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In the Name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

THE UNSCHOOLED PROPHET

By:

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1st edition, 1991 (1411 AH)
Published by:
Islamic Propagation Organization
P O Box 14155/1313
Tehran, Islamic Republic of Iran
Printed by:
, Tehran, Iran

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PART 1 THE UNSCHOOLED PROPHET

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PART 1

THE UNSCHOOLED PROPHET

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One of the highlights in the life of the great Prophet Muhammad (SA) is the fact that he was untrained and the hard (ie, he did that a second any school). He had not been trained by any teacher and neither that any written work.

No historian, Muslim or non-Muslim, can be found who would claim that the Prophet (SA) had been taught to read or write by anyone in his childhood or youth, let alone during his which was the time of his mission. No one has ever the indicated an instance of the Prophet (SA) having read or written a line.

The Arabs, particularly those from Hijāz, were generally unlettered during that period, and those of them who could read and write were very well-known and very few in number. It would, as a rule, be impossible for a man to learn this skill under such conditions and not be well-known for this virtue among the people.

As we know, and will be (later) discussed, at

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that time his adversaries accused the Prophet (SA) of having obtained the words from others, rather than of being literate and capable of reading and writing and bringing forth the matters from the books he had with him. Had the Prophet (SA) had the slightest knowledge of reading and writing, he would certainly have been so accused.

1. THE CONFESSIONS OF OTHERS

Orientalists, who look critically upon the history of Islam, have not discovered the slightest indication or record of the Prophet's ability to read and write. Furthermore, they have admitted iliterate that he was (unschooled) and had emerged from among an unlettered people. In his famous work: "Al- Abtal" Carlyle observes: "There is one thing that should not be forgotten that Muhammad had not been taught any lesson by any tutor. The art of calligraphy had only just started among the Arabs during that period. In my belief, the truth is that Muhammad had no knowledge of either reading or writing. He had not been taught anything except desert life."

> In his book entitled "History of Civilization", William James Durant remarks: "Evidently, no one thought of teaching him (the great Prophet) reading and writing. At that time the art of reading and writing was of little significance to the Arabs. For this very reason, there were no more than seventeen persons among the Quraysh tribe who could read and write. It is not known that Muhammad himself should have written anything. After his appointment as Prophet, he had a special

scribe for him. Yet the most popular and eloquent Arabic book was recited by him. He had a better acquaintance and grasp of the affairs than the educated ones". 1

John Davenport in his book entitled: "Apology for Fault to Muḥammad and Qur'ān" observes: "As regards education, such as is usual throughout the world, it is the general belief that Muḥammad had no education other than that which was commonly practised in his tribe".²

Constante Vergil Giorgio in his book entitled: "Muhammad - a Prophet to Be Acquainted with Afresh" remarks: "Although he was unschooled. the early verses sent down to him spoke of the pen and knowledge; namely of writing, putting into writing, learning, and of teaching. In no other major religion has knowledge been so extensively appreciated, and no other religion can be found in which such an importance has been attached to knowledge, at its initial stage of development. Had Muhammad been a scholar, no surprise would be caused at the verses having been sent down into the Ghār Hirā' (Hirā' Cave), since a scholar appreciates knowledge, but the Prophet was neither schooled nor tutored. I congratulate the Muslims on their religion having so dearly regarded, at its inception, the acquisition of knowledge".3

Gustav Lubon in his famous work: "The Civilization of Islam and the Arabs" notes: "It is well-known that the Prophet was unschooled. This stands to reason also by appealing to inductive generalization, that if he happened to be knowledgeable, the contents and paragraphs of Qur'an would have been better interrelated. Furthermore,

if Muḥammad was not unschooled, he would not have been capable of propagating a new religion, for an unschooled person is better aware of the needs of the common (illiterate) people and thus is more capable of helping them to the right path. However, whether the Prophet was schooled or unschooled, undoubtedly, he was possessing the highest degree of intellect, wisdom and awareness". 4

Not being conversant with the Our'anic concepts, materialistically oriented Gustav Lubon fabricates nonsensical words concerning the relationships of Qur'anic verses and the incapability of the educated to understand the needs of the uneducated, thus insults the Qur'an and the Prophet (SA). Yet he admits that there is no recorded evidence or indication concerning the Prophet (SA) having been able to read and write.

I am not intending to seek supportive evidence by quoting the above. The Muslims and the easterners themselves are better qualified to comment on the history of Islam and the east. My purpose in bringing in the above quotations is for letting the readers know that had there been the slightest indication to this effect, it would not have escaped the inquisitive and critical attention of non-Muslim historians.

In the course of his journey to Damascus, the great Prophet (SA), accompanied by Abū Ṭālib (AS), stayed at a resting place on his way, during which he had a brief meeting with a monk named Buḥayrā.⁵ This meeting has diverted the attention of the orientalists to this question that the Prophet (SA) might have been taught through this short meeting.

When an incident as insignificant as this, attracts the attention of his old and new enemies, had there ever been some record testifying the Holy Prophet's knowledge of reading and writing, it would have not remained hidden from them, but, it would rather have been magnified several times.

For clarification, the point will be discussed in two parts: (1) The Pre-prophetic period; and (2) The Post-prophetic period.

The post-prophetic period, will also be discussed in two parts: (i) Writing; and (ii) Reading-

Later on, it will be concluded that it is unanimously agreed upon, by both Muslim and non-Muslim scholars, that before his prophetic mission the Prophet (SA) had not the slightest acquaintance with either reading or writing. However, during the post-prophetic period it is not very certain. During the post-prophetic period what is more certain is that he could not write; however, the fact that he could not read is not so certain. It can be concluded from certain Shi'i accounts that he could read but not write during the post-prophetic period. Although Shi'i accounts are also not unanimous in this respect. What can be inferred from the various pieces of evidence is that he neither read nor wrote during the post-prophetic period also.

In order to study the pre-prophetic period, we need to discuss the general conditions which prevailed in, what is now, Saudi Arabia during that period from the viewpoints of reading and writing.

It is inferred from historical accounts that those who could read and write at the advent of Islam were very few in number.

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF CALLIGRAPHY IN ḤIJAZ

In the end of the book: "Futuh al-Buldan". Al-Baladhuri thus describes the early development of calligraphy in Hijaz: "First there were three men of the tribe 'Tay' (in the vicinity of Syria) who initiated the Arabic handwriting and compared the Arabic alphabets to the Syriac ones. Later. some men from Anbar learned the alphabets from these men. The inhabitants of Hirah learned the handwriting from the inhabitants of Anbar, Bushir ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Kindi, brother of Al-Ukaydir ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Kindi, ruler of Dumat al-Jandal, who was a Christian, learned the Arabic handwriting in the course of his trips to and from Hirah. This same Bushr went on a business trip to Makkah, where he was seen writing by Sufvan ibn Umayyah (Abū Sufyān's paternal uncle) and Abū Qays ibn 'Abd Munāf Ibn Zuhrah. They asked him to teach them writing and he did so. Later, this very Bushr, accompanied by the other two. made a Business trip to Ta'if, where Ghaylan ibn Salamah al-Thagafi learned the writing from them. Subsequently, Bushr parted from the other two for a trip to Egypt. 'Amr ibn Zurārah, who later became known as "Amr - the Scribe", learned writing from Bushr who then went to Damascus where many learned the writing from him."

In his book entitled: "Al-Fihrist", under the first part of the initial paper, ⁶ Ibn al-Nadim makes reference to certain quotations of Al-Balādhuri. Ibn al-Nadim, quoting Ibn 'Abbās, notes that the first people to write in the Arabic script were three

men from the tribe of "Bulan" in Anbar. Inhabitants of Anbar learned to write from the inhabitants of Hirah.

Ibn Khaldūn too, in his introductory chapter: "Fi Annal-Khaṭṭa wa al-Kitābah min 'Idād al-Ṣanā'i' al-Insāniyyah'', refers to and confirms Al-Balādhurī's words.

By quoting authentic narrations, Al-Balādhurī narrates that at the advent of Islam there were only a few literate persons. He says:

"At the advent of Islam there were only seventeen men who could write, namely: 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (AS), 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, Abū 'Ubaydah al-Jarrāḥ, Ṭalḥah, Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān, Abū Ḥudhayfah ibn Rabī'ah, Ḥātib ibn al-'Āmirī, Abū Salamah al-Makhzūmī, Abān ibn Sa'īd al-'Umawī, Khālid ibn Sa'īd al-Umawī, 'Abdullāh ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Sarḥ, Ḥuwaytib ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā, Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb, Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān, Juhaym ibn al-Ṣalt, and 'Alā' ibn al-Ḥaḍramī who was not from the Quraysh but rather an ally of the Quraysh."

Al-Baladhuri names only one Quraysh lady, Shifa', the daughter of 'Abdullah 'Adawi, who could read and write in the Age of Ignorance concurrent with the advent of Islam. Later, she professed Islam and was regarded as one of the early emigrants.

Al-Balādhuri observes,:

"This lady is one and the same person who taught Ḥafṣah, the wife of the Prophet (SA), to write. One day, the Prophet (SA) said to Shifa': 'It will be a good thing if you teach Ḥafṣah 'Ruqyat al-Namlah, 8 as you taught her writing'."

Then, naming some Muslim women who could both read or write, or both, Al-Baladhuri reports:

"Hafşah, the wife of the Prophet (SA), could write, so could Umm Kulthum, the daughter of 'Uqbah ibn Abi Mu'it (one of the women who emigrated early). 'A'ishah, daughter of Sa'd said that her father taught her to write. Karimah, daughter of Miqdād, could also write. 'A'ishah (the wife of the Prophet) could read but not write, and Umm Salamah stood in a similar condition."

Continuing to mention the names of men who served as scribes for the Prophet (SA), Al-Balādhurī reports that at a time concurrent with the advent of Islam, there were only eleven men—whose names he mentions—from the two tribes Al-Aws and Al-Khazraj stationed in Madīnah, who knew the art of writing.

It becomes clear that the art of writing had only recently been introduced into Ḥijāz, and that the circumstances were then such that, if anyone happened to know reading or writing, he would be known far and wide. Those in Makkah or in Madinah, who knew this art, at a time concurrent with the advent of Islam, were well-known, and very few in number. For this reason they had their names registered in history. If the Prophet (SA) had been among them he would have been regarded likewise. Since there has been no mention of the Prophet among the above, it becomes clear that he had nothing to do with either reading or writing.

3. THE PROPHETIC PERIOD (IN PARTICULAR, THE MADINAH PERIOD)

It can be inferred from the evidence available that the Holy Prophet (SA) neither read nor wrote in the period of his prophethood. However, Shi'i and Sunni scholars have different opinions on this matter. Some have considered improbability of this issue as they say: "How is it possible that the waḥy revelation), which used to teach everything, has not taught him to read and write?

It has been mentioned in several Shi'i narrations that the Prophet (SA) could read in the period of prophethood but could not write. One of these narrations is in Ṣadūq's book: 'Ilal al-Sharā'i'. It reads:

"One of Allah's gifts to His Prophet was that he read but did not write. The time when Abū Sufyān headed for 'Uḥud, Al-'Abbās, the Prophet's uncle, wrote a letter to him. He received the letter when he was in one of the gardens near Madīnah. He read the letter but did not make his Companions aware of its contents. He ordered them to go to the city and there he let them know about that." 1

This story is different in Zaynī Daḥlān's book: "Sīrah". It relates:

"As soon as the Prophet received Al-'Abbās's letter, he opened its seal and handed it over to Ubay ibn Ka'b to read. Ka'b read it, and the Prophet ordered him not to spread out the news. Then, the Prophet went to Sa'd ibn

al-Rabi', the famous companion, informed him of the contents of the letter and asked him too, not to reveal it."¹²

Some others believed that the Prophet (SA) could both read and write in the period of prophethood. Sayyid Murtaḍā — as is mentioned in Biḥār al-Anwār — states: "A group of scholars hold the belief that the Holy Prophet did not die until he was able to read and write." Sayyid Murtaḍā himself relies on the well-known tradition: 'ink and pen' and says: "That the Prophet asked (those close to him) for ink and pen to write instructions lest they might go astray after his death, has been transmitted through reliable narrations and histories." 14

It is however inappropriate to rely on this tradition, for it does not openly indicate that the Holy Prophet (SA) intended to write with his own hand. Even if we assume that he intended to have someone write, in the presence of the people, and thus have them as witnesses, using the statement: "I want to write something for you lest you should go astray" is quite acceptable. In literature, this is called 'metaphorical attribution'. It is one of the signs of eloquence and is used widely in Arabic as well as other languages.

PART 2 THE SCRIBES OF THE PROPHET

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THE SCRIBES OF THE PROPHET

It follows from the texts of authentic ancient Islamic history that the Prophet (SA) had a number of scribes in Madinah. The scribes wrote the wahy, the Prophet's words, public contracts and transactions, the Prophet's agreements signed with pagans and with Ahlal-Kitāb (the followers of the religions recognized by Islam to have existed earlier as true divine religions), the ledgers for sadaqāt (charities) and taxes, the ledgers for war-spoils and for akhmās (plural of khums, an Islamic levy at the rate of one-fifth of one's savings and other items), and the numerous letters from the Prophet (SA) to various places.

In addition to the divine revelations and the Prophet's speeches, recorded, and remaining to this day, the agreements signed by the Prophet (SA) and most of the letters from the Prophet (SA) have been recorded in history. In his book: "Al-Tabaqāt al-Kubrā", Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd quotes about one hundred letters, most of which he quotes in texts, from the Prophet (SA).

Some of these letters, addressed to the sultans and rulers throughout the world, to the chiefs of tribes, to the puppet Roman or Iranian rulers of the Persian Gulf, and to other persons, are invitations to accept the faith of Islam. Some other letters consist of circulars and procedures, which comprise figh (Islamic jurisprudence). Other letters serve different purposes. A good many of such letters expose their writers, as the scribes indicated their names at the bottom of the letters. It is said that the one who initiated the traditional practice of having the scribe's name entered at the bottom of a letter was Ubay ibn Ka'b, a known companion of the Prophet (SA).

None of these letters, agreements or books has ever been written in the Prophet's handwriting; that is to say, nowhere has it been reported that the Prophet wrote by his own hand. More important still, is the fact that there is no observed instance to indicate that the Prophet had written down a single verse of the Qur'an. At a time when each and every scribe of the wahy, wrote in the very Qur'anic style, would it be possible that the Prophet (SA) should write, but not in the Qur'anic style, or that he would not write a sūrah (chapter), or at least a verse, of the Qur'an?

In the books of history the names of the Prophet's scribes have been recorded. Al-Ya'qūbi, in volume 2 of his historical work, reports:

"The Prophet's scribes, who wrote the wahy, letters, and agreements are 'Alî ibn Abî Tălib, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, 'Amr ibn Al-'Āṣ, Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān, Shuraḥbīl ibn Ḥasanah, 'Abdullāh ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Sarḥ, Al-Mughirah ibn Shu'bah,

Ma'ādh ibn Jabal, Zayd ibn Thābit, Ḥanzalah ibn Al-Rabî', Ubay ibn Ka'b, Juhaym ibn Al-Ṣalt, Ḥuṣayn Al-Numayri." 15

In "Al-Tanbih wal-Ishrāf", Al-Mas udi describes in some detail, the nature of the task undertaken by the scribes, and indicates that they had a more developed sort of activity coupled with a kind of order, organization and work allocation among themselves. He reports:

"Khālid ibn Sa'id ibn Al-'As was at the Prophet's service. He recorded the various needs which came up, and so did Al-Mughirah ibn Shu'bah and Husayn ibn Al-Numayr. 'Abdulläh ibn Argam and Al-'Ala' ibn 'Uqbah recorded documents, contracts and transactions for the public, Al-Zubayr ibn Al-'Awwam and Juhaym ibn al-Salt wrote down taxes and sadagāt. Hudhayfah ibn Al-Yaman was in-charge of entering the receipts (hirazah) of Hijaz, Mu'ayyib ibn Abi Fātimah Dūsi recorded war-spoils. Zayd ibn Thābit al-Ansārī wrote letters to rulers and kings whilst serving as a translator to the Prophet. He translated Persian, Roman, Coptic and Ethiopian languages, all of which he had learned from those who knew these languages, in Madinah. 16 Hanzalah ibn Al-Rabi' was a relief recorder who would take over the function of any one of the above-mentioned people who failed to attend. He had come to be known as: "Hanzalah al-Kātib (the writer)". During 'Umar's Khilafah when Muslims had earned victories, Hanzalah went to "Raha", where he died. 'Abdullah ibn Sa'd ibn Abi Sarh served as a scribe for a time, but later he lost faith and joined the pagans. Shurahbil ibn Hasanah Tābikhī also wrote for the Prophet and Aban ibn Sa'id and Al-'Alā' ibn Al-Ḥaḍrami also occasionally wrote for the Prophet. Mu'āwiyah too wrote for the Prophet but only for a few months until the Prophet's death. These were the people who served as official scribes to the Prophet. However, we will not mention the names of those who have written a letter or two and who are not named among the Prophet's scribes."¹⁷

In this connection, Al-Mas'ûdî has made no mention of the "Book of Revelations" nor of the scribes of official documents; among them 'Alî (AS), 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ûd and Ubay ibn Ka'b, etc. He seems to have meant naming those who held a title other than that of recording the wahy.

In the histories and aḥādīth of Islam, we come across a good many stories of the visiting enthusiasts from far and wide who sought, the Prophet's advice and to hear his preaching, the Prophet (SA) would respond with wise and meaningful words, recorded either concurrently or subsequently.

Here too, we find no instance of the Prophet (SA) himself writing a single word in response to the visiting enthusiasts. Obviously enough, if only one line written by the Prophet (SA) could have been found, it would have been preserved by the Muslims as a blessing and great honour for themselves and their families. Yet, in the case of Hadrat Amir al-Mu'minin, 'Ali (AS) and the other Imams (AS), we see many instances, where part of their manuscripts have been preserved in their own, or in their Shi'ah (friends) families. Nowadays, there are copies of the Qur'an, which had been written by these great personalities.

The story's widely known of Zayd ibn 'Ali

ibn Al-Ḥusayn (AS), and that how they preserved "Al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah", is a proof of this proposition.

Relating an interesting story in the first part of the second chapter, of his book: "Al-Fihrist" Ibn al-Nadim relates:

"I became acquainted with a Shi'ah of Kūfah whose name was Muḥammad ibn Al-Ḥusayn nicknamed Ibn Abī Ba'rah. He owned a library the like of which I had not seen. He had taken over a library from a Shi'ah of Kūfah. The strange thing was the fact that each book or each sheet of the book indicated the name of its scribe. A host of scholars had verified in writing the scribe's name. At that library were kept manuscripts of the two Imams, viz, Imam Al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī (AS) and Al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (AS). Also kept at the same place were documents and agreements written by 'Alī (AS) and by other scribes of the Prophet (SA)."18

It is true, that they have thus taken care of the blessed works. How could it be true therefore, that the Prophet (SA) should have written one line and that that very line should fail to remain, keeping in view the unbelievable regard which Muslims had for the protection of works, sacred ones in particular?

By analyzing the available evidence the question of the Prophet (SA) having written, (even during the period of his prophethood) is out of the question, even if there is a little evidence to indicate that he could read at this time. Rather, the greater portion of the available evidence testifies to his having not read, even in this period.

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THE EVENT OF HUDAYBIYYAH

			
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PART 3

THE EVENT OF HUDAYBIYYAH

In the life-history of the Prophet (SA), there are events which bring to light the fact that even while in Madînah, the Prophet (SA) did not read or write. Among all such events, the event of Huday-biyyah is the best known, for it is of particular historical significance. Historical accounts and ahādīth, while in conflict, help to some extent, to explain the question.

In the month of Dhū al-Qa'dah, the sixth year after Hijrah, the Prophet (SA) left Madinah for Makkah to perform 'Umrah and Ḥajj. He ordered that the camels for sacrifice be marked and be led along. However, as soon as they arrived at Ḥuday-biyyah, about two farsakhs (about 12 km) from Makkah, the Quraysh took sides to prevent the entry of the Muslims; this, although it was in the forbidden month, when in accordance with the law of Jāhiliyyah (period of pre-Islamic ignorance in Arabia), even the Quraysh did not have the right to deny them admittance. The Prophet (SA) explained that he did not mean to do anything other than to make a pilgrimage to the Ka'bah and that he meant

to return home after completing his pilgrimage. The Quraysh disagreed. The Muslims demanded leave to enter Makkah by force, but he refused in order not to show disrespect for the Ka'bah. The Quraysh and the Muslims, finally agreed to sign a peace treaty. The Prophet (SA) dictated the peace treaty to 'Ali (AS) who wrote it down. The Prophet (SA) ordered him to write: "In the name of Allah. the Beneficent, the Merciful," Suhayl ibn 'Amr, representing the Quraysh, protested and said: "This is your slogan, with which we are not familiar. Write: 'In your name, O Allah!" The Prophet (SA) agreed and ordered 'Ali (SA) to write accordingly. Then, the Prophet (SA) ordered him to write: "This is a contract being concluded between Muhammad, Allah's messenger and the Quravsh". The representative for the Quraysh objected saying: "We do not regard you as Allah's messenger." Only your followers regard you likewise. If we had regarded you as Allah's messenger, we would not have fought against you, nor had barred your entry to Makkah. Write your and your father's name". The Prophet (SA) said: "Whether or not you regard me as Allah's messenger. I am Allah's messenger". Then, he ordered 'Ali (AS) to write: "This is a treaty being concluded between Muhammad ibn 'Abdillah and the people of Quraysh". It was at this point that the Muslims became angry. From this point on, the historical accounts differ in certain respects.

From Ibn Hishām's "Sīrat Ibn Hishām" and also from Ṣaḥīh Al-Bukhārī¹⁹ (Bāb Shurūṭ fī Al-Jihād wal-Muṣālaḥah ma'a Ahl al-Ḥarb), it can be concluded that this objection was made before the

words "Allah's messenger" were written, whereupon the Prophet (SA) agreed immediately to have "Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh" written for "Muḥammad, the Allah's messenger". Yet, it can be concluded from most accounts that the objection was made at a time when 'Ali (AS) had already written the words. The Prophet (SA) then requested 'Ali (AS) to erase the words, whereupon 'Ali (AS) requested to be excused from doing so.

Here, again the texts differ. The Shi'i ahādīth's texts agree that upon 'Ali's (AS) expressed refusal to erase the sacred words, the Prophet (SA) himself erased the words, in place of which 'Ali (AS) wrote "Muhammad ibn 'Abdillah". In these texts and in certain Ahl al-Sunnah ahadith's texts, there is an explicit reference to the fact that the Prophet (SA) requested 'Ali (AS) to show him the words by placing his hand on the words so that he might erase the words with his own hands. 'Ali (AS) did so and the Prophet (SA) erased the words "Allah's messenger" with his own hand. Then, 'Ali (AS) wrote "ibn 'Abdillah", instead. Therefore, it was 'Ali (AS) who did the writing and not the Prophet (SA). Rather, in accordance with both Shi i accounts, and those of the Ahl al-Sunnah the Prophet (SA) neither read nor wrote.

In the book entitled: "The Stories of the Qur'an", written in Persian in the 5th Century (Hijrah) by Abū Bakr 'Atiqi Nayshāpūri who adapted the work from his own exegesis of the Qur'an, the author relates the Hudaybiyyah event up to the point where Suhayl ibn 'Amr, on behalf of the Quraysh, objected to the words "Allah's messenger".

Suhayl ibn 'Amr said "The Prophet said to 'Alî to erase "Allah's messenger". 'Alî disinclined to do this and felt uneasy at the Prophet's insistence. Then the Prophet said to 'Alî; "Put my finger on the words so that I may erase them". Since Allah's messenger was untaught, and did not know how to write, 'Alî placed the Prophet's finger on the words and the Prophet erased the words as Suhayl ibn 'Amr meant.

Al-Ya'qūbī too, in his book: "Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī" writes: "The Prophet ordered 'Alī to write "ibn 'Abdillah" in place of "Allah's messenger".

Having written "Ali refused to erase the words", in "Ṣaḥiḥ Muslim", Muslim writes:

"The Prophet said to 'Alī to show him the words. 'Alī did likewise whereupon the Prophet erased the words and wrote Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh".²⁰

In this statement, on the one hand, Muslim writes: "The Prophet sought 'Ali's help to erase the words", and on the other hand, he writes: "The Prophet erased the words and wrote". It might appear that the Prophet wrote after erasing the words, but the writer of the statement means that 'Ali did the writing, for the text of the statement reads that the Prophet sought 'Ali's help to erase the words.

It follows explicitly from "Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī" and "Kāmil Ibn al-Athīr" and Al-Bukhārī's account under the chapter: "Al-Shurūt" that the second word was written by the Prophet (SA) himself. It is on record that "The Prophet (SA) took the pen from 'Alī's hand and wrote himself." In Al-Ṭabarī's and Ibn al-Athīr's statements, there is an

additional sentence: "Allah's messenger took the pen from 'Ali's hand and while it was not proper for him to write, he wrote."

Al-Tabari's and Ibn al-Athir's accounts confirm that the Prophet (SA) would not write, but that he did write exceptionally in Hudaybiyyah. This may confirm the view of those who observe that under divine instructions he could have written had he so wished; he never composed a poem nor recited anyone else's. If he ever wished to recite a couplet, he would utter it in prose form, disordering and adjusting the words to achieve this end; for Allah (SWT) would deem poetry below his dignity: "And We have not taught him poetry, nor is it suitable for him; it is nothing but a reminder and a plain Qur'an (36:69)."

As is seen, the accounts on the Hudaybiyyah event do not tally. However, despite the fact that it can be concluded from certain accounts that the words" ibn 'Abdillah" — an integral part of the Prophet's signature — would have been written by the Prophet (SA), these very accounts also confirm that this was exceptional.

In the book entitled: "Usud al-Ghābah", under the details regarding Tamīm ibn Jarāshah al-Thaqafī the author quotes a story about him, which suggests that even in the course of his prophethood, the Prophet (SA) neither read nor wrote. He narrates:

"I, along with a group of people from Thaqif, met the Prophet and embraced Islam. We requested him to sign an agreement with us and agree to our terms. The Prophet ordered us to write whatever we desired and then bring it to him to see. We requested for permission to practise usury and adultery. As we were unable to put it into writing, we visited 'Alî ibn Abî Talib for the purpose. Seeing that we had such terms to include, 'Ali refused to write. We made the request to Khālid ibn Sa'id ibn Al-'As. 'Ali enquired from Khālid whether or not he knew what he had been requested to do. Khālid replied: "It does not concern me what it is. I will write whatever they will tell me. Once the writing is brought to the Prophet's attention, he will know what to do therewith". Khālid wrote the matter down and we took it to the Prophet who ordered someone to read it. The reader had scarcely uttered the word "usury", the Prophet asked him to place his finger on the word which he erased with his own hand and recited from the Qur'an: "O believers! Practise taqwa (fear Allah) and give up usury." On hearing this verse we were imbibed with refreshed faith and assurance whereupon we resigned not to take usury. The reader continued reading till he uttered adultery whereupon again, the Prophet having had his hand placed on the word recited from the Qur'an: "Do not indulge in adultery, for surely it is an open indecency". 21

PART 4 A STRANGE CLAIM!

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PART 4

A STRANGE CLAIM!

It is a strange fact that in accordance with what a number of Iranian periodicals and publications²² recorded for years ago, Dr Sayyid 'Abd al-Latif — an Indian Muslim scholar from Hyderabad, India, the President of the Institute of Indian and Middle Eastern Cultural Studies, and President of the Academy for Islamic Studies at Hyderabad — delivered a detailed lecture on this issue in an Islamic conference in India. In this lecture, published in English, he claimed that the Prophet (SA) read and wrote even before his period of prophethood.

Publication of Dr Sayyid 'Abd al-Laṭif's speech evoked a peculiar excitement among Iranian readers who then visited the religious authorities and posed questions to them. At that time, I delivered a brief speech on the issue for the students.

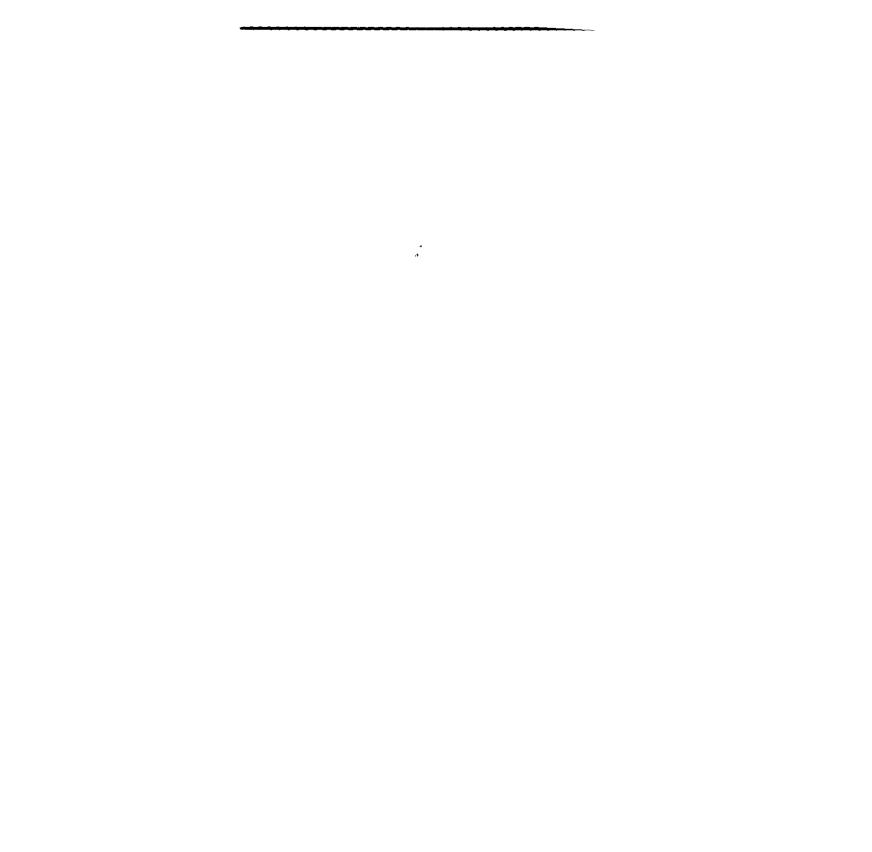
Keeping in view the general public's interest in this matter, and the fact that in Dr Sayyid 'Abd al-Latif's speech there were facts which were very unexpected from a scholar and researcher of his calibre, I will now quote and discuss his speech. He has claimed that:

- "(1) The reason for the observation that the Prophet (SA) neither read nor wrote is simply the misinterpretation of the word "ummī" meaning "unschooled" or "untaught". This word has been used in verses 157 and 158 of Sūrah 7 "Al-A'rāf" of the Holy Qur'ān to describe the Prophet (SA) The verse 157 reads: "Those who follow the unschooled Messenger-Prophet--." The verse 158 reads: "--Therefore believe in Allah and His untaught Prophet". He observes that the interpreters believe that "ummī" means "untaught", when it does not.
- (2) In the Qur'an there are other verses which clearly suggest that the Prophet (SA) both read and wrote.
- (3) A number of authentic accounts and historical descriptions have recorded the clear fact that the Prophet (SA) both read and wrote."

This is an outline of the claims made by Dr Sayyid 'Abd al-Latif. We will in turn, discuss and analyse these in the next three parts.

PART 5

"UNSCHOOLED" PROPHET ROOTED IN THE INTERPRETATION OF THE WORD "UMMI"?



PART 5

IS THE BELIEF IN AN "UNSCHOOLED" PROPHET ROOTED IN THE INTERPRETA... TION OF THE WORD "UMMI"?

The claim of Dr Sayvid 'Abd al-Latif (who observes that the source of belief in an "unschooled" Prophet (SA) has been in the interpretation of the word "ummi"), is unfounded. This is because, firstly, the history of the Arabs and the Makkah at the advent of Islam, is decisive evidence of the fact that the Prophet (SA) was untaught. Earlier, we have explained that the status of reading and writing in Hijaz at the advent of Islam, was such that the names of all the people familiar with reading and writing were recorded in the history, but no one had listed the Prophet (SA) among such people. Assuming that there was no reference to the question, nor any explanation thereof, Muslims following the unquestionable verdict of history, would have to accept that their Prophet (SA) was untaught.

Secondly, in the Holy Qur'an, there is another verse which is not less explicit than the verses of Sūrat "Al-A rāf" containing the word "ummī".

On the concept of "ummi" used in the verses of "Sūrat Al-A'rāf", the opinion is divided among the Islamic interpreters of the Qur'ān; but on the concept of the following verse which indicates unschooled or untaught Prophet (SA), there is no difference of opinion:

"And you did not read before it any book, nor did you write one with your right hand, for then those, who say untrue things, could have doubted (29:48)."

This verse makes it explicit that the Prophet (SA) neither read nor wrote before his prophethood. Islamic exegetists have generally given a similar interpretation of the verse. But Dr 'Abd al-Latif claims that the very verse has been misinterpreted. He claims that the word "kitāb", used in this verse, has a reference to such sacred books as the Tawrāt (Old Testament) and the Injūl (Bible). He claims that the verse suggests that until the revelation of the Holy Qur'ān, the Prophet (SA) was unfamiliar with any sacred book, for such books were not available in Arabic, and if the Prophet (SA) had read the books available then in a language other than Arabic, he would have been suspected and accused by the idle talkers.

This claim is not true. Contrary to its meaning nowadays widely used in Persian, the word "kitāb" in Arabic language has been defined purely as "writing", be it a letter or a book, sacred or otherwise, or be it holy or otherwise. This word has been used in the Holy Qur'an repeatedly.

Occasionally, this word "kitâb" has been used (in the Holy Qur'an) to signify a letter sent by one person to another, such as the one concern-

ing the "Queen of Sabā": "O Noble Men! I have received a revered letter from Sulaymān (Solomon)"; and occasionally it is used in connection with an agreement concluded as a document between the two parties: "Slaves who wish to be freed as per an agreement, accede to their requests to conclude such contracts". At times the term has been used in connection with occult tablets and heavenly truths which tell scientific facts about the world events: "There is neither any thing green nor dry but (it is all) in a clear book...(6:59)."

In the Holy Qur'an, only at places where the word "ahl" has been added to form "ahl al-kitāb", a particular concept is meant.

"Ahl al-Kitāb" signifies "the followers of a heavenly book." In the Sūrat al-Nisā' of the Holy Qur'ān, verse 152 reads: "The followers of the heavenly book shall ask you to send unto them a letter from the heavens." In this verse, the term has been employed at two places: at one place, in conjunction with the term "ahl" and at another place, it is used alone. Wherever the term "ahl" has been prefixed, it is meant "heavenly book" and wherever it is used alone it is meant "letter".

In addition, the construction of the sentence: "You did not write with your right hand" suggests: "You did neither read nor write and if you knew how to read and write, you would have been accused of copying from some other source; but since you did not know how to read or write, there was no room for such an accusation".

However, if the purport is that "You did not read the holy books since they were available in other languages", then, the verse would be under-

stood as: "earlier you neither read nor wrote in other languages", which is not right, for only reading the books in those languages would have well justified the accusation, and also it would not have been necessary for him to have been able to write in those languages. If he had been able to write in those languages it would have justified the accusation, even though he should have written in his own language. Admittedly, here, there is a point which may confirm Dr 'Abd al-Laţif's view, even though neither he himself nor any one of the exegetists has given attention to this point.

In this holy verse, the word "tatlū" has been used, a word derived from the root "tilāwah" which, as referred to in Rāghib's book: "Mufradāt Alfāz al-Qur'ān", is peculiar to reading the holy verses, and which contrasts with the generic term "Qirā'ah" signifying "reading". Therefore, although the word "kitāb" is applied commonly to "the holy and other books", the term "tatlū" is peculiar to reading "the Holy" verses.

Evidently, however, the reason that the word "tatlū" has been used here, is that the subject under discussion is the Qur'ān. The term has been used in respect of all the texts for reading, ie, as if it should have been said to mean: "Now you read (tilāwah) the Qur'ān but you did not read any writing before the revelation of the Qur'ān.

Another verse indicating the unschooling of the Prophet (SA), is verse 52 of the "Sūrat al-Shūrā" "(The Counsel): "And thus We revealed to you a spirit by Our command. You did not know what a writing or a faith was...(42:52)." The verse suggests: "You were unfamiliar with the

book or a writing until the Qur'an was revealed. "Dr Sayyid 'Abd al-Latif has made no mention of this verse. He may observe that the term "kitāb" as used in this verse, means "the holy texts", which existed in a language other than Arabic. The answer to this point, bowever, is the same as was referred to in the earlier verse.

For some reason, not clear to us, Islamic exegetists have maintained that "kitāb" particularly refers to the Qur'ān. Therefore, the interpretation of this verse is out of the scope of our logic.

Thirdly, the Islamic exegetists been unanimous regarding the meaning of the term "ummī". On the contrary, all the Islamic exegetists and scholars without any exception, have been unanimous on the unschooling of the Prophet (SA) and his non-acquaintance with reading and writing prior to his prophethood. This in itself is a conclusive evidence of the fact that the source of the Muslims' belief in the unschooling of the Prophet (SA) has not been the interpretation of the term "ummī". However, we have to discuss about the meaning of the word "ummī".

The meaning of the word "Ummi"

Islamic exegetists have come up with three interpretations of the word "ummi".

(i) Unschooled and unacquainted with writing

The majority of exegetists who favour this observation, have said that the word $umm\bar{\imath}$ is related to "umm" meaning "mother". The word

"ummī" means a person who by birth is familiar with human written works and knowledge; or, it is related to "ummah", ie, who observes the customs of the majority, for the majority of people did not know about writing. Rather, only a few did. Likewise, the word "'āmmī" means, a man who is like the common people and ignorant. Some have said that the meaning of "ummah" is "creation", and "ummī" is one who has remained in his original state, ie, the illiteracy. For evidence one should refer to a poem²⁴ by Al-A'shā. However, be it either a derivation of "umm" or "ummah" — or whatever meaning of "ummah" is preferred — the meaning of the term ummī is the same, ie, "untaught".

(ii) An inhabitant of Umm al-Qurā

Those who favour this view associate the word with "Umm al-Qurā", ie, Makkah. The Qur'anic verse 92 of Sūrat Al-An'ām refers to Makkah as "Umm al-Qurā": ...And that you may warn the (inhabitants of) Makkah and those (who live) around it (6:92)."

This possibility²⁵ has, since ancient times, found its way in the interpretive literature, and is confirmed in a number of Shī'ah $ah\bar{a}d\bar{\imath}th$, although these very $ah\bar{a}d\bar{\imath}th$ have been found to be unauthentic and have been said to be of Israelite origin.²⁶ This possibility has, however, been rejected on the basis of certain proofs.²⁷

One reason is that the word "Umm al-Qura" is not a proper noun, and has been applied to Makkah as a common attribute and not as a proper

noun of Makkah. The word "Umm al-Qurā" signifies the "centre of villages". Any point which serves as a centre of villages is known as "Umm al-Qurā". From another Qur'ānic verse, ie, verse 59 of the Sūrat Al-Qaṣaṣ, it becomes clear that the word carries a descriptive rather than a nominative function:

"Your Lord is not like this that He kills the residents of the villages until He sends a prophet to them in the centre of the villages, reciting to them Our revelations."

It becomes evident that in the Qur'anic language, any point constituting the centre of an area²⁸ is called its "Umm al-Qura".

Moreover, this word "Ummī" used by the Holy Qur'ān, has been applied to non-Makkans. Verse 19 of Sūrat Āli 'Imrān says:

"...And say to those who have been given the Book and the unlearned people (non-Jewish and non-Christian Arabs): 'Do you submit yourselves?' ...(3:20)."

It then becomes evident that according to the custom of the time; and also in the language of the Holy Qur'ān, all the Arabs who did not follow a heavenly book were referred to as "ummiyyīn".

More important still is the fact that this word "ummi" was applied for the common Jews who were not educated. Verse 78 of Sürat Al-Baqarah of the Holy Qur'an reads: "Some children of Isrā'il are "ummi", who do not know their Book except false hopes...(2:78)".

It is obvious that the Jews whom the Holy Qur'an refers to as "ummi" were not the inhabitants of Makkah, but rather, most of them were

residents of Madinah or of its neighbourhood.

Thirdly, if a word is associated with "Umm al-Qurā", literary rules require that "qurawī" should be said in place of "ummī", for, according to the lexical rules governing attribution, when modifying the modifier or the modified, particularly when the modifier is "ab=father", "umm=mother", "ibn=son", or "bint=daughter", it modifies the modified and not the modifier, just as when modifying "Abū Ṭālib", "Abū Ḥanīfah", "Banū Tamīm", they are referred to as "Ṭālibī", "Ḥanafī" and "Tamīmī".

(iii) Arab polytheists who were not the followers of the Book

This view has existed among the exegetists of the ancient times. In Majma' al-Bayan, under verse 20 of Sūrat "Ali-Imrān" of the Holy Qur'an, "ummīyyīn" has been placed against "Ahl al-Kitāb" This view is described as that of the Companion and great exegetist, 'Abdullah ibn 'Abbas. Under verse 78 of the Sūrat Al-Bagarah, Abū 'Ubaydah states a similar view. It follows from what is understood from verse 75 of Sūrat Ali-Imrān that Al-Tabarsi himself has selected the meaning for the verse. In his book: "Al-Kashshāf", Al-Zamakhshari has provided a similar interpretation of this verse and of verse 75 of the Sūrat Ali-Imrān. Fakhr al-Razi mentions the same possibility under the verse 78 of the Surat al-Baqarah and verse 20 of the Sūrat Ali-'Imrān.

But the fact is that this meaning is not different from the first one. However, it is not correct

that a people who do not follow a divine book, be referred to as "ummi" although they may be literate. This term has been applied to Arab polytheists because they were illiterate. What constituted the basis for applying this term to Arab polytheists was their unfamiliarity with reading and writing rather than their not following a heavenly book.

Hence, wherever this word has been used in the plural form and applied to Arab polytheists, this possibility has been mentioned: but wherever it has been used in the singular form and applied to the Holy Prophet (SA), no interpreter has said that the significance is that the Prophet (SA) did not follow one of the heavenly book. In this case, the possibilities are only two at the most. One is that the Prophet (SA) was not familiar with handwriting, and the other was that he was from Makkah. Since, for the conclusive reasons enumerated above, the second possibility is ruled out, definitely the Prophet (SA) was called "ummī" because he had not been taught, nor did he know how to write.

Here, there is a fourth possibility in regard to the meaning of the word: this being that the word meant unfamiliarity with the texts of holy books.

This possibility, is the one that Dr Sayyid 'Abd al-Latif has innovated, and that he confused it with the third one that we have mentioned, quoting the ancient exegetists. The aforementioned person says:

"The words 'ummi" and 'ummiyyin" have been used at several places (in the Holy Qur'an) but they have always been used to mean the same everywhere. Lexicographically the term "ummi" means a "newly-born baby" from a mother's womb. It is with reference to this state of living and life, that the word "ummi" came to imply:" one who can neither read nor write. The word "ummi" also means "a person who lived in "Umm al-Qurā". "Umm al-Qurā" means "the mother of cities", "capital city", and "metropolis". This was the attribute the Arabs of the Prophet's (SA) time associated with Makkah. Therefore, whoever was from Makkah was referred to as "ummi".

Another area of application of the word "ummi" is to a person who has not been conversant with Semitic texts nor been a follower of Judaism or Christianity which has been referred to as "Ahl al-Kitāb" in the Holy Qur'ān. In the Holy Qur'ān, the word "ummīyyīn" was applied to the pre-Islamic Arabs who neither had a holy book nor followed the New Testament and the Old Testament, and that the word was used for Ahl al-Kitāb".

While there are so many meanings for the word "ummi" it is not known why the exegetists and translators of the Holy Qur'an, Muslim or non-Muslim, have picked up the meaning namely, "a newly-born baby unaware to his environment" and interpreted it as illiterate and ignorant, and as a consequence, have introduced²⁹ the pre-Islam inhabitants of Makkah as "ummīyyin", or "an illiterate people".

Firstly, since the earliest days, the Islamic exegetists have interpreted the words "ummī" and "ummiyyīn" in three ways, and have come up with at least three possibilities Contrary to Dr Sayyid 'Abd al-Laṭīf, Islamic exegetists have not given one

single meaning.

Secondly, no one has said that the word "ummi" means a newly-born baby unaware of his surroundings "whose connotation is that a person who can neither read nor write. Basically, this is not applied to a newly-born baby, but rather to an adult who knows as much about the skills of reading and writing as when he is just newly-born. As referred to by logicians, the word signifies "absence and second nature". Islamic logicians would always mention this word as one of the examples of "absence and second nature" in books of logic.

Thirdly, it is not true to say: "the word is also used to mean a person who has no familiarity with ancient Semitic texts". What can actually be inferred from the sayings of early exegetists and lexicologists is that the plural form of the word (ummiyyin) has been used for the Arab polytheists who were generally illiterate, as compared with the "people of the book". The polytheists were perhaps given this humiliating title by the Jews and the Christians.

On the whole, it is illogical to call a people "ummi" who can read and write in their own language, just on the basis of unfamiliarity with a certain book or language. The root of the word is "umm" or "ummah" and implies remaining in the same state as when one is born.

But why this word "ummi" has not been recognised as being rooted in "Umm al-Qura", although the possibility has been mentioned consistently, is because of numerous objections which have been mentioned earlier. The Indian scholar's amazement is therefore baseless. It is

confirmed by the fact that in some other usages of this word, recorded in books of history and ahādīth, there is no other meaning for it except "untaught". In the book: "Bihār al-Anwār", vol 16, p 119, it is narrated from the Holy Prophet (SA): "We are a people who neither read nor write". In vol 4 of his history book, under the biography of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik, popularly known as Ibn Al-Zayyāt, a minister of Al-Mu'tasim and Al-Mutawakkil, Ibn Khallikān writes:

"Earlier he was among the secretaries of Al-Mu'taşim, the 'Abbāssid Caliph, and Ahmad ibn Shadi Al-Basri was the minister. Once a letter came to Al-Mu'tasim, which the minister read for the Caliph. The word "kala" was in the letter and Al-Mu'tasim, who was not a knowledgeable person, asked his minister for its meaning. The minister didn't know the meaning either. The Caliph said: "An untaught Caliph and an ignorant minister". Then he asked for one of the secrataries to come. Ibn Al-Zayyāt was present and came for explaining the meaning of the word. He explained through some other words which were closer to the meaning and stated their differences. This formed a prelude for him to become the Caliph's minister later on."

Here, the Caliph, who spoke the language of the ordinary people, meant "untaught" when he used the word "ummī". The poet Niẓāmī says as given below:

Wisdom is inferior to the Messenger Aḥmad, The two worlds depend on the existence of Muhammad. He is unschooled but stating in the most fluent way,

The inclusive knowledge from Adam to Jesus, I say.

In the keeping of a promise he is perfectly steadfast,

Ahead of all prophets he was though among them he was the last.

PART 6

IS IT INFERRED FROM THE QUR'AN THAT THE PROPHET USED TO READ AND WRITE?

	 	
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PART 6

IS IT INFERRED FROM THE QUR'AN THAT THE PROPHET USED TO READ AND WRITE?

According to Dr Sayyid 'Abd al-Laţīf, it can explicitly be understood from some of the Qur'ānic verses that the Prophet (SA) could both read and write: In Sūrat Āli-'Imrān, verse 164, we read:

"Truly Allah conferred a benefit upon the believers when He raised among them a Messenger from among themselves, reciting to them His communications and purifying them, and teaching them the Book and the Wisdom, although before that they were in manifest error (3:164)."

Dr. 'Abd al-Lațif says:

"As the Holy Qur'an clearly states, the foremost duty of the Prophet (SA) was teaching the Qur'an to his followers, and it is certain that the minimum capability required for the one who wants to teach the contents of a book to others is, again as the Qur'an states explicitly, being able to make use of the pen or, at least, being able to read what has been written by the pen."

This reasoning seems queer, as, firstly, what all Muslims unanimously believe in, and he desires to prove the *vice versa*, is that the Holy Prophet (SA) neither could write nor read before the appointment to prophethood. Such a reasoning at the most can prove that the Holy Prophet (SA) was able to read and write during the period of his prophethood. This is agreed by Sayyid Murtaḍā, Sha'bī and some other people.

Secondly, even as regards the period of prophethood, Dr 'Abd al-Latif's reasoning is ineffective; for example, pen, paper, blackboard, drawing, etc, are required when a teacher is to teach reading and writing or to teach mathematics for which he has to solve himself so that the students may learn. However, there is no need for such tools for prophets who teach metaphysics. ethics and halal and haram matters. Among Mashshā'in philosophers (peripatetic philosophers) were called so because they used to walk when teaching, and the learners had to take notes in order not to forget the matters taught. The Holv Prophet (SA) too frequently advised his followers to write down his sayings. He used to say: "Record the knowledge", and when he was asked, "how?", he answered, "By writing down". 30 He also said:

"May Allah grant happiness to the servant who hears what I say, records it (in his mind) and conveys it to the one who has not heard me saying that."31

It is in the traditions that the Messenger of Allāh twice announced this statement, "O God bless my successors". "Who are your successors?", he was asked, and he replied, "They are those who come after me, who learn my sayings and traditions and teach them to others". 32 He also said:

"Among the rights of a child on his father is to choose him a good name, teach him writing and choose him a spouse when matured."³³

The Holy Qur'an states explicitly:

"O believers! whenever you contract a debt with one another for a fixed time, then write it down; and let a scribe write it down between you with equity...(2:282)."

Thus, based on the commands of Allah (SWT) and His Prophet (SA), Muslims were bound to acquire the noble art of reading and writing in order to preserve their religious heritage; to fulfil their duties towards the rights of their children; and to administer well their worldly affairs. This led to the rise of "the pen movement", which stimulated the people among whom the literate were only a few, to seek knowledge and to acquire the skills of reading and writing with such an enthusiasm that some of them learned few languages in Madinah and could propagate the message of Islam throughout the world in different languages.

History tells us that the Holy Prophet (SA)

made the captives of the Battle of Badr free on compensation. Some of them were poor, and were freed without paying while some others had the ability to teach writing and each of them were obliged to teach writing to ten children of Madinah, in return for their freedom.³⁴ This was the extent to which the Holy Prophet (SA) insisted on the learning of reading and writing and on the acquiring of knowledge. But this does not necessarily mean that he had to know and employ these two skills in order to call people to Islam and propagate his religion.

Dr 'Abd al-Latif says:

"In the first surah of the Holy Qur'an, Allah makes mention of 'pen' and 'writing'. Isn't this the explicit mentioning of a proof that the Prophet of Islam knew reading and writing and that he made use of them? How was it possible that the Holy Prophet encouraged people seek knowledge and become literate, whilst he himself paid no attention to reading and writing? Although he always had a pioneering role in any activity."

This is, again, a strange reasoning. The initial verses of the above-mentioned sūrah indicate, of course, that these were revealed to a servant of Allah (SWT), who was in charge of guiding Allah's other servants, and that the Prophet (SA), who received them at his holy heart, acknowledged the value of reading and writing for men. But these verses never suggest that either Allah (SWT) or the Prophet (SA) dealt with reading, writing, pen

or paper.

Dr 'Abd al-Latif also says: "The Holy Prophet was the initiator in practising all that he himself ordered. How could he then order this without doing it himself?"

It is, as if to say that a physician who prescribes a medicine for a patient, should first use the medicine himself. Of course, if the physician falls sick and is in need of the same type of medicine, he will definitely take it just as his patient does. But how about the reverse — when the physician isn't sick and consequently not in need of such a medicine? Here we should see whether the Holy Prophet, like others who were in need of learning the arts of reading and writing in order to attain perfection and to remove their defects, had to acquire these two arts and vet, didn't act upon what he himself ordered, or was he in a state that rendered him independent of them. The Holy Prophet was the forerunner in matters of worship. devotion, piety, honesty, truth, good-temperedness, democracy, humility and other good manners. For all of these were counted towards his perfection and the lack of these was a defect. But the issue of so-called 'literacy' doesn't belong to this category.

The unusual value of being literate for human beings is because the literacy helps them benefit from one another's knowledge. Writing is essentially the conventional symbols used by people to express themselves. In fact through the familiarity with writing, knowledge can be transmitted from one person to another, from one tribe to another and from one generation to another. Thus, man preserves his knowledge from extinction. This is

why being literate is considered equal to knowing languages, ie, the more number of languages the man knows, the more means he has at his disposal to acquire knowledge from others.

Both knowing languages and being literate are keys to the acquisition of knowledge rather than the "knowledge" in its real sense. The knowledge implies that the man comes to know of a fact or a law which enjoys reality in the world of existence. Natural sciences, logic, and mathematics are considered as knowledge because they serve the man to discover a real, creative and cause effect type of relationship among subjective things. But knowing words, grammar and the like are not in themselves knowledge, for these will not make us aware of true relationship between the objects. Instead, they will help us to know a series of conventional matters which do not go beyond the limit of assumption. Knowing these matters means knowing the keys to knowledge rather than "knowledge" itself.

Of course, a series of real phenomena such as the development of words and compositions, which represent the evolution of thought and take place on the basis of natural laws, appear in the context of such conventional matters; and needless to say that it is a part of philosophy and knowledge to know these natural laws. Consequently, the value of literacy lies in the fact that the man can find the key to others' knowledge.

Now, let's see whether acquiring knowledge is limited to man's getting the key to the knowledge of others and making use of it. Does the Prophet have to make use of the knowledge of mankind? If so, then what happens to genius and initiative and to the direct acquisition of knowledge from nature? It actually happens that the most inferior way of seeking knowledge is through the sayings and writing of others, for not only the seeker's personality does not play its role in this process, but also in man's writings there can be found illusions and realities interwoven.

The famous French philosopher, Descartes, after having published a series of articles, earned a worldwide fame and his sayings gave rise to the amazement and admiration of one and all. One of those who had read Descartes' articles and was astounded by them, and whose viewpoint was the same as of Dr Sayyid 'Abd al-Latif, thought that Descartes had found a valuable treasure of books and manuscripts and had received all his knowledge and information from these sources. He met Descartes and requested him to show his library. Descartes directed him to a place where he had dissected the dead body of a calf, and addressed the man: "This is my library. I have gained all my knowledge from 'these' books".

The late Sayyid Jamāl al-Dîn Asadābādī used to say:

"It is quite strange that some people spend a long life studying the books and writings by their fellow-human beings under the light of a lamp, but if they close the books one night and study the same lamp, they will acquire much more knowledge."

Nobody is born learned, All people are igno-

rant at the beginning and they become learned little by little. In other words, every person, with the exception of Allah (SWT), is ignorant himself but turns out to be knowledgeable by virtue of some other forces, causes and means. Thus, every individual is in need of an instructor — an inspiring force. Allah (SWT) speaks of the Holy Prophet (SA) in this respect in the following verse:

"Did He not find you an orphan and give you shelter? Did He not find you unable to see and show you the way? Did He not find you in need and make you free from need (93: 6-8)?"

But, in principle, who and what should the instructor be? Does the man out of necessity have to acquire knowledge from another of his fellowbeings? If so, then he would essentially have the key to the knowledge of others (ie, "literacy") at his disposal. Is the man not in a position to be the initiator himself? Can he not study the book of nature and creation independent of others? Is the man not in a position commune with the ghayb (invisible) and the kingdom of heaven, and Allah (SWT) directly becomes his instructor and guide? The Holy Qur'an clarifies this in respect of the Prophet (SA):

"Nor does he speak out of desire. This is naught but revelation that is revealed; the Lord of Mighty Power has taught him (53: 3-5)."

Imam 'Ali (AS) speaks about the Holy Proph-

et (SA):

"Allah (SWT) had appointed His most honourable angel to look after him since his very childhood. The angel led him to noble ways and manners and the best morals of the world." 35

In his outstanding "Al-Muqaddamah (Introduction)", Ibn Khaldun regards the perfection of writing to lie in the fact that man leads a social life, ie, members of human society need the knowledge of one another. He depicts the evolutionary course of writing in different civilizations and after pointing out the advent of writing in Hijaz, continues thus:

"In the early days of Islam, writing enjoyed its initial forms so far as its technical aspect was concerned, and the ways of writings of Prophet's Companions were undoubtedly defective. However, their followers and successors retained the same ways of writing and regarded them as sacred and honourable in transcribing the Holy Qur'an, without making any alterations, though some ways were in distinct opposition to the rules of writing. Consequently, some of the Qur'anic terms and phrases remained in a specific form of writing."

Ibn Khaldun adds:

"We should not be mistaken about the

difference between perfection in technical and practical matters, including prescribed forms of writing, which are relative and dependent on means of living, and the absolute perfection, the lack of which creates real defects in man's humanity."

He then sets forth the issue of the Prophet's unletteredness and concludes:

"The Prophet was untaught, and being untaught was an accomplishment for him, for he had received his knowledge from the heavens. But for us, being untaught means defect and imperfection, for it indicates our very ignorance.³⁶

Other Qur'anic verses to which Dr 'Abd al-Latif refers are 3rd and 4th verses of Sūrat al-Bayyinah (Sūrah 98). He says:

"It is quite strange that the translators and commentators of the Holy Qur'ān have been heedless of these verses about the Holy Prophet (SA), in which Allah (SWT) says: '(Muḥammad) a messenger from Allah, reciting pages purified, therein true Books'. We should take into consideration the fact that in these verses it is not mentioned that the Holy Prophet (SA) narrated the holy "Suhuf" (ie, pages) by heart. It is rather stipulated that he read from the texts."

The answer to this reasoning will be clear when the meanings of the two words (ie, "Ṣaḥīfah"

and "yatlū") in the above-mentioned verses are understood. The meaning of the verses is: "The Holy Prophet (SA) reads to the people some purified pages on which there are true and everlasting writings." Now, since the "pages" here means the very sheets on which the Qur'ānic verses were recorded, it is obvious that the Holy Prophet (SA) recited the Holy Qur'ān for the people.

The word "yatlū" (from the root "tilāwah") does not have the sense, "reading from a text" and nowhere has it been so employed. A consideration of various applications of the words "tilawah" and "gira'ah" makes it clear that not every kind of expression can be called "tilāwah" or "qirā'ah". Rather, these words are employed in cases where the material read is related to a certain text, regardless of being read from memory or from the text. For instance, reciting the Holy Qur'an is both "tilawah" and "aira'ah" whether it is recited from the text of the Qur'an or from one's memory. There is a difference, of course, between the two, that is, "tilawah" is used when reading a holy text but "qira ah" can be applied to any reading, holy or unholy sort of written material. As an example, in case of reading Sa'di's "Gulistan", only "qira'ah" can be used, and not "tilāwah".

At any rate, whether one reads from the text or from the memory, it does not have anything to do with the concepts of "tilāwah" and "qirā'ah". Thus, the above-mentioned verses indicate no more than the fact that the Prophet (SA) read to the people the Qur'ānic verses which were recorded on some sheets. And there was essentially no need for the Prophet (SA) to read the verses of the Qur'ān

from the text while hundreds of Muslims recite them from the memory. Had the Prophet (SA) not memorized the Holy Qur'ān? In fact, Allah (SWT) had guaranteed his memory. In Sūrat Al-'A'lā, verse 6, the Holy Qur'ān says: "We shall make you recite so you shall not forget (87:6)."

It is thus clear that one cannot conclude from the Qur'ānic verses that the Prophet (SA) of Allah (SWT) was able to read and write. Rather, contrary to this fact can be concluded. Even if we conclude on the basis of the Qur'ānic verses to that effect, it would be something belonging to the prophetic period, whereas Dr Sayyid 'Abd al-Laṭīf's claim is that the Prophet (SA) was able to read and write before his appointment as a prophet.

PART 7 HISTORICAL FACTS AND AḤĀDĪTH

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PART 7

HISTORICAL FACTS AND AHADITH

Dr Sayyid 'Abd al-Latif claims that it is possible to prove, through historical facts and traditions, that the Prophet (SA) used to read and write. He supports this by two facts.

(1) He states: "Al-Bukhārī relates within the narrations and aḥādīth recorded in the Chapter: "Al-Ilm" (the knowledge that the Prophet (SA) gave 'Alī, his son-in-law, a secret letter and told specifically not to open it, but have the name of the recipient in his mind and hand him over the letter. Who else other than the Prophet could have written the letter while even 'Alī, his son-in-law and his trusted person did not know its contents?"³⁷

Unfortunately, the narration in Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī does not mention 'Ali's (AS) name as the carrier of the letter, whereas Dr 'Abd al-Laṭīf concludes that the Prophet (SA) himself had written the letter, on the basis that he kept its contents a secret even to 'Ali (AS):

In Sahih al-Bukhari, Chapter "Al-Ilm", Al-Bukhari asserts:

"The Prophet set off a group of people and handed a letter to their commander and asked him not to open it before he arrived at a certain place."

He does not say that their commander was 'Alī (AS). The contents of the narration reveal, in addition, that the one to open it should have been the carrier of the letter not a third person, as assumed by Dr 'Abd al-Laṭīf. What Al-Bukhārī has narrated is really connected with a story called "Baṭn al-Nakhlah" recorded in books of history and Prophetic traditions.

Both Ibn Hishām's "Sīrah" (under the title: 'Abdullāh ibn Jaḥsh's sariyyah) and Biḥār al-Anwār³⁹ relate the same narration that the carrier of the letter was 'Abdullāh ibn Jaḥsh. It is said that the Prophet (SA) asked him to open the letter after two days' journey and do as it instructed, and he did so and acted upon the Messenger of Allah's command.

Al-Wāqidī's "Al-Maghāzī" states in explicit terms that Ubay ibn Ka'b was the writer of the letter, not the Holy Prophet (SA). It says:

"Abdullāh ibn Jaḥsh said: 'Once, after the Ṣalāt al-'Ishā' (night prayer), the Prophet asked me to come to him the next morning early, armed and ready, to be sent on a mission. The next day, after the Ṣalāt al-Fajr (morning prayer), held in the mosque in congregation under the leadership of the Prophet, I was standing near the Prophet's house armed and prepared. Some other Companions were pre-

sent there too like me. The Prophet summoned Ubay ibn Ka'b and ordered him to write a letter. Then, he handed me over the closed letter and said: 'You are the commander of these people. Open this letter after two nights of journey on the mentioned path, and act as it instructs.' I did what I had been told after two days and noticed that I had been ordered to go to Batn al-Nakhlah (a place between Makkah and Taif) to obtain necessary information about the Quraysh's caravan. In addition, I had been advised not to compel any of the men to accompany me in the task. Of course, it was a dangerous mission. I told my friends that whoever is ready for the martyrdom could accompany me, and that the remaining were free to go back. They all unanimously remarked: We all heard and shall obey Allah, His Prophet and you.'40"

Accordingly, what Dr 'Abd al-Laţif has based his claim on is totally unfounded.

(2) Dr 'Abd al-Laţif further states: "As narrated by Al-Bukhāri and Ibn Hishām..., the Prophet (SA) wrote the treaty by his own hand."

Firstly, Al-Bukhārî has quoted this in one narration and has related the contrary in another. Secondly, Sunni scholars have almost unanimously asserted that although Al-Bukhāri's statement apparently indicates that the Prophet (SA) himself has written it, this has not been the intention of the narrator. Al-Ḥalabi's "Sīrah", narrates the story in the same manner and even states: "The Holy Prophet asked 'Alî to delete the words: "Allah's Messenger'." but adds, quoting narration of Al-

Bukhārī, that some have taken this as a miracle carried out by the Prophet (SA). It, however, mentions afterward:

"Some have said that this narration is not acceptable by some knowledgeable persons. It actually implies that the Prophet ordered someone to write and that he did not write it himself."

He adds:

"Abul-Walid Bājī Mālikī from Spain, who intended to rely on the apparent meaning of Al-Bukhāri's statement was seriously refuted by the Spanish scholars.⁴¹

However, Ibn Hishām's "Sīrah" does not include such a statement and it is not clear as why did Dr 'Abd al-Latif ascribe this to Ibn Hishām.'

We have already mentioned that from the historical point of view, what is inferred from most narrations, is that 'Alî (AS) wrote all the written material. That the Prophet (SA) wrote, despite his inability to write, can only be concluded from Al-Tabari's and Ibn Al-Athir's statements.

At the most this can be implied that the Prophet (SA) wrote once or more during the prophetic period, whereas, the issue under discussion concerns the period before his prophethood.

THE ADVERSARIES' ACCUSATION

PART 8

THE ADVERSARIES' ACCUSATION

It was mentioned at the very beginning of the book that: "The opponents of Islam and the Prophet (SA) accused him of borrowing ideas from others (this accusation is reflected from some verses of the Qur'ān). But they did not say that he was literate and knew how to read and write and that he perhaps had some books which he consulted before presenting his views."

Someone might, however, claim that the Prophet (SA) was accused in this respect too. This accusation is reflected from the Qur'an where it says: "They say: The stories of the ancient — he has got them written down — so that these are recited to him morning and evening (25:5)."

The answer is that this verse does not explicitly indicate their claim that the Prophet (SA) used to write, regardless of the fact that the opponents' accusations were so prejudiced and based on complexes and grudges that, as the Holy Qur'ān puts it, only terms like "injustice" and "oppression" can best be used for them. At the same time, the Arabic term "iktitāb" means both 'to write' and "istiktāb"

ie, to make someone write something'.

Here, the second meaning applies to the verse which would mean "They said: 'he has written (or others have written for him) the stories of the ancient, then someone reads to him every morning and evening," "iktitāb" is mentioned here in the past tense and "imlā" in the present continuous. It implies that someone wrote them, and that those who knew how to read, used to come to Prophet (SA) every day and night and read them to him, and that he learned and memorized them. Thus, if the Prophet (SA) knew how to read, they would not necessarily say that others used to read to him day and night; rather, it would suffice them to say that he himself referred to writings and memorized them.

Therefore, even the oppressive and accusing infidels of his time, who accused the Prophet (SA) in many ways and named him an insane, a sorcerer, a liar and an imitator of others' oral statements, etc, could not claim that he read the contents of other books to them due to his inability to read and write.

PART 9 CONCLUSION

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CONCLUSION

It is inferred from what has already been stated that according to the definite testimony of history, Qur'anic proofs and abundant indications deduced from the history of Islam, the Holy Prophet's (SA) mind was untouched by human teaching. He was a man taught only in the divine school and who received his knowledge from Him alone. He was a flower fostered by the Pre-eternal Gardener and none else.

Although Allah (SWT) has nothing to do with the pen, paper, ink, reading and writing, He swore by the pen and its manifestations as a sacred matter in His Holy Book: "Nūn' I swear by the pen and what they write (68:1)." Allah (SWT) also commanded "reading" in His first heavenly message and introduced the knowledge and art of using the pen as the greatest blessing bestowed on man after the blessing of "creation". The Holy Qur'an states:

"Read in the name of your Lord Who created. He created man from a clot. Read and your Lord is Most Honourable; Who taught (to write) with the pen; taught man what he knew not (96:1-5)."

In fact, the one who had not held a pen in his hand, established the "Pen Movement" immediately after his arrival in Madinah by providing simple facilities. Although he had neither been tutored by man nor had he attended any universities or the like, he turned out to be man's teacher and the founder of universities. Hāfiz remarks:

"Brightened and made Heaven's grace manifest,

He healed our wandering heart and our wounded chest.

He, who attended no school, was dear of mine,

Hundreds of tutors were taught with his knowledge, divine.

And his graceful glance filled the lovers with spirits raised,

The knowledge and wisdom both got amazed."
Imam 'Alī al-Riḍā (AS), in his discussion with
the people following other religions, addressed
Ra's al-Jālūt:

"Among the true reasons of his prophethood is that the Prophet was an orphan, a poor shepherd and a worker who had not read any books and had not been taught; yet, he brought a book in which there are the stories of prophets and the information regarding both past and future generations." 42

What reveals more reasonably the loftiness, grandeur and heavenliness of the Holy Qur'ān is the fact that this great divine Book, with myriad instructions concerning the creation, the Resurrection, human beings, morality, law, admonitory stories and sermons — with all its grace, beauty and eloquence — was issued from the tongue of the one who was himself unlettered, who neither attended any school or college nor received any university education and who neither met any of his contemporary scholars nor read a simple book of his time.

The sign and miracle that Allah (SWT) granted to His last Prophet (SA) was the book and writing. of speech and meditation, and of feelings and senses. It deals with wisdom, thoughts, the heart and mind. This Holy Book has shown for centuries, and still shows, its extraordinary spiritual authority. The passage of time cannot make it obsolete. It has fascinated, and continues to fascinate, millions and millions of hearts. It brims over with a life-sustaining power. What thoughtful minds it has induced to meditation! What numerous hearts it has overflown with spiritual enthusiasm! What countless nightingales of dawn and those keeping a night vigil it has spiritually fed! What tears it has caused to flow on cheeks at midnight out of love for Allah (SWT) and fear of Him. And what enslaved and chained nations has it emancipated from the claws of tyranny and despotism.

The poet says:

"As the Qur'an's seal shone all and everywhere,

The Pope's plans it shattered and of the

Magi's here and there.

Let's open what I really feel in essence, It is not a simple book but has a difference. It transforms into whosoever's soul it enters, Like the transformed soul, the world also alters.

It is clear like "truth", but hard to reach, Alive, everlasting, a manifest speech."

Yes, to enlighten more clearly that the Qur'an is a revelation and a miracle for the human beings Allah (SWT), the Everlasting Grace, revealed it to one among His servants who was an orphan, a poor shepherd and a desert-rover and an untaught and unschooled man.

"That is Allah's grace; He grants it to whom He wills, and Allah is of abounding bounty (62:4)."

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REFERENCES AND NOTES

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- 3. Constante Vergil Giorgio, "Muḥammad a Prophet to be Acquainted with Afresh", 1st edition, p 45.
- 4. Gustar Lubon, "The Civilization of Islam and the Arabs", 4th edition, p 20.
- 5. Prof Massinion, the known Islamologist and orientalist, in his book: "Salmāni Pāk (The Holy Salman)" questions even the existence of such a person let alone his meeting with the Prophet (SA) and regards him as a fictitious character. He observes: "Buḥayrā Sergius, Tamimdari and others who have collected traditions concerning the Prophet are ghosts of a doubtful and intangible nature".
- 6. Ibn al-Nadim, "Al-Fihrist", published by the Al-Istiqamah Press, Cairo, p 13.
- Ibn Khaldun, "Al-Muqaddamah (Introduction)", Ibrāhim Hilmi Press, p 492.
- 8. In the book: Futūh al-Buldān, printed at Al-Sa'ādah Press, Egypt, 1959, this word has been entered as 'Ruqnat al-Namlah', which is certainly a misprint. The correct term, as recorded 'Naml' in Ibn al-Athīr's "Al-Nihāyah" is "Ruqyat al-Namlah"

"Ruqyah" were sentences of the incantation type which were recited and believed to be effective in warding off evil, or diseases. As regards "Ruqā", Ibn al-Athir reports that certain accounts of the Prophet (SA) recommend and others prohibit the use of "Ruqā". Ibn al-Athir, himself claims accounts of the prohibitive type concern" seeking refuge in other than Allah's name, that man should shift his dependence on Allah and rely upon things other than seeking refuge in the name of Allah", accounts of the re-

commending type concern the fact that man should depend on divine names and seek His (Allah's) help.

As regards 'Naml', Ibn al-Athir reports:

"What is known as 'Ruqyat al-Namlah' was not in reality of Ruqā like nature, rather they were well-known sentences which everyone knew would neither harm nor benefit. The Prophet (SA) addressed Shifā' in a jocular language with these words as a gesture to his wife Ḥafṣah. The words were: "The bride sits hennaed with dark-dyed eyelids in the centre of the crowd, doing everything except disobeying her husband."

Such sentences were referred to as "Ruqyat al-Namlah". Apparently, in so saying, a kind of joke and satire has been employed. Ibn al-Athir maintains:

"The great Prophet (SA) addressed Shifa' in jocular and satirical language, saying that it would be a good thing if she taught Ḥafṣah "Ruquat al-Namlah" as she had taught her writing, a suggestion that Ḥafṣah disobeyed the Prophet (SA) by disclosing the secret told her by the Prophet (SA).

- 9. "Bihar al-Anwar", new print, vol 16, p 134.
- 10. Ibid, p 132.
- 11. Ibid, p 133.
- 12. Zayni Dablan, "Sirah", vol 2, p 24.
- 13. Bihar al-Anwar, new print, vol 16, p 135.
- 14. Ibid.
- 15. Al-Ya'qubi, "Tarikh al-Ya'qubi", vol 2, p 69,
- 16. In the book: "Jāmi' Al-Tirmidhi", Al-Tirmidhi narrates from Zayd ibn Thābit that he said: "The Holy Prophet (SA) of İslam commanded me to learn the Syriac language." Also Al-Tirmidhi narrates in "Jami' al-Tirmidhi" from Zayd ibn Thābit that he said: "The Holy Prophet (SA) of Islam commanded me to learn the language of the Jews and said: "I swear by Allah that I cannot trust the Jews for my letters." I learned for about one-half of a month. After that whenever he (the Holy Prophet (SA) of Islam) wanted to write a letter to the Jews, I wrote it and whenever he received a letter from the Jews, I read it for him." In "Futūḥ al-Buldān", Al-Balādhuri, says on p 460: "Zayd ibn Thābit said: "The Holy Prophet (SA) of Islam

commanded me to learn the Book of the Jews (in the Syriac language). Zayd ibn Thabit also said that the Prophet (SA) told me 'I am worried about my Book because of the Jews.' Scarcely had one-half of a month or a year passed that I learned it. From then on, I wrote his letters to the Jews and also read to him (to the Holy Prophet (SA) of Islam) the letters the Jews wrote to him."

- 17. Al-Mas'udi, "Al-Tanbih wal-Ishraf", p 245-246.
- 18. Ibn al-Nadim, "Al-Fihrist", Al-'Istiqamah Press, Cairo, p 67.
 - 19. "Sahih al-Bukhari", vol 3, p 242.
 - 20. Muslim, "Sahih al-Muslim", vol 5, p 174.
 - 21. "Usud al-Ghabah", vol 1, p 216.
- 22. "Rawshanfikr", issue no 8 and 15, October 1965 and the Publication of the Society of the Headelerks, November 1965 (copied from the Publication of the Ministry of Education and Training, September 1965).
- 23. Al-Raghib Al-Isfahani, "Mufradat Alfaz al-Qur'an", Al-Taqaddum al-'Arabi Press, November 1972, under the word "umm" and Exegesis of the Holy Quran: "Majma' al-Bayan", under the verse 78 of Surat Al-Baqarah.
- 24. Exegesis of the Holy Qur'an: "Majmu' al-Bayan", verse 78 of "Surat Al-Bagarah".
- 25. Exegesis of the Holy Qur'an: "Majma al-Bayan", under the verse 75 of Surat Ali 'Imran and verse 157 of Surat Al-A raf; and "Tafsir al-Razi", under the verse 75 of Surat Al-A raf.
- 26. The Magazine published by the Astani Qudsi Razavi, Mashhad, issue no 2.
 - 27. Ibid.
- 28. One of the narrations confirms the word "ummi" as a derivative of "Umm al-Qura" meaning Makkah, although the word "Umm al-Qura" is a common attribute and not a proper noun. The narration states: "The Prophet was known as "Ummi" because he was an inhabitant of Makkah and Makkah is one of the "Umm al-Quras".
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 - 30. "Bihar al-Anwar", new impression, vol 2, p 151.

- 31. "Al-Kāfi", vol 1, p 403.
- 32. "Bihar al-Anwar", vol 2, p 144.
- 33. "Wasa'il al-Shi'ah", vol 3, p 134.
- 34. Husayn Al-Diyar Bakri, "Tarikh al-Khamis",
- vol 1, p 395; and "Al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah", vol 2, p 204.
 - 35. "Nahj al-Balaghah", Sermon No 190.
- 36. Ibn Khaldun, "Al-Muqaddamah (Introduction)", Ibrahim Hilmi Press, p 494, 495.
 - 37. " Şaḥih al-Bukhari", vol 1, p 25.
 - 38. Ibn Hisham, "Sirah", vol 1, p 601.
 - 39. "Bihar al-Anwar", old edition, vol 6, p 575.
- 40. Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Waqidi, "Al-Maghazi'', vol 1, p 13.
 - 41. "Al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah", vol 3, p 24.
 - 42. " 'Uyun Akhbar al-Rida", p 94.