true exactly within the period specified; for in 624 A.D. the Byzantines, under their ruler Heraclius, inflicted a decisive defeat upon the Persians and in the same year the Muslims obtained their first major victory at Badr. For the time

⁵⁷ Holy Qur’ān 30:1-5.

being, however, victory was not in sight either for the Byzantines or for the Muslims. When the Muslims needed a refuge, there was no question of seeking it towards the north. Hence they turned their attention to the only non-idolatrous country in the south, namely Habasha. This was a land with which the Qurayš, particularly Banu Hāšim and Banu Al-Muṭṭalib, had been carrying on trade for a long time. Accordingly, under the direction of the Prophet, some fifteen or sixteen Muslims including four women slipped away from Mecca in the month of Rajab in the fifth year of Prophethood, corresponding to 615 A.D. The Qurayš leaders followed in hot pursuit; but the emigrants left for Habasha just before their pursuers got to the port.⁵⁸ Their relatively large numbers and the inclusion in the group of women indicate that they did not go to Habasha purely or primarily for diplomatic purposes. On arrival there they remained at or near the court of the Habasha ruler. This is only natural; for they went seeking refuge there. According to the reports of some of the emigrants, they were not only allowed to stay there peacefully but also no hindrance was placed on their belief and worship. Nor were they harassed in word or deed.

The emigrants stayed peacefully in Habasha for a couple of months. Towards the end of that period a rumor reached them that the Qurayš leaders had embraced Islam and that the enmity between them and the Prophet had ceased. In response to the rumor, all or most of the emigrants left Habasha in the month of Šawwāl. According to Ibn Sa'd all the emigrants returned.⁵⁹

[About 1½ pages are omitted]

⁵⁸ Ibn Hišām (1:322-323).

⁵⁹ Ibn Hišām (1:370).

Arabic text of the manuscript Part Nine

[18] (15) ذكر الهجرة الثانية إلى الحبشة :

ولما رأى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ضغط المشركين وقوتهم على المسلمين أمر في هذه السنة أعني السنة السابعة (من النبوة)⁶⁰ بعد دخوله الشعب كل من ليس له عشيرة تحميه أن يهاجروا إلى الحبشة وهي الهجرة الثانية فهاجر معظمهم وكانوا نحو ثلاثة وثمانين رجلا وثمانين أو سبع عشرة امرأة وفي رواية ثلاثة وثمانين منهم سبعون رجلا وثلاث عشرة امرأة وفي رواية ثلاثة وسبعون رجلا وإحدى عشرة امرأة ، وكان فيهم جعفر بن أبي طالب وزوجته أسماء بنت عميس ، والمقداد بن الأسود ، وعبد الله بن مسعود ، وعبيد (بالتصغير)⁶¹ الله بن جحش وامرأته أم حبيبة بنت أبي سفيان ، ولحق بهم بعد الجماعة الذين أسلموا من جهة اليمن كموسى الأشعري وقومه وهم نحو خمسين رجلا رضي الله عن الجميع ونفعنا بهم.

ولما رأت قريش ذلك أرسلت في أثرهم عمرو بن العاص وعمارة بن الوليد وفي رواية عبد الله بن أبي ربيعة وعمرو بن العاص بهدايا إلى النجاشي ليرد المسلمين إليهم فلم يجبهما ورد الهدية فقال لا حاجة لي بها ، وقال السيد أحمد زيني دحلان رحمه الله تعالى عن المحققين أن عبد الله بن أبي ربيعة لم يكن مع عمرو في هذه السفارة وإنما كان معه في سفرة أخرى وهي التي بعد وقعة بدر ، وأما في هذه السفارة فالرسولان هما عمرو وعمارة فقط.

[19] فقال عمرو بن العاص : سلهم ما يقو لنبيهم في عيسى بن مريم عليه السلام ، فلما سألهم النجاشي ذلك قال جعفر بن أبي طالب : هو عبده ورسوله وروحه كلمته القاها إلى مريم العذراء البتول ، فلم ينكر النجاشي ذلك وأخبره عن الدين الإسلامي وقرأ عليه بسؤاله أول سورة مريم فرجعا بشر رجعة خائبين ولم ينالا من النجاشي إلا إهانة لما خاطبوه في أمر صحابة لاذوا به ، رضي الله تعالى عنه ورضينا به .

Translation of the text Part Nine

[18] (15) The Second Migration to Habasha

When the Prophet saw the pressure of the idolators and their strength over the Muslims, in that year, I mean the seventh year of Prophethood after his coming to the people, he ordered all those who had no family to protect them to migrate to Habasha, and this was the second migration (Hijra). Most of them migrated. Their number was about eighty-three men and seventeen or eighteen women. In another tradition they were eighty-three [altogether], i.e. seventy men and thirteen women; and in another tradition, seventy men and eleven women. Among them were:

⁶⁰ Added above the line in the manuscript.

⁶¹ Added above the line in the manuscript

Ja'far ibn 'Abū Ṭālib and his wife 'Asmā' bint 'Umayy, Al-Miqdād ibn Al-'Aswad, 'Abdallah bin Mas'ūd, 'Ubaydallāh (diminutive) ibn Jaḥṣ and his wife 'Umm Ḥabībah bint 'Abū Ṣufyān. And afterwards the community who had converted to Islam in Yemen joined them [in Habasha], like Mūsā Al-'Aṣ'ariyy and his tribe, and they were about fifty men. May Allah be pleased with them all, and He made them useful to us.

When the Qurayṣis saw that, they sent after them 'Amr bin Al-'Āṣ and 'Ammārah bin Al-Walīd (in another tradition 'Abdallah bin 'Abū Rabī'a and 'Amr bin Al-'Āṣ) with gifts to the Habasha king (Najāṣi) so that he should return the Muslim emigrants to them. But he [the King] rejected the two of them and sent back the gift, saying "I don't need it". And (our) master Aḥmad Zīnī Daḥlān said that 'Abdallah bin 'Abū Rabī'a was not with 'Amr on this journey, but was with him on another journey, namely the one which happened after the battle of Badr; but that as for this journey, the two messengers were only 'Amr and 'Ammārah.

[19] 'Amr bin Al-'Āṣ said: "Ask them what their Prophet says about Jesus the son of Mary". And when the king asked them about that, Ja'far bin 'Abū Ṭālib said: "He is His [Allah's] servant and messenger and spirit and word that He bestowed upon the Virgin Mary"; and the king did not deny that. And he [Ja'far] told him about Islam and recited to him in answer to his question the beginning of Sūra Maryam (sūra 19). And the two of them returned unsuccessfully, having received only scorn from the king when they spoke to him about those who had sought refuge with him.

Analysis Number Nine

The Qurayš continued to persecute the Muslims. A fresh wave of persecution was launched against the humbler sector of converts. As the situation deteriorated a second phase of migration to Habasha began. Not that the Muslims migrated as a body and at one time; rather, they went in successive groups.

The exact number of immigrants is not clear. Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn reports different traditions that give the total number as 100-101, or 83, or 81. According to Ibn Sa'd the total was about 98, i.e. some eighty men and eighteen women. Ibn Sa'd further says that 'Ammār ibn Yāsir was among the emigrants; but this is doubted by others authorities including Ibn 'Ishāq and Al-Waqīdiyy. Similarly with regard to 'Abū Mūsā Al-'Aš'ariyy there is a difference of opinion. According to some reports he was also among the emigrants to Habasha. But it appears from Mūsā's own statement that he, along with fifty-two or fifty-five Muslims of his tribe, set out by ship from Yemen to join the Prophet; but the ship was blown off course to Habasha where Mūsā joined Ja'far ibn Abū Ṭālib and other emigrants and then returned with them to the Prophet after victory at Khaybar.⁶² This last version corresponds to what is given by Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn.

The migration to Habasha and its sequel marked a turning point in the Qurayšī persecution of the Muslims. When they tried to get the Habasha king (Najaši) to send back the Muslim emigrants, he refused. This was thus in a way the first defeat of the Qurayšīs.

⁶² Bukhāriy, Muḥammad ibn 'Ismā'il (194-256 A.H.), *Šaḥīḥ Al-Bukhāriy*. Beirut: Dār Al-Kutub Al-'Islāmiyyah. (1992). Ḥadīth No. 4230.

The migration to Habasha also clearly signifies that the Prophet and the Muslims had already started looking beyond the confines of their native land. Those who went to Habasha were not just fugitives or refugees, but were also emissaries of Islam to a foreign land. The Habasha migration was thus the beginning of Islam as a world faith.

[About 3 pages are omitted]

Arabic text of the manuscript Part Ten

[22] (20) ذكر بيعة العقبة الأولى والثانية وذكر هجرة الصحابة وهجرة الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم الى المدينة المنورة

ولما أراد الله إعرار دينه وإظهاره خرج رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم الى القبائل فبينما هو عند العقبة في منى لقي نفرا من أهل المدينة المنورة فعرض عليهم الإسلام وتلا القرآن فآمنوا به وكانوا ستة نفرا فلما رجعوا الى المدينة واخبروا قومهم آمن خلق كثير حتى فشا الإسلام في دورهم ، وجاء في الموسم الثاني منهم اثنا عشر نفرا فبايعوا الرسول وهذه البيعة هي التي تسمى بيعة العقبة الأولى ، وبعث معهم ابن أم مكتوم ومُصْعَب بن عُمَيْر ليعلمهم القرآن وشرائع الإسلام... وعاد مُصْعَب في الموسم الثالث ومعه من الذين أسلموا في المدينة ثلاثة وسبعون وفيهم عبد الله بن جابر وعبادة بن الصامت وأسد بن زرارة وامرأتان نسيية بنت كعب وأسماء بنت عمر واجتمعوا برسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ليلا بمنى عند العقبة في أوسط أيام التشريق ومعه عمه العباس ولم يكن أسلم في ذلك الوقت فبايعوا الرسول على أن يعبدوا الله وحده ولا يشركوا به شيئا ولا يزنوا ولا يسرقوا ولا يقتلوا أولادهم ويمنعوا عن الرسول إذا هاجر إليهم بما يمنعون نساءهم وأولادهم فاخرجوا منهم اثني عشر نقيبا بأمر النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وهذه البيعة تسمى البيعة الكبرى وبيعة العقبة الثانية.

Translation of the text Part Ten

[22] (20) The First and the Second Pledge of 'Aqaba and the migration of the companions and the migration of the Prophet to Medina

When Allah desired His religion to be strengthened and proclaimed, the Prophet went forth to the (Arab) tribes. And when he was at 'Aqaba in Minā, he met a group of people from Medina, and he preached Islam to them and recited the Qur'ān, and they believed; and they were six in number. When they returned to Medina and informed their tribe, many

people believed, so that Islam spread among their dwellings. In the next season twelve of them came [to Mecca] and they made a pledge [there] with the Prophet and this pledge is called the first pledge of 'Aqaba. And he sent back with them ['Abdallah] ibn 'Umm Maktūm and Muṣ'ab bin 'Umayr in order to teach them the Qur'ān and Islamic law. ... And in the third season Muṣ'ab returned to Mecca, and with him were 73 of those who had converted to Islam in Medina. Among them were 'Abdallah bin Jābir, 'Abāda bin Ṣāmit, 'As'ad bin Zurāra and two women, Nusaybah bint Ka'b and 'Asmā' bint 'Umar. And they met with the Prophet at night in Minā at 'Aqaba in the middle of 'Ayyām Al-Taṣrīq [the 11th, 12th and 13th days of the month of Dū Al-Ḥijjah], and with him was his uncle 'Abbas who however had not yet converted to Islam at that time. And they pledged to the Prophet to worship only Allah and not to take other partners with Him, not to commit adultery, not to steal, not to kill their children, and to protect the Prophet when he migrated to them [in Medina] just as they would protect their (own) wives and children. And they selected from among them twelve leaders at the command of the Prophet. This pledge was called the great pledge or the second pledge of 'Aqaba.

Analysis Number Ten

In the ḥajj season of the 11th year of Prophethood, the Prophet, in the course of his going round the camps of the various tribes seeking help and support, came upon a group of people from Medina at 'Aqaba. He enquired of them who they were. On their replying that they were of the Khazraj tribe of Medina he asked them to sit and listen to him for a while. He invited them to worship Allah alone, explained Islam to them

and recited to them some parts of the Qur'ān. 'Aws and Khazraj were allies of the Jews who used to tell them that the time for the advent of a prophet was near. When therefore the Prophet finished his talk these Medinans remarked that he was surely the prophet of whom the Jews had spoken. Some of them even said to others: "Let not the Jews steal a march on you and become the Prophet's followers before you." Thus, talking among themselves, they responded to the Prophet's call and embraced Islam. They then informed the Prophet saying: "We have left our people at home [in Medina]. These are people among whom jealousy, enmity and evil are rife. Perhaps Allah will effect unity among them through you. We shall approach them and invite them to what you have asked of us."⁶³

Although the report thus attributes the main reason for the Medinans' acceptance of Islam to what they had heard from the Jews about the appearance of a prophet, it must not be supposed that they had not otherwise heard about him and about Islam previous to their meeting him at 'Aqaba; for news about him and about his message had already spread all over Arabia including Medina itself, from where, as from other places, pilgrims and others had been visiting Mecca throughout the previous decade. They could not therefore have been unaware of the great upheavals that were taking place at Mecca as the result of the Prophet's work there. Thus the Medinans already had had a vague knowledge of the Prophet and his mission from these sources as well as from the occasional remarks of the Jews.

The second 'Aqaba pledge provided the basis for the Muslims' and the Prophet's migration (Hijra) to Medina, the establishment of an Islamic state there, the organization of the *Muhājirīn* (emigrants from Mecca) and

⁶³ Ibn Hišām (1:428-429).



'Anṣār (supporters of the Prophet from Medina) for defense, their ultimate victory over Qurayṣ, and the unification of all Arabia in the first instance and then of much of the ancient civilized world under one political and religious system.

[About 4½ pages are omitted]

Arabic text of the manuscript Part Eleven

[27] (21) ذكر غزواته وسراياه

ثم أذن له من الله في الجهاد في شهر صفر يلي لعام هجرته فغزى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم والده وصحبه ومن أسلم سبعا وعشرين أو تسعا وعشرين غزوة وبعث سبعا وأربعين أو نحو سبعين سرية ، والغزوة هي التي حضرها الرسول عليه الصلاة والسلام بنفسه سواء حارب فيها أم لا ، وأما ما بعث فيها أحد القواد فيسمى عند أهل السير سرية ، ففي غزواته قاتل في تسع منها بدر وأحد والخندق وقريظة والمصطلق وخيبر والفتح وحنين والطائف...

[28]...وفيها حدثت غزوة بدر الكبرى فخرخ لثلاث ليال خلون من رمضان وكان معه صلى الله عليه وسلم ثلاثمائة وثلاثة عشر رجلا سبعة وسبعون من المهاجرين والباقي من الأنصار وفيهم فرسان وسبعون بغيرا يعتقبونها، وكان خروجه صلى الله عليه وسلم لإعتراض قافلة تجارية آتية من الشام بقيادة أبي سفيان إلا أن أبا سفيان علم بنية المسلمين فغير طريقه وهرب بالقافلة وأرسل إلى قريش خبر خروج المسلمين للإستيلاء على القافلة فلما سمعت قريش ذلك نفروا سراعا من مكة لمقاتلة المسلمين ولم يبق من أشرفهم إلا أبو لهب بن عبد المطلب ، وكان عدة من خرج من المشركين تسعمائة وخمسين رجلا معهم مائة فرس وسبعمائة بغير

[29] ثم إن الله سبحانه وتعالى لما قضى بهلاك المشركين ونصر المسلمين كانت غزوة بدر الكبرى فجمعهما ببدر بلا ميعاد فوقع الحرب وأيد الله المسلمين بالملئكة لتطمئن قلوبهم فهزم جميع المشركين وتبعهم المسلمون يقتلون ويأسرون فقتل من المشركين نحو سبعين منهم أبو جهل ، فلما أحضر عبد الله بن مسعود رأسه سجد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم شكرا لله.

Translation of the text Part Eleven

His Battles (*gazwa*) and Raids (*sariya*)

Then in the month of Ṣafar in the year after his hijra, he received permission from Allah to begin the war (*jihād*). And the Prophet (himself) participated in 27 or 29 battles (*gazwa*), and he sent out 47 or close to

70 raiding parties (*sarīya*). A battle (*ḡazwa*) is a fight in which the Messenger of Allah himself was present, whether he actually fought in it or not. And a fight to which he sent one of his commanders [but was not himself present] is called a raid (*sarīya*) by the biographers. Among these battles, he [the Prophet] actually fought in nine: Badr, 'Uḥud, Khandaq, Qurayzah, Al-Muṣṭaliq, Khaybar, Al-Faṭḥ, Ḥunayn and Ṭā'if.

... The great battle of Badr took place in it [i.e. in the 2nd year Hijra]. And he set forth when three nights had passed in Ramaḍān. And with him were three hundred thirteen men, seventy-seven of whom were Muhājirīn [Meccan emigrants] and the rest were 'Anṣār [Medinans]. And with them there were two horses and seventy camels following. And the reason for his setting forth was to waylay a trade caravan coming from Syria under the leadership of Abū Ṣufyān. When Abū Ṣufyān learned of the intention of the Muslims he changed his route and escaped with the caravan. And he sent word to Qurayṣ about the Muslims' setting forth to capture the caravan. When the Qurayṣ heard this news they quickly hastened from Mecca to fight the Muslims. None of their chiefs remained in Mecca except Abū Lahab ibn 'Abd Al-Muṭṭalib. The number of infidels who set forth [to fight the Muslims] was 950 men, and with them were 100 horses and 700 camels.

And it was when Allah decreed destruction for the infidels and victory for the Muslims that the great battle of Badr took place. And He brought the two [groups] together unexpectedly at Badr. Then the battle occurred, and Allah sent angels to support the Muslims and to set their hearts at ease. And the Muslims routed all the infidels and followed after them, killing and taking prisoners. And about 70 of the infidels were killed,

among them Abū Jahl. And when 'Abdallah bin Mas'ūd brought back his [Abū Jahl's] head, the Prophet prostrated himself in thanks to Allah.

Analysis Number Eleven

The Meccan plans eventually resulted in the battle of Badr. It was the eighteenth month after the migration to Medina. A trade caravan led by Abū Ṣufyān was returning to Mecca from Syria. A caravan in those days did not consist only of camels loaded with merchandise but also included an armed escort. Since tension had arisen between the Meccans (Qurayṣ) and the Muslims of Medina, the Meccan chiefs took special care about arming the escort. History records that two other caravans had passed by this route a short while before; one was guarded by two hundred armed men and the other by three hundred men. The caravan which was now coming from Syria was a large one and its escort must have had at least as many soldiers.

Under pretence of protecting this caravan, the Meccans raised a large army and decided to send it to Medina. The Prophet came to know of these preparations. He also had revelations from Allah. He went out of Medina with about three hundred followers. Nobody at that time knew whether this party of Muslims would meet the caravan that was coming from Syria or the army which was coming from Mecca. This uncertainty is hinted at in the Qur'ān.⁶⁴ It was only after they had gone some distance from Medina that the Prophet made it known to them that they would have to confront the large Meccan army rather than the small Syrian caravan.

Rumors had reached the Muslims about the size of the Meccan army. The most moderate reports placed the number at a thousand, all of them

⁶⁴ "Permission (to fight) is given to those who fight because they were wronged, and surely Allah is able to give them victory" [Holy Qur'ān 22:39].

seasoned soldiers. The number of men accompanying the Prophet was 300-319 soldiers, according to various reports. According to Al-Bukhārīy the number was 317, according to Imām Muslim it was 319, according to An-Nasā'iy it was 314; the best authenticated number is 319, like the report of Imām Muslim.⁶⁵

[About 1 page is omitted]

Arabic text of the manuscript Part Twelve

واعلم انه لما أُصيب قريش بأبطالها يوم بدر أخذوا يتشاورون فيما بينهم ويسعى بعضهم إلى بعض [30 cont.] يأتَمرون ويتآمرون على قتال رسول الله والمسلمين فخرجت قريش مع حلفائها وقائدهم أبو سفيان ومع كثير منهم نساؤهم يضرِبَن الدفوف وفيهن هند بنت عتبة زوجة أبي سفيان حتى جاؤا أحدًا ونزلوا بمكان يقابل المدينة فلما سمع النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم والمسلمون بنزولهم وذلك نهار الأربعاء رابع شوال قال لأصحابه "فإن رأيتم أن تقيموا فيها وتَدْعُوا هؤلاء الذين يريدون أن يقاتلونا حيث نزلوا فإن أقاموا أقاموا على شر مقام وإن هم دخلوها علينا قاتلناهم القتال بالمدينة وكذلك رأى عبد الله بن أبي بن سلول أن يكون قتالهم بها ، فقال [31] فيها" ورأى النبي أن يكون رجال ممن فاتهم يوم بدر: يا رسول الله أخرج بنا إلى قتال اعدائنا حتى لا يظنون بنا إنا قد جبنا وضعفنا ، ولم يزل القوم الذين ارادوا الخروج يلحُّون على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في الخروج حتى دخل حجرته ولبس لأمته وآلة حربه ثم خرج عليهم فقالوا له: اكرهناك على الخروج يا رسول الله؟ فان شئت أن تقيم فافعل فقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم "ما كان لنبي لبس لأمّة حربه وعُدّة حربه ان يضعها حتى يحكم الله بينه وبين اعدائه" ثم خرج بألف من اصحابه وخلف ابن أم مكتوم بالمدينة يصلي بالناس وبينما هم في الطريق رجع عبد الله بن أبي بن سلول المنافق بثلاثمائة من اصحابه المنافقين ولم يزل الرسول سائر بمن بقي معه حتى نزلوا الشعب من أحد وهو جبل يقع على شمال المدينة وجعل ظهره اليه وكانت الوقعة نهار السبت ...

Translation of the text Part Twelve

[30 cont.] And know that, when Qurayš and their champions were defeated on the day of Badr, they began to take counsel and they plotted together to attack the Prophet and the Muslims. And Qurayš set forth with their allies, and their leader was Abu Sufyān. And many of them had their wives with them, beating tambourines, and among them was Hind the daughter of 'Utba, the wife of Abu Sufyān. [And they went] until

⁶⁵ Al-'Asqalāniy, [Aḥmad ibn Ḥajar] Faṭḥ Al-Bārī. *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārīy*. Vol. 1, pp. 155-157; Al-Nawawīy, *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. Vol. 12, p. 84; Al-Nasā'iy, *Sunan An-Nasā'iy*. Vol. 2, p. 7.

they came to [Mt.] 'Uḥud, and they made camp in a place facing Medina. And when the Prophet and the Muslims heard that they had made camp, which was on Wednesday the 4th of Šawwāl, he [the Prophet] said to his companions, "If you think you should stay here [in Medina], then leave those who want to fight us where they are camped; if they stay there, they will be staying in a very bad place. And if they come in against us [to Medina], we will fight them here". And the Prophet thought that [31] the battle should be in Medina, and likewise 'Abdallāh bin 'Ubayy bin Salul thought that the battle should be there. And some of the men who had missed the battle of Badr said: "O Messenger of Allah, take us out to fight our enemies so that they should not think that we are weak and cowardly". And the people who wanted to go out [from Medina] kept urging the Prophet to go out, until he went into his chamber and put on his armor and his war weapons. Then he went out to them, and they said, "Have we forced you to go out, O Messenger of Allah? If you wish to stay, do so." And the Prophet said, "It is not proper for a prophet who has put on his war armor and his war weapons to put them down until Allah has passed judgment between him and his enemies." Then he went out with a thousand of his companions, and he deputized Ibn 'Umm Maktūm in Medina to lead the people in prayer. And when they [the Muslim army] were under way, the hypocrite 'Abdallāh bin 'Ubayy bin Salul turned back with 300 of his fellow hypocrites. But the Prophet continued with those who remained with him, until the people camped near 'Uḥud (which is a mountain located to the north of Medina). And he stood with his back to it [i.e. to 'Uḥud]; and the battle occurred on Saturday.

Analysis Number Twelve

The defeat at Badr was an ignominy which the Qurayšis could not leave unavenged. By common consent they started fresh preparations to

launch war against the Muslims. The most enthusiastic were 'Ikrimah ibn Abū Jahl, Ṣafwān ibn 'Umayyah, Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb and 'Abdallah ibn Abū Rabī'ah. Emissaries were sent to all the Arab tribes to make common cause against the rising faith, and they succeeded in enlisting the support of the tribes of Kinanah and Tihamah as well as some desert Bedouins, the Aḥābiš. It was decided that the profits of Abū Sufyān's escaped caravan, which amounted to 1000 camels and 50,000 dinars, should be devoted to providing equipment to the army.⁶⁶

The Prophet mobilized his army at Mt. 'Uḥud. He arranged them into two ranks, and selected a squad of fifty skilled archers under the command of 'Abdallah ibn Jubair, ordering them to hold a position on the mountainside at the south bank of Qanat Al-Wādi, southeast of the Muslim camp and about one hundred and fifty meters from the Islamic army. Later this mountain was called the mountain of Archers.

But against strict orders, forty archers deserted their posts, enticed by the premature roar of victory and their desire for the spoils of war.⁶⁷ The others, however, nine in number and their leader 'Abdallah ibn Jubair, abided by the Prophet's order and stayed where they were. Consequently the position was left inadequately defended. What had seemed to be a victory for the Muslims thereby turned into a near-disaster. The desertion of the archers turned the whole situation upside down, brought heavy losses to the Muslims, and almost led to the murder of the Prophet.

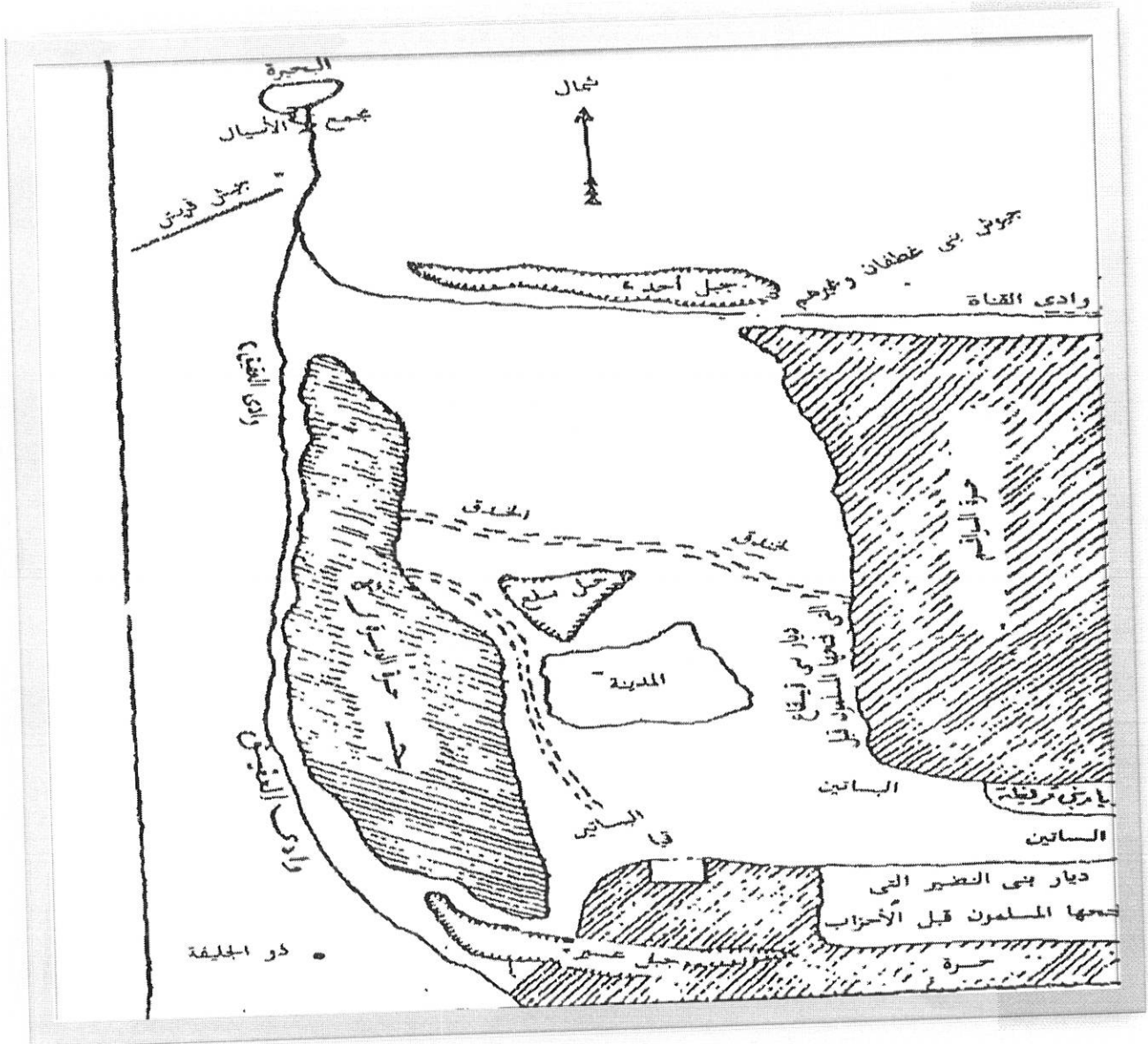
[About 2 pages are omitted]

⁶⁶ Ibn Hišam (1:367).

⁶⁷ Al-Bukhāriy: vol. 2, p. 579.

Arabic text of the manuscript Part Thirteen

[cont. 34] وفي هذه السنة غزوة الخندق في شوال وتسمى بالأحزاب أيضا وكانوا إثنا عشر ألفا ، واختار البخاري أن الغزوة كانت في شوال في السنة الرابعة من الهجرة وكان جلاؤهم أي الاحزاب في ذي القعدة وكان صلى الله عليه وسلم أمر أصحابه بحفر الخندق حول المدينة بإشارة سلمان الفارسي رضي الله عنه وعمل بنفسه ترغيبا لأصحابه ولحصول الثواب فعملوا فيه جهدهم حتى النساء والأطفال ولما فرغ رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من حفر الخندق أقبلت قريش في عشرة آلاف مقاتل وقائدهم أبو سفيان وخرجت غطفان أيضا وقائدهم عيينة بن حصن النزاري وخرج من خرج من خيبر وكلهم يريدون المدينة وخرج رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في ثلاثة آلاف من المسلمين الى ظاهر المدينة ثم أن الله فرّق جمعهم وبَدَدَ شملهم وقذف في قلوبهم الرعب وأحكم الخلاف بينهم وأرسل عليهم الريح ليلا فأكفأت قدورهم وأطفأت نيرانهم وهدمت منازلهم وأرسل عليهم الملائكة فمزقهم شَرَّ مُمَزَّقٍ وما أحد منهم يبصر أين هو ولا من يكلمه فَوَلَّوْا منهزمين وفي [35] ذلك نزل قول الله تعالى {إِذَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اذْكُرُوا نِعْمَةَ اللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ إِذْ جَاءَتْكُمْ جُنُودٌ فَأَرْسَلْنَا عَلَيْهِمْ رِيحًا وَجُنُودًا لَمْ تَرَوْهَا وَكَانَ اللَّهُ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ خَبِيرًا [بَصِيرًا] إِذْ جَاؤُكُمْ مِنْ فَوْقِكُمْ وَمِنْ أَسْفَلَ مِنْكُمْ وَإِذْ زَاغَتِ الْأَبْصَارُ وَبَلَغَتِ الْقُلُوبُ الْحَنَاجِرَ وَتَظُنُّونَ بِاللَّهِ الظُّنُونَا هُنَالِكَ ابْتُلِيَ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ وَزُلْزِلُوا زِلْزَالًا شَدِيدًا}} وعاد كفار قريش وغطفان الى بلادهم وتركوا اليهود في المدينة وهم مِمَّنْ تَحَزَّبُوا معهم.



This map sketch (taken from *Rahīq Al-Makhtūm*, Arabic version, p. 246) shows the plan of the Ditch.

Translation of the text Part Thirteen

[34 cont.] In this year the battle of Al-Khandaq, also called Al-'Aḥzāb, took place in (the month of) Šawwāl and they were 12,000 people; and Al-Bukhārī prefers (the version) that the battle was in Šawwāl in the 4th year Hijra. And the withdrawal of the clans [Qurayš and their allies] occurred in Dū Al-Qa'da [i.e. one month later]. And the Prophet ordered

his companions to dig a ditch around Medina under the direction of Salmān the Persian. And he himself took part in the work in order to spur on his companions and to gain merit. And they devoted their utmost effort to it, even the women and children. After the Prophet finished digging the ditch, Qurayš approached with 10,000 warriors under the command of Abū Sufyān. And (the tribe of) ʿAṭafān also set forth [to help Qurayš] under the command of ‘Uyaynah bin Ḥaṣan An-Nazāriy and some set forth from al-Khaybar. And all of them were aiming at Medina. And the Prophet with 3,000 Muslims went forth Medina. And Allah scattered their hosts and dispersed their forces and put fear into their hearts and fostered disunity among them and sent winds against them by night which overturned their cooking-pots and put their fires and destroyed their tents. And He sent angels against them who tore them completely apart. And not one of them could see where he was or whom he was talking to. And they turned back in defeat. [35] And in this connection Allah revealed the following verse: ((O you who believe! Remember Allah’s favor to you, where there came against you hosts, and we sent against them a wind and forces that you saw not [i.e. troops of angels during the battle of Al-’Aḥzāb (the clans)]. Allah is ever All-Seer of what you do. When they came upon you from above you and below you, and when the eyes grew wild and hearts reached to the throats, and you were harboring doubts about Allah. There, the believers were tried and shaken with a mighty shaking.)) (Sūra 33:9-11) And the unbelievers of Qurayš and ʿAṭafān returned to their country, and left the Jews in Medina, those who had allied with the clans.

Analysis Number Thirteen

After the Jews they had been exiled to Khaybar, they remained waiting anxiously for the result of the skirmishes going on between the Muslims and the idolators. When, contrary to their hopes, the war went in favor of

the Muslims, they made a new plan to oppose the Muslims. Twenty chiefs of the Jews along with some leaders of the exiled Jewish tribe of Bani Naḍīr went to Mecca to negotiate an alliance with Qurayš. Those people of Qurayš who had not fought against the Muslims at Badr seized this opportunity to redeem their stained honor. The same Jewish delegation then enlisted Kinanah and others of the allies of Tihamah in the south—with Qurayš, altogether four thousand men under the leadership of Abū Sufyān. From the east there came the tribes of Bani Sālim, Ḡaṭafān, Banī Murrah and others. They all headed for Medina, a great army of ten thousand fighters. They in fact outnumbered all the Muslims in Medina, women, children and elders included, and if they had launched a surprise attack against Medina, they could have exterminated the Muslims. However, the leadership inside the city had intelligence of the movements of the anti-Muslim alliance. The Prophet summoned a high advisory council and carefully made a plan to defend Medina. It was agreed, on the proposal of an honorable companion, Salmān the Persian, to dig a ditch around Medina as defensive lines, as shown on the map above. The campaign of the Ditch took place in the months of Šawwāl and Dū Al-Qa'da.⁶⁸

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Arabic text of the manuscript Part Fourteen

[36 cont.] غزوة الحديبية [الحديبية] بئر قرب مكة سميت الأرض باسمها وذلك في ذي الحجة للإعتماد ومعه خمسمائة من المهاجرين والأنصار فلما علمت قريش خروجه اجتمعت واتفق رأيها أن يصدوا المسلمين عن مكة فحينئذ اختار الرسول عثمان بن عفان رسولا من عنده إلى قريش ليعلّمهم مقصده فتوجه اليهم ثم أنهم حبسوه فشاع عند المسلمين أن عثمان قُتل فحينما سمع الرسول ذلك دعا الناس للبيعة على القتال وتسمى هي بيعة الرضوان فبايعوه تحت شجرة هناك سميت بعدُ بشجرة الرضوان فعندما شاع أمرُ هذه البيعة في قريش خافت وأرسلت إليه صلى الله عليه وسلم للمكالمة في الصلح وأرسلت عثمان ومن معه وكانوا عشرة فقبِلَ عليه الصلوة والسلام

⁶⁸ Holy Qur-ān [English], 1410 A.H., p. 1235 [commentary to Sūra 33, Al-'Aḥzāb].

الصلح ليعتمر في العام القابل فيدخلها مع اصحابه ولم يكن حرب حفظا لحرُمات البيت الذي جعله الله حرما آمنا وصالح الرسول أيضا على وضع الحرب عشر سنين ومن أحب أن يدخل في عهد محمد وعقده دخل ومن أحب أن يدخل في عهد قريش وعقدهم دخل ثم رجع النبي والمسلمون الى المدينة بعد نحر الهدي والحلق. وفي رجوعه صلى الله عليه وسلم من الحديبية [الحديبية] نزلت عليه سورة الفتح ففرح المسلمون ببشرى فتح مكة .

Translation of the text Part Fourteen

[36] The [bloodless] battle of *Al-Ḥudaybiyyah*, a spring near Mecca which was called *al-'Arḍ* [the earth] by name, [took place]. And this was in *Dū Al-Ḥijjah* [when the Muslims went to Mecca] to make 'Umra. And with him [the Prophet] were 500 of the *Muhājirīn* [Meccan emigrants] and 'Anṣār [Medinans]. When the Qurayš got the news they decided to block the Muslims from (entering) Mecca. At this time the Prophet sent 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān as a messenger from him to Qurayš to inform them of his intention [to make 'Umra]. But when he ['Uthmān ibn 'Affān] came to Mecca they [the Qurayš] arrested him. And a rumor spread among the Muslims that he had been killed. When the Prophet heard this he called the people together for a pledge of war. And this pledge was called the pledge of *Riḍwān*, and they pledged it under a tree there which was later called the tree of *Riḍwān*. When the news of this pledge spread among the Qurayš they were afraid and they sent word to the Prophet to hold cease-fire talks. And they released 'Uthmān and those who were with him, i.e. ten people. And the Prophet accepted the cease-fire, (intending) to make 'Umra in the following year with his companions. And there was no war, so as to preserve the sanctity of the House [the *Ka'ba*] which Allah had made sacrosanct and secure. And the Prophet also agreed not to make war for ten years. Those who wished to enter into a covenant and agreement with Muḥammad did so, and those who wished to enter

into a covenant and agreement with Qurayš (also) did so. Then the Prophet and the Muslims returned to Medina after slaughtering the *hady* [ritual sacrifice] and shaving (their heads). And upon his return from Ḥudaybiyyah, Sūra al-Fath (sūra 48) was revealed to him. And the Muslims rejoiced at the good news of the [bloodless] victory at Mecca.

Analysis Number Fourteen

In the sixth year Hijra, the Prophet, while he was still at Medina, dreamed that he had entered the sacred sanctuary in Mecca in security with his followers, and was performing the ceremonies of *Umra* (lesser pilgrimage). Their heads were being shaved and their hair cut. When he informed some of his companions of the content of his dream, their hearts leapt with joy since they found in it the actualization of their deep longing to take part in the pilgrimage after an exile of six years.

The Prophet set out towards Mecca at the head of fifteen hundred Muslims (our manuscript says 500). He got word that a large number of slaves, as well as a huge army, were gathered to oppose him, and that the road to Mecca was completely blocked. The Prophet consulted his companions, who resolved to fight if they were debarred from performing the pilgrimage.

[The following event, mentioned in Sira, is not mentioned in Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn's account. It is noteworthy that here, as elsewhere, Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn's account closely follows that of his contemporary Haji Muḥammad Thāni.] The Qurayšis, on their part, sent a force of two hundred horsemen to take the Muslims by surprise during the afternoon prayer. However, the horsemen missed their chance when the Muslims changed their route and followed a rugged rocky path. When the horsemen returned to Mecca with this news, the Qurayšis decided to hold

negotiations with the Muslims, as mentioned above in the manuscript. And a cease-fire treaty was made between the two parties.⁶⁹

[About one-half page is omitted]

Arabic text of the manuscript Part Fifteen

[37] وفي السنة السابعة حدثت غزوة خيبر مدينة فوق المدينة المنورة ذات حصون ولفظ خيبر بلسان اليهود معناه الحصن قاله في "أبانة الأحكام" وذلك في غرة شهر المحرم وقيل في منتصف المحرم لقتال سكانها بني النضير الذين كانوا أعظم مهيج للأحزاب يوم الخندق فلما وصل المسلمون الى الخيبر قطع المسلمون نخل اليهود وحاصروهم ستة ايام وفي اليوم السابع أعطى الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم الراية علي بن أبي طالب وكان يشتكي وجع عينيه فقتل الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم فيهما فشفاهما الله تعالى كأن لم يكن بهما شيء ثم حمل المسلمون على الخيبر حتى إفتتحوها وطرردوا سكانها وغنموا منها غنائم كثيرة وكان الفتح على يد علي رضي الله عنه.

Translation of the text Part Fifteen

And in the 7th year [Hijra] there occurred the battle of Khaybar, a fortified town "above" [sic] Medina. And in the language of the Jews the word "Khaybar" means "fortress", as is said in (the book) "Ibāna al-'Aḥkām".⁷⁰ And this was on the first day of the month of Al-Muḥarram, (although) some say halfway through Al-Muḥarram. [This battle was] to fight its residents, the Bani Naḍīr, who had been the greatest inciters of the [anti-Muslim] clans at the Battle of the Ditch. And when the Muslims got to Khaybar, the Muslims cut down the Jews' date-palms and besieged them for six days. And on the 7th day, the Prophet gave the flag to 'Aliyy bin 'Abū Ṭālib. And he complained of a pain in his eyes, whereupon the Prophet spat on them and Allah cured them, as if there had never been anything wrong with them. Then the Muslims attacked Khaybar until they conquered it. And they banished its inhabitants and they took much booty from it. And this victory was (won) by 'Aliyy.

⁶⁹ Ibn Hišām (2:237), Ibn Al-Qayim (2:72-74), Ibn 'Ishāq (2:287-290).

⁷⁰ "Khaybar" does not mean "fortress" in Hebrew. It is not clear which book (if it is a book) the author is referring to. (Orin Gensler, p.c.)

Analysis Number Fifteen

The Jews and other opponents of Islam were now convinced that Arabia was unable to withstand the rising influence of Islam and that the Arab tribes alone would not be able to attack Medina. The Jews, therefore, began to intrigue with the Christian tribes settled on the southern frontier of the Roman Empire, and to stir up the Persian Emperor Chosroes against Islam. Chosroes turned against Islam, and tried to order the arrest of the Prophet by the Yemeni officials. But the Emperor was assassinated by his own son, and his order for the arrest of the Prophet was canceled by the new ruler. The officials of Yemen were greatly impressed by this miracle, and thus the province of Yemen readily became part of the Muslim Empire.

The Jews were living in Khaybar, not far from Medina. Their anti-Muslim attitude persuaded the Prophet to banish them from that place. On returning from Al-Ḥudaybiyyah he waited for five months and then marched on Khaybar with one thousand six hundred men. The campaign was successful and the Jews were driven out of Khaybar.



صل الله عليه وسلم والعواتك الثلاثة وهن عاتكة بنت الاوقص بن هلال وعاتكة بنت
 هلال وعاتكة بنت فاختة فالتة اخوتهن من رضاع السيدة حليلة ومن اخواته من الرضاع
 كما عرفت مما مر عثمان بن مظعون رضي الله عنه واما مواليه من الرجال فزيد بن حارثة
 وبركة واسلم وابوكبشة وابنه وثوبان وشقران وكان اسمه صالحا ويسار وفنالة
 وابوموهبة ورافع وسفيينة وابورافع ورياح ومدعم ورافع ودكوان وهشام ومنهم
 من زاد على ذلك وسماهم باسم آخر ومن النساء ام ايمن حاضنته زوجها يزيد بن حارثة
 وهي ام اسامة بن زيد ورضوى ومارية وركانة وسلمى وميمونة وام رافع وخصره
 ومنهم من زاد على ذلك واما من خدمه من الامراء انس بن مالك وهند واسماء ابنة حارثة
 الاسلميان والعواتك الثلاث ولدت عاتكة بنت هلال من بنى سليم وهي ام عبد مناف ابن
 قصي وعاتكة بنت مرة بن هلال ام هاشم بن عبد مناف وعاتكة بنت الاوقص بن مرة
 بن هلال وهي ام وهب بن عبد مناف ابى آمنة واما القواطم الاثني يلية في القرية فاطمة
 بنت سعد ام قصي وفاطمة بنت عمرو بن جرويل بن مالك ام اسد بن هاشم وفاطمة بنت اسد
 بن هاشم ام علي بن ابي طالب واما فاطمة بنت هدم ابن رواحة وفاطمة بنت رسول الله
 صل الله عليه وسلم رضي الله عنها واما الصحابة كما في نيل الرجاء متفاوتون بالفضل ورفضهم
 العشرة المبشرون بالجنة وهم ابوبكر وعمر وعثمان وعلي وسعد بن ابى وقاص وسعيد بن
 زيد وطلحة بن عبد الله والزبير بن العوام وابوعبيدة بن الجراح وعبد الرحمن بن عوف
 وافضل العشرة للخلفاء الراشدين وهم الاربعة الاولون وترتيبهم في الأفضلية كترتيبهم
 في الخلافة فاول من خلف بعد ما قبض النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ابوبكر رضي الله عنه باختيار
 المهاجرين والانصار ولبث فيها سنتين وثلاثة اشهر وعشرين ليلة وتوفي وهو ابن ثلاث وستين
 فتولاها بعده عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه بعده من ابى بكر ولبث فيها عشر سنين ونصفا
 وثمانية ايام وقتل شهيدا وهو ابن ثلاث وستين سنة فتولاها عثمان بن عفان رضي الله
 عنه بأغلبية آراء اهل الشورى الذين عينهم عمر ولبث فيها قريبا من اثنتي عشرة سنة
 وقتل شهيدا وهو ابن اثنتين وثمانين سنة فتولاها علي بن ابي طالب
 رضي الله عنه وكثر وجهه بجماعة كبار الصحابة ولبث فيها رجة سنين وستة اشهر وقتل
 شهيدا وهو ابن ثلاث وستين سنة والله اعلم بهذا السلام

ان هجره
 كسرى
 وسكون الحاء
 وفتح الصاد
 ونقار وفتح
 ابن ابي الحارث
 ويقال ان اسمه
 وسهم ناعل

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☆ Digital photo of the last page of the manuscript Nūr al-'Aynayn fi
 Sīrat Sayyid al-Kawnayn

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY and CONCLUSION

Written Ethiopian Islamic-oriented Arabic literature exists mostly in manuscript form and is still unpublished. These manuscripts, found in private collections or rarely in public libraries all over the country, have largely encountered the fate of being unnoticed or forgotten. These neglected works cover different areas such as hagiography, religion, astronomy, poetry, grammar, history, geography etc. Among those Ethiopian Muslim scholars who left their contribution to the religious and literary development of indigenous Islam in Ethiopia is Šayḥ Badr al-Dīn of Qebena (1923 —1989 /1335 A.H. —1401 A.H.).

Using many books as references, he wrote five Arabic manuscripts on different topics, mostly theological: *Tawḥīd* (monotheism), *Sīra* (biography of the Prophet Muḥammad), *Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), hagiography of various Ethiopian Muslim scholars, and social subjects. Moreover, he composed (in Arabic) a personal journal covering different issues such as history, social issues, his and his contemporaries' journeys, *Fatwā* (religious legal opinion) and other short notes.

This thesis has four main chapters. The first chapter contains the basic research methodology and introduces the background and objectives of the study. The second chapter discusses in detail the geography of Qebena and the biography of Šayḥ Badr Al-Dīn. The third chapter presents a short catalogue giving a philological description of the five manuscripts of Šayḥ Badr Al-Dīn.

The fourth chapter is the major objective of this thesis. This chapter presents a partial philological and content analysis of the Arabic

manuscript of Šayḥ Badr Al-Dīn called *Nūr al-'Aynayn fī Sīrat Sayyid al-Kawnayn*, dealing with the *Sīra* (biography) of the Prophet Muḥammad. Scholars of *Ḥadīth* and writers of the biography of Muḥammad have explored his life from every aspect. Every event and incident of his life has been described and narrated, but no biographer has claimed to have done it full justice. Šayḥ Badr Al-Dīn is among the Ethiopian Muslim scholars who wrote about the biography of the Prophet. Through the course of writing this manuscript he used different classic and modern sources of *sīra*, *mağāzi* and Islamic history; however, he does not mention in his work those sources that he used as references. In order to make sure that his work on the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad is truly based on reliable sources I have selected 15 excerpts from the manuscript and made an analysis of each excerpt, especially concerning the major historical events as reported in standard works of *Sīra*. Through the course of my studies I found that Šayḥ Badr Al-Dīn did indeed use the ancient sources of *Sīra* that were written by Muḥammad ibn 'Ishāq ibn Yasār Al-Maṭlabiyy Al-Madaniyy (d. 151 A.H.) and 'Abu Muḥammad 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Hišām (d. 213 A.H.). Additionally, he used the most authenticated books of *Ḥadīth* which were collected and written by Muḥammad ibn 'Ismā'īl Bukhāriy (194-256 A.H.), *Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhāriy*; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Qušayri al-Niṣābūriyy Abū al-Ḥusayn (206-261 A.H.), *The Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim*; and other well-known scholars of Prophetic tradition in ancient times. This manuscript of Šayḥ Badr Al-Dīn is a relatively brief work; but it makes reliable use of standard sources of the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad (*Sīra* and *mağāzi*).

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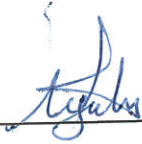
List of Informants

	Informant's Name	Date of Interview	Place of Interview	Informant's Position
1.	Haji 'Abdulwehab Šayḥ Badr Al-Dīn	January 20, 2009	Addis Ababa	Šayḥ Badr Al-Dīn's son
2.	Haji AḥmadNur Muḥammad	August 05, 2010	Addis Ababa	Muslim scholar from Qebena living in Addis Ababa and Šayḥ Badr Al-Dīn's student
3.	Waizaro Bəzunesh	January 12, 2009	Zebimola	Resident of Qebena
4.	Haji Hayatu Šayḥ Badr Al-Dīn	January 20, 2009	Addis Ababa	Šayḥ Badr Al-Dīn's son
5.	Haji Jilalu Dino	February 17, 2011	Addis Ababa	Imam of the great Mosque in Silte zone
6.	Ato Kedir Hussein	June 10, 2010	Addis Ababa	Agricultural expert in Silte zone of Southern Regional States
7.	Haji Muḥammad al-'Amin Šayḥ Badr Al-Dīn	Numerous	Addis Ababa and Zebimola	Šayḥ Badr Al-Dīn's son and Leader of Zebimola Mosque
8.	Šayḥ Šālīh Ḥabīb	January 14, 2009	Zebimola	Šayḥ Badr Al-Dīn's coleage
9.	Haji 'Uthmān Digaga	February 21, 2011	Addis Ababa	Resident of Qebena



Declaration

This thesis is my original work and has not been submitted as a partial requirement for a degree in any university.



Nejat Abdu

Feb 2013

The thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as university advisor.



Advisor

