Religions and Trade

Religious Formation, Transformation and Cross-Cultural Exchange between East and West

Edited by

Peter Wick and Volker Rabens

BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2014

 ISBN 978-90-04-25528-9

CONTENTS

 ISBN 978-90-04-25528-9

PART TWO

TRADE AND RELIGIOUS SYMBOL SYSTEMS

PART THREE

TRADE AND RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE

 ISBN 978-90-04-25528-9

PART FOUR

TRADE AND RELIGIOUS-ETHICAL WAYS OF LIFE

 ISBN 978-90-04-25528-9

SHARING THE CONCEPT OF GOD AMONG TRADING PROPHETS: READING THE POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO UMAYYA B. ABĪ ṢALT[1]

Al Makin

1. Introduction

Trade is a prominent feature in any account of the Arabian peninsula in the seventh century, during which many figures from various tribes claimed prophethood. Before claiming prophethood, Muhammad—like most of the Qurayshite Meccans in the seventh century traveling across the Arabian peninsula in camel caravans transporting goods (Q. 106.1–6)—was a trader, who married the successful businesswoman Khadīja. Trade also appears in the story of Umayya b. Abī Ṣalt, a claimant to prophethood from the tribe Thāqif in Ṭā'if, who, in the company of Abū Sufyān (the father of the founder of Umayyad dynasty Muʿāwiya), once travelled to Syria (Dimashq).[2] Trading was a vital occupation of the Meccans, dwelling as they did in infertile desert with rocky hills. The town depended for its food supply on others, such as Ṭā'if (the home town of Umayya) and Yamāma (the home town of yet another prophet, Musaylima). The caravan route connecting the towns was busy due mainly to the exchange of goods. Indeed, trade was a critical factor in linking not only the people living in different towns but also prophets, who not surprisingly, therefore, shared many important religious concepts. It is therefore not surprising that the two prophets Muḥammad and Umayya shared the same concept of God, which will be discussed in this paper.

This paper does not specifically aim at addressing the link between Muḥammad and Umayya in trade. However, it will show that the two prophets share a vital concept of God in their revelations. It is worth

[1] I would like to express my gratitude to the KHK, particularly to Prof. Stefan Reichmuth, Prof. Volkhard Krech, Dr. Marion Steinicke, and other board members of the consortium for the invitation and opportunity to conduct research on Umayya. My gratitude is also due to all fellows, whose various expertise and advice has indeed broadened my perspective. Sincere thanks should also go to Prof. Peter Wick and Dr. Volker Rabens, the editors of the present volume. I am deeply grateful to Dr. Jeremy Kingsly, of the ARI (Asia Research Institute), the National University of Singapore, for his valuable criticism.

[2] See Al Makin, *Representing the Enemy Musaylima in Muslim Literature* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2010), 148–150.

 ISBN 978-90-04-25528-9

noting that many claimants to prophethood in the Arabian peninsula in the seventh century, such as Umayya, Muḥammad, and Musaylima, revealed *qur'āns* (readings)—all of which show strong similarities in terms of content and style. Umayya's readings which are available to us are written in the form of poetry (*shi'r*) and rhyming prose (*saj'*)—a style employed in the Meccan verses of the Qur'ān. This paper will read the poems—dealing with the concept of God—attributed to Umayya. Specifically, it will begin by problematizing the domination of a single narrative about Islam on the Arabian peninsula in the seventh century, revealed by Muḥammad declaring himself—and often regarded by Muslims and many non-Muslim scholars—to be the only prophet. The paper goes on to consider the question of the authenticity of the sources reporting the birth of Islam. After touching upon the town of Ṭā'if and its relation to Mecca, the poems attributed to Umayya about God are addressed. I submit that the Qur'ān (reading) revealed by Muḥammad was not the only Qur'ān. Umayya, like Musaylima and perhaps other Arabian prophets, revealed another Qur'ān in which the concept of God is very similar to that revealed by Muḥammad. Although there is no satisfactory procedure to prove the authenticity of the poems, it does not mean that we should debunk the materials. In fact, the ways in which we both interpret the poems and compare them with the verses of the Qur'ān remain open.

2. The Domination of a Single Narrative

Whether Islam arose in the Arabian Peninsula in the seventh century as a continuation of local Arab pagan traditions or as a departure from them depends on one's perspective. Many Islamicists[3] seem to conclude that Islam reformed pre-Islamic Paganism in the peninsula or even eradicated some of the pagan practices. Accordingly, Muḥammad—claimed as the final Prophet and seal of all Biblical and Arabian prophets—has often been seen as a reformer offering new values different from those of the indigenous Arab tradition. In this vein, there was a fundamental change in the Arab religious tradition from the *Jāhili* to the Islamic era.

[3] See, e.g. Toshihiko Izutsu, *God and Man in the Koran: Semantics of the Koranic Weltanschauung* (Tokyo: The Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1964), 28. See also his, *Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Qur'ān* (Montreal: McGill University, Institute of Islamic Studies, 1966), 16, 29, 30, and elsewhere; M. Zwettler, "A Mantic Manifesto" in *Poetry and Prophecy*, ed. James L. Kugel (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 106 and 107; W.M. Watt, *Muḥammad at Mecca* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), 16–29.

 ISBN 978-90-04-25528-9

Thus, the antagonism between early Muslims under the leadership of the Prophet Muḥammad in Medina and the Meccan unbelievers was mainly motivated by opposing theological stances. According to those who held to "Islamic orthodoxy," the pre-Islamic Meccans were simply either infidels (*kāfir*) or polytheists (*mushrik*), whereas Islam offered the true concept of monotheism. Early and later Muslim Qur'ānic exegetes, theologians, and jurists have all stressed the differences between Islamic teachings and pre-Islamic traditions. This common narrative has been repeatedly reiterated in many genres of Muslim literature. Consequently, the contrast between the *Jāhilī* and the Islamic periods is maintained.[4]

However, the debate never ceases over the issues of differences and similarities between the newly emerging Islam in Mecca and the Meccan *Jāhili* religious values. Kister, in his many articles, often highlights the continuity between the pre- and post-Islamic period. Some Islamic religious practices, such as certain forms of prayer, rituals, and tribal traditions, have parallels in the old Arab religious customs.[5] Indeed, the rise of Islam cannot be detached from what preceded it. Islam did not suddenly emerge out of thin air. As a rule, a new religious tradition is born from previous complex religious traditions. No matter how far a new tradition departs from its predecessors, the link between them cannot be ignored.

What is at our disposal, seen from the Islamic perspective, and often echoed by many Islamicists, is a single narrative stressing the novelty of Islam. The story goes that in the midst of Paganism—and the moral decadence among Meccan religious and political leaders—Muḥammad claimed prophethood and called upon his local community to follow the God's true teachings as revealed to him. He came to restore the old

[4] See Al Makin, "Rethinking other Claimants to Prophethood, the Case of Umayya b. Abī Ṣalt," *Al-Jamiah* 48 (2010): 169–190. According to Günther Lüling, however, the disputes which often occurred between Muḥammad and the Meccans in the early period of his prophethood shows that the two factions had a different interpretation of 'Judeo-Christianity' from each other—the religious tradition which dominated the Arabian Peninsula in the seventh century. Muḥammad seems to stress the local Meccan content, whereas his opponents embraced a more Hellenistic tone. See, Günter Lüling, *Die Wiederentdeckung des Propheten Muḥammad: Eine Kritik am "christlichen" Abendland* (Erlangen: Lüling, 1981), 221, 250–251; Lüling, *Der Christliche Kult an der Vorislamischen Kaaba als Problem der Islamwissenschaft und Christlichen Theologie* (Erlangen: Verlagsbuchhandlung H. Lüling, 1977), 10; see also Al Makin, *Representing the Enemy*, 230 n. 29.

[5] See e.g. Kister, "Al-Taḥānut, an Inquiry into the Meaning of a Term," *BSOAS* 31 (1968): 223–236; Kister, "A Bag of Meat: A Study of an Early *Ḥadīth*," *BSOAS* 33 (1970): 267–275.

 ISBN 978-90-04-25528-9

forgotten religious tradition. However, the local tradition as the background against which a new teaching emerged, is often neglected.[6]

From an Islamic theological perspective, the above assumption gives legitimacy to the truth of Islam, seen as the only true religion which guides humankind. Anyone who wishes to reveal a different account and to present it from the historical perspective is, however, often faced with methodological issues.[7]

3. Sources of Early Islam

What sources we can rely on to unearth the account of the Arabian peninsula in the seventh century, during which Islam emerged, is a question that always challenges us. No archaeological excavation has so far been attempted in the two main towns—Mecca and Medina—in which Islam was revealed and the early Muslim community developed. Nor are there any manuscripts or other physical evidence from the seventh century that have been passed down to us. What we have are many genres of Islamic literature—such as *sīra* (biography of the Prophet Muḥammad), *ḥadīth* (tradition), and *ṭabaqāt* (biographies of early Muslim figures)—written by Muslim scholars two or more centuries after the birth of Islam. The Qur'ān, whose complete manuscript from the seventh century has not survived, does not tell us much about the birth of Islam. On the other hand, many Islamicists are sceptical about the authenticity of these Muslim sources. Their reliability has been the subject of serious debates among both Western and Muslim scholars. In this regard, some try to present

[6] See n. 4 above.

[7] For the debate on this matters, see e.g. H. Motzki, "Dating Muslim Traditions: A Survey," *Arabica* 52 (2005): 204–253; Motzki, "The Collection of the Qur'ān, A Reconsideration of Western Views in Light of Recent Methodological Development," *Der Islam* 78 (2001): 1–34; Motzki, "The Murder of Ibn Abī Ḥuqayq: On the Origin and Reliability of Some Maghazi-reports," in his *The Biography of Muḥammad: The Issue of the Sources* (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Gregor Schoeler and Andreas Görke, "Reconstructing the Earliest *Sīra* Texts: the Hiǧra in the Corpus of 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr" *Der Islam* 82 (2005): 210–220; Gregor Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie der muslimischen Überlieferung über das Leben Mohammeds* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1996); F. McGraw Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins: the Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing* (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1998); Sebastian Günther, "Assessing the Sources of Classical Arabic Compilations: The Issue of Categories and Methodologies," *BJMES* 32 (2005): 75–98; Günther, "Modern Literary Theory Applied to Classical Arabic Texts, Ḥadīth Revisited." in *Understanding Near Eastern Literature: A Spectrum of Interdisciplinary Approaches*, eds. Verena Klemm and Beatrice Gruendler (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2000), 171–176.

 ISBN 978-90-04-25528-9

sources penned by non-Muslim writers. However, this attempt also fails to provide a comprehensive account of the emergence of Islam, because the sources about early Islam written by non-Muslims give us a certain perspective which reflects a certain cultural position.[8]

For those who cast doubt on the early Muslim sources preserving the account of Muḥammad's prophethood, his biography, his revelation (namely the Qur'ān), and the sayings and deeds attributed to him (*hadīth*s), all were the products of later Muslim scholarship. In this regard, Muslim scholars from the tenth century onward penned their imaginings of the ideal past in accordance with their own social, political, and religious contexts. Accordingly, the figure of Muḥammad is shrouded in myth.[9] Some scholars also challenge the authenticity of the Qur'ān. For these sceptical scholars, a huge amount of *hadīth* materials are simply inventions by much later Muslim scholars. From this standpoint, it is difficult to present a true representation of the narrative of the Arabian peninsula in the seventh century.

Nevertheless, a critical attitude toward the sources written by Muslim scholars two or more centuries after the birth of Islam is indeed needed to study the emergence of the religion.[10] In glorifying the past, later Muslim scholars often show clear signs of bias in their works in which they narrate that their prophet Muḥammad faced the Meccan opponents and built the early Muslim community in Medina. Notwithstanding the huge amount of Islamic literature, one should always be critical in reading these materials. Interestingly, the more recent the sources, the more detailed are the accounts they provide. An expansive tendency is also evident in many genres of later Muslim literature.[11]

However, not all Islamic sources should be debunked. There are certain ways to appreciate these sources, no matter how little they can tell us "what really happened" in the Arabian peninsula in the seventh

[8] See, e.g. Patricia Crone and Michael A. Cook, *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977). Robert G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (New Jersey: Darwin Press, 1997).

[9] See, e.g. John E. Wansbrough, *Qur'ānic Studies, Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977); Wansbrough, *Sectarian Millieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).

[10] Sebastian Günther, "Assessing the Sources of Classical Arabic Compilations."

[11] See e.g. Joseph Schacht, *The Origin of Muḥammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), 163; Gautier H.A. Juynboll, "Early Islamic Society, as Reflected in Its Use of Isnāds," in his *Studies on the Origins and Uses of Islamic Ḥadīth* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), 166.

 ISBN 978-90-04-25528-9

century.[12] I would like to propose that it is possible to appreciate the later Muslim sources that provide an account of early Islam. At least we can perhaps detect a skeleton or core message preserved in them for two or three centuries.

So far, my reading of Islamic literature has led me to the following thesis, as formulated in my previous work,[13] that in the Arabian peninsula there was more than one prophet, one reading (Qur'ān), one mosque (*masjīd*), and one monotheistic Judeo-Christian religious movement (*ḥānīf*), of which only Islam has survived. Indeed, during the Prophet Muḥammad's lifetime there were many claimants to prophethood, the most notable of whom was Umayya b. Abī Ṣalt, a poet of the tribe Thaqīf from Ṭā'if, who is said to have claimed prophethood earlier than Muḥammad. In Yamāma, Musaylima also served as a prophet for his people of Ḥanīfa. Other claimants during the lifetime of Muḥammad, such as Abū ʿĀmir,[14] Sajāḥ,[15] Aswad,[16] and Ṭulayḥa,[17] also deserve serious attention. Furthermore, after the death of the Prophet, claimants to prophethood were innumerable in the Arabian peninsula and beyond. Musaylima continued his prophetic mission even after the death of Muḥammad, before his movement was defeated by a military force under the command of Khālid b. Wālid during Abū Bakr's caliphate. Given this, the notion that Muḥammad was the only prophet in the Arabian peninsula in the seventh century can thus be challenged. In fact, many claimed prophethood in the period. Research in this direction is of course needed in order shed new light on the issue—to what extent was the notion of prophethood, claimed by these people, prevalent in the Arabian peninsula in the seventh century and beyond.

Nonetheless, it could also be argued that there was a "survival of the fittest" among the prophetic traditions. The most successful Arabian prophet, with an expansion of religious and political sovereignty and an increasing number of followers over time, is Muḥammad, who revealed the reading (Qur'ān) which still survives and is recited to this day. In terms of

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[12] See e.g. Motzki, "Dating Muslim Traditions: A Survey;" Gregor Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie*.

[13] Al Makin, *Representing the Enemy*, 262–263.

[14] See e.g. Moshe Gil, "The Medinan Opposition to the Prophet," *JSAI* 10 (1987): 87–92; "The Creed of Abū ʿĀmir," *IOS* 12 (1992): 9–57.

[15] V. Vacca, "Sajāḥ," in *EI²*; al-ʿAsqalānī, Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥāba*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1992), vol. 7, 723.

[16] W. Montgemory Watt, "Aswad," in *EI²*; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1962), vol. 3, 236–239.

[17] Ella Landau-Tasseron, "Ṭulayḥah," in *EI²*; al-ʿAsqalānī, *Iṣāba*, vol. 3, 542–543.

 ISBN 978-90-04-25528-9

its survival, Islam seems to be the most superior of all Arabian religious movements founded by Arabian prophets in the seventh century. Looking at the literature at our disposal, however, the prophethood of Muḥammad alone dominated the narrative of the seventh century Arabian peninsula. Other claimants are simply neglected. In fact, other cults, religious movements, prophets, Qur'āns, and *masjīd*s (mosques), evidently failed to survive. Once again, Islam—sustained by political and cultural prowess over centuries—is the one which still survives today.

4. A Prophet from Ṭā'if

In order to understand the figure of Umayya b. Abī Ṣalt and his prophethood, a study of his poems will contribute to the construction of a new perspective on the man and his prophethood. Imagine that in Ṭā'if, a neighbouring town just south east of Mecca, there was another claimant to prophethood older than Muḥammad. Although there is not yet sufficient evidence for us to conclude that all the people of Ṭā'if followed their own prophet, namely Umayya, it is reasonable to speculate that these people had their own religious tradition different from that of the Meccans. In fact, during the rapid expansion of Islam in Medina, during which various Arab tribes embraced Islam, the people of Ṭā'if converted relatively late to Islam. In a story of the conquest of the town, the Prophet Muḥammad is reported to have suffered serious wounds, due to the resistance of the town's inhabitants against the call to the new faith.[18] One may perhaps guess that before their conversion to Islam, the people of Ṭā'if upheld their own religious tradition.

To describe the faith propagated by the Ṭā'ifi prophet Umayya and compare it to those of other Arab prophets, he—like other Arab prophets in the seventh century, such as Muḥammad and Abū ʿĀmir in Medina[19]—is said to have embraced *ḥānīf*,[20] a local Arabian religious movement with

[18] See Al Makin "Rethinking other Claimants." For more complete stories of Umayya and Ṭā'if, see the introductions to the *Dīwān*s by Ḥadīthī and Ṣatlī (n. 25 below).

[19] Aloys Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammeds nach bisher größtenteils unbenutzten Quellen* (Berlin: Nocolai'ische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1861), vol. 1, 119–124; Meir. J. Kister, "A Bag of Meat: A Study of an Early Ḥadīth," 267–275; See Ibn Qutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, ed. Tharwat ʿUkāsha (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub, 1960), 59; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya* (Beirut: Maktaba al-Maʿārif, 1966), vol. 2, 238–43.

[20] See, e.g. Uri Rubin, "Ḥānīf," in *EQ*; F. Buhl, "Ḥānīf", *EI*[2]; Lyall, C.J. "The words *ḥānīf* and Muslim," *JRAS* (1903): 771–84; David S. Margoliouth, "The Origin and Import of the Names Muslim and Ḥānīf," *JRAS* 35 (1903); Arthur Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabularies of the*

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various elements of Judeo-Christianity which preceded Islam. It seems that many figures claimed to be adherents of *ḥānīf*, on which the Qur'ān claims that Islam reformed this religious movement. Amidst the debate among Muslim and non-Muslim scholars with regard to its meanings, *ḥānīf* may be interpreted here as hermeneutical efforts attempted by some Arab figures to blend the values of local Arab pagan traditions with the elements of Judaism and Christianity. From various stories preserved in the later Muslim literature, one may also conjecture that in various *ḥānīf* movements there were perhaps some seeds of monotheism, maintaining that God (Allah) is the one whom human beings should worship. However, it seems that there were many different versions of *ḥānīf* promoted by many Arabian prophets, none of which, with the exception of Islam, has survived.

Ṭā'if, the town in which Umayya was raised, was, unlike Mecca, reportedly fertile. Wheat, dates, vines, and other cereals grew there, some of which was exported to Mecca. As indicated earlier, the Meccans depended for their goods on neighboring regions; corn and wheat were imported, for example, from Yamāma, the center of Musaylima's prophetic and political activities. During the siege of Mecca, the Medinan Muslims under the direct leadership of the Prophet Muḥammad collaborated with Thumāma, a political rival of Musaylima, to cut the food supply from Yamāma to Mecca. As a result, the Meccans suffered from hunger—a critical factor which contributed to their defeat.[21]

The inhabitants of many towns in the Arabian peninsula in the seventh century, such as Mecca, Medina, Ṭā'if, and Yamāma, were involved

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Qur'ān (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1938), 131–132; Yvonne Haddad, "The Conception of the Term Dīn in the Qur'ān," *MW* 64, Nov. 2, 1974; Haddad, "An Exegesis of Sura Ninety-Eight," *JAOS* 97 (1977): 520; M.J. Kister, "Al-Taḥannuth:" An Inquiry into the Meaning of a Term," *BSOAS* 31 (1968), 266 and 232; Uri Rubin, "Hanafiyya and Kaʿba: An Inquiry into the Arabian Pre-Islamic Background of *Dīn* Ibrāhīm," in *The Arabs and Arabia on the Eve of Islam*, ed. F.E. Peters, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999); Gabriel S. Reynolds, "A Reflection on Two Qur'ānic Words (Iblīs and Jūdī), with Attention to the Theories of A. Mingana," *JAOS* 124 (2004): 685; François de Blois, "Naṣrānī (Ναζωραῖος) and ḥanīf (ἐθνικός): Studies on the Religious Vocabulary of Christianity and of Islam," *BSOAS* 65 (2002): 1–30. It is also important, in this regard, to consider the word *fatra*, see e.g. Ch. Pellat, "Fatra," in *EI*[2]; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Maʿārif*, ed. Tharwa ʿUkāsha (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub, 1960), 58; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa Maʿādan al-Jawhar*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥy al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥāmīd (Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Tijāriya al-Kubrā, 1377/1958), vol. 1, 65–75.

[21] See, e.g. F. McGraw Donner, "Mecca's Food Supplies and Muḥammad's Boycott," *JESHO* 20 (1977): 249–266.

 ISBN 978-90-04-25528-9

in trade. Some vocabularies in the Qur'ān testify this.[22] The Meccans travelled from one town to another.[23] The vocabulary of market and trading activities was also used to describe important concepts of the hereafter. For example, the Scripture uses the word *mīzan* (measurement) to indicate the evil or good deeds of human beings in the world to come.

The exchange of goods occurred among those who lived in different towns. Each town practiced its own religious traditions, which were influenced by the common elements of Judaism and Christianity. The issues surrounding prophethood, and the birth of a new prophet to reform existing common religious traditions, were probably prevalent in many towns. It is not surprising, therefore, that in each town a local prophet attracted local followers.

The Prophet Muḥammad, who claimed prophethood in Mecca and then moved to Medina, where he successfully built the early Muslim community. Islam, one version of *ḥanīf*, expanded rapidly. Not only did many Arab tribes convert to Islam, they also paid allegiance to the Medinan power. Other prophets living in various towns in the peninsula perceived the fast expansion of the new Medinan domination over many Arab tribes as a serious threat. They had no choice but to defend their sovereignty against the Medinan invasion. Musaylima, for example, fought the Medinan force with forty thousand men. To reinforce his political stance, he entered a treaty with Sajāḥ, the prophetess of the Tamīm tribe. The rest of the prophets, including Aswad and Ṭulayaḥa, were defeated by the Medinan troops, and therefore were unable to defend their territory and faith.[24] In various invasions on neighboring tribes and towns, Islam triumphed, and is the only Arab religion which exists to this day.

The above accounts can be drawn from the sources penned by later Muslim scholars. However, while there is so far no physical evidence from archeological excavation to support the existence of many prophets in the Arabian peninsula in the seventh century, poems attributed to Umayya, a prophet from Ṭā'if—whose interpretation remains open—are at our

[22] Kenneth Cragg, *The Mind of the Qur'ān* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1973). For more debate on this issue, see e.g. Patricia Crone, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); R.B. Serjeant, "Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam: Misconceptions and Flawed Polemics Review of Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam," *JAOS* 3 (1990): 472–486.

[23] Q. 106.

[24] Al Makin, *Representing the Enemy*, 154–156.

 ISBN 978-90-04-25528-9

disposal.[25] It should be borne in mind that poetry and poets played a vital role in many towns in the peninsula and that lines, sentences, and words of known poets were transmitted orally through generations. Here, selected poems ascribed to Umayya on the concept of God will be at the center of our discussion.

With regard to the authenticity of the poems attributed to Umayya, there are at present three stances: 1) Sprenger and Huart suspect that the poems—which preceded the Qur'ān, as indicated by various Muslim sources—may have served as sources of the Qur'ān. 2) Tor Andrae, on the other hand, adopts a sceptical attitude, suggesting that the poems were fabricated by Muslim scholars in the later flowering period of Islamic literature. However, Kamentzky, al-Saṭlī, and Ḥadīthī believe that some lines can perhaps be attributed to Umayya. 3) Hirsberg argues, on the other hand, that the Qur'ān and the poems came from the same religious and literary tradition, so much so that the two contain substantial similarities in style and content. Hirsberg also compares the poems attributed to Umayya to pre-Islamic Haggada materials.[26]

In this article we will read some lines ascribed to Umayya taken from *Diwān* compiled by al-Saṭlī, Ḥadīthī, and Schulthess, from which the concept of God will be extracted. At the end of the article, some citations of more complete lines will be presented.

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[25] There are many *Diwān*s (collections) of poems attributed to Umayya, see L. Cheikho, *Wuzarā' al-Naṣrānīya wa-Kuttābuhā fi al-Islām* (Roma: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1987); Cheikho, *al-Naṣrānīya wa-ādābuhā bayna ʿArab al-Jāhilīya* (Bayrūt: Dār al-Mashriq, 1989); F. Schulthess, *Umajja ibn Abi ṣ Ṣalt: Die unter seinem Namen überlieferten Gedichtfragmente gesammelt und übersetzt von Friedrich Schulthess* (Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1911); Cl. Huart, *Une nouvelle source du Qoran*, in *JA* (1904): 125–167; al-Saṭlī, *Diwān Umayya b. Abī Ṣalt* (Dimashq, 1974); al-Ḥadīthī, *Umayya b. Abī Ṣalt* (Baghdad: Maṭbaʿa al-Ainī, 1975); J. Frank-Kamenetzky, *Untersuchungen über das Verhältnis der dem Umajja b. Abi ṣ Ṣalt zugeschriebenen Gedichte zum Qoran* (Kirchhain: Max Schmarsow, 1911). For more comments on the poems attributed to Umayya, see Tor Andrae, *Mohammed: Sein Leben und sein Glaube* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1932); *Les origines de l'Islam et le Christianisme* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1955); T. Seidensticker, "The authenticity of the poems ascribed to Umayya Ibn Abī al-Ṣalt," in *Tradition and Modernity in Arabic Language and Literature*, ed. J.R. Smart (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996); J.W. Hirschberg, *Jüdische und christliche Lehren im vor- und frühislamischen Arabien* (Cracow: Nakl. Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 1939).

[26] See n. 25 above.

 ISBN 978-90-04-25528-9

5. The Attributes of God

In Umayya's poems, God appears with the same names as those occurring in the Qurʾān and other Muslim sources.[27] He is called *Allah*,[28] *ilāh*,[29] *raḥmān* and *rahīm* (the merciful),[30] *rabb* (Lord),[31] *muhaymin* (the importance),[32] *dhū al-jalāl* (those who have greatness), *dhū faḍl* (those who possess excellence).[33] God is also referred to as the *mālik* (king),[34] *bāri* (originator), *khāliq* (creator),[35] *ḥayyi* (life-giver), *qāhir* (powerful),[36] and *qayyūm* (standing). All names have a familiar ring to readers of the Qurʾān. However, the poems also mention certain attributes of God, e.g., *ṣaltit* (the sovereign)[37] and *rabb al-ḥanīfa* (the Lord of ḥanīfa),[38] which do not occur in the Muslim Scripture.

According to Umayya's poems, God's knowledge and wisdom, as mentioned by the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*, are infinite. His knowledge is far above that of all human beings. He knows what is seen and unseen. In some lines it is explained that God controls what is put in darkness, or hidden

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[27] For more on the concept of God according to the Qurʾān, see e.g. L. Gardet, "Allāh," in *EI*[2]; Mustansir Mir, "Glorification of God," in *EQ*; Gerhard Böwering "God and his Attributes," in *EQ*. Ref. cited. For more discussion on the concept of God in Islam, see e.g. Andrew Rippin, " 'Desiring the Face of God': The Qurʾanic symbolism of Personal responsibility," in *Literary Structures of religious meaning in the Qur'an*, ed. Issa J. Boullata (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000), 117–124; Fazlur Rahman, *Major Themes of the Qur'an* (Chicago: Bibliotheka Islamica, 1980), ch. 1; Montgomery Watt, *Created in His Image: A Study in Islamic Theology in Early Islam* (Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 94–100; Watt, "Economic and Social Aspects of the origin of Islam," *IQ* 1 (1954): 90–103; Andrew Rippin, " 'Rahman and the Hanifs' in The Qur'an and its Interpretative Tradition," in *Islamic Studies presented to Charles J. Adams*, eds. Wael Hallaq and Donald P. Little (Leiden, Brill 1991), 153–168; Alfred F.L. Beeston, "Himyarite Monotheism," in *Studies in the History of Arabia II: Pre-Islamic Arabia*, eds. A.M. Abdallah et al. (Riyad: King Saud University Press, 1984), 149–154; Beeston, "The Religions of pre-Islamic Yemen," and "Judaism and Christianity in pre-Islamic Yemen," in *L'Arabie du Sud: Histoire et civilization I: Le peuple Yemenite et ses racines*, ed. Joseph Chelhod (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 1984), 259–269, 271–278. For a preliminary comparison between the concept of God in some lines attributed to Umayya's and that of the Qurʾān, see Tilman Nagel, *Der Koran: Einführung—Texte—Erläuterungen* (Munich: Beck, 1983), 172–181.

[28] Ḥadīthī 5: 1; 6; 7; 24.1; 25.1; 26. Saṭlī 3.1, 16; 8.26; 9.5; 10.1, 30; 22.3.

[29] Ḥadīthī 21.12. Schulthess 25.10, 13.

[30] Ḥadīthī 54.14; 140.2. Saṭlī 24.3.

[31] Ḥadīthī 26; 140.2. Saṭlī 4.1; 11.1; 24.1.

[32] Ḥadīthī 21.2; 111.2. Schulthess 24.2. Saṭlī 11.2; 74.3.

[33] Ḥadīthī 86.1. Saṭlī 62.1.

[34] Ḥadīthī 21.1, 21. Saṭlī 11.1.

[35] Ḥadīthī 21.22, 23. Saṭlī 28.

[36] Ḥadīthī 21.25.

[37] Ḥadīthī 54.15. Saṭlī 22.5.

[38] Ḥadīthī 125.2.

 ISBN 978-90-04-25528-9

in the cupboard.[39] Everything is under God's absolute control. God listens to human prayers, such as those of Noah. God is close to human beings, as described in the lines dealing with Moses.[40]

God is also described as eternal, whereas everything else is subject to destruction.[41] God is sovereign of this world and all creatures. Nothing is comparable to God.[42] God is portrayed as the highest being, whom no one surpasses, and who is not seen by human eyes.[43] God is surrounded by light.[44] Additionally, God is entirely different from his creatures. However, man can meet God in the hereafter. God has the supreme language (*lisān*) by which He understands the language of animals.[45] God owns the kingdom, which is this universe in which everything belonging to Him resides.

From the lines attributed to him, Umayya, like Muḥammad, taught monotheism. God, as famously stated in the early Meccan verses of the Qurʾān, begets no child.[46] He sits on the throne (*ʿarash*), which is located in the highest heaven.[47] Below him, there are angels (*malāʾikat, talāmidh*) obeying His commands.[48] These angels reside in heaven. Their feet are swinging among the stars, above the earth.[49] Like Qurʾānic teaching, heaven, according to some lines ascribed to Umayya, consists of seven levels. Each level bears its own name.[50] Beneath the earth, there are seventy valleys.

In some lines attributed to Umayya, this universe is God's kingdom. God is described as sitting on the throne with His two feet dangling. Angels are said to have wings and surround Him. Other lines also mention many kinds of angels serving God obediently. A pair of angels, Gabriel and Michael, obey all God's commands. There are more angels, most of whom dwell in the stars (*thurayya*). Jibrīl, an important angel who is also called *rūhul quddūs* (holy spirit),[51] appears in the accounts of Mary and Jesus.[52]

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[39] Ḥadīthī 24.2–4.140.1. Schulthess 25.3; 46.1. Saṭlī 10.1–2; 99.1.
[40] Ḥadīthī 90.
[41] Ḥadīthī 144.1. Schulthess 32.1. Saṭlī 101.1.
[42] Ḥadīthī 24.1. Schulthess 25.1. Saṭlī 10.1.
[43] Ḥadīthī 144.4.
[44] Ḥadīthī 21.3; 144.8.
[45] Ḥadīthī 25.1–2.
[46] Q. 112.
[47] Ḥadīthī 14.1; 21.2, 19; 39.1–4; 46.3; 139.1. Saṭlī 11.2; 99.1.
[48] Ḥadīthī 23.3, 8, 21, 26; 6.1; 7.1. Saṭlī 10.12.
[49] Ḥadīthī 21.5.
[50] Satli 10.15–20. Schulthess 25.19–21.
[51] Saṭlī 11.8.
[52] Ḥadīthī 21.9.

 ISBN 978-90-04-25528-9

It is worth mentioning that Jibrīl plays a vital role in the prophethood of Muḥammad, serving as the mediator between Muḥammad and God in receiving revelation. This angel also appears in the accounts of Musaylima. It may be concluded from this that the three prophets—Muḥammad, Umayya, and Musaylima—shared the same notion of the importance of Jibrīl in their revelations.

Equally important is the fact that God, according to some lines attributed to Umayya, also prescribes a religion (*dīn or sibghat*) to mankind.[53] To illustrate this, the religion embraced by Maryam is that of God. In addition, Umayya also swears by the name of God, e.g. *lillāh* (by God).

6. God as the Creator

To compare Umayya's readings to those of two other Arab prophets—Musaylima and Muḥammad, in the revelations attributed to Musaylima, God is said to have created human beings since they were in the womb of their mother (*ḥublā*). The early Meccan verses of the Qurʾān, on the other hand, stress that God gives life to human beings in the form of sperm (*mā'dāfiq*). Umayya's poems at our disposal present the concept of creation differently. That is, life, according to Umayya, came from a chamber (*ḥujr*) of God. The story goes that a long time ago, God called each creature by name into the chamber. There, God granted life to each of them.[54]

God in Umayya's poems, as in the Qurʾān, also created this universe, consisting of earth, sky, stars, sun, and moon. God also gave life to all kinds of living being on earth—various plants and animals (donkey, horse, bird, bees, flies, pig, cock, raven, cow, horse, man, etc.). God is also the Creator of the world to come, namely paradise and hell.[55]

7. God's Intervention

Some lines attributed to Umayya mention that God is present in the life of mankind. God is portrayed as the One who helped prophets and virtuous people and punished the sinful.

[53] Ḥadīthī 66.1; 93.1–2; 94.1; 95.9; 125.9. Saṭlī 24.8; 103.3; 79.1. Schulthess 23.1–2; 88.2.
[54] Ḥadīthī 109.1–2.
[55] Ḥadīthī 101.1–25. Schulthess 24.4.

 ISBN 978-90-04-25528-9

Some lines ascribed to the Ṭā'ifi prophet, describe the role of God as the Helper who grants victory to the protagonists and virtuous people—such as Noah,[56] Abraham,[57] Moses,[58] Mary, and Jesus.[59] In the story of Noah, God blesses this virtuous man, as he caused his ark to sail, by blowing the wind. In the story of Abraham, he replaced his son, whom Abraham intended to sacrifice, with an animal. The name of the son—either Ishmael or Isaac—is not mentioned.

As in the Qur'ān, some lines attributed to Umayya explain that God also tormented sinful people. The story goes that once God expelled Iblīs (devil) from the paradise, in which Adam and his wife used to live. God then sent Adam to earth, but gave him the task of *khalīfa* (leader) on earth.

As in the Qur'ān, poems ascribed to Umayya also describe how God sent a cauldron (causing deluge) to punish the wrongdoers who opposed Noah. In another story of punishment, God destroyed Pharaoh, the enemy of Moses.[60] On another occasion, God turned the earth upside down, when he sent torment to the people of Lot. Interestingly, the account of God sending calamities to Tihāma,[61] a shore located on the west of the Arabian peninsula[62]—is not found in the Qur'ān. As God's punishment, Tihāma was once attacked by grasshoppers and other insects.

8. Praises to God

One can imagine how pious Umayya was—often chanting God's names, a practice known as *dhikr* in Islamic tradition. In some lines attributed to him, God's names are often glorified not only by human beings but also by angels and animals. Angels prostrate to and praise God.

Birds, bees, and trees all sing God's greatness.[63] Whales, and even the ocean, glorify God. In many lines, readers are called upon to contemplate God's creatures in order to recall their Creator. A similar appeal can also be found in the lines attributed to the Yamāmi prophet, Musaylima,

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[56] Ḥadīthī 5.1–15; 86.1–7; 187.1–4; 142.7–10; 145.10–29. Schulthess 29.1–8; 30.9–11; 31.8–11. Saṭlī 3.1–6; 62.1–8. James E. Montgomery, *The Vagaries of the Qasidah: The Tradition and Practice of Early Arabic Poetry* (Cambridge: E.J.W. Gib Memorial Trust, 1997), 197–198.

[57] Ḥadīthī 85.1–13. Saṭlī 62.9–22. Schulthess 29.9–21.

[58] Ḥadīthī 90.

[59] Ḥadīthī 119.1–17. Saṭlī 89.1–17.

[60] See n. 54–57 above.

[61] Ḥadīthī 41.1–3.

[62] Mecca was part of Tihāma. See Saṭlī, *Diwān*, 467 n. 1.

[63] Ḥadīthī 21.26–27.

 ISBN 978-90-04-25528-9

who asked his followers to observe wolves, frogs, elephants, and rabbits, which are all created by God. Umayya's message sounds similar to that of Musaylima—both prophets instruct their people to think of the stars, the night, and other surrounding in order to call to mind the greatness of the Creator. In other words, God's greatness is manifested in the greatness of God's own creatures in the sky and on the earth[64]—a call for contemplation often found in many Meccan verses of the Qurʾān. It is worth noting that the messages delivered by the three Arabian prophets—Muḥammad, Musaylima, and Umayya—all used the same method in reminding their followers of God's power.

9. Human Repentance

Umayya's religious piety can be felt in the lines attributed to him when he asks God for forgiveness. Some lines evoke the poet's confession as a sinner, or sometimes as *kufr* (unbeliever): *lā tajʿal kufran abadan* ("God, do not make me an unbeliever forever").[65]

On another occasion, the poet states that when the truth of God is imminent, human beings should not run away from the truth—a quotation preserved in the *Sīra* of Ibn Iṣḥāq, famously presented in much later Muslim literature. Muslim authors, on the other hand, understand this as Umayya almost embracing Islam and acknowledging the prophethood of Muḥammad. However, the poet then abandoned Islam. It appears that the Islamic apologetic stance prevails in this understanding. Indeed, Umayya claimed himself to be a prophet. The Medinan and Ṭāʾifi prophets were in fact in competition for their religious claim, and political rivals. During the battle of Badr—between the Meccan unbelievers and the Medinan Muslims—Umayya sided with the former.

It can perhaps be argued that Umayya revealed his own *shiʿr* (which may also be called another "Qurʾān," literally referring to "reading," according to Richard Bell's theory). Bell argues that the qurʾān in the early phase of revelation referred to any general reading and not specifically to the collection of Muhammad's revelation.[66] Be that as it may, the style, pattern, and messages contained in Umayya's revelation sound similar to many

[64] Ḥadīthī 103.1–4. Schulthess 41.24–26. Saṭlī 73.5–8.
[65] Ḥadīthī 125.7; 46.8; 102.1–5; 96. Schulthess 29.22–23. Saṭlī 85.
[66] See e.g. Richard Bell, *A Commentary on the Qurʾān*, eds. C. Edmund Bosworth and M.E.J. Richardson (Manchester: University of Manchester, 1991), vol. 2, 329.

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verses of the Qurʾān. It is reasonable to speculate that Umayya was an independent advocate of *ḥānīf*—a version which was perhaps different from that of Muḥammad. It is worth noting that there were many other versions of ḥānīfs, such as those of Abū ʿĀmir, Zayd b. Nufayl, and Umayya. The *ḥānīf* promoted by Muḥammad, which was later called Islam, prevails in the Arabian peninsula, whereas the others have not survived.

10. Conclusion

So far, we have no single procedure to satisfactorily determine the authenticity of the poems attributed to Umayya. Nor can we be convinced by a particular analysis explaining that certain lines were delivered by Umayya and other lines were fabricated by much later poets or scholars. What is clear is that the transmission of the poems attributed to him did not cease on the death of the poet who claimed this poem-cum-prophet. Rather, the transmission continued for many centuries from different motives. Because he was recognized as a great poet, many were tempted to attribute their own words and lines to him to impress their audience. Sentences and lines ascribed to Umayya appear in the Qurʾānic exegesis. Exegetes cited lines ascribed to Umayya to seek for more explanation when faced with unfamiliar vocabulary in the Scripture. They did so to defend the truth of the Scripture, which contains words that were also uttered by the prominent poet, who came earlier than, or at the same time as, Muḥammad. If there are any authentic words delivered by Umayya, it remains unclear to what extent the later transmitters, who at the same time played the role of authors, changed them, in line with their own linguistic taste and social and religious interests. Words, lines, and sentences are in fact subject to change from generation to generation. This paper is not the place to examine the above issues at adequate length.

However, if certain words can be established to come from the seventh century, this would support our argument that ideas, concepts, sentences, and vocabulary of the Qurʾān have parallels in other sources. Thus, the Qurʾān was not the only Qurʾān (reading) revealed during Muḥammad's lifetime. Qurʾāns, other than the Islamic Qurʾān, must have existed in the Arabian peninsula, given the number of prophets living in many regions and affiliated with various tribes in the different provinces.

Umayya's Qurʾān contains the concept of God which sounds familiar to readers of the Qurʾān revealed by Muḥammad. The concept of God shared by the two prophets can perhaps lead us to imagine the close relation between the Meccans and the people of Ṭāʾif in the seventh century, dur-

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ing which Umayya and Muḥammad claimed prophethood. The relation between the two towns can be explained in the following way. Whereas the Meccans depended for their food supplies on their neighboring town, the inhabitants of Ṭā'if visited the Kaʿba (a pre-Islamic shrine which has later become the direction of Muslims' prayers) for religious reasons. In fact, the Meccan shrine attracted people from different cities in the Arabian peninsula, although many, such as Musaylima and the tribe of Ghaṭafān, attempted to build their own holy places, which, however, have not survived.[67] The inhabitants of the two towns visited each other. In this regard, Umayya was not exceptional, as indicated earlier, because he had an affinity with Abū Sufyān.

It is possible to speculate that the Meccans and the people of Ṭā'if were linked through trade. In addition to the exchange of goods, there was also an exchange of ideas, as attested by the similarities between the poems attributed to Ummayya—if they are authentic—and the Qur'ān which are testimony to the exchange of ideas between the Meccan and the Ṭā'ifite prophets.

Appendix: More Complete Lines Attributed to Umayya

11.1. *God on the Throne*

Upon You oh our Lord, praise, bless, and kingdom
  Nothing is higher than You earnestly [nothing is comparable to you]
The mighty King (God) (sits) on the throne of the sky
  For His greatness, all faces direct to him, before whom all prostrate
Light surrounds God—and light is all over Him
  The river of blazing lights mantles Him
No man can be elevated to (God's high) place
  mere creatures [on earth] have no light
The angels' feet [on the other hand] dangle over the earth
  But their necks reach skies
And among them (angels) hold the pillars (supporting) His throne
  with (mighty) power, without which all (sky and throne) are weak
All (angels) stand on their feet, with loaded muscle
  (They are) fearing and submissive (to God)
They obey their Lord
  always obedient listening to the revelation
The pair: Gabriel, the Holy Spirit, and Michael—
  whose spirit is mighty and powerful—(always) obey Him (God)

[67] For more discussion on the theme see, e.g. Makin, *Representing the Enemy*, 118–119.

 ISBN 978-90-04-25528-9

Angels never abandon prayers
Some of them bow and prostrate
Their prostration (to God) endures forever without raising their heads,
glorifying the Lord above them and chanting Him
They (angels) bend humbly when bowing,
chanting the divinity of God and praising Him
Among them (angles) fold their wings hiding their heads
memorizing their Lord solemnly
Because of fear they take refuge by praying (to God)
It is a long solemn worship
The doors of the skies are guarded by none other than those (angels)
who stand vigilantly
The best servants are the chosen (angels) for fulfilling His command
Among them (angels) are like huge army in service
[There is] angel, who ascends to the stars
through the thick water between them (stars)
[There is] angel, who roams between the plates
in earth's belly
Praise upon God, no one is [able to measure] His greatness
Nothing can [reach] the throne, (where) He is alone
None of the creatures [is able to] dispute his kingdom
He (God) is the only subject of worship
(God) the great King of skies and earth
Nothing above us (sky) fluxes
He is God, the Creator of (all) creatures; and all living beings come from Him;
all obey Him, whom I (myself) worship
And, indeed, [un]like the Creator who is eternal and everlasting;
Human beings—with their task as leaders (on earth)—are subject to destruction
There is no similarity between the Creator and creatures
(The former) is eternal who [is] superior to the temporary ones
I am temporary and not (at all) eternal, (whereas) God is the great one
who makes and resurrects death; God—who never rests—is eternal
Birds on hills praise Him invisibly
They do so during flying in the air of the sky
Due to the fear of God, thunder above us also praises God
So do the trees and beasts forever
So do the whales and the ocean relentlessly
Everything joins and follows (to praise God).[68]

11.2. *Praises to God*

They (all creatures) glorify God, who is glorious
Our Lord the great in the evening sky

[68] Ḥadīthī 21; Saṭlī 11; Schulthess 55.

 ISBN 978-90-04-25528-9

That He (God) who makes stone and death,
to which He (is able to) give life appropriately
He who builds the high sky which preceded man
[and] where the throne lies
(The throne) is so high that no human eye can see
What (the human) eye can see is only the image of angels.[69]

Praise to God in our soothing evening and awakening morning
God grants us righteousness in our morning and evening
God of *ḥanīfa*, whose wealth is immeasurable
[the wealth is] abundantly sufficient [to supply the needs of all] his kingdom
If a messenger [of God] were sent to us
There would be no reason to abandon (the messenger)
What our forefathers have taught us has faded away
But what we are passing to our children has [already] waned.[70]

11.3. *God's power in human life*

Those whose sight God erased have no more light to see the clear sun and moon.[71]

11.4. *Creation*

And bear in mind that life is a gift [of God],
which came from a chamber, (with) its divisions, (where you were placed) due to the benevolence of God
(The story goes that) when human being was called with [her/his] name,
Or (God) was mentioned (to her/him), she/he appeared by walking slowly
Poisonous [evil] is [always] behind her/him,
(Remember that) if (her/his name) were not mentioned, she/he would have remained [dead being] in the hollow chamber
[Various] sharp teeth, harsh claw(s), voices, and (special) characteristics (indicate) the variety of creatures
Whenever their names are mentioned to us, we are astonished
(But) the [unbelieving] mockers [still] insult God with word(s)
Whoever neglects the Lord,
the consequence is pain, which will torture [her/him] like [cruel] canines with cry (biting)
That (account of creation) is told (but how human being could) turn away from truth after (his/her) confirmation
(because) no deafening alarm [is put] in his/her ears

[69] Ḥadīthī 39; Saṭlī 31.1–4; Schulthess 34.1–4.
[70] Ḥadīthī 125; Saṭlī 96.1–4; Schulthess 35.1–9.
[71] Ḥadīthī 52.

 ISBN 978-90-04-25528-9

Whether she/he believes in or ignores it (the truth)
And no friend and bless (no compromise occur) between the two (different stances—believer and ignorant).[72]

11.5. *Praises to God*

They (human beings) praise God, to whom [all] praises belong
Our Lord (of) the evening sky, the Powerful
He, the Planter of tree(s), makes death life
He is the Potent
[Who built] the high sky which has preceded men
He thrones on the chair above the sky
(which is) so high, [so much so that] no eyes of human being can see
What you can see is only angels' picture, not His
He is the most magnificent, compared to what human being can see,
such as uncovered pictures.[73]

11.6. *Nature, Man, and God*

We wear the cotton, which we have planted on (earth)
We have sheared off the wool (of sheep), which the farmers have reared
We were created from it (the earth), and so were indeed our mothers
We are her (the earth's) children, if we are gratitude enough
This (earth) is the settled place, which we thus do not want to change
What the earth has blessed us, but we are still ungrateful
The defamation to God with enmity is ailment,
which the doctors know that no examination (can possibly) cure.[74]

11.7. *Repentance*

Oh God, do not make me ungrateful forever
And set faith in the throne of my heart in the course of time.[75]
Oh God do not prevent me from [entering] the khuldi (eternal) paradise; and oh our Lord make me a humble (and) compassionate (person).[76]
Oh God forgive me, [forgive] all my sins, I will humbly come to your service in the day (that you have promised).[77]

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[72] Ḥadīthī 109.1–8.
[73] Ḥadīthī 39.1–4; Saṭlī 31.1–5.
[74] Saṭlī 22.104; Schulthess 49.1–4.
[75] Ḥadīthī 125.7; Saṭlī 96.7; Schulthess 35.7.
[76] Ḥadīthī 142.
[77] Ḥadīthī 36.8.

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BJMES	*British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
EI²	*Encyclopedia of Islam* (new edition/Brill)
EQ	*Encyclopedia of the Qur'ān* (ed. J. McAuliffe/Brill)
IOS	*Israel Oriental Studies*
IQ	*The Islamic Quarterly, A review of Islamic Culture*
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JESHO	*Journal of Economy and Social History of the Orient*
JRAS	*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*
JSAI	*Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*
MW	*The Muslim World*

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